

**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḥepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti**

**by**

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**Abstract:**

Puduḫepa, the wife of Hittite King Ḫattušili III, was a dynamic and influential monarch in her own right. She held an equal position with Ḫattušili III, most likely serving as his co-regent. Her involvement in international relations between Egypt and Ḫatti was significant. Her sealing, along with that of her husband, appeared on the Hittite version of the peace treaty concluded between Ramesses II of Egypt and Ḫattušili III following the Battle of Kadesh. The peace treaty should have required an exceptional seal to sign it, which highlights the significance of studying this seal. Although the actual seal and its sealing have not survived, the ancient Egyptian translation of the Hittite version of the treaty provides detailed descriptions of it. This sealing is unique within the Hittite repertoire of glyptic art. It is of the "Umarmung" type and to date, no other Hittite queen has been known to possess a sealing of this type.

**Key words:** Aedicula, Ḫattušili, Puduḫepa, Tabarna, Umarmung.

ملخص:

تعد الملكة بودوخيبا، زوجة الملك خاتوشيلي الثالث، أحد أهم شخصيات عصرها؛ حيث حظيت بمكانة عظيمة في المملكة الحيثية، وربما كانت شريكة لزوجها في الحكم. وكنتيجة للدور البارز الذي لعبته بودوخيبا في ساحة السياسة الدولية؛ فقد ظهر ختمها جنباً إلى جنب مع ختم الملك خاتوشيلي على النسخة الحيثية من معاهدة السلام، المبرمة بين مصر وخاتى بعد معركة قادش. ورغم أن الختم الأصلي وطبعته لم يكتشفا بعد؛ إلا أن الترجمة الهيروغليفية لنص النسخة الحيثية من معاهدة السلام، تقدم وصفا لهذا الختم مكن من تصنيفه بدقة تحت فئة "أختام الاحتضان". وحتى الآن يعد هذا الختم فريداً من نوعه؛ حيث لم تمتلك أى ملكة حيثية -عدا بودوخيبا- مثيلاً له.

## Introduction

The respect and supremacy accorded to Puduḫepa as queen, both in Ḫatti and by the international community, was unparalleled in the Late Bronze Age Near East.<sup>(1)</sup> She was the most intriguing and powerful of all the Hittite queens.<sup>(2)</sup> Puduḫepa, the Hurrian noblewoman and priestess of Iṣtar<sup>(3)</sup>, was the daughter of Pentipšarri, the powerful priest of Iṣtar/Šawuška in Kizzuwatna,<sup>(4)</sup> located in southeastern Anatolia. On his homeward journey to Ḫatti after the Battle of Kadesh (ca. 1275 B.C.), the prince Ḫattušili stopped in Lawazantiya, an important religious city in Kizzuwatna, to pay homage to Goddess Iṣtar and, based on her desire, he wed Puduḫepa<sup>(5)</sup>.

After Ḫattušili's accession to the throne, (1267- 1237 B.C.),<sup>(6)</sup> Puduḫepa became the great queen of the land of Ḫatti. Due to Ḫattušili's prolonged illness, she was required to temporarily fulfill the role of king.<sup>(7)</sup> She demonstrated great ability, and her skills led many scholars to believe in a co-rulership between them for the remainder of their reigns.<sup>(8)</sup> She played an impressive role in Hittite foreign policy, as evidenced by her royal correspondence.<sup>(9)</sup> The negotiations for the peace treaty between Egypt and Ḫatti were largely entrusted to her, likely due to her husband's long illness<sup>(10)</sup>.

She corresponded directly with Ramesses II, and they addressed each other as sister and brother<sup>(11)</sup>. Four of the letters addressed to Puduḫepa by Ramesses II were word-for-word identical to those sent to Ḫattušili III.<sup>(12)</sup> She was responsible for arranging the royal marriage between Ramesses II and the daughter of Ḫattušili III, about thirteen years after the signing of the treaty.

As was common in ancient civilizations, peace treaties were sealed with royal marriages.<sup>(13)</sup> Owing to her involvement in administration and international affairs, her name appeared on many seals, joint and lone, which stamped a lot of official documents during Ḫattušili's reign and his successor, Tudḫaliya VI. Undoubtedly, the most important document was the peace treaty between Egypt and Ḫatti concluded after the Kadesh battle. She signed it by her own seal as well as Ḫattušili III did<sup>(14)</sup>.

This paper aims to study the sealing of Puduḫepa on the peace treaty concluded between the Egyptian king Ramesses II and the Hittite king Ḫattušili III. This sealing, along with that of Ḫattušili III, is known only from the ancient Egyptian translation of the Hittite version of the peace treaty, which was originally written in Akkadian on a silver tablet, then later translated into ancient Egyptian language and inscribed in the Karnak and Ramesseum temples. No seal or seal impression of it appeared on any tablet or elsewhere to date; therefore, it is referred to in this paper as “the missing sealing”. To provide a comprehensive understanding of the missing sealing, this study is divided into three parts:

- The first part introduces an overview of the types and designs of Hittite royal seals, aiming to classify the type of the missing sealing.
- The second part presents the surviving sealings of Puduḫepa, aiming to examine their designs, inscriptions, and specific content. This section serves as a reference for comparing any information related to the missing seal with these sealings.

- The third part focuses on the Puduḫepa's missing sealing on the peace treaty. It is going to reexamine the information regarding to it, aiming to identify the artistic pictorial type of that seal and to determine whether its type and inscription are consistent with the style of the surviving seal impressions of Puduḫepa.

### **Part One: Types of Hittite Royal Seals**

The circular stamp seal was the traditional royal seal used by kings and queens in Anatolia.<sup>(15)</sup> With one exception, Mursili II's seal from Ugarit (diameter is 5 cm., height is 1.3 cm.),<sup>(16)</sup> all examples of Hittite royal seals exist as seal impressions on tablets and bullae.<sup>(17)</sup> The greatest number of Hittite royal seal impressions have been discovered in the Hittite homeland at Hattuša, İnandık, Maşat Höyük, and Tarsus. Those found outside Anatolia were located in northern Syria, at Ugarit in the west and Tell Fray on the Euphrates.<sup>(18)</sup>

Although queens' seals are an essential part of Hittite royal seals, Millard restricted the term "royal seals" to those bearing the names of kings only, classifying them into three main types.<sup>(19)</sup> However, following Güterbock and Beran, Lumsden classifies Hittite royal seals, including those of queens, into five categories: Tabarna seals, seals with purely cuneiform legends, Aedacula seals, the so-called Umarmung seals, and miscellaneous seals.<sup>(20)</sup> All types feature one to three concentric circles surrounding a central area, usually in a circular shape. Generally, cuneiform inscriptions are set in the concentric rings at the edge, containing the names, titles, and epithets of the ruler alone or with his queen.<sup>(21)</sup> The central field is typically inscribed in Luwian

hieroglyphs, <sup>(22)</sup> with exceptions for the “purely cuneiform seals”<sup>(23)</sup> and the cuneiform signs for “life” (TI) and “good/prosperity” (SIG<sub>5</sub>), which appear in a few cases alongside the Luwian hieroglyphs (cf. Aedicula type).

**1. Tabarna:** The term “Tabarna” was an important title for the Hittite king, akin to the title of Caesar in the Roman Empire.<sup>(24)</sup> The Tabarna seal is the earliest design known to belong to Hittite rulers, found on royal land grants dating back to the fifteenth century B.C. The design of the Tabarna seal consists of two concentric cuneiform bands encircling a central zone. The outer band contains the Tabarna formula: “*Seal of Tabarna, the great king,*” while the inner band features a curse formula that reads: “*Whoever changes it, i.e., the king’s order, will die.*” The central area usually displays either a rosette (**fig.1**) or three regularly associated motifs in Luwian hieroglyphs:  <sup>(25)</sup> (L.369 = VITA),<sup>(26)</sup> generally interpreted as “life”;  (L.370)<sup>(27)</sup>, a triangle representing “good/happiness or health”; and a small-scale rosette (L.189).<sup>(28)</sup>

This type was common in the old and middle Hittite kingdoms.<sup>(29)</sup> While the earliest Tabarna seals, from the early old Hittite kingdom up to Telipinu (about 1500 B.C.), are anonymous, the later seals feature specific royal names<sup>(30)</sup> such as Telipinu, Alluwamna, Ḫuzziya II, Taḫurwaili<sup>(31)</sup>. It is noteworthy that Tabarna seal impressions have not been found on any documents except for land deed.<sup>(32)</sup>

**2. Aedicula Seals:** Aedicula is a Latin word meaning (lit. “small building”), referring to the architectural frame of an opening

(door, window, or niche) consisting of two columns or pilasters supporting a pediment; more specifically, it denotes a shrine framed by two columns.<sup>(33)</sup>

The Aedicula seal (**figs. 2a, b**) was in use from the beginning of the Hittite Empire until its end around 1200 B.C.<sup>(34)</sup> They are named for the way the name of the king appears in the central field, flanked on both sides by the Luwian hieroglyphic sign () , a volute over a cone, the sign for “Great King = MAGNUS REX” (L. 18)<sup>(35)</sup>. This is surmounted by the winged disc () (L. 190), a sign that denotes the royal title (<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI), meaning “my majesty,” literally “My Sun”.<sup>(36)</sup> These signs form a “house = Aedicula”, in which the name and title of the king are displayed.<sup>(37)</sup> Sometimes, the cuneiform signs for “life” (TI) and “good/prosperity” (SIG<sub>5</sub>) are written below the king’s name as good wishes for life and prosperity. “TI” and “SIG<sub>5</sub>” are equivalents of the LH sign () , meaning life? and () , i.e., the triangle of prosperity.<sup>(38)</sup>

The outer band/s of Aedicula seal is inscribed in cuneiform with the name, titles and, often, a short genealogy of the royal owner/s.<sup>(39)</sup> Some scholars believe that Šuppiluliuma I was the creator of the Aedicule seals;<sup>(40)</sup> however, Lumsden argues that the development toward the Aedicula type began early in the Middle Hittite Period with the joint seal of King Arnuwanda I and his wife, Queen Ašmunikal.<sup>(41)</sup>

Aedicule seals belonged to the king alone or with his consort.<sup>(42)</sup> When the queen's name is added, one of the two “great king”

signs is replaced by the sign (  ) for “great queen= MAGNA REGINA”,<sup>(43)</sup> rendered as a woman's head with a volute above.<sup>(44)</sup>

**3. Seals with Purely Cuneiform Legends:** These seals are characterized by the retention of the cuneiform band/s (**figs. 3a, b**). In addition, the central field is entirely dedicated to cuneiform inscriptions.<sup>(45)</sup>

#### **4. Umarmung Seals:**

Umarmung, meaning “embracing” is the only seal design in which the Hittite king himself is portrayed (**fig. 4**). This type represents, in the central field, the protective deity of the king standing with one of his arms wrapping protectively around the king's neck, who is rendered smaller than the god.<sup>(46)</sup> Both names of the God and the king are inscribed in Luwian hieroglyphs next to their figures, while the outer ring/s is inscribed in cuneiform, as usual.<sup>(47)</sup>

Surviving sealings of the Umarmung type are known for only two Hittite monarchs: Muwatalli II and Tudḫaliya IV.<sup>(48)</sup> However, Dinçol<sup>(49)</sup> argues that Muršili III/ Urḫi- Tešup should have seals of the same type. In addition, Ḫattušili III is believed to have possessed such a seal, as indicated by a sealing described in the ancient Egyptian translation of the Hittite version of the peace treaty concluded between Ramesses II and Ḫattušili III.<sup>(50)</sup>

**5. Miscellaneous:** This last category, “Miscellaneous,” includes all other seals that do not fall into the four previous types.

