

OB. NO: ab 396

YER NO: ab 388

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PUDUHEPA: AN ANATOLIAN QUEEN OF THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY B. C.

Mansel'e Armağan'dan ayrıbasım
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T RK TARİH KURUMU BASIMEVİ, ANKARA, 1974



ÇEKÜL KÜTÜPHANESİ

DEMİRBAŞ NO. *ab396*

SINIFLAMA NO.

ab388

BAĞIŞCI

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PUDUḪEPA: AN ANATOLIAN QUEEN OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY B.C.

M. DARGA

The exceptional position which the queens of the Hittites had occupied in the world of the Ancient Near East has been coming to light through the documents from the royal archives of Hattusha-Boghaz-Koey, Tel-el-Amarna and Ugarit-Ras-Shamra, and especially through the royal correspondence.

The institution of the queen among the Hittites had a rather different status compared with the other queens of the time. In Egypt and Mesopotamia the queen was the wife of the king, the absolute monarch of the country¹. Apart from some religious tasks, she did not possess any political power and had no authority over her subjects except being the first legal wife of the king. None of the queens of the Ancient Near East had authority to rule and were never considered as equals of the kings. The queens of the Hittites, on the other hand, bearing the title SAL. LUGAL. GAL. "the Great Queen," "the Legal Queen," (Hit. šakuwaššar) *tavananna* "Sovereign Queen," represented an independent type of woman in the kingdom who had the power to rule, to interfere with the foreign affairs of the kingdom and who had a voice in international law equal to that of the king. In case the king died, during the reign of his son the rights of the queen were preserved just as before until her death.

The archive documents mentioned above give a rather detailed information about the work and duties of the queens of the Hittites. They furnish us with some information concerning their names and partly their personalities. The queens mentioned in these documents belong to the period of the "Great Hittite Empire" (1450-1180 B. C.). It is the aim of this article, dedicated to my respected teacher Prof. Mansel, to introduce Queen Puduḫepa, the most interesting and

¹ Goetze, *Kl2.*, p. 92 ff.; Otten apud Schmökel, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orient*, pp. 368-369.

powerful of all the queens, and one about whom we have a great deal of information from the documents.

It is a great pleasure for me, as a former student, to dedicate this small study of mine to a great scholar, an able archaeologist, and an equally excellent teacher Ord. Prof. Dr. A. Müfid Mansel. On this occasion, I should like to greet Prof. Mansel with the words which Puduḫepa often repeated to Hattushili: "daligauš ūetuuš," "long years!".

The written documents which enable us to portray the personality of Queen Puduḫepa, the wife of Hattushili III, the king of the Hittites, a great man of the thirteenth century B. C., are rather rich. They consist of many letters, prayers, vows (*ex-voto*, *Gelübde*), and religious inscriptions she ordered to be written, in addition to the juridical documents² originating from Boghaz-Koey and Ugarit. In the official documents concerning the activity of her husband Hattushili, her name accompanies his. Among the historical documents shedding light on the reign of this king, an abridged version of his autobiography (KBo VI 29 = CTH 85) informing us about his disagreement with his nephew Urḫi-Tešup, starts with the words of Hattushili and Puduḫepa, the Great Queen³.

In these documents we can trace the marriage of the king Hattushili III, after returning from his expedition to Egypt during the reign of his brother Mutavalli, goes to the city of Lavazantiya in Kumanni⁴ in order to perform the sacrifice he had promised to his protective god. There, "at the god's wish", he marries Puduḫepa, the daughter of Pentipšarri, the priest of Ishtar of the city of Lavazantiya. "This god bestows on them the love of a husband and wife. Later she gives birth to many children"⁵.

Another version of the autobiography of Hattushili III gives a more detailed and interesting account of this marriage. It states that

For *tavananna* see: Kammenhuber, *MSS*, 14, p. 16 "herschende Königin - the sovereign queen".

² Laroche, *CTH* 293-297: for the documents called "Procés" see: *CTH* 293 and *Ibid* 95 = *RS* 17.133 = *PRU* IV, p. 107 ff.

³ Goetze, *Hatt.*, p. 45.

⁴ For the equality of Kumanni-Kizzuvatna see: Otten-Souček, *Pud.*, p. 36, No. 3.

⁵ Goetze, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22-23: Kol. III 1-6.

Puduḫepa was not only the daughter of the priest, but she was also a priestess in the "service of the Ishtar of the city of Lavazantiya."⁶ Apart from this, it adds that Hattushili did not marry Puduḫepa of his free will or because he was in love with her, but he married her only because the goddess Ishtar had ordered him to marry her, vinga appeared to him one night in a dream⁷. According to this information, we find out that before his accession to the throne, and when he was only a prince at a rather advanced age, Hattushili married a noble girl from the priestly family of Kumanni. We only know about two families to which two queens of the Hittites belonged. One of them was the daughter of the King of Babylon, who was also the last wife of the great king Šuppiluliuma. This princess, whose original name has not yet been deciphered, is mentioned as Tavananna (III) in the documents⁸. The other is Puduḫepa, who is the subject of this study. She introduces herself with the words, "Puduḫepa, the daughter of the city of Kumanni,"⁹ at the beginning of her vow inscriptions, which she dedicated to goddess Lelvani, some time after she had become the queen, during a period when she was at the height of her power¹⁰. As is the case with all other Hittite queens, her name is a typical theophorous Hurrian name, appropriate to her birth place. *Pudu-* is a verbal root in the Hurrian language, the meaning of which is not yet known. The second part derives from the word *Hepat*, the name of the principal goddess of the Hurrians¹⁰.

The names of the children of Puduḫepa and Hattushili are known. After Hattushili, the oldest son Tutḫaliya IV succeeded to the throne. Another prince was Nerikkaili, who married the daughter of Benteshina, the king of Amurru. One of the daughters of this couple was given to Benteshina in Gaššulaviya with the condition that she was to be a queen. Another daughter is mentioned in Egyptian Hieroglyphic sources as "Mahornefrure" or "Manefrure", which was her

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46-47.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

⁸ See: Laroche, *Ugaritica III*, p. 101 ff.; *CTH* 70: For the seals of this queen compare *SBO* I 3 IA, 32.

⁹ Otten-Souček, *Op. Cit.*, p. 16 (I 1).

¹⁰ Laroche, *Pud.*, p. 65. For the similar theophorous names of the queen see: Idem and Güterbock, *SBO*, I, p. 61. For its verbal root *pudu* see: Pudugepa ref.: Laroche, *NH.*, No. 1063.

Egyptian name¹¹. For according to her inscriptions in the Egyptian temples, this princess married Ramses II in the thirty fourth year of his reign. The letters exchanged between the kings of the Hittites and Egypt tell at length about the project concerning this marriage and describe the trousseau of the princess. Thus the children of Puduḥepa also made royal marriages.

