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Hittite Queenship: Women and Power in Late Bronze Age Anatolia

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Hittite Queenship: Women and Power
in Late Bronze Age Anatolia

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures
University of California, Los Angeles, 2018
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Though scholars have long acknowledged the unusual prominence of royal women in the Late Bronze Age, few studies have examined the relationship between women and power. What were the sources of a royal woman's power, and how did they differ from those of men? To what extent could a queen exercise control over members of the royal court? What techniques of resistance did royal women adopt to contest the will of the king, and to what extent were those tactics successful? This dissertation seeks to answer these questions. Turning first to the religious sphere, I demonstrate that festivals and religious ceremonies were arenas in which the king and queen displayed royal power and in which the social hierarchies of the Hittite court were created and reinforced. Turning next to conflicts within the royal household, one sees that royal women utilized a variety of tools to resist the will of the king. The power of the king should not be viewed as unidirectional; rather, any attempt of the king to exercise power over members of his family was frequently met with resistance in the form of violence or witchcraft. Though an examination of the life of Puduḫepa, I examine the sources of a queen's power and how a queen was able to parlay power in some arenas, such as her responsibility for raising children, into political power. Finally, I broach the topic of shifting notions of queenship from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age by studying depictions of royal women in Anatolian monuments.

The dissertation of Michael Moore is approved.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CTH Catalogue des textes hittites

KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi

KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi

Chapter 1

A Prolegomenon on Women and Power

Studies of women in the ancient Near East

Beginning with the 1902 publication of Victor Marx's dissertation on Babylonian women from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to Darius I, Assyriologists produced sporadic studies of women in ancient Mesopotamia.[1] For ancient historians familiar with the limited legal and economic rights of women in classical Athens, the legal rights of women in Mesopotamia seemed remarkable.

> Women were, generally speaking, quite as independent in Babylonia as in Egypt: they could own property, whether in houses or slaves, and could personally plead in the courts. Also, we find there a remarkable class of honoured women, votaresses who in some ways resembled the Roman Vestals and possessed unusual rights and privileges.[2]

Men and women in ancient Near Eastern societies never had equal legal standing, however, nor did women did have full control over their persons. Male heads of households could have their wives executed for offenses or slights. The Middle Assyrian Laws dictate that a woman who aborts her fetus should be impaled.

> A ¶53 If a woman aborts her fetus by her own action and they then prove the charges against her and find her guilty, they shall impale her, they shall not bury her. If she dies as a result of aborting her fetus, they shall impale her, they shall not bury her.[3]

In the Old Babylonian period, men were able to sell their wives into slavery in order to pay their debts. In a letter from Mari, the official Yaqqim-Addu wrote to the king about Ili-šakim, a supervisor of irrigation works who owed the king five minas of silver. Ili-šakim had dared send

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[1] Victor Marx, "Die Stellung der Frauen in Babylonien gemäss den Kontrakten aus der Zeit von Nebukadnezar bis Darius (604-485)," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 4 (1902): 1-77.

[2] H.R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Salamis* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), 205.

[3] Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997), 174.

the king only two minas in payment and begged him to set the matter to rest. The king refused to accept any amount other than full payment, however, and sent Yaqqim-Addu to acquire the silver. In his report to the king, Yaqqim-Addu writes that Ili-šakim proposed selling his wife into slavery to pay for his debt.

> ARM 14 17 16-36
>
> Having arrived at Saggarātum, according to the instructions my lord had given me, I confronted Ili-šakim with these words: "I spoke in your favor in the presence of my lord, and he gave me the following instructions: 'Get him to pay 5 minas in exchange for his debt and free him!' Now pay 5 silver minas if you want me to release you." That's what I said to Ili-šakim.
>
> He gave me the following answer: "So take my house and my property to the palace!" I said, "Your house is worth (only) 1 silver mina."
>
> He replied: "I want to sell my wife, a male slave, and a female slave, who belonged to me, in order to obtain two minas. Now here is my property: 7 cattle, which are worth 1 mina; 30 male sheep at 1 piece each and 60 ewes at 1/2 each, total 90 sheep, 1 silver mina. 2 silver minas of pure metal and the value of 2 silver minas, 7 oxen and 90 sheep, this makes a total of 4 minas, one in the other."

Despite the early interest in women exemplified by Marx's study, however, Assyriological publications on the topic of women were relatively rare for much of the twentieth century. Ancient Near Eastern historians were drawn to the kings, priests, and merchants ubiquitous in the cuneiform documents excavated in the remains of cities such as Ur, Nippur, Lagaš, and Nineveh. Although monographs on kingship and royal ideology appeared, such as Henri Frankfort's seminal *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (1948) and *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* edited by S.H. Hooke (1958), little attention was paid to the political, economic, and cultic activities of royal women or to the significance of the royal court and the extended royal family as the interface between the king and his subjects.