## **Part Two: Sealings of Puduḫepa**

The seals of Puduḫepa are evident in their impressions on deferent tablets and bullae<sup>(51)</sup> both as joint seals with Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV, as well as in lone seals.

### **A. Joint sealings of Puduḫepa**

#### **1. Joint sealings with Ḫattušili III**

By the time of Ḫattušili III, the Aedicula seal type was common. His Joint Aedicula sealings with Puduḫepa were found at Boğazköy, Ras Shamra<sup>(52)</sup> and at Tell Fray on the Euphrates.<sup>(53)</sup> In other words, they were found within the Hittite homeland and in its vassalage provinces.

##### **1.1. Joint sealings of Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili III from Ugarit**

Ugarit /Ras Shamra was a vassal Hittite kingdom during the New Hittite period. The Ugarit archive contains some joint sealings of the royal couple, which were used to seal important documents. It provides evidence that among the Hittite kings of the Empire period Ḫattušili III most frequently shared the royal seal with his wife Puduḫepa. Remarkably, no lone seals of Ḫattušili III have been found in Ugarit to date.<sup>(54)</sup> Three joint sealings of Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili III were found at Ugarit,<sup>(55)</sup> one of them has two copies, as the following:

##### **1.1.1. Three seal impressions: (RS 17.130), (RS 18.03) and (RS 17.229)**

All three seal impressions found at Ugarit exhibit the same design. The sealing of (RS 17.130) is identical to (RS 18.03)

(**fig.5**), which is simply a larger duplicate of the former.<sup>(56)</sup> They sealed a document recorded an agreement between Ḫattušili III and king Niqmeda of Ugarit concerning the merchants of Ura.<sup>(57)</sup>

The sealing and its duplicate represent the Aedicule of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa in the central field. The name of Ḫattušili (𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎺) is written on the right-hand side by the sign combinations LH 197 = (ḫa) and LH 278 =(li), preceded by the title (𐎠𐎺) that reads “great king” (LH 18= MAGNUS REX). The Queen’s name (𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎧) is written phonetically, Pu-tu-ḫé-pa, on the left -hand side. Beside her name appears the sign (𐎢𐎺) which means “great queen” (LH 16, MAGNA+REGINA).<sup>(58)</sup> The volute signifies “great”, while the head of the woman indicates the queen.<sup>(59)</sup> The outer ring is occupied by cuneiform inscription that reads: “*Seal of Tabarna Ḫattušili, Great King, Hero*”.<sup>(60)</sup>

The sealing (RS 17.229) (**fig. 6**), similarly represents the joint Aedicula of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa.

### 1.1.2. Seal impression (RS 17.238)

The sealing of (RS 17.238) (**fig.7**), sealed a document that concerning the extradition of Ugaritic refugees.<sup>(61)</sup> It features the Aedicule of Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili III, with their royal titles. However, in contrast to the usual arrangement, the name of Puduḫepa appears on the right-hand side, while that of Ḫattušili is on the left.

Kabatiarova<sup>(62)</sup> wonders whether it was a deliberate choice or simply a mistake or misunderstanding on the part of the seal-cutter in Syria, who may have created the seal based on a mere

impression of the royal seal rather than using the original for duplication. If this were the case, it would inevitably result in a reversed impression.

However, I suggest that this arrangement is intentional. The production of royal seals would have produced in Ḫattuša, the Hittite capital, rather than in any vassal state. This process would have been governed by strict rules and rigorous oversight. Consequently, shifting Puduḫepa to the right-hand side likely indicates that the queen has gained complete control over the affairs of the kingdom, while the king is near death and oblivious to his surroundings.

## **1.2. Seal impression of Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili III from Tell Fray**

A joint seal of the Aedicule type (**fig.8**), found on the bulla discovered at Tell Fray, displays the name of King Ḫattušili III with the sign of “great king” on the right-hand side, and the name of Puduḫepa with the sign of “great queen” on the left, both situated beneath the winged disc.<sup>(63)</sup>

## **1.3. Sealings of Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili III from Ḫattuša**

**1.3.1. Seal impression found on a bulla from Büyukkale (fig.9).** The central field bears the joint Aedicula of Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili III. The name and title of the queen are on the right-hand side, while the name and title of king Ḫattušili III are on the left. The outer ring is occupied by a cuneiform inscription that reads: [... ] *of the City of Samuha, Hero, Favorite* [...].<sup>(64)</sup>

**1.3.2. Seal impression from Niṣantepe<sup>(65)</sup> corpus, Boğazköy Inv. No. 90/232.** The Niṣantepe archive in Ḫattuša provides joint impressions on bullae bearing the names of king Ḫattušili III and his queen Puduḫepa<sup>(66)</sup>, one of these is (Boğazköy Inv. No. 90/232) (**fig.10**). The sealing is of the Aedicula type and resembles the previous sealing,<sup>(67)</sup> as the name and title of the great queen Puduḫepa are on the right- hand side while that of Ḫattušili is on the left.

Interestingly, the number of bullae bearing joint sealings of Hattuailli III and Puduḫepa exceeds those bearing the sealing of Hattuailli III alone.<sup>(68)</sup>

## **2. A joint sealing of Puduḫepa and Tudḫaliya IV? (RS 17.159) from Ugarit**

Tudḫaliya IV is the son and successor of Ḫattušili III, but it remains uncertain whether Puduḫepa was his mother or stepmother.<sup>(69)</sup> Puduḫepa may have acted as his regent for a time. However, she certainly continued to serve as the ruling queen, in accordance with Hittite customs. So far, Puduḫepa's name appears on only one sealing belonging to Tudḫaliya IV (RS 17.159) from Ugarit (**fig. 11**). The other sealings of Tudḫaliya found in Ḫattuša are too fragmentary to clearly identify her name.<sup>(70)</sup>

The sealing of (RS 17.159) is the only example of Tudḫaliya's sealings in which a portion of the cuneiform legend remains.<sup>(71)</sup> It is one of the most remarkable sealings in the Hittite art due to its size (5.5 cm) resulting in a 1.7-cm-deep impression. The clay tablet sealed by it is preserved in Damascus Museum.<sup>(72)</sup> It

recorded the divorce verdict of Ammistamru II, king of Ugarit and the daughter of Bentešina, king of Amurru.<sup>(73)</sup>

The sealing is of the Umarmung type, featuring the protective god embracing the king on the right-hand side and the sun goddess standing on the left-hand side.<sup>(74)</sup> Three name groups of Tudḥaliya appear in the middle of the central field, flanked by the signs for "Great King" and Labarna () (LH 277). Additionally, two life-signs frame the lower name. Above them is a large winged disk with two solar disks. On the right-hand side stands the Storm god facing left. He is identified by LH signs [a combination of: () LH360= God + () LH 199= Strong thunder] behind him, read: "*the mighty weather god*", literally "*God Strong thunder*". He wraps his left arm around Tudḥaliya's neck. On the left-hand side stands the sun goddess of Arinna, dressed in a long gown and polos. She holds her right hand before her mouth while extending her left arm. The LH signs above her left arm read: <sup>d</sup>SOL [a combination of: LH360 = d, i.e., "Goddess" + () LH 191 =SOL, i.e., "Sun"]. The sign SOL is repeated once more below the Goddess's outstretched hand.<sup>(75)</sup>

The cuneiform legend on the outer ring reads: "*Seal of Tudḥaliya, Great King, King of Ḫatti, the Hero, Son of Ḫattušili, Great King, the Hero; and Puduḥepa, Great Queen of Ḫatti; Grandson of Muršili, Great King, the Hero*".<sup>(76)</sup> This is a unique legend, as none of Tudḥaliya's known sealings mention the name of his mother. Furthermore, a study of this sealing<sup>(77)</sup> suggests that the small figure whom the God embracing is not Tudḥaliya VI, but his grandfather Muršili II, who was deified after his death.

So far, this sealing is the only one of Tudḫaliya's surviving sealings that documents his mother's name. This peculiar feature does not appear on any of the seals of Hittite kings. Tudḫaliya IV mentioned Puduḫepa only twice: once on (RS 17.159) and the second time in a decree which states: "[Thus] (*speaks*) *Tabarna Tudḫaliya, Great King, king of the land of Ḫatti .... son of Ḫattušili, the Great King of Ḫatti and Puduḫepa, Great Queen of Ḫatti*".<sup>(78)</sup>

The question is whether (RS 17.159) should be considered a joint sealing of Puduḫepa and Tudḫaliya or a lone seal for Tudḫaliya. Although, the name of Puduḫepa appears only in Tudḫaliya's genealogy, some clues suggest it may be a joint sealing. Notably, no other Hittite king mentioned his mother's name on his seal to date. This fact highlights Puduḫepa's outstanding position in the Hittite realm, even after the death of Ḫattušili III, a recognition that Tudḫaliya likely acknowledged and could not dismiss. While he did not explicitly declare her as a co-owner of this seal, he could not completely overlook her status by completely neglecting to mention her name. Nevertheless, it reflects a kind of reduction in her status, especially compared to Ḫattušili III's reign. All seals of Ḫattušili III found in Ugarit bear the names of both Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili. One could argue that Puduḫepa held significant authority in Ugarit during her husband's reign; however, Tudḫaliya IV appeared to diminish that power. Consequently, he limited her role to motherhood, moving away from the concept of co-regency. Supporting this conclusion is the fact that she was likely his stepmother, and he later tried her and may have expelled from the palace for a time<sup>(79)</sup>.

It worth mentioning that although the name of Puduḫepa was contained in the central field of the joint sealings with Ḫattušili III, it did not appear on the cuneiform legend on the outer ring.

### **B. Lone sealings of Puduḫepa**

Although, the Hittite great queens are documented as seal owners as early as the Hittite great kings,<sup>(80)</sup> the impressions of lone queens' seals are much rarer than those of kings. Four Hittite queens had lone seals. In addition to Puduḫepa, they include Ašmunikal, Malnigalla, the Babylonian wife of Šupiluliuma I, and an anonymous queen.<sup>(81)</sup> After the reign of Šupiluliuma I, the examples of queens' lone seals are confined to three, all belonging to Puduḫepa. These seals were found in Ḫattuša (Lower City), Ugarit and Tarsus. All of them are of the Aedicula type, and formally agree with those of Ḫattušili III.<sup>(82)</sup> They represent a cuneiform band encircling the Aedicula, in which the name of Puduḫepa, written in Luwian Hieroglyphs, is flanked by the dual "Great Queen" symbols (in place of "Great King"), above them hovers the winged disk.<sup>(83)</sup> Mouton<sup>(84)</sup> reads the Aedicula of Puduḫepa as "*My Sun, Great Queen*". Due to "my sun" is a male title of the king, it demonstrates the power of this queen.