Since we are very well documented about the life of Puduḥepa, the great queen, we can trace her life as a queen who has used her authority as a sovereign in the best possible way, fulfilling her functions in the political, juridical and religious affairs¹². She did this in her own right independent of the king since she was on equal terms with him. One of the best documents indicating this equality is the treaty of Kadesh. Although the original of the treaty of Kadesh written on a silver tablet has not survived, its later versions show that one side of the tablet contained the seal of Hattushili III, the great king, and the other, the seal of Queen Puduḥepa¹³.

The royal letters¹⁴, especially those concerning the political marriage projects between the Hittites and the Egyptian dynasties shed light on the independent position of Puduḥepa. There are fifteen letters addressed to her¹⁵. Four of them sent by Ramses II to Puduḥepa are word by word like those sent to king Hattushili. Thus, we realise that both the king and the queen were considered equally important. It seems to have resulted from the rules of international law of that period. The style of the royal letters in question is private. Their language is rather official, using long formulas of politeness that are far from being personal. In one of them Ramses II addresses Puduḥepa as "my sister" and tells about the prosperity of the land of Egypt and his well being. Then he praises all the qualities which she possesses by adding his good wishes.

¹¹ For the name of the girl sent as a bride for Ramses II, The king of Egypt, see: Gardiner, *Geschichte...*, pp. 294, 484, No. 56; Akurgal, *KH*, p. 45.

¹² Goetze, *Kl2.*, p. 93.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 93 and No. 7; For the Akkadian version of the treaty of Kadesh which comes from Hattusha see: Weidner, *PD*, pp. 112-123. For the other versions in Egypt compare: *Ibid.*, p. 288 and No. 45.

¹⁴ Edel, *Die Rolle der Kön.*, pp. 72-85.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

The position which the Egyptian queens occupied in the political communication with the Hittites is rather insignificant compared with the existing letters of Puduḫepa.

Today we know the existence of only two letters by Naptera, the wife of Ramses II, and one letter of Tuya, the mother of Ramses II, to Puduḫepa¹⁶. The letter of the young widow of Tutankamon to Šuppiliuma I, stating that she would like to marry one of his sons, remains an interesting exception¹⁷.

Puduḫepa personally wrote a letter to Ramses II, concerning the marriage project of her daughter to this king. In order to maintain peace through political marriages, she also exchanged letters with the king of Alašiya (Cyprus), addressing to him as "Great King," (KUB XXI 38) thus considering him as the equal of the king of the Hittites¹⁸. With such clever, diplomatic language she has, in fact, raised him to the level of the great kings of the period¹⁹.

All these documents clearly show the active participation of the queen in the matters of foreign policy, and her role in the arrangement of the royal marriages to preserve the peace. These characteristics can be generalized for all the queens of the Hittites. To exercise all these powers of sovereignty independently, however, the queen had to possess a certain nature and personality. Puduḫepa, the noble woman of Hurri, represents a model queen who possesses all these qualities. The structure of the Hittite society is not known. Therefore, we cannot determine the exact status of the queens. The queens exchange letters with the great kings of the period, use their seals for treaties, and even make decisions in juridical cases. All these characteristics did not only belong to Puduḫepa, but they were the reflections of the concept of the equality of "Tabarna" and "Tavananna"²⁰ existed in the social structure of Hittite society.

In spite of the existence of the documents indicating the political duties of Puduḫepa, we lack the documents concerning her activities

¹⁶ CTH 167, 168, Edel, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁷ Edel, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 83 and No. 2.

¹⁸ CTH 176.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Compare Helck, *JCS* 17 (1964), p. 87 ff.

²⁰ Tavananna "Sovereign Queen (herrschende Königin)", See: Kammenhuber, *MSS*, 14, p. 66.

in the social life of her country. As it is in the whole Ancient Near East, also in the world of the Hittites, the royal social activities seem to have been related to religion and the cult. Some rituals known today²¹ indicate that Puduḫepa administered these affairs in the same manner. We shall deal with this subject while examining the religious functions and the tasks of the queen as far as the written sources permit.

There are also documents indicating the active role of Queen Puduḫepa in the juridical matters. A group of texts bear the character of a "Court Protocol" and have been called in the literature of the Hittitology as the "Ukkura Problem"²². According to the case mentioned in these documents, the queen once intervened in a case of injustice and went to court as a claimant. This case can be summed up in the following way: Some important articles such as valuable things, weapons and instruments of metal, clothes, and flocks of animals had been granted to Ura-Tarḫunda, the son of a high-ranking officer. Although he had been given the task of making an inventory of them and sealing it, he failed to carry out his duty. The reasons why he could not do this duty seem rather obscure in the text. In order to find out the truth, the queen (Puduḫepa) required the two above-mentioned men to go to the temple of Lelvani, the goddess of hell to swear an oath. The men told what they knew in the presence of other witnesses, and the statements of other witnesses were also listened to. In the documents, the statements of many personages are recorded. Although a new fragment concerning this case was found in the cellars in the eastern section of the Great Temple during the excavations in Boghaz-Koey in 1962²³, the result of the case is unfortunately still obscure.

The titles of Puduḫepa and her son as "Tabarna Tuthaliya," the great king, the king of the 'Ḫatti' country, are mentioned in a document which tells about the donation of a piece of land²⁴.

²¹ Vow Texts: CTH 585.

²² See CTH 293. Although not mentioned in this document, one identifies the queen in question with Puduḫepa. For this document see: Werner, *HG* s. 2, 3-20. U-ku+ra, *Bogh. III*, Pl. 30/23. (seal with name of Uk(k)ura).

²³ See Werner, *Op. Cit.*, p. 20.

²⁴ CTH 225 = KUB XXVI 43 etc. I 3 [XXX] fPu-du-ḫe-pa SALLUGAL. GAL SALLUGAL.KUR^{URU}KUBABBAR^{TI}. Some pieces of land were granted

This document, apparently written during a period when the king was very young and the queen was administering on his behalf, indicates that she granted some privileges and large pieces of land to Šahurunuva, the king of Karkamish. Unfortunately, the section of the document marked with 3 following the lines which give the royal titles of Tuthaliya IV and which precedes the name of Puduḥepa is missing. Here, very probably, was the title of "Tavananna", which is expected to be found before the name of the queen. Thus we are informed that Puduḥepa has also granted land to the kings who were the subjects of the Hatti country. Another interesting document of juridical character, concerning the international law of navigation²⁵, was found at the excavations carried out in the ancient city of Ugarit. This document, written in Akkadian is about the wreck of a ship from the city of Ugarit beyond her own waters. On one side is the seal of Puduḥepa. The interesting decision of the queen in the form of a letter was arranged on behalf of the king. It is very likely that the document comes again from the period when Tuthaliya IV was very young and when his mother was acting on his behalf²⁶.

Apparently the official papers were sealed by the queen when the king was away from the palace for a cult excursion or a war. The above-mentioned tablet is a Hittite document. Šukku²⁷, the sailor mentioned in the text, was a subject of the "Great Hittite Empire". It is an interesting document in the form of a verdict. It says: "My sun, Ammistamruya: Šukku spoke thus when the man from Ugarit and Šukku were brought to the presence of my Sun for the trial: "His ship was destroyed hitting against the harbor". But the man from Ugarit said: "No. Šukku destroyed the ship deliberately!" His majesty (My Sun) decided the following: "Ugarit, the head of the sailors should swear; then Šukku will compensate for his ship and his

to Sahurunuva, the king of Karkamish and he was also exempt from the taxes (See: Laroche, *NH* No. 1076). This text which has not yet been worked out will soon be published by F. Imparati.