Assyriology began incorporating feminist theories and approaches in the 1970s. The first wave of feminist scholarship focused on finding and identifying women in the historical record, a response to the works of military and political history that focused on the activities of men. In this initial stage, scholars focused on the study of institutionalized groups of women such as the *nadîtu* of Sippar[4] and the role of such "cloisters" in Mesopotamian society.[5] The expanded interest in ancient Near Eastern women culminated in the theme of the 33rd Reconcentre Assyriologique Internationale in 1986, "Le femme dans le Proche-Orient antique."[6]

Feminist research of the 1970s and 1980s suggested women in the ancient Near East had frequently held subordinate roles in society, but the causal elements underlying the gender dynamics of Mesopotamian society remained elusive. Taking as its starting point the assumption that the status of women declined over time, the second wave of feminist research sought to explain how and why women lost rights and privileges enjoyed in earlier periods. The theory of a primeval matriarchy replaced by the patriarchal system of the Bronze Age was revived and promulgated by scholars like Gerda Lerner in *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1986) and Marija Gimbutas in *The Civilization of the Goddess: The World of Old Europe* (1991). Scholars have not only debunked the theory of a primeval matriarchy but have argued that the notion of an idyllic primeval matriarchy is not empowering to women.

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[4] Rivkah Harris, "The nadîtu woman," in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964*, ed. R.D. Biggs and J.A. Brinkman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 106-135.

[5] Rivkah Harris, "The Organization and Administration of the Cloister in Ancient Babylonia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 6, No. 2 (1963): 121-157.

[6] Jean-Marie Durand, *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient antique: compte rendu de la XXXIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 7-10 Juillet 1986)* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987).

> The gendered stereotypes upon which the matriarchal myth rests persistently work to flatten out differences among women; to exaggerate differences betwene women and men; and to hand women an identity that is symbolic, timeless, and archetypal, instead of giving them the freedom to craft identities that suit their individual temperaments, skills, preferences, and moral and political commitments.[7]

Gary Beckman has shown that there is no evidence for the worship of a single, all-powerful mother goddess among the Hittites; rather, they worship a variety of goddesses with varying spheres of influence.[8]

The growing impact of postmodernism in the late 1980s led to the abandonment of attempts to seek a singular explanation for the status of women. Recognizing the fluidity and dynamism of gender, the third wave of feminism rejected the rigid male-female dichotomy that had characterized gender studies. Intersectionality was incorporated into feminist research, and gender was recognized as only one social marker and form of identity. The roles and status of women are affected not only by their gender, but also by factors such as ethnicity, religion, age, (dis)ability, wealth, and education. Additionally, gender studies expanded to include queer theory and masculinity studies, an examination of the intersectional social constructions of manhood. Books and articles addressing gender in the ancient Near East have proliferated in the last two decades and have investigated sexuality, gender hierarchy, gender ambiguity, and representations of gender. The 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in 2001 tackled gender studies in its theme of "Sex and gender in the ancient Near East."[9] *NIN: Journal of Gender Studies in*

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[7] Cynthia Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 8.

[8] Gary Beckman, "Goddess Worship - Ancient and Modern," in *"A Wise and Discerning Mind" Essays in Honor of Burke O. Long*, ed. Saul M. Olyan and Robert C. Culley (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2000), 11-23.

[9] Simon Parpola and Robert Whiting, *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6, 2001* (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002).

Antiquity, a journal dedicated to the study of gender in Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt, ran from 2000 to 2003. Nevertheless, the impact of third wave feminism on Assyriology has been minimal.[10]

By virtue of the surviving textual and archaeological evidence, the majority of studies of women in the ancient Near East have focused on women in elite contexts. The majority of cuneiform archives come from elite contexts such as palaces and temples, and the impressive finds from the tombs of elite women such as Pu-abi at Ur and Yaba, Banitu, and Atalia at Nimrud have garnered much interest. Consequently, collections of texts written to, from, or about women such as *Women's Writing of Ancient Mesopotamia*[11] and *Women in the Ancient Near East*[12] have a disproportionate focus on elite women. Sex and gender in the Neo-Assyrian period have received particularly close attention, and the studies by scholars such as Zainab Bahrani,[13] Sarah Melville,[14] Sherry Lou Macgregor,[15] Amy Gansell,[16] and Saana Svärd have discussed the representations and activities of royal women in the Neo-Assyrian period. Frauke Weiershäuser's

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[10] Saana Svärd, *Women and Power in Neo-Assyrian Palaces* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Project, 2015), 12.

[11] Charles Halton and Saana Svärd, *Women's Writing of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[12] Mark Chavalas, *Women in the Ancient Near East: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[13] Zainab Bahrani, *Women of Babylon: Gender and Representation in Mesopotamia* (London: Routledge, 2001).

[14] Sarah Melville, *The Role of Naqia/Zakutu in Sargonid Politics* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Project, 1999).

[15] Sherry Lou Macgregor, *Beyond Hearth and Home: Women in the Public Sphere in Neo-Assyrian Society* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Project, 2012).