#### **1. Seal impression of Puduḫepa from Ugarit (RS 17.133)**

This seal (RS 17.133) (Fig. 12) consists of an outer ring containing the cuneiform legend and a circular central field occupied by Puduḫepa's personal name, which appears under the winged sun disc and is flanked on both sides by the symbol of 'Great Queen', written in Luwian hieroglyphs.<sup>(85)</sup> The Aedicula

reads: <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>š</sup>i MAGNA REGINA Pu-du-ḫi-pa, MAGNA REGINA,<sup>(86)</sup> meaning, “My sun, the great queen Puduḫepa, the great queen”. The remains of the cuneiform inscription on the outer ring read: [NA<sub>4</sub> KIŠIB<sup>f</sup> Pu-du-ḫe-pa SAL.LUGAL. GAL....”, meaning, “the seal of Puduḫepa, the great queen”.<sup>(87)</sup>

The sealing (RS 17.133) dates back to the reign of Tudḫaliya IV. It impresses a juridical document concerning the international law of navigation. The document is a letter sent to Ammistamru II, king of Ugarit, regarding an Ugaritic sailor or merchant accused a Hittite sailor named Šukku of deliberately destroying his ship. Although Šukku denied the accusation and defended himself by stating it was an accident, he was ordered to compensate the Ugaritic sailor for the boat and its goods. The compensation decision was sealed by Puduḫepa on behalf of Tudḫaliya VI, the Hittite King.<sup>(88)</sup>

## 2. Seal impression of Puduḫepa from Tarsus

This impression (**Fig. 13**) was found on a bulla (36.1171)) at Gözlu Kule in Tarsus in 1936. The bulla is now in the Adana Museum.<sup>(89)</sup> Except more damaged, it is very similar to the above-mentioned sealing (**fig. 12, RS 17.133**). It is of the Aedicula type. The Luwian hieroglyphs in the central field under the sun disk reads: “*great queen Pu-tu-ḫp-pa*”. Gelb restored the remaining portion of the cuneiform inscription on the ring as: “... [Pu-du]-ḫe- bat DUMU. S[Al]....” meaning, “...Puduḫepa the daughter..”.<sup>(90)</sup> However, Güterbock argues that the seal consists of two rings surrounding a central field. He concludes that the signs “**ḫe-bat**” represent the name of the goddess **Ḫepat-** not a part of Puduḫepa’s name- and mark the end of the inner ring.

Consequently, the lost outer ring should begin with **DUMU.SAL**, followed by the title of the queen.<sup>(91)</sup> Although “DUMU SAL” means daughter<sup>(92)</sup>, Lumsden<sup>(93)</sup> interpreted it as “... *Puduḥepa. Princess[s....]*”.

### **3. Seal impression of Puduḥepa from the Nişantepe corpus, Boğazköy Inv. No. 90/977**

Nişantepe archive provided with some seal impressions of Puduḥepa of the Aedicula type.<sup>(94)</sup> For example, the seal impression (Boğazköy Inv. No. 90/977) (**Fig.14**) represents the queen’s name (Pu-tu-ḥa-pa) in the central field, flanked on both sides by the sign (  ) (LH 16 = Great queen), while the winged disc hovers above. The outer ring is inscribed in cuneiform inscription.<sup>(95)</sup>

#### **Comments**

The forementioned overview of the sealings of Puduḥepa, leads to the following conclusions:

- To date, no seals belonging to Puduḥepa have survived; only seal impressions remain.
- She does not have any seals of Purely cuneiform type.
- The central field of all her sealings does not contain any cuneiform signs.
- All surviving sealings of Puduḥepa, which include her name in the central field, either joint or lone, are of the Aedicula type. When her name appeared on the outer ring (**fig. 11**), the seal was of the Umarmung type, however the name of Tudḥaliya IV is written in the Aedicula.

- Her sealings likely indicate three stages of her occupation as a queen:

**a-A regent of Ḫattušili:** In this case, the name of the king was written on the right- hand side, i.e., in the first position, while her name appeared on the left- hand side, i.e., the second position after the king.

**b-A regent with all powers of a king:** In this stage her name shifted to the right- hand side.

**c-Reducing of the Queen's powers:** After several years of Tudḫaliya's accession to the throne, her name was written only on the outer ring of the seal in the king's genealogy. It is worth mentioning that she was tried and may have been expelled from the palace for a time during Tudḫaliya's reign<sup>(96)</sup>.

### **Part Three: The missing sealing of Puduḥepa on the Peace treaty “Eternal Treaty”**

After many years of hostility between Egypt and Ḫatti culminated in the Kadesh battle (c.1275/4 b.c.), the peace treaty concluded between Ramesses II of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti in 1259/8 B.C. It took about fifteen years after the Kadesh battle to normalize relationship between Egypt and Ḫatti. The peace treaty was one of the most significant treaties in the world, known as “the eternal treaty”.<sup>(97)</sup> Two independent versions were composed: one in Ḫatti and the other in Egypt, with each version presenting the terms of the treaty from the perspective of its author. They were then exchanged.<sup>(98)</sup>

The Hittite version was inscribed on a silver tablet in Akkadian cuneiform and sent to Egypt. This silver tablet was then translated into the ancient Egyptian language and recorded in the Karnak (**Fig. 15 a**) and the Ramesseum temples.<sup>(99)</sup>

The Egyptian version, originally composed in the ancient Egyptian language, was translated into Akkadian on a silver tablet and sent to Ḫatti. In Ḫattuša, it was recorded on a clay tablet that was fortunately discovered in the archive of Ḫattuša by Winkler (**Fig. 15 b**).<sup>(100)</sup> Later many fragments of the same tablet were found.<sup>(101)</sup>

The treaty followed the characteristic formula of Hittite treaties and included stipulations for non-aggression, defensive alliance against internal and external enemies, and the extradition of fugitives.<sup>(102)</sup>

According to the ancient Egyptian translation of the Hittite version of the peace treaty, the Hittite silver tablet was sealed with the stamp seals of both King Ḫattušili III and Queen Puduḫepa. Unfortunately, neither the seals nor their impressions have survived. However, the ancient Egyptian text and its duplication provide descriptions of both seal impressions.

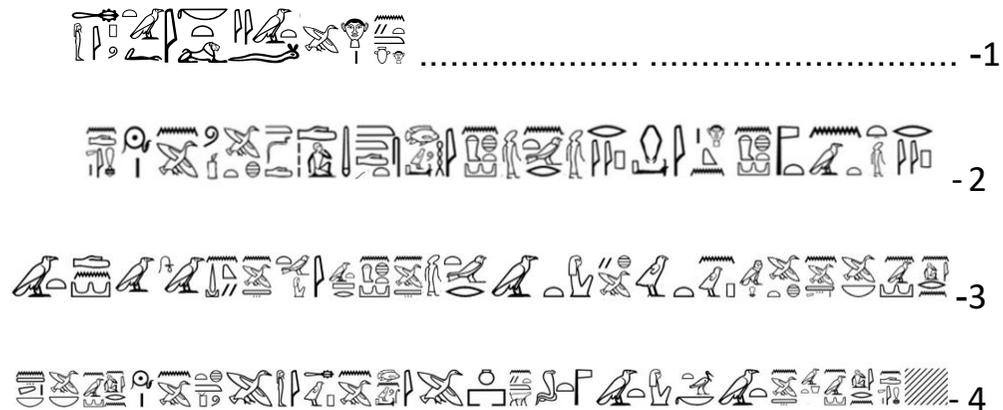
The Karnak text is more complete than the fragmentary duplicated version recorded in the Ramesseum. Champollion in his book “Notices Descriptives II, 1844, 195 ff.”, was the first to copy both texts and attempted a tentative translation. However, Rosellini in: “Monumenti Storici, vol. III, Part II, pp. 268-282”, was the first scholar to provide a complete translation. Subsequently, many scholars offered their own translations,

including Breasted,<sup>(103)</sup> Pritchard,<sup>(104)</sup> and Kitchen, who published the Hieroglyphic text (KRI II )<sup>(105)</sup> in 1979. Recently, in 1997, and in his book, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II von Ägypten und Hattušili III von Hatti*, Edel provided a transliteration and a translation of the Hieroglyphic text, in comparison with the Akkadian text<sup>(106)</sup>. More recently, in 1999, Kitchen, published the translation of (KRI II) in (KRIN II).<sup>(107)</sup>

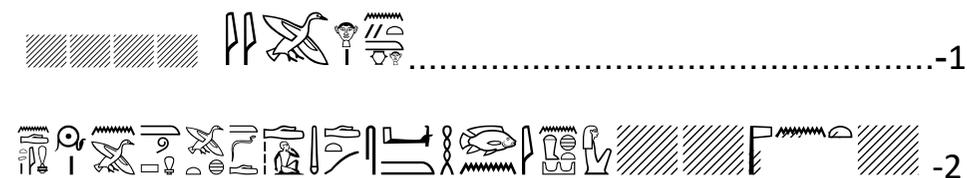
### 1. Hieroglyphic Text and its duplicate (fig.16).

The text and its duplicate<sup>(108)</sup> run from right to left as the following:

#### 1.1. The Karnak text



#### 1.2. The Ramesseum text





*p3 t3 n Ḫt* ] [.....]

**R4-** [.....] [*nt*]y m *hnw p3* ḷ[*n*]h[*w*] n p3 *hpw p3 ḫtm n p3*  
*Rc n Ir*[*nn3 p3 nb n t3 nb* ]

### 3. Translation:

(1) [... What is on] the middle of its other side: figures of the female image (2) of the goddess of Ḫatti embracing the female image of the greatest (woman) of Ḫatti, surrounded by a border of words say: "the seal of the *Rc* of the town (3) of Arinna, the lord of the land; the seal of Puduḫepa, the greatest (woman) of the land of Ḫatti, the daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna, the (4) ..... of the town Arinna, the lady of the land, the servant of the goddess. What is inside that which surrounds the figures: the seal of the *Rc* of Arinna, the lord of all land.

