



## Observations on the Tarsus Seal of Puduhepa, Queen of Hatti

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## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### *Observations on the Tarsus Seal of Puduḥepa, Queen of Ḫatti*

A reading of the cuneiform legend on a royal seal from Tarsus is proposed.

In 1937 Hetty Goldman published a bulla found at Tarsus bearing the impression of a royal seal.<sup>1</sup> It shows the name of the queen under the winged disk, between antithetic signs for “Great Queen,” written with the four hieroglyphs *pu-tu-ḫa-pa*, as Gelb found by comparison with the rock inscription of Fraktin. Of the cuneiform legend only part of one ring is impressed on the bulla with the signs *ḫé-bat* DUMU.SAL. In the final publication<sup>2</sup> I. J. Gelb restored this as [*Pu-du*]-*ḫé-bat* DUMU.SAL, a restoration suggested by his reading of the hieroglyphic name.

In my 1940 publication of the royal seals<sup>3</sup> I remarked that the name of the queen is always written with *pa*, never with *bat*, and mentioned the possibility that the two signs represented the name of the goddess Ḫebat. The first statement has to be modified. Philo Houwink ten Cate reminded me of two occurrences of the spelling *ḫé-bat* in two Akkadian letters from Egypt.<sup>4</sup> According to Edel these letters belong to the later years of the reign of Ramses II. Recently Harry Hoffner brought to my attention one of the newly found seals published by Heinrich Otten.<sup>5</sup> According to the hieroglyphic name

in the center, the seal belongs to Tudḫaliya IV, whose name in the outer cuneiform ring is lost. The inner ring offers: *ḫé-bat* SAL.LUGAL GAL SAL.L[UGAL KUR *Ḫa-at-ti*]. Of the sign in question only a Winkelhaken is preserved, which can only be the end of BAD. The common seal of Puduḥepa and her son may be assigned a date similar to that of the two Ramses letters mentioned. The fact remains, however, that in her inscriptions and on most of her seals from Boğazköy and Ras Shamra the name of Puduḥepa is spelled with *pa*, as are such names as Taduḥepa, Danuḥepa and Giluḫepa. Another reason not to restore the name of the queen on the Tarsus seal is the word DUMU.SAL “daughter” immediately following the signs in question. In the examples known to me where queens give a filiation the word “daughter” follows the full title.<sup>6</sup>

My suggestion that the signs *ḫé-bat* are the name of the goddess has been confirmed by seals of Puduḥepa recently published by Otten.<sup>7</sup> These seals offer in two identical rings the following legend mutually restored from the various bullae:

<sup>NA</sup>4KIŠIB *ḫé-bat* SAL.LUGAL GAL SAL.LUGAL KUR *Ḫa-at-ti*  
*na-ra-am* <sup>D</sup>*ḫé-bat*.

Seal of Puduḥepa, Great Queen, Queen of the land of Ḫatti, beloved of Ḫebat.

From this evidence we may conclude that the signs *ḫé-bat* on the Tarsus seal are the end of the same formula, which is the last epithet of the queen, and that

<sup>1</sup> Hetty Goldman, “Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, 1936,” *AJA* 41 (1937): 281, with fig. 40, with notes by A. Goetze, “Remarks on the Epigraphic Material Found at Tarsus in 1936,” *ibid.*, 287, and I. J. Gelb, “Queen Pudu-Ḫepa,” *ibid.*, 289–91.

<sup>2</sup> Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1956), 2: 248, no. 15 with figs. 401.15 and 405.15.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Gustav Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers [E. F. Weidner], 1940) (= SBo I), 29f.

<sup>4</sup> KUB III 66 obv. 4 and KUB III 68 obv. 3, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*, ed. Elmar Edel, *Abhandlungen der rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 77 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), 1: 170–75, nos. 72 and 73.

<sup>5</sup> Heinrich Otten, *Zu einigen Neufunden hethitischer Königsiegel*, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und socialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*,

Jahrgang 1993, no. 13 (Mainz: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 37–39 with fig. 33.