[16] Amy Gansell, *Women of Ivory as Embodiments of Ideal Feminine Beauty in the Ancient Near East During the First Millennium BCE.* Unpublished dissertation (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2008).

recent study of the Ur III queens[17] and Tonia Sharlach's study of the Šulgi-simti archive[18] are welcome additions to our knowledge of the economic and cultic activities of early Mesopotamian queens. Although women in ancient Greece and ancient Egypt have been the topic of considerable discussion, Marten Stol's *Women in the Ancient Near East* remains the only comprehensive overview of women in ancient Mesopotamia.[19]

The study of women in Hittite society is still in a preliminary stage. The few studies of Hittite women have focused on elite women in Hittite society, particularly queens. Contributions include articles by Sara Kimball[20] and Gary Beckman[21] on Hittite queens and women and Heinrich Otten's compilation of sources for the life of Puduḫepa.[22] Ada Taggar-Cohen broached the topic of the cultic duties of the Hittite queen in her book on Hittite priests, but the discussion is brief and limited to the queen's role as an AMA.DINGIR priestess.[23] Bin-Nun's 1975 study of the Tawananna has been the sole monograph to take Hittite queenship as its topic.[24] Bin-Nun did not draw a sufficient distinction between the use of Tawananna as a personal name and its use as a title, however, leading to confused conclusions. Additionally, the importance of the title in the

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[17] Frauke Weiershäuser, *Die königlichen Frauen der III. Dynastie von Ur* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2008).

[18] Tonia M. Sharlach, *Ox of One's Own: Royal Wives and Religion at the Court of the Third Dynasty of Ur* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

[19] Marten Stol, *Women in the Ancient Near East* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

[20] Sara Kimball, "Hittite Kings and Queens," *Indo-European Perspectives* 43 (2002): 177-197.

[21] Gary Beckman, "From Cradle to Grave: Women's Role in Hittite Medicine and Magic," *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 8 (1993): 25-39.

[22] Heinrich Otten, *Puduhepa: eine hethitischen Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur zu Mainz, 1975).

[23] Ada Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2006), 380-383.

[24] Shoshana Bin-Nun, *The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1975).

New Kingdom must be questioned in light of the fact that Puduḫepa is attested with the title only once, despite appearing more frequently in the textual record than all other Hittite queens combined.[25]

The goals of this study

Though scholars acknowledge the unusual prominence of royal women in the Late Bronze Age, few studies have examined the relationship between women and power. What were the sources of a royal woman's power, and how did they differ from those of men? To what extent could a queen exercise control over members of the royal court? What techniques of resistance did royal women adopt to contest the will of the king, and to what extent were those tactics successful?

The second chapter of this study examines the interplay between ritual and power in Hittite festivals and ceremonies, looking particularly at the actions of the king and queen, in order to demonstrate that rituals were used to support royal ideology and reinforce the social hierarchy within the royal court. The kings of the ancient Near East employed and manipulated ideology to legitimize their rule. In Hittite royal ideology, the king and queen served as the high priest and priestess of the empire. In the New Kingdom, the king and queen were associated with the Storm God of Ḫatti and the Sun Goddess of Arinna, respectively. As part of their ritual duties to these chief deities, as well as the numerous other deities responsible for the continued success of the empire, the king and queen sponsored and often personally supervised the multitude of festivals that took place throughout the empire.

Festivals were a means of thanking the gods for their agricultural bounty and placating them to secure continued blessings, but festivals also created an environment in which social

[25] KUB 36.89

stratification was created and reinforced through ceremony and spectacle. The high level of detail in Hittite festival texts permits the reconstruction of elaborate processions and eating and drinking ceremonies. This chapter utilizes Michael Dietler's theoretical framework of feasting to study the reification of the social hierarchy within the Hittite court through religious festivals. Social hierarchies can be created and reinforced through spatial positioning (where individuals are situated relative to one another), the type and quality of food rations allotted to each individual, behavioral distinctions (whether an individual is sitting, squatting, sitting, kneeling, bowing, or some other behavior), and temporal distinctions (the order in which people are served food, participate in a procession, etc.). Although Hittite festival texts provide a wealth of information about the identities and roles of participants in religious ceremonies, this vast corpus of texts remains largely untapped. Drawing upon the KI.LAM and *nuntarriyašḫaš* festivals and incorporating information from the Palace Chronicles and instruction texts, I demonstrate how court etiquette and religious ceremonies combined to reinforce social stratification in the Hittite court. Social status was heavily dependent upon the king and queens's favor, and physically interacting with the royal couple was a mark of prestige. Few were accorded this privilege, however, and items frequently exchanged hands at least twice before reaching the throne dais from the most senior officials, cementing the elevated status of the king and queen and the chains of command that organized the cooks, waiters, priests, bodyguards, and other officials of the Hittite court.

Chapter 3 examines conflicts within the royal household and the role of royal women in those conflicts. For a proper understanding of the dynamics of power in the Hittite palace, one needs to examine not only the king and his role in governance, but also the resistance against the

desires and goals of the king. To this end, this chapter will examine conflicts between the king and the women of the royal family in order to better understand how royal women were able to contest the power of the king. Hittite historical accounts allege that royal women carried out magical attacks on their rivals, incited coups and rebellions against the king, and were complicit in assassinations.

Chapter 4 focuses on a single queen, the well attested Puduḫepa. The IEMP model of Michael Mann is used as a heuristic tool to analyze the power wielded and acquired by Puduḫepa in her interactions with members of the royal court. Known as far away as the Egyptian Delta, Puduḫepa was able to parlay her role as mother and matchmaker into political power. Through her control of the storage and distribution of royal goods in Ḫattuša, Puduḫepa sponsored economic exchange among her officials, who were reliant upon her favor for access to royal property. In the ideological sphere, Puduḫepa and her husband sponsored feasts that fed and entertained members of the court while creating and reinforcing social stratification. As the daughter of a local potentate but not a blood member of the royal family of Ḫattuša, Puduḫepa wielded no significant power in her own right, and her power and authority as queen derived from her husband and son. The political, economic, and ideological power wielded by Puduḫepa was therefore utilized to promote the stability of the reigns of Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV in a mutually dependent relationship.