## Comments

### 1. One seal or two seals?

The Egyptian description of the Hittite version of the peace treaty indicates that the Hittite tablet, made of silver, was inscribed on both of its faces. Additionally, there are descriptions of two embracing scenes: the Storm God embracing Ḫattušili III and the Sun Goddess embracing Puduḫepa. It appears that there were two seals: one belonging to Ḫattušili on the front face and the other to Puduḫepa on the back. However, the Hieroglyphic text does not confirm this interpretation decisively, which leaves room for alternative hypotheses, one of which is proposed by Edel. He suggests that the silver tablet is sealed with only one seal,

featuring the two embracing scenes: Ḥattušili with the Storm God on the right-hand side and Puduḥepa with the Sun Goddess on the left-hand side<sup>(115)</sup>. He supports his argument by translating the phrase “*nty m ḥr- ib ḥr p3 nww n ḥd ḥr t3y.f rwi3t ḥ3wt*,”<sup>(116)</sup> which describes the seal of Ḥattušili, as “what is in the middle of the tablet of silver, on its right-hand side” and the phrase “*nty m ḥr- ib ḥr p3 t3y.f kt rwi3t*,” which describes the seal of Puduḥepa, as “what is in the middle of its other side, i.e., left-hand side”.<sup>(117)</sup>

I agree with Edel's translation but disagree with the notion that both embracing scenes appear on just one seal. If that were the case, the Hieroglyphic text would describe the two scenes as a single unit and then mention the inscriptions on the outer rings as one unit as well. However, the text gives the embracing scene of Ḥattušili followed by the inscription on the outer ring, and then presents the embracing scene of Puduḥepa followed by the inscription on the outer ring. Therefore, I conclude that there are two seals placed beside each other on the same face of the tablet, with one on the right-hand side and the other on the left-hand side.

## 2. The type of the sealing

Both sealings of Ḥattušili and Puduḥepa are impressions of **stamp seals**. It is evident in the Egyptian text through two structures: a) *inhw m smdt mdw*, meaning “surrounded by a marginal or border of words/ inscription”, which refers to a circle or ring; and b) *nty m hnw p3 inhw n p3 hpw*,” meaning “what is inside, that which surrounds the figures. Here, *inhw* and *smdt* both refer to a circle.

The sealing is of **Umarmung type**, i.e. a deity embraces the royal personage in the central field and encircled by ring/s inscribed in cuneiform with the name and titles of the owner and her deity. This is evident in the phrase: *rpyt n(t) t3 ntrt n(t) Ḫt hr kni (.s) rpy(t) nt wrt n(t) Ḫt*, where *kni* means “embrace”.

So far, no Umarmung sealings have been found for Ḫattušili III, although his brother, King Muwatalli II, had sealings of this type. For queens, no surviving sealings of this type have been found, neither for Puduḫepa, nor for any other Hittite queen. Therefore, the Umarmung sealing of Puduḫepa on the peace treaty is unique, making her the only Hittite queen known to have a sealing of this type.

The question remains: How did the Hittites seal a silver tablet? In the case of a wooden tablet, a clay bulla is attached to the tablet and then sealed with a seal. For the Amarna tablets, a clay envelope is sealed. In the case of the silver tablet, I believe the stamp seal should have been incised directly on the silver, rather than relying on a bulla or envelope.

### **3. Figural scene**

The missing sealing of Puduḫepa on this peace treaty is unique within all the Hittite civilization. It represents, for the first time in the Hittite kingdom, the image of two females- a deity and a queen- in embracing position.

#### **3.1. Representation of Puduḫepa.**

In all her surviving sealings, Puduḫepa appears only by her name in the central field. This tradition began with Ašmunikal, the

queen of King Arnuwanda I, who possesses the earliest stamp seal bearing a queen's name. She is followed by Queen Taduḫepa, wife of Tudḫaliya II; Ḫinti and Tawananna III/Malnigalla, wives of Šupiluliuma I; Gassaluwiya, wife of Muršili II; Danuḫepa, wife of Muršili II; and finally Puduḫepa.<sup>(118)</sup> However, none of these queens were depicted on any sealings, while Puduḫepa is depicted on her missing sealing.

It is worth mentioning that a high-ranking woman called Muwatti, who held titles of princess and woman of the king, had 11 different seals found in the Nišantepe archive. Two of which feature figural scenes. One of these depicts a female worshipper in an adoration scene before the goddess Šauška.<sup>(119)</sup> However, Muwatti was not a queen, and the Goddess was not embracing her. The embracing position had previously been reserved for kings. This gives Puduḫepa a unique priority and exclusivity in possessing this position among queens, as no other Hittite queen had a seal of the Umarmung type.

### **3.2. Representation of the deity.**

the Sun Goddess of Arinna was represented for the first time, as a seated woman, on the Fraktin relief. However, the earliest surviving representation of her on seals is found on the sealing of Tudḫaliya IV (**fig. 11**). Based on these representations, the Sun Goddess of Arinna on the missing sealing should have been dressed in a long gown and polos, likewise is Puduḫepa.

### **4. Titles of Puduḫepa**

Titles of Puduḫepa mentioned in the Hieroglyphic text are

unique. Some of them were never used before her, nor after her.

**4.1. *wrt n(t) Ḫt*, “the great woman/ lady of Ḫatti”, and *Pwtwḫyp3 t3 wrt n(t) p3 t3 n Ḫt*, “Putuḥepa, the great woman/ lady of the land of Ḫatti”**

Puduḥepa is not described as “Queen/ Great Queen” (Sal/MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL) nor as “a ruling queen” (Twananna). Instead, she is referred to simply as *wrt* <sup>(120)</sup>, which means “a great female/woman”. This distinction may be attributed to differences between the languages of the ancient Egyptians and the Hittites. The ancient Egyptian language does not have a specific word for “queen” that equates to the term for “king”<sup>(121)</sup>. The Egyptian word for king is connected to the nature of the land of Egypt, specifically  *ny-swt-bity*, meaning “he who belongs to the sedge and bee”<sup>(122)</sup>. The sedge and bee are symbols of upper and lower Egypt. Thus, the title is reserved exclusively for the Egyptian king and is essentially a masculine epithet.

The few females who ascended to the Egyptian throne, such as Hatshepsut, were treated as male kings. She was represented in masculine form, took the fivefold titulary of the king, and bore kingly insignia<sup>(123)</sup>. However, the king’s wife and all the royal women in ancient Egypt are identified by titles indicating their relationship with the king, such as mother, wife, sister or daughter of the king.<sup>(124)</sup>

The principal wife of the king; i.e., the queen, held the title *hmt*

*nsw wrt*, “great wife of the king” from about the thirteenth Dynasty<sup>(125)</sup>. In the old kingdom, the queen was known as *m33t hr st*, “the one who sees Horus and Seth”, referring to the king of Egypt. This title reflects her religious role as a priestess.<sup>(126)</sup>

From the early Eighteen Dynasty onward, royal women began to adopt the title *nbt t3wy*, “mistress of the two lands”<sup>(127)</sup>, as well as *hnwt šmꜥ mhꜥw*, “lady of the south and the north”, *hnwt rsy mhꜥw*, “lady of upper and lower Egypt”, and *hnwt t3w nbw*, “lady of all lands”.<sup>(128)</sup> All titles for the queen in ancient Egypt were primarily related to the king and the nature of the Egyptian land. Consequently, it was challenging to describe a foreign queen with a title that belonged to the Egyptian queen.

The Egyptian text describes Hattušili III as *wr 3 n Ht* “the greatest one of Hatti”, while Puduḥepa referred to simply as “*wrt*”, the feminine equivalent of “*wr*”. This was the highest honor the Egyptian king could bestow upon a foreign ruler. The foreign queen received the same title as her husband, but in the feminine form.

#### **4.2. *t3 šrīt n(t) p3 t3 n kydw3dn*, “Daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna/ Kizzuwadna”**

Although, “Lawazantiya” was the homeland where Puduḥepa was born and raised<sup>(129)</sup>, Hittite texts refer to Puduḥepa as both the “daughter of Kizzuwatna” and the “daughter of Kummanni”. To know why Kizzuwatna is used on her missing sealing, the three sites will be discussed preceding by an overview of the usage of the word “daughter” in connection with Hittite queens’ seals.

#### 4.2.1 the word “daughter” on the Hittite queens’ seals.

Two other queens, besides Puduḫepa, used the word “daughter” on the legends written on their seals. a) Queen Ašmunikal is mentioned on her lone seal as “*Ašmunikal, Great Queen, Daughter of Nikalmati*”.<sup>(130)</sup> This emphasizes her position as Tawananna, ruling queen, following her mother, the previous Tawananna. b) Tawananna III, i.e., queen Malnigalla- the Babylonian wife of Šuppiluliuma I- is described on their joint Aedicula as: “*Tawananna, Great Queen, Daughter of the King of Babylon*”.<sup>(131)</sup> This confirms her esteemed status as the daughter of the Babylonian king. However, Puduḫepa neither mentioned her parents’ names nor their titles, only her homeland.

#### 4.2.2 Lawazantiya.

Lawazantiya was an important city in Kizzuwatna; however, its exact location has not yet been confirmed.<sup>(132)</sup> It might be located at the archaeological site of Sirkeli Höyük.<sup>(133)</sup> There is a possibility that there were two cities held that name.<sup>(134)</sup>

As the birthplace of Puduḫepa, Lawazantiya is mentioned in Ḫattušili III’s apology text (CTH 81), where he states: “*When I came back, i.e., after the Kadesh battle, I went to the city of Lawazantiya to offer a sacrifice to the god, and fulfilled the (cult) of the god...I have taken Puduḫepa, the daughter of the Priest Pentipšarri, as a wife by the order of my Goddess*”.<sup>(135)</sup> Ḫattušili III confirmed the same information in (CTH 85), which records his conflict with Muršili III/ Urhi-Tešub. This text adds that Puduḫepa was the servant/ priestess of Ištar of the city Lawazantiya.<sup>(136)</sup>

Ḫattušili III chose to mention the city of Lawazantiya specifically for its significance as a cultic site associated with the priesthood of Ištar, his patron goddess.

#### 4.2.3. Kizzuwatna/ Kizzuwadna

Kizzuwatna/ Kizzuwadna was an ancient Anatolian kingdom located in southeastern Anatolia. Symington<sup>(137)</sup> identifies it with the province of Cilicia. It is believed that Kizzuwatna extended into the mountainous area of the Anti-Taurus and controlled the main routes from the Anatolian plateau to northern Syria. Therefore, firm control of Kizzuwatna was vital for Hittite trade and control of Syria.<sup>(138)</sup> Kizzuwatna was first attested in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century in the treaty between the Hittite king Telipinu (ca. 1525-1500 B.C.) and Išpudaḫšu king of Kizzuwatna (CTH 21).<sup>(139)</sup> It was fully incorporated into the Hittite kingdom and became a province and integral part of the Hittite empire after the accession of Šuppiluliuma I, ca. 1350 BC.<sup>(140)</sup> However, it maintained its significance as a center of cults and religious traditions.<sup>(141)</sup>

Puduḫepa is referred to as the “Daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna” on the Fraktin relief,<sup>(142)</sup> where she is depicted pouring a libation to the Goddess Hapat.<sup>(143)</sup> The accompanying inscription reads: “*Puduḫepa Great Queen, daughter of the country Kizzuwatna, beloved of the god(s)*”.<sup>(144)</sup>

According to Symington<sup>(145)</sup>, the same epithet may have been written on the cuneiform legend of her seal impression, Tarsus (36.1171) (cf. **Fig. 13**). Güterbock had suggested a restoration of its cuneiform legend as: “...*daughter of the country Kizzuwatna,*

*beloved by Hebat*".<sup>(146)</sup> Although, this sealing is too damaged to be restored,<sup>(147)</sup> Hoffner confirmed to Güterbock that the latter's restoration fitted the available space on the bulla very well.<sup>(148)</sup>

Worthy to mention that under Hittite control, the ruler of Kizzuwatna held the title "SANGA", "(high) priest" of Tešub and Hebat. He acted as a vassal king.<sup>(149)</sup> Thus, Puduḫepa was the daughter of the ruler of Kizzuwatna. She was proud of her homeland as she ordered the chief scribe to start collecting texts from her homeland, Kizzuwatna.<sup>(150)</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Kummanni.