²⁵ *CTH* 95 = *PRU* IV, pp. 118-119.

²⁶ The same case is seen in the documents of Ugarit. Queen Aḥat-Milku, mother of Ammistamru, one of the kings of this city, has sealed a paper on behalf of his son. See: 16.197 = *PRU* III, p. 150 ff.

²⁷ For the name of Šukku compare: Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Roma 1967, p. 80.

goods in it”²⁸. This decision for compensation arranged to do justice on behalf of the Hittite king was sealed by Puduḫepa on behalf of her son. The one who was responsible for the damage and had to pay for it, namely, Šukku, was a subject of the Hittite Empire. The name of the other man is not mentioned; it is only stated that he was the head of the sailors of the city of Ugarit. It seems that he was either a sailor or a merchant from that city.

The Seals of Puduḫepa :

The seal impressions of Puduḫepa and her husband Hattushili together have been found in Hattusha (Boghaz-Koey), the capital of the Hittites, and Ugarit (Ras-Shamra). They were first discovered in Hattusha and thus found their way into archaeological literature (pl. 353)²⁹.

At first sight it is apparent that these seals are stylistically different from the rest of the royal seals. The inscription and the forms on the seals look more plastic than those in a relief³⁰. On the upper part of the round surface of the seal is the motive of the sun disc. The sign of the disc looks like a rosette between the two wings in the air. The tendency towards plasticity becomes more obvious in the signs indicating the queen on the impression of the seal of Puduḫepa with the king (Pl. 348). The volute which means “great” (Pl. 349) and the head of the woman which indicates “the queen” are plastically rendered. Even minutest details of the head of the woman wearing a conical hat under a thin cloth concealing the neck are shown. The head is rather sculptural. A pointed nose, an inward drawn mouth and chin call attention to this head shown in profile. The eyes are large and are shown almost in a perspective view. Under the conical

²⁸ Compare *PRU* IV, p. 119 ff.

²⁹ Güterbock, *SBO* I, 49-51; Beran, *HG*, pp. 76-88, pl. XI/229-233.

³⁰ This plastic style which first appeared on the seals of Urhi-Tesup (Murshili III) dominates the seals of the period of Hattushili III. It becomes even more obvious on the seal of Tuḫalia IV, the son of the former king, and we find its best example on an impression of the seal on a tablet which comes from Ugarit. See: *Ugaritica* III, Pl. III, Figs. 24-26 = *RS* 17, 159. The figures on the surface of the seal look more like sculpture rather than relief; especially in the female figure representing the sun goddess Arinna all the details are rendered one by one.

hat and its cover one sees large ears wearing ring-like earrings. The skull, the forehead and the chin are rather compressed³¹.

There are also three impressions of the independent seals of Puduḥepa. One of them was found in Tarsus³² and the other in Ugarit³³. The plastic style seen in the relief of the joint seal becomes more marked in these impressions (Pl. 347 a, b). The composition of the writing and the signs is arranged in a symmetrical and decorative manner and inscribed deeply on the surface of the seals. Thus a plastic style seen in the bullas has been created.

The circular border around the seal contains the legend in cuneiform, and the field in the centre contains the names and the titles of the queen in Hittite hieroglyphic. In both seals the legend in cuneiform has been damaged. The woman's head and the volute above it placed on either side of the field means "queen" and "the Great Queen", respectively. Thus the title SAL.LUGAL.GAL., "the great Queen," is present on either side of the seal. On the upper part of the seal the sun disk ^DUTUŠI "My Sun" (your majesty), the emblem of the kings of the Hittites occurs. In its centre and under the sign for ^DUTUŠI and between the two heads are four signs written one on top of the other which form the name of the Queen-Puduḥepa³⁴. The cuneiform inscription of the legend generally contains the name, the titles and the genealogy of the king. The finds of Tarsus and Ugarit are almost identical. Only there are a few differences in the impressions of the seal from Ugarit.

The inscriptions seen on the seal impressions of Puduḥepa resembling pictures give the royal titlature.

The hieroglyphic writing is: ^DUTUŠI SAL.LUGAL.GAL. Pu-du-ḥe-pa SAL. LUGAL.GAL. "My Sun" (Your Majesty), the Great Queen Puduḥepa, the Great Queen. The remains of the cuneiform inscription of the legend are: [NA₄ KIŠIB] f Pu-du-ḥe-pa SAL.LUGAL.GAL. X [...] "(the seal) of Puduḥepa, the Great Queen X [...]"

³¹ Compare Beran, *HG*, p. 76, Pl. 14/222 a (photo), Pl. XI/229 a (design).

³² *Tarsus II*, Pl. 405/15; Bossert, *Alt.*, fig. 713.

³³ *Ugaritica III*, Fig. 23.

³⁴ Laroche, *HH*, 1053; —, *HH*, No. 328; Meriggi, *Glossar2*, p. 102.

Among the finds of the excavations at Ras-Shamra, are also three seals³⁵ which show Puduḥepa together with Hattushili III. On two of them³⁶ the name and the title of the queen appear on the left, below the left wing of the sun disc (Pl. 354 a), on another example³⁷ it is on the opposite side to the right under the right wing. On these seals, the signs which form the "Name of the Queen" draw attention as a composition by itself apart from the name of the king. A seal of Ugarit origin which shows an excellent composition and a plastic style belongs to Tutḥaliya IV, the son of Puduḥepa (Pl. 354 b).³⁸ The cuneiform inscription of the legend outside the seal specially states that he was "the son of Hattushili and Puduḥepa," while giving the genealogy of the king. Thus without being content with naming the ancestors of the king, the name of his well-known mother, Puduḥepa, was also mentioned. It is a unique example among the impressions of the kings' seals which also mentions the name of the mother. Apart from this, we do not know the existence of any other seal impressions mentioning the name of Tutḥaliya, the son of Puduḥepa, together with that of his mother³⁹.

Besides these specimens on clay bulla or tablets which have survived in the form of seal impressions, the Egyptian sources inform us about the existence of an impression of the independent seal of Puduḥepa on one side of the silver tablet containing the original version of the treaty of Kadesh⁴⁰.

All these documents, especially the seal impressions bearing the name of the queen independently, indicate that the queens of the Hittites were equal in position to that of the kings as well as the independent status of the institution of the queen. It is very remarkable that although Puduḥepa, who had represented excellently a queen of the

³⁵ See: *RS* 17.229, *RS* 17.238 (= *Ugaritica III*, Fig. 15, 21, 22 and 14, 19, 20), *RS* 18.03 (= *Ugaritica III*, pp. 108-109).

³⁶ See: *RS* 17.229 and *RS* 18.03.