Chapter 5 turns to the representation of royal women in Anatolian monuments in order to better understand the shift in royal ideology from the Hittite empire of the Bronze Age to the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of the Iron Age. Royal women in Hittite Anatolia were most active in the religious sphere, participating in festivals and making votive offerings to the gods. As Neo-

Hittite monuments primarily feature warfare, building activities, and other activities that typically fell within the male purview, few monuments from the Neo-Hittite kingdoms are dedicated to or by a royal woman.

Chapter 2

Pomp and Power: Religious activity as royal legitimization

The intersection between religious activity and female power and agency has been much discussed and debated in classical and biblical studies. Despite the prominence of women in Hittite rituals and festivals, however, Hittitology has not yet produced a study of the gender dynamics of Hittite religion. In her role as the high priestess of the empire and the mortal counterpart of the Sun Goddess, the Hittite queen played a significant role in the Hittite state cult. An examination of the cultic activities of the queen is therefore key for an understanding of how religious activity was used to support Hittite royal ideology and legitimize the rule of the king.

Hittite festivals: an introduction

The religion of the Hittite empire was a blend of Hattic, Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian, and Babylonian religious traditions. In the Old Kingdom, Hattic traditions were preeminent.

> The materials from prehistory in Anatolia show traits which - partly - live on in central Anatolia till the 2nd millennium B.C.E. mainly among the Hattian population and form a substantial part of "Hittite" religion. The Hittites proper - that is, the Indo-Europeans who began to settle in central Anatolia in the second half of the 3rd millennium - added little from their inherited Indo-European religion to this religious system.[26]

The accession of Tudḫaliya I/II to the throne ca. 1400 BCE marked the beginning of the New Kingdom. At its greatest extent, the Hittite empire encompassed most of Anatolia and northern Syria south to Kadesh and east to the Euphrates.[27] As the empire expanded, Hurrian religious traditions from Kizzuwatna were transmitted to the Hittite capital. The earliest Hurrian texts

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[26] Manfred Hutter, "Religion in Hittite Anatolia. Some Comments on 'Volkert Haas: Geschichte der hethitischen Religion,'" *Numen* 44 No. 1 (1997): 77.

[27] Billie Jean Collins, *The Hittites and their World* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 47.

from the Hittite capital likely date to the reign of Arnuwanda I, but Tašmišarri and his queen Taduḫepa are the royal couple most prominent in Hurrian texts from Ḫattuša.[28]

The Hurrian triad of Teššub, Ḫebat, the consort of Teššub, and Šauška, the sister of Teššub, rose to particular prominence in the New Kingdom. Teššub was associated with the sacred bulls Šeri and Ḫurri, the lightning bolt, and rain, and his cult was identified with that of the Anatolian Storm God. Ḫebat, the "Queen/Lady of Heaven," was typically depicted standing on a lion and wearing a polos and long cloak.[29] Originally an independent mountain god, Šarruma was incorporated into the Hittite-Hurrian cult as the son of Teššub and Ḫebat. The cult of the goddess Šauška, the goddess of love and war, was equated that of the Babylonian goddess Ištar. Nineveh was the primary cult center of Šauška, but Šauška had additional cult centers in Alalakh, Ugarit, Lawazantiya, and Šamuḫa.[30]

Festivals were at the core of this eclectic religious system. It was during festivals that the Hittite rulers, the bridge between the gods and their mortal servants, communed with the divine, propitiating the gods and goddesses in exchange for continued blessings and divine order. The Hittite economy was based on agriculture, and the Hittites received sunlight, rain, and high crop yields in exchange for the dutiful worship of the gods. The Hittites thanked the gods through the offering of food and drink and the provision of entertainment in the form of athletic contests, acrobatics, music, and dancing. The king and queen participated in the major Hittite festivals, and these cultic duties took precedence over other royal activities. In a prayer regarding a plague

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[28] Dennis R.M. Campbell, "The introduction of Hurrian religion into the Hittite empire." *Religion Compass* 10 (2016): 296.

[29] Maciej Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor* (Warsaw: Academic Publications Dialog, 1995), 95-97.

[30] Ibid., 98.

in Ḫatti, Muršili II castigated his father Šuppiluliuma I, the most expansionist of the New Kingdom rulers, for failing to carry out a promised festival for Ḫebat of Kummani in Kizzuwatna.

> When I went to Kummanni - my father had promised a Festival of Invocation to Ḫebat of Kummanni, but he had not yet given it to her, so she troubled me - I went to Kizzuwatna saying as follows: "Let me fulfill the promise of my father!" I constantly implored and invoked Ḫebat of Kummanni for myself, my wife, my son, my house, my land, and the brothers…[31]

In addition to her participation in the major festivals, the queen was responsible for praying on behalf of the king and the realm, performing oracular inquiries, and dedicating offerings to the gods to secure their blessings on the royal household.