Kummanni is located in north Kizzuwatna.<sup>(151)</sup> Sometime there was an interchange between Kizzuwatna and the city named Kummanni.<sup>(152)</sup> It appears that its most prominent center, i.e. Kummanni, came to identify the whole region, and vice versa. This interchange may have resulted from Kizzuwatna losing its status as an independent kingdom.<sup>(153)</sup>

Puduḫepa is referred to as "daughter of Kummanni" in a vow text CTH 585),<sup>(154)</sup> which reads: "UM.MA f/Pu-du-ḫe-pa SAL. LUGAL GAL SAL.LUGAL K[UR <sup>URU</sup>?] Ḫa-at-ti DUMU. SAL <sup>URU</sup>Kum-ma-an-ni", meaning: "As follow: Puduḫepa, the great queen, queen of the land of Ḫatti, the daughter of the city of Kummanni".<sup>(155)</sup>

**To sum up,** Kizzuwatna was an independent kingdom that lost its political status in the New Hittite kingdom but continued to be an important religious center and a strategic location along the trade routes via north Syria. Sometimes, its name was replaced

by Lawazantiya and Kummanni, which were two significant cities within the kingdom of Kizzuwatna. The missing sealing of Puduḫepa on the peace treaty is the only confirmed seal impression that clearly bears the title “daughter of Kizzuwatna” to date. Notably, “Kizzuwatna” may have been written on the damaged seal from Tarsus (36.1171) but no signs of this name have survived.

Puduḫepa took pride in being the daughter of Kizzuwatna, which was once an independent kingdom on par with the Hittite kingdom itself. She understood that her origins and connections in Kizzuwatna facilitated her marriage into the Hittite royal family and paved her way to becoming the Great Queen of Ḫatti.<sup>(156)</sup>

## 5. Sun Goddess of Arinna

The Sun Goddess of Arina was equated with the Goddess Ḫepat, the patron goddess of Puduḫepa. She was sometimes referred to as Iṣtar of the city of Lawazantiya, who was a war goddess.<sup>(157)</sup>

Arinna was the name of the sacred city of the Hittite Sun Goddess, although its exact location remains unidentified. The Sun Goddess of Arinna is also known as “Arinnitti”, a name that denotes her connection to Arinna. She was of Ḫattian origin, which is pre-Hittite.<sup>(158)</sup> Her consort was the weather god Tarḫunna. Eventually, she was integrated into the Hittite pantheon along with her family and became the chief goddess of the Hittite state.

In Puduḫepa’s religious reforms during the reigns of Ḫattušili III

and Tudḫaliya IV, Sun Goddess of Arinna was identified with the Hurrian mother-goddess Ḫepat, along with many other deities of similar function.<sup>(159)</sup> This is evident in a prayer by Puduḫepa, where she addressed the Goddess saying:” *O Sun Goddess of Arinna... you bear the name of Sun Goddess of Arinna in Ḫatti... but in the country of ceder trees, your name is Ḫepat.*<sup>(160)</sup> The Hurrian name of Puduḫepa means “Ḫepat begat”.<sup>(161)</sup> In light of this assimilation, she would also come to be considered a child of the Sun Goddess of Arinna.

In the hieroglyphic text, the Sun Goddess of Arinna is referred to using both female and male forms, as the following:

- **twice as a female** “*t3 ntrt*” = “the Goddess” in: *rpyt n(t) t3 ntrt n(t) Ht*, “the female image of Goddess of Ḫatti”, and in *t3 b3kt (nt) t3 ntrt*, “the servant of the Goddess”.

Egyptian distinguishes between masculine and feminine through certain signs, such as (*t*) at the end of feminine words and (*t3*) as a feminine definite article, which means (the), in contrast with (*p3*), the masculine definite article. Additionally, some determinatives pertain to females as () . For *t3 ntrt*, *t3* is the feminine definite article referring to the Goddess, and *ntrt*, the feminine form of *ntr* “God”, ending with “*t*”. Likewise, *rpyt*, “a female image”, is used to describe Sun Goddess of Arinna, while *twt*, “a male image”, is used when describing the Hittite god represented on the sealing of Ḫattušili. Furthermore, () is a determinative used to indicate female deities.

- **twice as a male** “*p3 Rr*” = “the Sun God” and “*p3 nb*” = “the

lord”, in: *p3 Rc n dmi n Irrn3 p3 nb n p3 t3*, “the Sun God of the town of Arinna, the lord of the land”. And in: *p3 htm n p3 Rc n Irrn3 p3 nb n t3 nb*, “the seal of the Sun God of Arinna, the lord of all land”. The word “Rc” in the Hieroglyphic text is preceded by *p3*, the masculine definite article.

God *Rc* in ancient Egyptian religion is a male deity. This may explain the way the Hittite Sun deity was written. The Sun goddess of Arinna, as attested in Hittite texts, had both male and female aspects. She was considered both a deity of the heavens and a deity of the underworld. In the aforementioned prayer of Puduḥepa, Sun goddess of Arinna was addressed as a female, while in a prayer of King Muršili she was referred to as a male: “*You alone are the Lord (EN) of just judgement*”. This concept of a deity embodying both male and female aspects reflects the different roles which the deity fulfilled in various contexts.<sup>(162)</sup> Such dualism was not unfamiliar in ancient Egyptian beliefs. For example, the creator “Atum” was sometimes described in the Pyramid Texts as a male-female composite.<sup>(163)</sup> In Art, the Nile God Hapy, for example, was represented with dualistic gender characteristics.

The ancient Egyptian translator of the treaty may have recognized the dualism of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, which could explain why he mentioned her as both male and female. Alternatively, he might have been confused by the contrast between the Akkadian text and the represented female image of the deity embracing Puduḥepa. The cuneiform text refers to the deity as <sup>d</sup>UTU. Here, <sup>d</sup>X corresponds to “<sup>god</sup> X” where d = DINGIR, i.e., “God” is a determinative preceding the names of

both gods and goddesses, while UTU means “Sun”<sup>(164)</sup>. Thus, the translator rendered it as “*p3 R c*” = “the Sun God” and “*p3 nb*” = “the lord”. However, when describing the image of the deity seen on the seal, he used feminine expressions such as *t3 ntrt* and *rpyt*, indicating she was represented as female on the seal.

#### 6. *ḥnwt n(t) p3 t3*, “mistress/ lay of the land”.

This title is mentioned after some lost words; [ ~~////~~ *n dmḯ I]rnn3 (t3) ḥnwt n(t) p3 t3*, “..... of the town of Arinna, mistress/ lay of the land”. Edel suggested completing the lost part as: (*t3 [ḥm ntr* or *t3 mryt n p3 R c ] n I]rnn3 (t3) ḥnwt n p3 t3*)<sup>(165)</sup>, meaning: “*the priestess or beloved of the Sun God of Arinna, mistress/ lay of the land*”. The interpretation as “beloved” is more plausible, as Puduḥepa is described in the next sentence as “servant/priestess of the sun deity.”

Edel<sup>(166)</sup> connects the word *ḥnwt* to Puduḥepa; however, it is more appropriate to associate it with the Sun Deity. The text describes Puduḥepa more than once as “the greatest woman in Ḫatti,” so *ḥnwt n p3 t3* is more likely referring to the Goddess whom mentioned above as “*p3 nb n p3 t3*”, the lord of the land. It seems as a parallel structure as *ḥnwt n p3 t3*

#### 7. *t3 b3kt (nt) t3 ntrt*, “the servant/priestess of the Goddess”.

Another peculiar feature found on the missing sealing is using the title “the servant/priestess of the Goddess”. It illustrates how pious Puduḥepa was and her dedication to her deity. The intended Goddess here is the Sun Goddess of Arinna.

No other Hittite queen has inscribed such a title as “servant/priestess of X Goddess”, on her seal. Puduḫepa herself has not used it on any of her surviving sealings so far. However, sealing Tarsus 36.1171 (**Fig. 13**) could be the only exception if the restoration of its legend was “...servant of Ḫebat” rather than “...beloved of Ḫebat”. Güterbock<sup>(167)</sup> restored it as “beloved of Ḫebat”, and if that were the case, then the missing sealing would be the only seal of Puduḫepa and of any other Hittite queen that contains this title, i.e., servant or priestess of Ḫebat.

It is worth noting that Puduḫepa was described as “the servant/priestess of Ištar of Lawazintiya” in the text (CTH 85), as previously mentioned.

## 8. Language of the sealing

The outer ring/s in all royal seals was inscribed in cuneiform, while the central field was written in Luwian Hieroglyphs (LH), with a few exceptions of purely cuneiform type and the signs of (TI), (SIG<sub>5</sub>), “LUGAL” and “SAL.LUGAL”. Therefore, this tradition should apply to both the sealings of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa on the peace treaty, even if it is not mentioned in the Hieroglyphic text.

## 9. How many concentric rings are in the missing sealing?

At first glance, the phrase “*m hnw*” in the last sentence: *nty m hnw p3 inhw n p3 hpw p3 htm n p3 Rc n Irnn3 p3 nb n t3 nb*, “*what is inside that which surrounds the figures: the seal of the Rc of Arinna the lord of all land*”, suggests that this sentence is written beside the Umarmung scene in the central field of the

sealing which represents the Sun Goddess of Arinna embracing Puduḫepa. However, the length of the sentence and the word *ḫtm* = “seal” in the ancient Egyptian language (equivalent to **KIŠIB** in Akkadian) lead to another interpretation, evidenced as follows:

The Hittite royal sealings do not feature such a long sentence or the word **KIŠIB** in the central field. Traditionally, it was reserved for the name and title of the king/queen, along with the name or epithet of the deity (if portrayed), in LH. In some instances, a few cuneiform signs appeared: the sign for “good/prosperity” (SIG<sub>5</sub>) appeared alone<sup>(168)</sup> or with the sign for “life” (TI)<sup>(169)</sup>, the word (LUGAL= “King”)<sup>(170)</sup> and (SAL.LUGAL= “queen”)<sup>(171)</sup>. However, no cuneiform signs are attested in the central field of all known Umarmung seals (cf. sealings of Muwatalli II, fig.4, and of Tudḫaliya IV, fig.11).