³⁷ See: *RS* 17.238, *Ugaritica III*, Fig. 14, 19-20 (photo).

³⁸ See above p. 11, note 2.

³⁹ Compare Beran, *HG*, p. 77. The seal impressions of Tutḥalia IV, Pl. 13, pp. 191-197.

⁴⁰ Friedrich, "Das Siegel des hethitischen König Hattushili III nach der ägyptischen Fassung seines Veräges mit Ramses II", *Artibus Asiae VI* (1937), p. 177/..., compare (Edel, *IG*, 60, p. 81).

Hittites with all her qualifications, did not bear the title of "Tavannanna". Parallell to this, her husband king Hattushili also does not appear either in the documents or on the seals with the title of "Tabarna"⁴¹. We are not going to discuss here, the question of "tutulature" of the Hittite Empire which is beyond the scope of this study. We shall be content merely with drawing attention to this peculiarity which appears in the documents of this period.

The Queen and Her Religious Duties :

It has been known for a long time that the queens had important religious functions and duties related to the cult⁴². The queen occupies a position at the head of the priestesses near the priest-king of the Hatti land. The documents which give an account of these activities of the queen, have been brought together under the title of "the Descriptions of the Festivals"⁴³. According to these documents, the queen, along with the king, was in charge of the religious ceremonies. This function of the queen does not sound unusual if we remember the fact that a goddess, the sun goddess of the city of Arinna, was the head of the Pantheon of the Hittites⁴⁴. Not only in the documents, but also on the rock reliefs we see the queens taking part in the religious ceremonies along with the king. The reliefs of Fraktin, Alaca Höyük, Aslantepe (Malatya) are among the examples illustrating this fact⁴⁵. The ritual inscriptions inform us that on the occasion of ritual ceremonies, the king and the queen wore special robes - in Hittite *anniyatt* -, *INK-att*⁴⁶, which we see in the representations of the king and the queen in the reliefs. In the relief at Fraktin, Puduḫepa is shown wearing a

⁴¹ Laroche, *Nisantaş*, Pl. on p. 97.

⁴² Goetze, *Kl2.*, p. 94 and No. 4.

⁴³ Laroche, *CTH* 591-720, specially *CTH* 646.

⁴⁴ Idem, *Rescherches...*, p. 106; Goetze, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 135-137; Güterbock, "Historia", *Einzelschriften* VII (1964), p. 60.

⁴⁵ Bossert, *Alt.*, No. 550-551; 505, 507; 768.

⁴⁶ Friedrich, *HW*, p. 22; Goetze, *Hitt. Dress*, p. 60 and No. 105. *KUB* XI 35 I (11) ta-za KINHIA taTUGku-ši-ši

HUB-BI GUŠKIN (12)KUŠ E.SİR GE-ia da-a-i

Another reference indicating that earring was a part of the ritual clothing: *KUB* II 13 I 4. The queen wears her "ritual robe"; *KUB* II 6 etc. III 28 SAL.LU-GAL-za KIN-ta da-a-i.

robe which conceals all her body, and resembles the one worn by a priestess while she makes a libation to the gooddness ̘epat. (Pl. 350-351). Pudu̘epa, who had been a priestess before her marriage, fulfilled the function of a high priestess in many rituals in accordance with her status in the country. The rock relief at Fraktin is a unique archaeological document depicting Pudu̘epa making a libation to the goddess ̘epat (Pl. 350, 351).

The goddess ̘epat, the patron goddess of Pudu̘epa, the Ishtar of the city of Lavazantiya, is very often mentioned in the written documents. This goddess, whom the Hittites represented with the sign of Ishtar, is very different from the Mesopotamian Ishtar. She is called by the Hurrians Šaušga. She was introduced into Anatolia by the Hurrians, and was assimilated to the local goddesses. The texts have brought to light the fact that the Ishtar of the city of Lavazantiya was not a goddess of love, but a goddess of war (Martial). This characteristic fits well with the serious nature of Pudu̘epa. The Ishtar of the city of Šamuha, the patron god of Hattushili III, the husband of Pudu̘epa, possesses a similar character of a man and the characteristics of a warrior⁴⁷.

Hattushili III, after overthrowing his nephew, Ur̘i-Tešup (Mursili III), proclaimed himself king and together with his wife, Pudu̘epa, paid homage to Arinna, the sun goddess. He directed that a prayer be written to this goddess to express his gratitude and that of his queen. This famous prayer⁴⁸ starts thus: "Oh, the sun goddess of the city of Arinna, the lady of the land, the queen of the heaven and the earth, the lady of the king and the queen of the Hatti lands, the light of the country of the Hatti. . ." This chief goddess was of Hattic (i.e. Pre Hittite) and Anatolian in origin and by birth. Together with her family, she was included into the pantheon of the Hittites⁴⁹. The inclusion of the gods of the Hattians into the Hittite pantheon as principal gods took place during the reign of Pudu̘epa as indicated in the written documents and the rock reliefs (the reliefs at Fraktin and especially the open air temple in Yazılı Kaya) of the thirteenth century B. C. Thus, ̘epat, the principal goddess of the

⁴⁷ Compare Danmanville, *Icon. d'Ištar-Šaušga*, s. 37 v.d.

⁴⁸ Goetze, *Kl2.*, p. 137; CTH 383.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136; Laroche, *Recherches...*, p. 38, 106.

Hurrians was assimilated to Arinna, the sun goddess. We learn about this fact from a prayer⁵⁰ written personally by Puduḫepa. "Oh, Sun Goddess of Arinna! The Queen of all the lands! You bear the name of the sun goddess of Arinna in the country of Hatti, but in the country which you created, in the country of cedar trees, your name is Ḫepat, and Puduḫepa has always been at your service". The goddess Ḫepat was the head and the patron of the Hittite armies and state politics, and at the same time she possessed the quality of a mother goddess. She does not have any counterpart in the Greco-Roman world, and we assume that she represented a combination of Hera and Athena. The pantheon of the Hittites is very rich. In the expression of the Hittites, it has been referred to by the words "the thousands of gods of the Hatti Land." In this crowded world of gods⁵¹, the goddesses who represent the female element occupy a special place. Starting with the primeval divine couple, it is necessary to appoint a god for each cult, such as the god of the streams, the god of the mountains, etc. Thus the official royal calendar was full of the ritual affairs. We have already mentioned that during the ritual ceremonies of the state, the queen, as chief priestess, fulfilled her function in the rites together with the king. The queen wearing her ceremonial robe, accompanied by the king, goes to the temple, if necessary to many temples. She participates in the sacrificial ceremonies in which music, songs and sometimes dances are involved. In the descriptions containing "the Descriptions of the Festivals," every phase of these rituals has been mentioned in detail. It seems that the queen very often led the ritual⁵².

Some state festivals of the Hittites seem to be rather long. For instance, the festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant used to last thirty eight days. During this period people used to pay homage to the gods.

⁵⁰ Goetze, *Op. Cit.*, p. 137 and No. 1.