Comprising approximately 9,500 tablet fragments, festival texts account for 40% of the texts from Ḫattusa and are the most well attested genre of texts from Hittite Anatolia.[32] Although the king and other members of the royal family often participated in festivals, particularly those held in the capital, it was impossible for the king and queen to participate in every festival. Hittite towns held a minimum of two festivals each year for the local gods, one in the fall when storage vessels were filled and another in the spring when the vessels were opened. Some Hittite towns celebrated as many as ten festivals per year.[33] Most festivals were carried out by the cult

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[31] Itamar Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 76.

[32] Daniel Schwemer, "Quality Assurance Managers at Work: The Hittite Festival Tradition," in *Liturgie oder Literatur? Die Kultrituale der Hethitier im transkulturellen Vergleich: Akten eines Werkstattgesprächs an der Akademie der Wissenschaften und die Literatur Mainz, 2-3. Dezember 2010*, ed. Gerfrid G.W. Müller (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), 7.

[33] Hans G. Güterbock, "Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals," in *Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (1969)*, ed. André Finet (Brussels: Comité Belge de recherches en Mésopotamie, 1970) 175-176.

personnel of local temples, but records referring to local festivals and temple inventories in the reign of Tudḫaliya IV indicate the palace was monitoring cultic activities beyond the capital.[34]

Two major festivals were celebrated in the heartland of the Hittite empire. The AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival was celebrated in the spring and involved placing the eponymous AN.DAḪ.ŠUM plant in temples. These spring festivities began as independent celebrations of the gods of Ḫattuša and nearby towns, but in the reign of Šuppiluliuma I these festivals were incorporated into the state cult of the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the premiere gods of Ḫatti.[35] The festival initially took place over a period of 35 days but was extended to 40 days in the reign of Tudḫaliya IV.[36] The EZEN *nuntarriyašḫaš*, the "festival of haste," was held in the fall when the king returned from military campaigns.[37]

Though the unwieldy size of the corpus and the repetitive nature of Hittite festivals has hampered analysis, festival texts shed light on Hittite geography, the impact of Hittite imperial expansion on local cults, and how ceremonies were used to display and legitimize royal power. Although ancient festivals were polysemic, the political dimension of Hittite festivals has received little attention relative to their religious context.[38] The elaborate processions and assemblies that comprised the festivals created and reinforced social distinctions through proximity to the king, richness of dress, and ritual behaviors.

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[34] Joost Hazenbos, *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults During the Thirteenth Century B.C.: An Appraisal of the Hittite Cult Inventories* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[35] Piotr Taracha, *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009) 138-139.

[36] Ibid., 139.

[37] Ibid., 140.

[38] For an analysis of the relationship between politics and performance in Mesopotamia, see Lauren Ristvet, *Ritual, Performance and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

One of the defining characteristics of festivals is their public and communal nature. Festivals such as Mardi Gras, Holi, and Eid al-Fitr frequently draw hundreds of participants and spectators and last for days. In the United States, the Burning Man festival drew more than 70,000 people in 2017.[39] Festivals in the ancient Near East were large, sometimes lengthy affairs that involved not only local residents but also the inhabitants of outlying towns and villages. Festivals were unique circumstances in which members of the royal court and other elites were able to view and interact with the royal couple. The power and legitimacy of the king was reinforced through spectacle, including processions, religious ceremonies, and the sponsorship of feasts and athletic contests. Moreover, the interaction of elites during festivals fostered social cohesiveness within the royal court and distinguished the participants from lower ranking members of Hittite society.

Commoners in Egypt and the ancient Near East had little hope of gaining an audience with the royal couple. Figures in Egyptian literature such as Khunanup the "eloquent peasant," the magician Djedi of the Westcar Papyrus, Sinuhe, and the unfaithful wife of the Tale of Two Brothers interact with the king or his representatives, but these interactions are presented as unusual and noteworthy events. The Hittite king likewise maintained a distance from his subjects. As the individual responsible for mediating between the Hittites and their gods, it was crucial that the king remain ritually pure at all times. An instruction text for palace servants provides instructions for activities such as securing proper leather for the king's shoes and

[39] Urquhart, Jim. "Burning Man: Fire and Dust Draw 70,000 People to Nevada Desert." NBC News, 4 Sept. 2017, https://www.nbcnews.com/slideshow/burning-man-fire-dust-draw-70-000-people-nevada-desert-n798506. Accessed 14 June 2018.

filtering the king's water.[40] Punishment for failure could be severe; the overseer Zuliya was put to the river ordeal and then executed after the king found a hair in his washbasin.[41] Festivals were therefore unique opportunities for the general populace to catch a glimpse of their rulers and gods. In Egypt, gods emerged from their inner sanctums only during festivals like the Opet festival celebrated in Thebes. Gods in the ancient Near East made similar perambulatory travels in festivals. Bel rode in a chariot in the *akîtu* festival of first millennium Babylon,[42] and Dagan participated in processions during the *zukru* festival in Emar.[43]

Festivals were charged with religious and political ideology, and the presentation and actions of the royal pair during festivals shaped and reinforced attitudes toward societal structure. The analysis of religion and religious ceremonies as social phenomena was developed by Emile Durkheim, who argued that the actions of cultic events were not simply empty gestures; they connected the individuals involved both to the god(s) and to their society, of which the gods are a figurative expression.[44] Religious festivals serve a social function as situations in which individuals congregate and renew social bonds through a common religious experience. On festival days, people turn thoughts from themselves and the "profane" to the "sacred," connecting with a unifying external power.[45]

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[40] CTH 265

[41] KUB 13.3 iii 21-35

[42] Julye Bidmead, *The Akitu Festival: Religious Continuity and Royal Legitimation in Mesopotamia* (Picscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014).