<sup>6</sup> One is Ašmunikal, KBo V 7 (= SBo I, no. 60). The other is the daughter of the king of Babylon, for which see SBo I, no. 36, and now Heinrich Otten, *Die hethitischen Königssiegel der frühen Grossreichszeit*, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und socialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1995, no. 7 (Mainz: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), 13ff.

<sup>7</sup> Heinrich Otten, “Ein Siegel Tudḫaliyas IV. und sein dynastischer Hintergrund,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993 [1994]): 110–12.

they form the end of this ring, which then begins with DUMU.SAL, and must be the inner ring. The name and title of the queen must then have stood in the lost outer ring.

The word "daughter" demands a genitive. Puduḥepa never mentions her father either in inscriptions or on seals, although his name, Pentipšarri, is known from the Apology of Ḫattušili.<sup>8</sup> However she is called "Daughter of Kizzuwatna" in the Egyptian description of her seal on the treaty tablet<sup>9</sup> and in the rock inscription of Fraktin.<sup>10</sup> Here I read the line following the picture and name of Puduḥepa to the right: *ka-zu-wa-na* COUNTRY DAUGHTER DEITY *á-za-mi* "Daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna, loved by the Gods." I adopt the reading of the geographic name proposed by Laroche. *azami* is the Luwian participle of the verb "to love." The logogram DEITY may stand for "god," "goddess," or "gods." Instead of "Loved by the Gods," one can easily translate "Beloved of the Goddess."

It is tempting to restore the inner ring of the Tarsus seal also to read "Daughter of Kizzuwatna." Since I am unable to do so, because of my visual handicap, I asked Harry Hoffner to determine whether this restoration would fit the space available on the bulla. He actually penciled the cuneiform signs KUR *ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na na-ra-am* DINGIR into the drawing in my copy of the Tarsus publication (see above, note 2). He found that this restoration fitted the space very well. He also reminded me

of the fact that Puduḥepa calls herself "Daughter of the city of Kummanni" in the introduction of her Vow,<sup>11</sup> but the name Kummanni would not fill the space on the seal. I therefore propose to restore and read the cuneiform legend of the Tarsus seal as follows:

(outer ring, restored after the seals published by Otten)

[<sup>NA</sup>4KIŠIB <sup>f</sup>*Pu-du-ḫé-pa* SAL.LUGAL GAL SAL.LUGAL KUR *Ḫa-at-ti* ]

(inner ring)

DUMU.SAL [KUR *Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na na-ra-am* <sup>D</sup>*Ḫé-bat*

"[Seal of Puduḥepa, Great Queen, queen of the Land of Ḫatti] Daughter [of the Land of Kizzuwatna, Beloved of] Ḫebat."

If this restoration is correct one may well ask whether it is by chance that a bulla stamped with the seal thus inscribed has been found at Tarsus in the land of Kizzuwatna.<sup>12</sup>

I wish to express my thanks to Philo Houwink ten Cate and Harry Hoffner for their valuable contributions, to Oğuz Soysal for references, and to my wife, Frances, for her help in composing the manuscript.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Heinrich Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III: Das Bild der Überlieferung*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, vol. 24 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), 16–17 iii 1.

<sup>9</sup> John A. Wilson, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. James B. Pritchard, second edition (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955), 201. The text is in SBo I, p. 30, cited after Johannes Friedrich, "Das Siegel des hethitischen Königs Ḫattušili III. nach der ägyptischen Fassung seines Vertrages mit Ramses II.," *Artibus Asiae* 6 (1937): 180.

<sup>10</sup> Hans Gustav Güterbock, "Die Hieroglypheninschrift von Fraktin," in *Festschrift für Lubor Matouš*, ed. B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Ókori Történeti tanszékek, 1978), 1: 127–36.

<sup>11</sup> Heinrich Otten and Vladimír Souček, *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduḥepa an die Göttin Lelwani*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), 16–17, line 1.

<sup>12</sup> For other seals of Puduḥepa, see Heinrich Otten, "Das Siegel B229 von Ḫattušili III.-Puduḥepa," in *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate*, ed. Theo P. J. van den Hout and Johann de Roos (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1995), 245–53. The Tarsus seal is not listed there.

<sup>13</sup> The editor wishes to thank Dr. Gary Beckman for his substantial assistance in editing the footnotes to this communication.