⁵¹ This pantheon is very well represented by the reliefs of Yazılı Kaya where the gods appear in their ritual clothings. In this open-air temple it is possible to trace the iconography of most of the Hittite gods. Compare Bittel and others, *Yazılıkaya...*, p. 20-25.

⁵² Goetze, *Op. Cit.*, p. 94, No. 4; *KUB IX* 18; *X* 27, 49, 50, 63, 97; *XII* 5; We see the process of the great ritual in which the queen plays the role of the head priestess in the best and complete way in the festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM. plant. See: Güterbock *JNES*, XIX (1960), pp. 80-87.

Some of these rituals used to take place in the capital, Hattusha, and some in neighboring cities. The queen was always present during the excursions to these cities. Sometimes the king used to go to a city, and the queen, herself, used to stay at home in order to lead the ceremony called "the Great Gathering" (šalli ašeššar)⁵³. She used to lead the sacrificial ceremony also by herself. It seems that not only the priests but also the people took part in "the Great Gathering." Sometimes food was served to these people. It is mentioned that the ritual excursions were made in a kind of light, uncomfortable, and comparatively rapid carriage called a *hulukanni*⁵⁴. Another sort of a carriage GI.GIR sounds like a carriage similar to those carts driven slowly by the oxes today in Anatolia. *Giš hūllukani*, on the other hand, seems to be a different type of a carriage much faster than the other one driven by horses. In the text describing the Festival of the plant AN.TAḪ.ŠUM. (a plant of the union family)⁵⁵ it is stated that the queen makes her (M 17) excursions in a *GIŠ hūllukanni* (I, 23), and the king in a *GIŠ GI.GIR* (I 17)⁵⁶. Another point of interest in the same text is that the palace of the queen is mentioned as É.SAL. LUGAL. (the palace of the queen). It is apparent that at that time there was a building in Hattusha which was called the palace of the queen (II 6-7)⁵⁷. The ninth day of the Festival of the plant AN.TAḪ.ŠUM. was celebrated in the queen's palace and "the Great Gathering" was also held there. Both the patron gods of the queen and the king seem to have been warriors. According to her representations, the patron goddess of Hattushili III, Ishtar of the city of

⁵³ For šalli ašeššar see: Güterbock, *Op. Cit.*, p. 80, sqq, 91 and KUB X 18; XI 34 V-VI; II 5 I 7, VI 17.

⁵⁴ For GIŠhulukanni see: Friedrich, *HW*, p. 74.

⁵⁵ For the festival of AN.TAḪ.ŠUM. plant see: Güterbock, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 80-88. It is assumed that AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant was a sort of plant of the union family. There is a record of the bread made of AN.TAḪ.ŠUM. plant:

AN.TAḪ.ŠUM. plant calls to mind a sort of union plant "körümen" which one uses in making bread in Sivas during the spring. In a forthcoming article the author will deal with this topic in detail.

⁵⁶ The king of the Hittites, during his cult excursions, preferred to ride a horse in order to reach the *baitylos*' on the high places outside the city. For NA+ḫuvasi/NA₄ZIKIN *baitylos* see: Darga, *RHA* XXVII, p. 5 sqq. See also, *KUB* VII 25 V. o. I 6.8; XXX 41 Left side 2.

⁵⁷ Güterbock, *ibid.*, p. 81, kol. II 3-4, 6-7.

Šamuha, is a winged goddess carrying weapons⁵⁸. The goddess Hepat, the Ishtar of the city of Lavazantiya⁵⁹, seems to have been of the same type. The goddess Lelvani⁶⁰, to whom this queen made vows for her husband, who was often very ill, was a goddess of the underworld. A text of a dream informs us that the Ishtar of Lavazantiya was not only a warrior, but she also wore man's clothes⁶¹. The clothing in question seems to have been a robe which left one knee free to make movement easy and is worn by Šaušga in the relief at Yazılı Kaya (No. 30)⁶². Although E. Laroche considers the Ishtars of Lelvani and Šamuha identical, at present there are no documents to support this theory. The qualities which we have mentioned above represent a queen both as a sovereign and as a priestess who favors gods of war and chooses them as her patron gods, thus indicating a serious and a rather strict character. Do we know anything about her personal life as a woman? Unfortunately, since no documents concerning the private lives of the Hittite women exist, we do not yet know anything about the private life of this famous woman. Some written documents, however, enlighten us on a few points. These are some texts concerning the vows which⁶³ the great queen Puduḫepa, "the daughter of Kumanni," offered to the goddess Lelvani and they also contain the dreams of the queen⁶⁴.

Beloved and respected by her husband Hattushili, Puduḫepa was no doubt a loyal wife. According to his own statements, Hattushili's health was very delicate during his childhood⁶⁵. Only after he had been dedicated to the Ishtar of Šamuha, did he gain his strength and became a healthy youth. In spite of this, even when he was a mature man, he has very often been ill. The votive sacrifices and the prayers she offered to the gods for the "preservation of good health of the Sun," and for "a long life" express the love and loyalty of this

⁵⁸ Danmanville, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 37 ff; Laroche, *Recherches...*, p. 95.

⁵⁹ Laroche, *Op. Cit.*, p. 95.

⁶⁰ For Lelvani see: *Ibid.*, p. 75; Laroche, *Puduḫepa*, p. 62; Otten-Souček, *Pud.*, p. 17, 36 and No. 2.

⁶¹ See Goetze, *Hitt. Dress*, p. 51; *KUB XXXI* 69 5 ff. (= *CTH* 590).

⁶² Compare Bittel and others, *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.

⁶³ *CTH* 585.

⁶⁴ See "Dreams" - *CTH* 584 and *Bibl.*

⁶⁵ Goetze, *Hatt.*, p. 7, 9 and 59.

queen, who always lived under the threat of losing her beloved husband. The best known and most studied group of this type of documents are the vow inscriptions⁶⁶ offered to Lelvani, the goddess of the underworld. In these documents, Puduḥepa offers vows of various kinds so that the king would live a long and healthy life. They were offered to the gods to gain the wish which it was hoped would be granted by them. The formula of the vow inscriptions is the following: "Oh, Goddess Lelvani! I will donate you with . . . , in case you bestow a long life and health on my king." The words "*malda* - ak. *karābu*"⁶⁷ means vow, sacrifice, in the text. Various vows of the queen were arranged yearly. In her dreams the queen also offered sacrifices to the Hēpat of the city of Uda, i.e. goddess NIN.GAL. and ^DSIN, the goddess of the moon⁶⁸. The things offered as vows were of an abstract nature, being "years," "month," and "days" made of valuable metals (I 43). The most interesting of them was a "city made of silver" (KUB XV I III 17-21)⁶⁹. Another was "gold and silver dreams" (XV 29 I 7). Among the vows offered for the long life and the health of the king (his statues and busts), and sometimes flocks of animals, one should also mention NAM.RA, the deportees⁷⁰ as the cult personnel. According to a text of a dream of a queen, probably of Puduḥepa, she had been given advice by the goddess NIN.GAL., "I will present a *tallan* — *urila* of gold covered with lapis lazuli, in case the king recovers from the fever which his feet suffer from"⁷¹. Thus we find that he was suffering from a pain in his feet. Who was this king? He was very likely Hattushili III, the husband of Puduḥepa, who has very often been ill. It is very obvious that this sort of

⁶⁶ CTH 585 = Otten - Souček, *StBot* 1 (1966), pp. 4-15, an excellent presentation and examination of the whole inscription.