[43] Daniel E. Fleming, "Seeing and Socializing with Dagan at Emar's *zukru* Festival," in *The Materiality of Divine Agency,* ed. Beate Pongratz-Leisten and Karen Sonik (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 201.

[44] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1915), 257-258.

[45] Ibid., 389-390.

As Michael Dietler points out, feasts are "ritualized social events in which food and drink constitute the medium of expression."[46] Through the provision and consumption of food and drink, social hierarchies and gender divisions can be reinforced or challenged. Dietler proposes a tripartite classification scheme of feasts. The entrepreneurial or empowering feast involves the acquisition of Bourdieu's "symbolic capital," such as prestige and economic advantage, through the exploitation of commensal feasting, thereby moving up the social ladder.[47] Entrepreneurial feasts are arenas for the negotiation of power relations in communities. A host is always at risk of being upstaged at a later feast by one of his current guests, and those with the resources to sponsor feasts must do so periodically to reaffirm their social standing. Guests to feasts are able to stymie the social climbing efforts of their host, for a feast can be an expensive failure should too many guests fail to attend the feast or engage in inappropriate behavior during the feast, including violence, drinking to excess, and sexual activity.[48]

The patron-role feast is redistributive rather than reciprocal. When a host sponsors a feast, his superior status is acknowledged tacitly by those participating in the feast.[49] Patron-role feasts reaffirmed preexisting social inequalities rather than creating or challenging them. The Maxims of Ptahhotep, an Egyptian instruction text composed in the Middle Kingdom, provides explicit instructions for proper behavior while eating at the table of a social superior, instructing one to

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[46] Michael Dietler, "Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Power, and Status in Prehistoric Europe" in *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Pauline Wilson Wiessner, Polly Wiessner, and Wulf Schiefenhövel (Oxford, NY: Berghahn Books, 1996), 89.

[47] Ibid., 92.

[48] Monica Smith, "Feasts and Their Failures," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22 (2015): 1215-1237.

[49] Dietler, "Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy," 96.

eat whatever is placed before one without question and to stay silent until addressed.[50] Feasts during Hittite festivals are best classified as patron-role feasts.

The diacritical feast also reinforces unequal social relations, but it is an intraclass meal that marks social class through participation or exclusion. Cuisine and methods of consumption serve as the markers of differentiated social status. Because diacritical feasts make an explicit connection between feasting habits and social status, individuals of lower status are prone to emulate elite feasting behavior.[51]

Feasts signal not only differentiation in social class but also gender. Dietler has observed that gender can be marked in five ways in feasting activities.[52]

> (1) *spatial distinctions* (segregation or other structured differential positioning of men and women while eating)
>
> (2) *temporal distinctions* (such as order of serving or consumption)
>
> (3) *qualitative distinctions* (for example, the types of food, drink, or service vessels men and women are given or are allowed to consume)
>
> (4) *quantitative distinctions* (the relative amounts of food or drink served to men and women)
>
> (5) *behavioral distinctions* (differences in expected bodily comportment between women and men during and after feasting, including such things as permissible signs of intoxication, talking while eating, reaching for the food, serving or being served, withdrawing from the meal first, and so on).

In this chapter, the activities of the Hittite king and queen in festivals will be studied through these theoretical frameworks. Examples of gender differentiation in festivals and rituals include the order in which the king and queen drink, wash, enter, exit, whether the king and queen are

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[50] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 65.

[51] Dietler, "Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy," 98.

[52] Michael Dietler, "Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts" in *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*, ed. Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 90-91.

sitting or standing, as well as their relative position and height while doing so,[53] whether the king, queen, or other cultic participants are speaking or silent, whether the king or queen is making or receiving offerings, and the types of vessels and cultic implements that the king and queen use or manipulate.

Hittite Processions as maps of rank: the KI.LAM festival

Of the eighteen festivals celebrated regularly in Ḫattusa and its environs, the KI.LAM and AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festivals are the best known. The KI.LAM ("gatehouse") festival was celebrated in the autumn. Lasting three days, the festival consisted of religious processions to storehouses and temples within the city and assemblies that took place outside the city in the vicinity of the *ḫuwasi* sanctuary, possibly to be identified with Chamber A of Yazilikaya. Hattic terminology suggests a Hattic origin for the festival.[54]

> Each day of the KI.LAM festival began with the king completing his toilette.
>
> When it becomes light, they open the palace and draw back the curtains. The king comes into the dressing room and takes his regalia. He clothes himself in a white shirt of Subartu, a shaggy piece of clothing, and a *šepaḫinza* shirt. He takes a gold earring and puts on black shoes. The king comes forth from the cultic washroom. He steps onto the throne dais of the palace.[55]

The ritual clothing visually reinforced the majesty and sacredness of the ceremony. With his long robe, shoes with turned-up toes, earrings, skull cap, and lituus, the king was virtually indistinguishable from the Sun God in dress, underscoring the king's role as intermediary between the mortal and divine realms. In her study of the Hittite priesthood, Ada Taggar-Cohen

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[53] The Hittite king typically sits on a throne or straight-backed chair (written Sumerographically as ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA and ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A), whereas the queen sits on a stool (*kuppiš*, written Sumerographically as ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB).