Regarding the word “**KIŠIB**”, it was written, as evidenced, on the outer ring/s of the joint seal of Hattusil III and Puduḫepa from Ugarit (RS 18.03) (fig. 5.).<sup>(172)</sup>

As a result, the sentence “*p3 ḫtm n p3 Rc n Irnn3..... t3 nb*” should have been inscribed on the outer ring surrounding the circular central field contained the Umarmung scene. Likewise, the sentences “*p3 ḫtm n p3 Rc n dmi n Irnn3 p3 nb n p3 t3 p3 ḫtm n Pwtwhyp3 ..... t3 b3kt (nt) t3 ntrt*” should also have been inscribed on an outer ring. Therefore, it is suggested that there were two rings around the circular central field: an inner and an outer ring. The sentence “*p3 ḫtm n p3 Rc n Irnn3..... t3 nb*” was written on the inner ring, while the the sentences “*p3*

*ḫtm n p3 Rε n dmi n Irnn3 p3 nb n p3 t3 p3 ḫtm n Pwtwhyp3  
..... t3 b3kt (nt) t3 ntrt* were on the outer ring.

It remains to be said that the identifications of the deity and Puduḫepa should have been inscribed beside their figures on the central field in LH based on their surviving counterparts. The inscriptions would read “<sup>d</sup>Sol Arinna = Sun Goddess of Arinna” and MAGNA RIGINA Puduḫepa = great queen Puduḫepa. However, the Egyptian text identifies the two figures as *t3 ntrt n(t) Ḫt*, “the Goddess of Ḫatti” and *t3 wrt n(t) Ḫt*, “the great woman of Ḫatti” without names. It does not agree with what already existed on the surviving sealings of Puduḫepa, and does not align with what is traditionally found on Hittite royal seals. The discrepancy could be attributed to one of the following reasons:

a. The Egyptian translator may not have fully understood the Luwian Hieroglyphic, so he simply described what he observed. He assumed that what was written beside the figures was: *p3 ḫtm n p3 Rε n Irnn3 p3 nb n t3 nb*.

b. Alternatively, the sentence “*p3 ḫtm n p3 Rε n Irnn3 p3 nb n t3 nb*” may have already been inscribed in the central field. If this were the case, then it would be the first instance of such a sentence appearing on the central field of any Hittite royal seal

c. It is also possible that the translator had already read the names of both the Goddess and Puduḫepa inscribed in the central field and included them in his description of the scene. Therefore, he did not need to repeat their names. It is

understood that to accurately describe the figures, he should have known how to read their names,.

The last suggestion is likely the correct one, as it aligns with the assumption that the sealing had two rings surrounding the circular central field. The arrangement of the missing sealing according to the Hieroglyphic text would be as follows:

- **A central field:** The Goddess embracing the queen with their names written in LH beside them
- **An inner ring:** The inscription reads: “*p3 ḫtm n p3 Rε n Irnn3 p3 nb n t3 nb*”.
- **An outer ring:** The inscription contains the sentences: “*p3 ḫtm n p3 Rε n dm̄ n Irnn3 p3 nb n p3 t3 p3 ḫtm n Pwtwhyp3 ..... t3 b3kt (nt) t3 ntr̄*”.

Thus, the Hieroglyphic text agree with the arrangement of the Royal Hittite seals. **Figure 17** presents an imaginative depiction by the author of this paper of the missing sealing of Puduḫepa on the peace treaty.

### Conclusions

The missing seal impression of Puduḫepa on the peace treaty, known as “the eternal treaty”, concluded between Ramesses II of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti, is unique within the repertoire of the Hittite Royal seals and all Hittite art due to its epigraphic content and figural scene depicted in the central field. The Hieroglyphic text translating the Hittite version of the eternal treaty leads to several conclusions:

- The missing sealing was an impression of a stamp seal, consisting of a circular central field and two concentric rings surrounding it.
- It is of Umarmung type. To date, Puduḫepa is the only Hittite queen known to have a sealing of this type. No counterparts representing a Goddess embracing a queen have been found in all of Hittite art.
- Regarding the deity, the Egyptian text reveals a dual nature of the Sun goddess of Arinna as female and male.
- Concerning the epithets and titles of Queen Puduḫepa, she was described as the “daughter of Ḫatti”, the “daughter of Kizzuwatna” and the “servant/ priest of the Goddess, referring to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. Those epithets and titles do not appear on any other Hittite queen’s seal.
- No copy of the missing sealing has been found on any other Hittite document, which may be due to the significance of the document it sealed, namely “the eternal treaty” concluded between the two greatest powers in the ancient world. This event likely required an exceptional seal to sign it, which highlights its outstanding significance. Therefore, I propose that the seal of Puduḫepa, of which the missing sealing in question is an impression, was used specifically for the eternal treaty and has never been used again. It may have been preserved as a precious memorial of that treaty.
- The arrangement of the contents of the missing sealing mentioned in the Egyptian text aligns with the traditions of the Royal Hittite seals.

The signature of Puduḫepa on the eternal treaty, using her own

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**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti**

seal, even in its absence, accentuates her full equality with her husband, King Ḫattušili III. She is indeed the most important queen in the Hittite History.

## Figures



(Fig. 1) Tabarna seal.

Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, fig.7.



(Fig. 2 a) Aedicule seal of Šuppiluliuma I. The central field is written in LH.

Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische* fig.1 on p.41.



(Fig. 2 b) Aedicule seal of Muršili II from Ugarit (central field written in LH + Cuneiform signs for life and good/prosperity).

Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, fig. 11.

The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti



(Fig. 3 a) A purely cuneiform seal of Ašmunikal.

Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, fig.15.



(Fig. 3 b) A purely cuneiform seal of Muršili II and Twananna

Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, fig.18.



(Fig.4) Umarmung Seal represents the storm god embracing Muwatalli II.

Boehmer, "Kleinasiatische Glyptik", fig. 376 i.



(Fig. 5) A joint Aedicula of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa (RS 17.130 and 18.03).

Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, 44, fig.1 on p. 40, the upper register on the right.



**(Fig.6)** A joint Aedicula of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa (RS. 17.299). Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, fig.13A.



**(Fig.7)** A joint Aedicula of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa (RS.17.238). Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, 44, fig.1 on p. 40, the lower register on the left.



**(Fig.8)** A joint Aedicula of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa on a bulla from Tell Fray. Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, fig.13d.

The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti



(Fig.9) A joint Aedicula of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa from Büyukkale, Ḫattuša.

Bittel, *Der Hethiter*, fig. 190.



(Fig. 10) A joint Aedicula of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa from from Nişantepe, Ḫattuša.

Herbordt, "The Hittite King and his Court", fig 2g.



(Fig.11) Umarmung sealing of Tudḫaliya VI (RS 17.159).

Boehmer, "Kleinasiatische Glyptik", fig. 142 I.



(Fig. 12) Lone sealing of Puduḫepa from Ugarit (RS 17.133). Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, fig. 347a.



(Fig. 13) Lone sealing of Puduḫepa from Tarsus (36.1171). Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, fig. 347b.

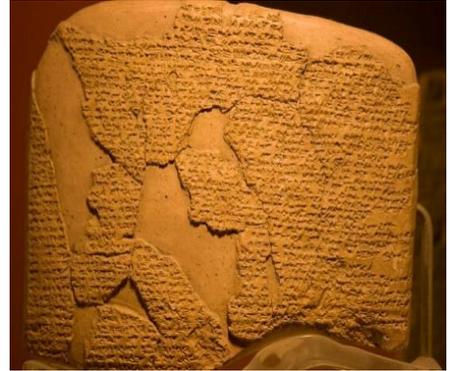


(Fig.14) Lone sealing of Puduḫepa from Niṣantepe. Herbordt, “The Hittite King and his Court”, fig. 2 h.

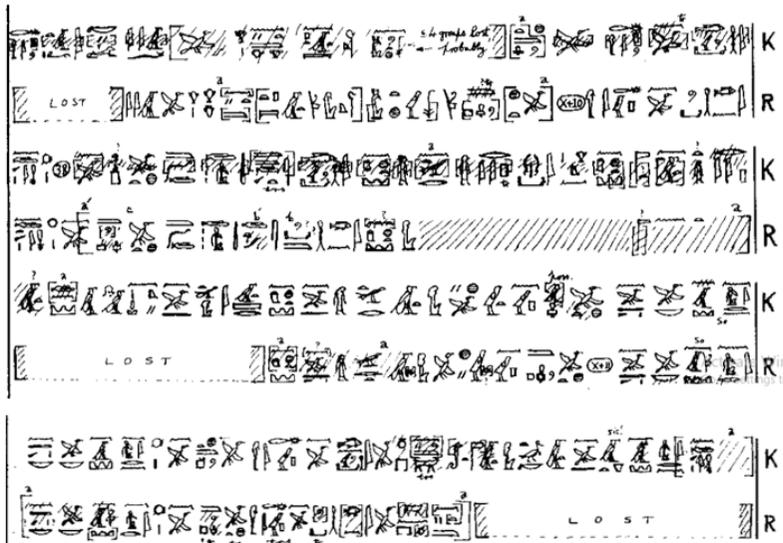
The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḥepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti



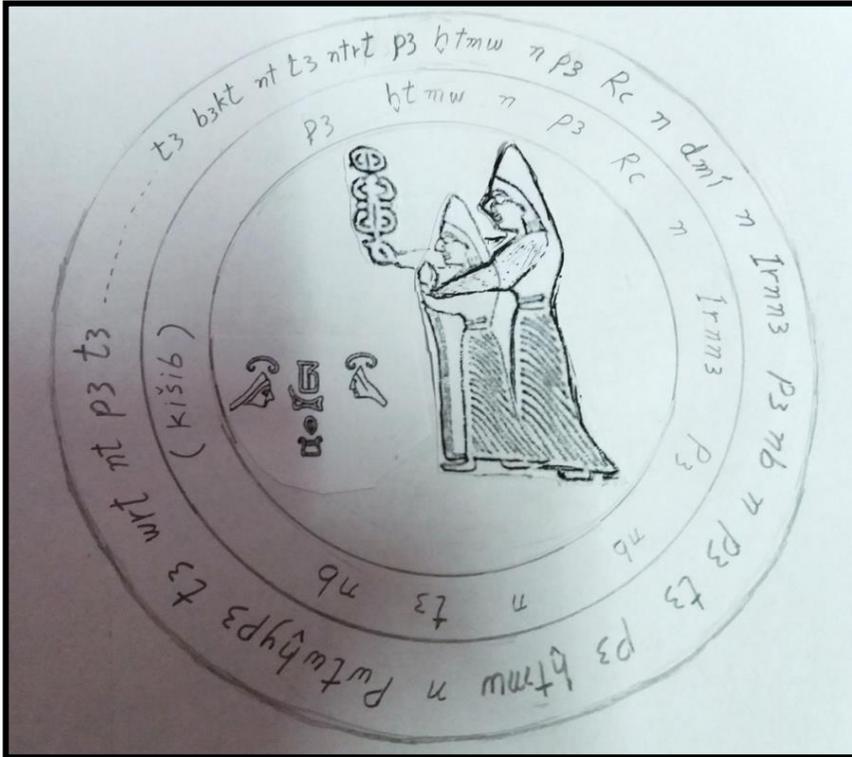
(Fig 15 a) The Egyptian translation of the Hittite version of the peace treaty in the Kanak temple.  
Van Der Ryst, Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḥepa, fig. 4.5.