⁶⁷ *malda* -, Friedrich, *HW*, p. 134.

Otten-Souček, *Op. Cit.*, p. 41: h. *malda*, ak. *KARĀBU* "to be vowed".

⁶⁸ See Laroche, *Pud.*, p. 67; *KUB XV I III* 17-21.

⁶⁹ Laroche, *Loc. Cit.*; *KUB XV 29 I 7*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-75; Otten-Souček, *Op. Cit.*, p. 42-43, 46, 48.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66; *KUB XV 3 I 17* ff. It is not certain how it should be read. The sign at the beginning is either 1 = Glos or "u". Thus it should either be read *urila* or *talla*. For *talla* see: Friedrich, *HW*, p. 266: "DUG *tallai*-Gefäß für Feinöl d.h. Parfüm," for 1 *talla* see: Laroche, *DLL*, p. 89; *ta(l) la*- "recipient; incertain *KUB XV 3 I 20: tallan*",

valuable material could only be donated by the kings or the queens⁷². How were these vows fulfilled? As the passages of the inventories of the cult inform us, the gods and the goddesses used to hold "TI:life," "SIG: health," "ZI: soul, spirit" in their hands. These abstract concepts were no doubt, the metal figures, molten and cast into the moulds, derived from the Hittite hieroglyphic signs which had the same meaning⁷³. Here we should remember that some of the hieroglyphic signs represent the things related to the cult.

One of the most interesting aspects of the vow inscriptions of Queen Puduḫepa is the mentioning, one by one, by name the members of each family devoted to the cult of goddess Lelvani. There seems to be two different groups among the personnel⁷⁴: boys and girls at a very young age, and the women mentioned as *ut/dati*⁷⁵ together with their children. On this occasion we learn about Puduḫepa's intervention in family affairs, such as arranging marriages for young girls, or providing shelter for the brothers-in-law of the orphans (I 51-57). The words "was not given to him (to the man)" in these passages do not mean the adoption of the orphans but only indicate that they were going to be looked after up to a certain age (II 5)⁷⁶.

Together with their children SAL *udatiš*- take up a large space in this document. They were included among the personnel of the temple of goddess Lelvani. The activity of the female personnel was only to prepare the items made out of milk⁷⁷.

There was also another group of personnel that consisted of men called NAM.RA: deportees (III 52). These men, generally called LÚ GIŠ. TUKUL, used to help the temple economically by participating in various activities such as baking bread, milking the cows,

⁷² Laroche, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 67-68.

⁷³ Idem, *HH*, No. 196, 199 (foudre); 191 (soleil), 193 (lune, mois). The stylized three-armed thunderbolt is called Hattushili; similar to the symbol of Tesup (the storm god) or the other figures.

⁷⁴ Otten-Souček, *Pud.*, p. 41-42.

⁷⁵ Laroche, *Pud.*, p. 70; He translates it as "udati-veuve/widow". Otten-Souček, *Pud.*, p. 42, note 1, 49. This meaning is not accepted (p. 42, note 1), *ut/dati*- it is taken as it is.

⁷⁶ Laroche, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 69 (II 5).

⁷⁷ Otten-Souček, *Op. Cit.*, p. 29, 44, note 4, 46.

and planting fruit trees⁷⁸. The personnel used to be reviewed each year, and new appointments used to be made in place of those who had died. It is possible to trace all these procedures up to the fifth year.

All these activities concerning the wish for "the good health and the long life of the king" used to take place under the supervision of goddess Lelvani in the city of Kumanni (IV 21). The organization of the cult personnel of the temple, their number, work and renewal, together with the list of sacrifices to be performed each year have all been recorded. These documents and many versions of them are not only of religious character, but also bear an administrative character reflecting the plan of the socio-economical structure of the society which depends on the cult. They also indicate the economical importance of the temple in the thirteenth century B. C.⁷⁹

We are informed that Puduḫepa, the active and religious queen of the time, ordered many religious documents to be written, dispersed texts to be collected, and then to be organized. These are the documents related to the ceremonies of the festival of "ḫišuvaš" or "išuvaš". The queen had this ceremony and ritual rearranged and recorded on the tablets⁸⁰.

How were Puduḫepa, the subject of this article, and the other Hittite women dressed?

The existing written archaeological evidences indicate that the Hittite women, including their queens, could not compete with the sophisticated and charming women of Egypt and Crete and even Mesopotamia in the clothing fashions. The ceremonial robes of the goddesses seen in the reliefs at Yazılı Kaya⁸¹ form the best examples showing us how the Hittite women of the upper classes were dressed. Although there are some elegant figures as seen in No. 50 and No. 51, their general outlook is rather monotonous, wearing a serious uni-

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20; Compare Boghaz-koey-Hattusha, Temple I and the large complex in Süd-Areal "É.GIŠ.KIN.TI = Workshop", Bittel, *MDOG* 101 (1969), p. 11; Naumann, *Architectur*², p. 460.

⁸⁰ For EZEN *lišuvaš/išuvaš* see: *CTH* 628.

⁸¹ Bittel and Others, *Yazılıkaya...*, p. 23; For the reading of the names of the gods and the new names see: Laroche, *RHA* XXVII (1969), pp. 61-109.

form that concealed their bodies. Apart from this, the bride of the scene on the Bitik vase⁸², and queen Puduḫepa of the Fraktin relief^{82a} lack elegant robes. Judging from the aforementioned reliefs, one might say that Puduḫepa was not interested in clothing. The same statement can be repeated for the bride of the Bitik vase and that of the Inandık vase, which has not yet been published. These ladies wear long robes that come down to their feet. Over this inner robe they wear a tunic and a conical head gear. In the Fraktin relief, Queen Puduḫepa has been represented wearing this serious robe with pointed shoes⁸³ curving upwards (Pl. 351). Her only adornments are the ring-shaped earrings seen in the profile head. The unidentified queen of the orthostats of Alaca Höyük (Pl. 355) and "the goddess with a mirror" (Pl. 356), on the other hand, wear somewhat more elegant robes. Here the queen wears a long-sleeved robe that fits the upper part of the body with a tight waist, widening towards the bottom and decorated with folds. Her tunic with a conical cap contain tassels. These two examples of long robes are the principal clothing of the Hittite women. We are informed from the above-mentioned representations and written documents that the Hittite women as well as the men wore shoes curving upwards in the front. The ring-shaped earring of the queen of Alaca is also obviously seen.

Written documents tell about the gold and silver pieces of ornaments and the jewelry that the queen wore⁸⁴.

The robes, richly adorned, were worn during religious ceremonies⁸⁵ and in the palace. This reminds us of the fact that the queen used to offer the most beautiful and richest objects to the gods. We are also informed from the inscriptions related to the "Descriptions of the Festivals" that the priest and the priestesses used to wear wreaths of leaves during the rituals.