[54] Volkert Haas, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 748.

[55] Itamar Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival: Part Two* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 9-10.

noted that the king habitually dressed himself in the "shirt of the god" (DINGIR-*LIM* TÚG.GÚ.É.A) before celebrating a festival, thereby elevating himself to a new level of sacredness.[56]

After the king seated himself on the throne dais, the chief palace official "grasped the cloak" of the chief of the palace smiths, who entered and presented the king with a ceremonial spear made of iron before being pulled back by the palace official. Subsequently the chief smith bowed to the king and exited the throne room.[57] Iron artifacts were rare in Hittite Anatolia,[58] and royal insignia in the form of lances and scepters are the only iron objects attested in the Old Kingdom.[59] The iron spear was therefore a visual reminder of the king's status and wealth to those watching the procession. Additionally, as meteoric iron was known to the Hittites, the iron spear may have held celestial associations linking the king with the Storm God of Ḫatti.[60] There is an explicit association at the end of the procession when palace attendants replace the king's spear with an iron axe decorated with a depiction of the Storm God.[61]

As the king left the throne room, he was greeted by palace officials, his bodyguard, and festival entertainers at the palace gate. The groups were distinguished through spatial positioning, the palace officials and bodyguard gathering on the left side of the gate and the entertainers gathering to the right. The guard "standing in first rank" stood facing the portico, and

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[56] Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood,* 423-434.

[57] Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival*, 10.

[58] Jana Siegelová and Hidetoshi Tsumoto, "Metals and Metallurgy in Hittite Anatolia" in *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*, ed. Hermann Genz and Dirk Paul Mielke (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 296.

[59] Ibid., 280.

[60] The building ritual in KBo 4.1 notes that workers brought back "black iron of the sky" (AN.BAR GE_6 *nepisas*).

[61] KBo 10.24 iii 23 - iv 4

his status was marked by a spear and scepter. Behavioral distinctions further divided the bodyguard and palace attendants from the entertainers. Whereas the bodyguard and palace attendants stood rigidly at attention and shouted "kaš!" upon sighting the king, the entertainers shouted "aha!" and proceeded to dance in the manner of a leopard.[62]

The ordering of the cultic personnel in the procession indicates their social status relative to one another. As R. Malcolm Smuts has noted, these carefully curated processions served as a "visual map of the ranks of honour" in court societies.

> The draft order of march, produced after careful scrutiny of the medieval precedents, ranked the King's attendants hierarchically. Minor court functionaries, such as messengers of the Chamber, came first followed by progressively more important Crown servants, intermingled with bishops, peers and their wives and noblemen's sons. The procession therefore provided a visual map of the ranks of honour that culminated in the King's person, in which the place of every important individual in the realm was precisely determined.[63]

Contrary to the medieval processional order, Hittite processions were led by the most senior members of the kingdom. The king, riding in a cart, headed the procession and was followed by the queen in her own cart.

KBo 10.24 5-12

> The king sits down in his carriage. They bring the carriage of the queen before the gate of the palace. The queen sits down in her carriage and goes after the king.[64]

As the only participants in the procession not on foot, the king and queen were set apart by their prestigious mode of transportation. Wheeled vehicles were commonly used as a mark of status in

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[62] Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival*, 11.

[63] R. Malcolm Smuts, "Occasional Events, Literary Texts and Historical Interpretations" in *Neo-Historicism: Studies in Renaissance Literature, History, and Politics*, ed. Robin Headlam Wells, Glenn Burgess and Rowland Wymer (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000), 194-195.

[64] Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival*, 19.

the ancient world. In a wall relief in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Mahu, Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and one of their daughters ride in a chariot while Mahu, the vizier, and the guards run alongside the chariot.[65] In the Roman Republic, *matronae* rode in the *pilentum* to festivals. The high status of the Vestal Virgins afforded them the privilege of riding in a *pilentum*, *carpentum*, *plaustrum*, and *currus*.[66]

Following the king and queen were oxen with horns decorated with gold, and at the rear of the procession, dancers danced their way through the gateway complex. After the procession came through the "gatehouse of the gods," the priest of the tutelary deity, the holy priest of the tutelary deity, and a lector priest joined the procession, followed in turn by spear-men, men bearing copper fleeces, the "animals of the gods,"[67] the "dog men," the singer of the tutelary deity, the men of Anunuwa who sang in Hattic, men bearing stag emblems, and the *zinḫuri* men.[68]

Social rank in Hittite religious assemblies: the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival

The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival was celebrated in the spring and originally lasted 38 days, during which the royal retinue visited the sanctuaries of the Sun Goddess of Arinna and other important deities in central Anatolia and placed a flower, probably a crocus, within the temples as a symbol

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[65] N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna Part IV: The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and Others* (London: Offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1906), 16.

[66] Lesley E. Lundeen, "In search of the Etruscan priestess: a re-examination of the hatrencu," in *Religion in Republican Italy*, ed. Celia E. Schultz and Paul B. Harvey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38.

[67] These included a silver leopard, a silver wolf, a gold lion, a silver boar, a lapis boar, and a silver bear.