(Fig. 15 b) The ancient Egyptian version of the peace treaty copied on a clay tablet.  
Istanbul's Archeology Museum.  
Van Der Ryst, Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḥepa and their son, fig. 4.4.



(Fig. 16) Part of the peace treaty from Karnak and Ramesseum as copied by Kitchen( KRI II, p. 232).



(Fig.17) An imaginative depiction of the missing sealing of Puduḥepa on the peace treaty. (by the author).

## References

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- (2) Darga, M., “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen of the Thirteenth Century B. C.”. In: *Festschrift Prof. Dr. Arif Müfid Mansel*, Ankara, 1974, pp. 939- 40.
- (3) O’Brien, M., *In the Shadows of Brotherhood: Analyzing Three Women’s Gendered Political Roles, Contributions, and Alternative Discourses in the Club of Great Powers during the Late Bronze Age (1500 to 1200 BC)*, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, 2022, p. 62.
- (4) Symington, D.A., *Kizzuwatna/ Cilicia: Aspects of the History and Archaeology*, PhD. Thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College, London, 2017, p. 2.
- (5) Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p.940; Kümmel, H.M., “Kummanni”. In: *RIA VI*, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980-1983, p. 335; Wegner, I., “La(hu)wazantija”. In: *RIA VI*, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980-1983, p. 435; Otten, H., *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III, Das Bild der Überlieferung*, *StBoT.24*, Wiesbaden, 1981, p.17; Collins, *The Hittite and Their World*, pp. 55-56; Mouton, A., “Puduhepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”. In: *Une aventure égyptologique. Mélanges offerts à Christine Gallois*, 2022, p. 2; Bryce, T. R., *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (New edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 250-51; O’Brien, *In the Shadows of Brotherhood*, p. 62.
- (6) date is according to Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, p. 266.
- (7) Mouton, “Puduhepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”, pp.5-6.
- (8) Van Der Ryst, A. F. E., *Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa and their son, Tudḫaliya IV, ca 1267-1228 BCE*. Master Thesis, University of South Africa, 2016, p. 127; O’Brien, *In the Shadows of Brotherhood*, pp. 62- 63.
- (9) For more details cf. Otten, H., “Puduḫepa. Eine hethitische Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen,” *Abhandlungen der geistes-und*

sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1975 Nr.1. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975.

- (10) Van Der Ryst, *Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa and their son*, p. 128.
- (11) Bryce, T. R., *Letters of the Great Kings of the ancient Near East. The Royal correspondence of the late Bronze Age*. London & New York, 2003, p. 75; Özdemir, G., *Kraliçe Puduḫepa Nin Hitit Devleti Ne Siyasi Ve Sosyal Etkileri*, Master Thesis, Kocatepe University, Afyon, 2018, p. 39; Weeden, M., "State Correspondence in the Hittite World". In: Radner, K., (ed.), *State Correspondence in the Ancient World: From New Kingdom Egypt to the Roman Empire*, London: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 51- 52; O'Brien, *In the Shadows of Brotherhood*, pp. 64-65,69.
- (12) Darga, "Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen", p. 942.
- (13) Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings*, pp.106-110; Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*,p. 282; Van Der Ryst, *Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa and their son*, pp.135-36; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, p.33.
- (14) Darga, "Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen", p. 942,948; Van Der Ryst, *Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa and their son*, p.133-134; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, pp. 35-36; O'Brien, *In the Shadows of Brotherhood*, p. 68.
- (15) Millard, A.R., "Königssiegel". In: *RIA 6*, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987-1990, p. 137; Lumsden, S.P., *Symbols of power: Hittite royal iconography in seals*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1990, p.7.
- (16) cf. Boehmer, R.M., "Kleinasiatische Glyptik". In: Orthmann, V.(ed.), *Der Alte Orient, PKG. Vol. 14*. Berlin, 1975, p. 447, fig. 142 d; Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, p. 41, fig.1 on p. 40; Dinçol, A., "Tabarna" und "Ädikula" Siegel, Die Siegel Hithitscher Großkönige und Großköniginnen". In: *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich: das Volk der 1000 Götter* , Bonn und Stuttgart , 2002, p.90.

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**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti**

- (17) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp.7,8; Dinçol, “Tabarna und Ädikula Siegel”, p.90.
- (18) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp.8,9.
- (19) Millard, “Königssiegel”, pp.135, 137.
- (20) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.9.
- (21) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.82; Herbordt, S., “The Hittite King and his Court from the Perspective of the Sealed Bullae”, In: W. Müller (ed.), *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik. VI. Internationales Siegel Symposium aus Anlass des 50 jährigen Bestehens des CMS. Marburg, 9–12 October 2008*. CMS Beiheft 8. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2010, p. 216.
- (22) Luwian Hieroglyphs [abbreviated as (LH)], also known as Pictorial Luwian, refers to the language that was traditionally called Hieroglyphic Hittite [abbreviated as (HH)] in older specialist literature. (cf. Werner, R., *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, *OBO 106*, Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Göttingen:Schweiz Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p.3 ). The term “Hittite Hieroglyphs” was discarded in the 1970s after the inscriptions, which date to the Iron Age, were finally demonstrated to be written in Luwian, an Anatolian language closely related to Hittite. (cf. Weeden, “State Correspondence in the Hittite World”, p.32).
- (23) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp. 82-83.
- (24) Boehmer, “Kleinasiatische Glyptik”, p. 440.
- (25)  (VITA ) resembles the Egyptian *cnḫ*- sign. (cf. Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, p.81, sign n.369). Werner abbreviated it as HH 370 while Lumsden abbreviated it as L.369 (cf. Lumsden, *Symbols of power*), so did Herbordt (cf. Herbordt, “The Hittite King and his Court”, p.216).
- (26) Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, p.81, sign n.369.

- (27) Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, p.81, sign n.370)
- (28) Boehmer, "Kleinasiatische Glyptik", p. 446-47; Millard, "Königssiegel", p. 137; Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp. 9- 11, 88- 93, 165; Dinçol, "Tabarna und Ädikula Siegel", p. 89; Herbordt, "The Hittite King and his Court", p.216.
- (29) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp.1,2.
- (30) Dinçol, "Tabarna und Ädikula Siegel", p. 89.
- (31) Millard, "Königssiegel", p. 137; Dinçol, "Tabarna und Ädikula Siegel", p. 89.
- (32) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.165.
- (33) "Aedicula", <https://www.oxfordreference.com>. accessed: 15/2/2022.
- (34) Bittel, K., *Der Hethiter , Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. Bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus*, München, 1976, p.182; Herbordt, "The Hittite King and his Court", p.216.
- (35) Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, p.71, sign n.18.
- (36) Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, p.76, sign n.190.
- (37) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp. 26, 93-97, 159; Herbordt, "The Hittite King and his Court", p. 216.
- (38) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p. 25; Kabatiarova, B.R., *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses as a Reflection of the Hittite Administration and the Egyptian Influence in the Late Bronze Age in Western Syria*, Master Thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara, 2006, p.94.
- (39) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p. 27.
- (40) Boehmer, "Kleinasiatische Glyptik", p. 444 ; Dinçol,"Tabarna und Ädikula Siegel", p.90.
- (41) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p. 28. For the joint seal cf. pp. 18-19, fig.10.

- (42) Millard, “Königssiegel”, p.137.
- (43) Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, p.72, sign n.16.
- (44) Dinçol, “Tabarna und Adikula Siegel”, p.90.
- (45) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p. 24; cf. Boehmer, “Kleinasiatische Glyptik”, p. 447, fig. 142 b.
- (46) Bittel, *Der Hethiter*, p.184; Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp.43,44; Dinçol, “Tabarna und Adikula Siegel”, p. 91.
- (47) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp.43,44; Dinçol, “Tabarna und Adikula Siegel”, p.91.
- (48) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.44.
- (49) Dinçol, “Tabarna und Adikula Siegel”, p.91.
- (50) Millard, “Königssiegel”, p.137; Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.44.
- (51) bulla is a lump of clay placed on the wooden tablets to seal them by impressing a seal on the clay lump applied over the cords used to bind the wooden tablets.
- (52) Darga, “Puduhepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p.946; Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.42.
- (53) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.42.
- (54) Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, pp. 53-54.
- (55) Darga, “Puduhepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p.948.
- (56) Schaeffer, C.F.A., “Recueil des sceaux hittites imprimés sur les tablettes des Archives Sud du palais de Ras Shamra, suivi de considerations sur les pratiques sigillographiques des rois d’Ugarit”. In Schaeffer, C.F.A. (ed.), *Ugaritica III*, Paris: Geuthner, 1956, pp.12-13, fig.13; Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp.21,42, fig.13, footnote 923; Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.53, footnotes 44, 123.
- (57) Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, p.44, fig.1 on p. 40, upper register on the right.

- (58) Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, p.44, fig.8.
- (59) Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p.946.
- (60) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp.21, 42. And for the Akkadian word for seal, “KIŠIB”, cf. footnote 219.
- (61) Schaeffer, C.F.A., “Recueil des sceaux hittites”, p.14; Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, p.44, fig.1 on p. 40, lower register on the left; Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, pp.54-55.
- (62) Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.55.
- (63) Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.55, fig.13d.
- (64) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.42, fig.39.
- (65) The Nişantepe archive is found in the ancient Hittite capital of Ḫattuša, modern-day Boğazköy in north central Anatolia. The Nişantepe complex is centrally located on a rocky outcropping opposite the royal citadel of Büyükkale. (cf. Herbordt, “The Hittite King and his Court”, p.213). Ten kings and six queens are attested in the Nişantepe seal impressions. Queens had fourteen impressions (cf. Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.55), All of them are joint sealings with exceptions of Ašmunikkal, Puduḫepa and an anonymous Tawananna /queen (cf. Moore, M., *Hittite Queenship: Women and Power in Late Bronze Age Anatolia*, University of California, Los Angeles, 2018, pp. 138- 139). For the sealing of an anonymous Tawananna (cf. Herbordt, “The Hittite King and his Court”, fig. 2 d).
- (66) Moore, *Hittite Queenship*, pp.138- 139.
- (67) Herbordt, “The Hittite King and his Court”, pp. 216-217, fig 2g.
- (68) Herbordt, “The Hittite King and his Court”, p. 221.
- (69) Mouton, “Puduḫepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”, pp. 6-7.
- (70) Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.94.
- (71) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.48.
- (72) Boehmer, “Kleinasiatische Glyptik”, p.449, fig. 142i.