"The Institution of the Queen" and her equality to the king with all her rights and authorities is a reflection of the mixed character

⁸² Özgüç, (T), *Anatolia*, II, p. 57-78.

^{82a} Bossert, *ALt.*, No. 550-552 : Akurgal, KH, pl. 101.

⁸³ The shoes, part of the ritual clothing "*aniyatta*", are referred to both for men and women separately with KUŠ ideogram: LU-ašKUŠ E.SIR "Man's shoe". *KUB XIV 3 III 4*; KUŠ E.SIR SALTI "Woman's shoe" *KUB XVIII 18 II 23*.

⁸⁴ Compare the dream, the jewels of the queens. *KUB XV passim*.

⁸⁵ Goetze, *Hitt. Dress*, p. 61; *KUB IX 15 III 1 ff. KBO II*.

of the Hittite culture in another field. The Hittites, who settled in Anatolia and became the lords of this land, including the autochthon gods of Anatolia into their pantheon, and exploiting the local forms of expression in their art, adopted the ages old -matriarchal- traditions of Anatolia. The documents written in ancient Assyrian language from Kültepe-Kanesh inform us that about 2000 B. C. there were some princesses, *-rubatum-* at the head of some Anatolian city-states. These princesses, in addition to their administrative duties, were also active "business women" in their community during a period when there was a great deal of trade activity⁸⁶. Later, the oldest written documents of the Hittites indicate that they also had women ruling at the head of their cities. One of them is the queen of the city of Sugazziya mentioned in the edict of Telepinu⁸⁷, and the other, the queen of the city of Kanish, who did not have any historical significance and from whom we only have a document of a rather legendary character⁸⁸. Next to the patriarchal element which exists in the institution of the king, in the Hittites we also find the superiority of the women as a reflection of the Anatolian concept of the matriarchal element. Thus, the independent status of the queen equal to that of the king, and her position together with her authority to rule the land are shown. We do not hesitate to accept the institution of the queen as a continuation of the local Assyrian colonial *rubatums* of the 2000 B.C.

The titles *T/Labarna (s)* and *Tavanna (s)* express best the equality of the king and the queen, respectively. The "sovereign queen" continued to fulfill her functions with all the authority after the death of her husband during the reign of the new king. The Hittite queens, as well as the kings, used to be deified after their death and they were offered sacrifices⁸⁹. This religious belief is another indication of the equality of the queen and the king in the Hittites.

As we have seen, the duties of Puduḥepa, the most perfect and able representative of the Hittite queens were not only confined to

⁸⁶ See Garelli, *Assy.*, pp. 206, 213-216; Balkan, *Letter*, pp. 55-56, 66.

⁸⁷ Laroche, *CTH* 19 and *Bibl.*

⁸⁸ An unpublished text preserved in Ankara: Bo 70/10.

⁸⁹ See Otten, *Tot.*, p. 18-19; Otten, *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften und der Literatur* 1968/3, Pl. II, III, IV.

the royal-religious ceremonies, she also participated in the politics and in the administrative activities of the state. We do not know any other queen preceding or following her fulfilling the same functions. If we insist in finding a parallel to her, we have to turn to the institution of the queen among the Uighurs and to the Central Asiatic Turkish states of the pre-Islamic period⁹⁰.

Thus, Puduḫepa, who reflects the type of the superior woman of the Hittites with all her characteristics, occupies a special place of honour in the chapter of the "Institution of the Queen" of ancient Near Eastern history. Within the limitations of our present knowledge, the position of the woman in the Anatolian community in the second millenium B. C., her active participation in the socio-economical life during the Assyrian colonial period, her independence, her social rights and her qualities of being a "queen" during the Hittite domination form a unique chapter in the chronicles of the ancient Near East.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Akurgal, KH E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, München 1961.
 Balkan, Letter K. Balkan, *Letter of Anum-Hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish*, TTKY, 7 no 31 a, Ankara 1957.
 Beran, HG Th. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik*, WVD OG 76, Berlin 1967.
 Boğ. III K. Bittel, R. Naumann, *Boğazköy III. Funde aus den Grabungen 1952-1955*, Berlin 1957.
 Bossert, Alt., H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Berlin 1942.
 Danmanville, Icon. J. Danmanville, *Aperçus sur l'art hittite a propos de l'iconographie d'Istar-Sausga*, RHA XX/70, 1962 sqq. 37.
 Edel, *Die Rolle der Kön.* E. Edel, *Die Rolle der Königinnen in der agyptisch-hethitischen Korrespondenz von Boğazköy*, IF LX/1, 1949, p. 72-85.
 Friedrich, HW., J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1952.
 Friedrich, HW 1. Erg. J. Friedrich, 1. *Ergänzungsheft zu HW*, Heidelberg 1957.
 Gardiner, *Geschichte* Sir Alan Gardiner, *Geschichte des alten Aegypten*, Stuttgart 1965.

⁹⁰ Let us mention two examples which can give an idea about the institution of the queen among the Turks. According to the historian Priscus, in the year 448 A. D. Arighkan, the wife of the Hun Emperor Atilla, received the Byzantine ambassador in her own palace and following the state protocol, she invited him to a feast. Compare with Moravcisk, *Byzantinoturcica*, II (1943), p. 154. In A. D. 527 a queen named Boarig was the head of the Sabar Turks. This powerful woman has fought against the Byzantines commanding her own army. Compare *Ibid.*, p. 113.

- Garelli, Assy. P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris 1963.
- Goetze, Hatt., A. Goetze, *Hattusiliš, der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexten*, Nachdruck Darmstadt 1967.
- Goetze, Hitt. Dress. A. Goetze, *Hittite Dress, Corolla linguistica*; Festschrift F. Sommer, Wiesbaden 1955.
- Goetze, Kl2. A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*, 2. Auflage, München 1957-Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III, Abt. 11. Teil, 3Bd.
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
- KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Leipzig/Berlin 1916-1971.
- KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Berlin 1926-1971.
- Laroche, CTH. E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, Paris 1971.
- Laroche, DLL. E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite*, Paris 1959.
- Laroche, HH. E. Laroche, *Les Hieroglyphes Hittites*, Paris 1960.
- Laroche, NH. E. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966.
- Laroche, Nišantaš. E. Laroche, *Nišantaš, Anatolica III*, 1969-70, p. 93-98.
- Laroche, Pud. E. Laroche, *Le voeu de Puduhepa, RA XLIII*, 1949, p. 55-78.
- Laroche, Recherches. E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites*, Paris 1947.
- Meriggi, Glossar². P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch, Hethitisches Glossar*, Wiesbaden 1962.
- MSS. Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 1952-1971.
- Naumann, Architektur². R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende der hethitischen Zeit* Tübingen 1971.
- Otten-Souček, Pud. H. Otten-Vl. Souček, *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduhepa an die Göttin Lelwani, StBoT 1*, 1965.
- Otten, Tot. H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale*, Berlin 1958.
- RA Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale, Paris 1886-1971.
- RHA Revue Hittite et Asiatique, Paris 1930-1971.
- SBo I H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy, I. Teil, Die Königs-siegel der Grabbungen bis 1938*, Osnabrück 1967 (Neudruck der Ausgabe 1940).
- StBoT Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Wiesbaden 1965-1971.
- Tarsus II H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlu Kule, Tarsus*, Princeton 1950.
- Ugaritica III Cl. Schaeffer, E. Laroche, *Ugaritica III*, Paris 1956 - Mission de Ras Shamra, T. VIII.
- Werner, HG R. Werner, *Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle, StBoT 4*, 1967.
- ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete - Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Berlin 1887-1971.

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a



b



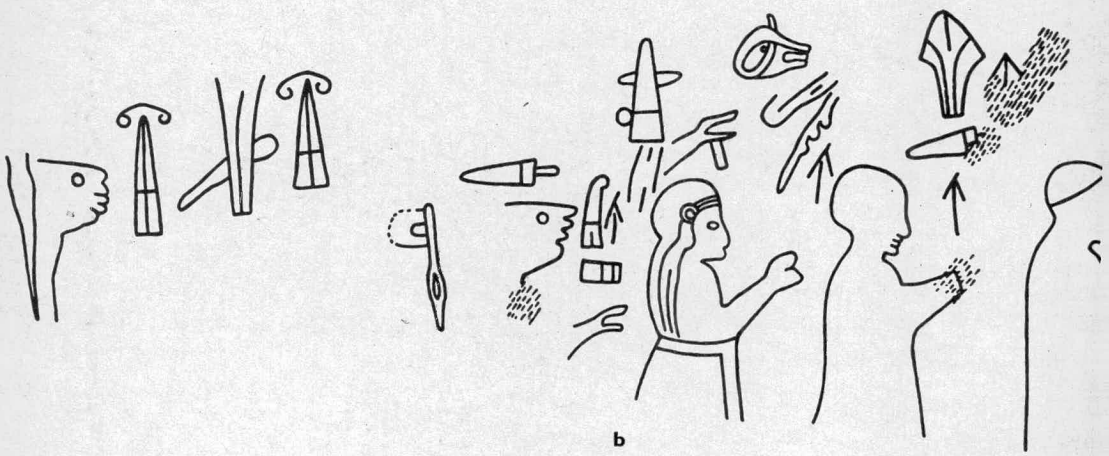








a



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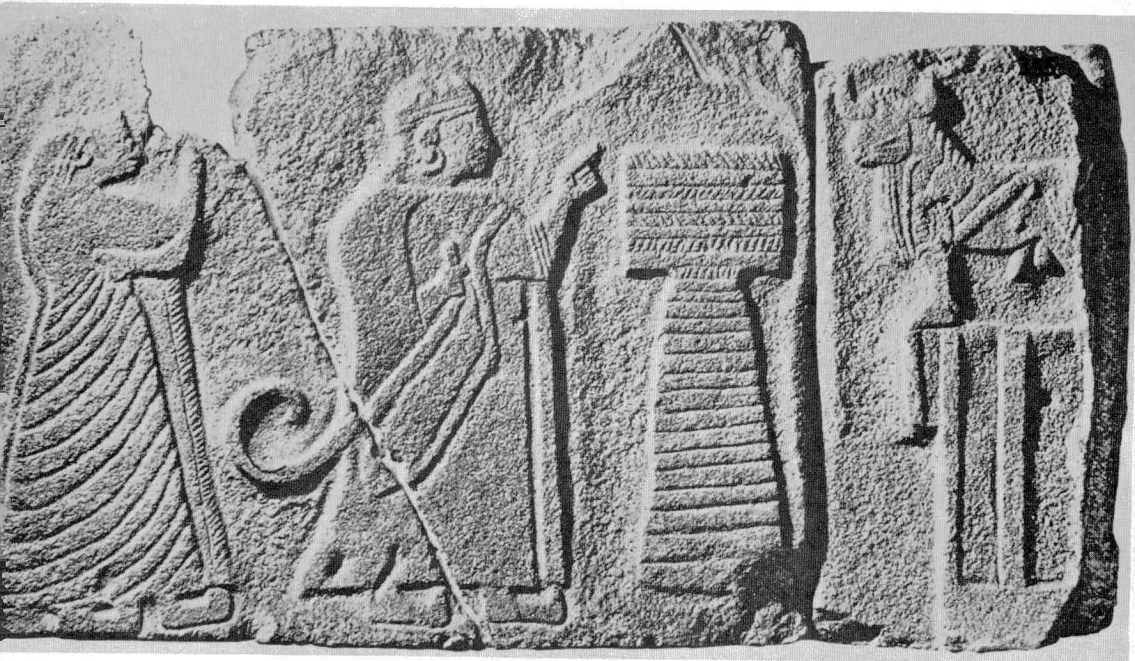
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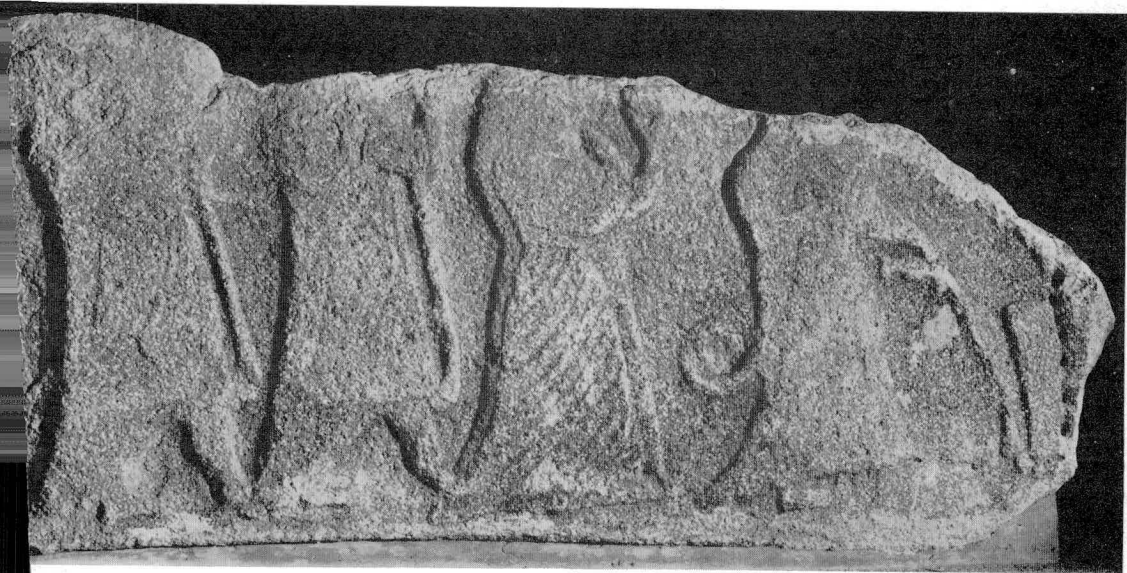
a



b



a



b