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**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti**

- (73) Schaeffer, “Recueil des sceaux hittites”, p. 18; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, p.44; Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp. 310-312; Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.56; Ensart, H. K., “Is the Small God Figure in the Seal Impression of Tudkhaliya IV, RS 17.159, Murshili II?”, *Anatolia* 30, 2006, p.93.
- (74) Schaeffer, “Recueil des sceaux hittites”, p.16; Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p. 948, fig. 354 b; Boehmer, “Kleinasiatische Glyptik”, p.449, fig. 142i; Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, p 47, fig. 1 on p.40, lower register on the right, pl. 45,3 right; Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.46- 47, fig.43 a, b; Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.56, fig.15.
- (75) Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*, p.45- 46, fig. 11.
- (76) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp. 46, fig. 43.
- (77) Ensart, “the Small God Figure”, pp.93- 109.
- (78) Mouton, “Puduḫepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”, p.7.
- (79) Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp. 298-299.
- (80) Herbordt, “The Hittite King and his Court”, p.216.
- (81) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.43, cf. fig.15 of Ašmunikal, figs.16, 17 of the Babylonian Tawananna.
- (82) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.43; Dinçol, “Tabarna und Ädikula Siegel”, p. 91.
- (83) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.: 43.
- (84) Mouton, “Puduḫepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”, p 9, fig.1.
- (85) Schaeffer, C.F.A., “Recueil des sceaux hittites”, fig. 23 ; Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p.947, fig. 347a; Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.55, fig.14.
- (86) Darga reads the title of great queen as” SAL.LUGAL. SAL” = great queen in cuneiform. (Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p.947).

Now the inscription on the central field is transliterated in Latin language to avoid confusing with cuneiform on the outer ring.

- (87) Darga, "Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen", p. 947.
- (88) Darga, "Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen", p. 945-6; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, p.43.
- (89) Darga, "Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen", p. 947, fig. 347 b; Boehmer, "Kleinasiatische Glyptik", p.447, fig 142 f; Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, pl. 45,3 on the right; Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.43, fig. 40 a, b; Kabatiarova, *Ugaritic Seal Metamorphoses*, p.55.
- (90) Gelb, I. J., "Hittite Hieroglyphic Seals and Seal Impressions,". In: Goldman, H., *Excavations at Gozlu Kule. Tarsus. Vol. II*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956, p.248, no.15, figs. 401,405.
- (91) Güterbock, H.G., "Observations on the Tarsus Seal of Puduḫepa, Queen of Ḫatti," *JAOS 117*, 1997, pp. 143-144.
- (92) Hoffner, H. A., An English-Hittite Glossary, *RHA 80*, 1967, p.74; Güterbock, "Observations on the Tarsus Seal, p.143.
- (93) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.43.
- (94) Moore, *Hittite Queenship*, p. 139.
- (95) Moore, *Hittite Queenship*, p. 139; Herbordt, "The Hittite King and his Court", fig. 2 h.
- (96) Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp. 298-299.
- (97) Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp.275-277; Van Der Ryst, *Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa and their son*, p.133.
- (98) Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp.277-278; Bryce, T. R., The 'Eternal Treaty' from the Hittite perspective, *BMSAES 6*, London, 2006, pp.1-11.
- (99) Langdon, S.& Gardiner, A.H., The Treaty of Alliance between Ḫattušili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt, *JEA 6*, no. 3, 1920, p.179.

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**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti**

- (100) Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp.277-278; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, p.35.
- (101) for the Hittite tablet CTH 91 and its fragments, cf. <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>, accessed: 22/7/ 2023.
- (102) Edel, E., *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II von Ägypten und Ḫattušili III von Ḫatti*, Berlin, 1997, p. 85; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, p.36-38; Collins, *The Hittite and Their World*, p.61.
- (103) Breasted, J. H.(ed.), *Ancient records of Egypt. vol. 3. The Nineteenth Dynasty*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1906, pp. 163-171, §§ 367-391.
- (104) Pritchard, J.B. (ed.), *Ancient Near East in Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed, 1969, pp. 199-201.
- (105) KRI II = Kitchen, K. A., *Ramesside Inscriptions, vol. 2, Historical and Biographical*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 225-232.
- (106) Edel, *Der Vertrag*, pp.16 -83.
- (107) KRIN II = Kitchen, K. A., *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments, vol. 2*, Oxford, 1999.
- (108) Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, vol. 2*, p.232; Edel, *Der Vertrag*, pls. 53\*-54\*.
- (109) kt is ky in KRI II.
- (110) *ḫpw* , mostly in the plural, appeared in the nineteenth dynasty in the singular with article pʃ (cf. Wb.III:365). Edel reads it as *ḫpwḯ* (cf. Edel, *Der Vertrag*, p. 82), possibly referring to the dual form, that is, two female figures.
- (111) Edel restored it as  (cf. Edel, *Der Vertrag*, pl. 53\*= Karnak 36).
- (112) Edel restored it as *tʃ ḫm- nṯr n pʃ Rc n* (cf. Edel, *Der Vertrag*, pl. 53\*= Karnak 36).
- (113) Edel restored it as *tʃy* (cf. Edel, *Der Vertrag*, pl. 53\*= Karnak 36).

- (114) Edel restored all lost parts as well as the Karnak text (cf. Edel, *Der Vertrag*, pl. 53\*, 54\*= 36R, 37R).
- (115) Edel, *Der Vertrag*, pp. 103- 104.
- (116) Edel, *Der Vertrag*, p. 82.
- (117) Edel, *Der Vertrag*, pp. 103- 104.
- (118) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp. 23, 37-43.
- (119) Herbordt, “The Hittite King and his Court”, p. 220, fig.4g.
- (120) Wb.I, p.330.
- (121) Roth, S., “Queen” in: In: Frood, E. & Wendrich, W. (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2009, p.1.
- (122) Wb II, p. 325; Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the old Kingdom*, Vol. I, BAR Series 866 (1), Oxford, 2000, p.474 [1764].
- (123) Troy, L., “Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history”, *BOREAS 14*, Uppsala, 1986, p.142-43.
- (124) Troy, “Patterns of Queenship, p. 102; Roth, S., *Gebietlerin aller Länder: Die Rolle der königlichen Frauen in der fiktiven und realen Außenpolitik des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches. OBO 185*. Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Göttingen: Schweiz Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002,p.12.
- (125) Roth, “Queen”, p.2.
- (126) Troy, “Patterns of Queenship, p. 79; Roth, S., “Queen”, p.1-2.
- (127) Troy, “Patterns of Queenship, p. 134; Roth, *Gebietlerin aller Länder*, pp. 13-14.
- (128) Roth, *Gebietlerin aller Länder*, pp.13-14 ; Roth, “Queen”, p.2.
- (129) Akdoğan, “Uru La(hu)wazantiya”, p.15.
- (130) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.23, fig.15.

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**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti**

- (131) Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, p.41, fig.1 on p. 40, upper register on the left; Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.39.
- (132) Wegner, “La(hu)wazantiya”, p.435.
- (133) Mouton, “Puduḫepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”, p. 1.
- (134) Lawazantiya, according to cuneiform sources from the first millennium BC, was in Kizzuwatna. While ancient Assyrian sources indicates that Luhuzattiya should be sought somewhere east of Kaneš, on a route in Central Anatolia. (cf. Akdoğan, “Uru La(hu)wazantiya”, p.3).
- (135) Otten, *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III*, p.16 [transliteration], p. 17 [translation]; Moore, *Hittite Queenship*, p. 101; Akdoğan, “Uru La(hu)wazantiya”, p. 17.
- (136) Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p.941; Akdoğan, “Uru La(hu)wazantiya”, pp.36-7 Mouton, “Puduḫepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”, p.2; <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>, accessed: 22/7/ 2023.
- (137) Symington, D.A., *Kizzuwatna/ Cilicia: Aspects of the History and Archaeology*, PhD. Thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College, London, 2017, p.2.
- (138) Moore, *Hittite Queenship*, p.102.
- (139) Trameri, A., *The Land of Kizzuwatna. History of Cilicia in the Second Millennium BCE until the Hittite Conquest (ca. 2000-1350)*, PhD. Thesis, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, 2020, pp.30, 42; <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>, accessed: 22/7/ 2023.
- (140) Trameri, *The Land of Kizzuwatna*, pp. 43-44.
- (141) Trameri, *The Land of Kizzuwatna*, p. 437.
- (142) Köpürlüoğlu, H., *Hittite Rock Reliefs in Southeastern Anatolia as Religious Manifestation of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages*. Master’s Thesis, University of Ankara, Ankara, 2016, pp.19-23, fig.11,12.

- <sup>(143)</sup> Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p.950; Bittel, *Der Hethiter*, p. 188.
- <sup>(144)</sup> Symington, *Kizzuwatna/ Cilicia*, p. 49; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, pp.48-49; Moore, *Hittite Queenship*, p.140; Mouton, “Puduḫepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”, p.1.
- <sup>(145)</sup> Symington, *Kizzuwatna/ Cilicia*, p. 49.
- <sup>(146)</sup> Güterbock, “Observations on the Tarsus Seal, p.144; Symington, *Kizzuwatna/ Cilicia*, p. 49.
- <sup>(147)</sup> Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p.43.
- <sup>(148)</sup> Güterbock, “Observations on the Tarsus Seal, p.144.
- <sup>(149)</sup> Trameri, *The Land of Kizzuwatna*, p. 430.
- <sup>(150)</sup> Van Der Ryst, *Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa and their son*, p.125; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, p.45.
- <sup>(151)</sup> Kümmel, “Kummanni”, p. 335.
- <sup>(152)</sup> Sometimes Kizzuwatna was replaced with Kummanni as if two faces of the same coin. It is evident, for example, in a ritual of Pilliya king of Kizzuwatna, (KUB 7.2031= CTH 475), he was called “king of Kizzuwatna”. While in the duplicate of the same text, he was called “king of Kummanni”. (cf. Akdoğan, “Uru La(hu)wazantiya”, p.14.
- <sup>(153)</sup> Trameri, *The Land of Kizzuwatna*, pp. 30- 31.
- <sup>(154)</sup> Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, pp.941, 953-54; Kümmel, “Kummanni”, p.335; Symington, *Kizzuwatna/ Cilicia*, p. 49; <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>, accessed: 22/7/ 2023.
- <sup>(155)</sup> Otten, H. & Souček.V., *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduḫepa an die Göttin Lelwani*, *StBoT.1*, Wiesbaden, 1965, p. 16 [transliteration], p. 17 [translation].
- <sup>(156)</sup> Moore, *Hittite Queenship*, pp. 101-102.
- <sup>(157)</sup> Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p. 950.

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**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti**

- (158) Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p. 950.
- (159) Bryce, *Life and Society*, pp. 136-137; Van Der Ryst, *Reigns of Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa*, p.124; Özdemir, *Kraliçe Puduḫepa*, p.144.
- (160) Darga, “Puduḫepa: An Anatolian Queen”, p. 137.
- (161) Mouton, “Puduḫepa, une femme forte de l’Anatolie hittite”, p.1.
- (162) Bryce, *Life and Society*, pp. 142-43.
- (163) Troy, “Patterns of Queenship, pp.15- 16.
- (164) Edel, *Der Vertrag*, p.99.
- (165) Edel, *Der Vertrag*, p.103.
- (166) Edel, *Der Vertrag*, p.103.
- (167) Güterbock, “Observations on the Tarsus Seal, p.144.
- (168) Cf. Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, pp.22-23, figs. 14-17.
- (169) Cf. Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p. 24, seals nos, 24,25.
- (170) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p. 28, fig.19.
- (171) Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, p. 38, fig.32.
- (172) For more cf. Lumsden, *Symbols of power*, fig. 41, and footnote 231 for the cuneiform.

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**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḫepa  
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**The Missing Sealing of Queen Puduḥepa  
on the Peace Treaty between Ramesses II  
of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti**

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