[68] Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival*, 3-15.

of renewed life.[69] Day 16 of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival indicates that, as the key cultic participants, the king and queen entered the temple last.

> Before the king and queen enter the temple of the War God, the entertainers, lector priests, and reciters have entered and taken their places.[70]

As the king and queen pause in the forecourt of the temple of Zababa, two palace servants (DUMU É.GAL) bring them water for washing their hands. The king and queen jointly wash their hands, and the chief of the palace servants (GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL) offers them a linen to dry their hands.[71] This routine ceremony reinforces the hierarchy within the palace; the two palace attendants passively hold the basin of water for the king and queen to wash their hands, but only the chief palace official has the privilege of passing a hand-towel to the king and queen.

After the initial ceremonies, the king and queen separate. The queen enters the inner temple, and the king assumes his position on the throne dais.[72] The king, unaccompanied by the queen, then proceeds to make sacrificial meat offerings to the god on the hearth, before the throne, at the window, at the latch of the door, and again beside the hearth. Subsequently the chief of the cooks (UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM) pours a libation of wine in the same locations in addition to a libation to the statue of Ḫattušili (ALAM ^{M}*Ḫattuši*-DINGIR-*LIM*).[73] As the queen plays virtually no role in military matters, her presence in the worship of the war god was seemingly not required. Moreover, the libation to the statue of Ḫattušili, almost certainly

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[69] Haas, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Religion,* 772-774.

[70] Enrico Badali and Christian Zinko, *Der 16. Tag des AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festes: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Glossar.* (Innsbruck: Scientia, 1989), 48.

[71] Ibid., 48.

[72] Ibid., 48.

[73] Ibid., 49.

Ḫattušili of the early Old Kingdom, stresses an unbroken continuity of kings from the beginning of the Hittite kingdom to the day of the celebration; here too, in this crossing of male generations, the queen need not play a role. The use of cultic practices to reinforce an impression of royal continuity is well attested in New Kingdom Egypt. A relief in the Abydos temple of Seti I depicts the king and his young son Ramesses worshiping before a list of Egyptian kings extending back to the First Dynasty.[74] A relief from the Ramesseum depicts Ahmose, Montuhotep II, and Menes, the founders of the New Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and Old Kingdom, respectively.[75] Just as the Hittite king sponsored a libation before the statue of Ḫattušili, arguably the most significant of the kings of the early Old Kingdom, Ramesses II stressed his association with prominent rulers of the past.

The assembly began with preparations on the throne dais. A palace servant brought in a gold lance, which he handed to the king, and a lituus, which he placed on the throne dais to the king's right before assuming a position over bread baskets. Whereas the iron spear and axe linked the king to the Storm God during the KI.LAM festival procession, the gold lance and lituus linked the king to the Sun God during the assembly. Two palace attendants and the chief palace official then approached the king and queen in order to place napkins upon the knees of the king and queen to maintain the cleanliness of their cultic garments. The palace servants then assume positions over the bread baskets. A table is then brought in by the chief of the palace

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[74] David O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 19.

[75] Colleen Manassa, *Imagining the Past: Historical Fiction in New Kingdom Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 12.

servants, the palace servants and the chief of the table-men (UGULA LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR), who sets up the table for the king before leaving the assembly.[76]

Once the palace attendants had taken their positions, the guards filed into the room and likewise squatted over baskets of bread.[77] The initial assembly culminated in a ceremony of breaking bread that highlights the rigid hierarchy of the Hittite court.

> The barber (^{LÚ}ŠU.I) brings one sweet loaf. He hands it to a palace servant. The palace servant hands it to the chief of the palace servants, and the chief of the palace servants breaks it on a gold lance for the tutelary deity. The chief of the palace servants hands it back to the the palace servant. The palace servant hands it back to the barber.[78]

Although it would have been more efficient for the barber to bring the loaf of bread directly to the chief palace official, the use of an intermediary emphasizes the gap in status between the chief palace official and the barber. Not worthy of interacting directly with the chief palace official, who was himself worthy of interacting with the royal couple, the barber passed the bread to a palace servant, who delivered it in turn to his superior. Etiquette that required a court official to defer publicly to his superior served a fundamental role in cementing social hierarchies. In his discussion of the French court of Louis XIV, Norbert Elias noted that such ceremonies gradually acquire the binding force of tradition, even in instances in which the etiquette is inconvenient for all involved.

> The maid of honour had the right to pass the queen her chemise. The lady-in-waiting helped her put on her petticoat and dress. But if a princess of the royal family happened to be present, she had the right to put the chemise on the queen. On one occasion the queen had just been completely undressed by her ladies. Her chambermaid was holding the chemise and had just presented it to the maid of honour when the Duchess of Orléans came in. The maid of honour gave it back to the chambermaid, who was about to pass it

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[76] Badali and Zinko, *Der 16. Tag des AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festes,* 49-50.

[77] Ibid., 50.

[78] Ibid., 50-51.

> to the duchess when the higher-ranking Countess of Provence entered. The chemise now made its way back to the chambermaid, and the queen finally received it from the hands of the countess. She had had to stand the whole time in a state of nature, watching the ladies complimenting each other with her chemise.[79]

Examples of the etiquette that reifies these chains of command are well known from the Hittite instruction texts. The protocol for a bodyguard who needed to urinate, for example, was remarkably complex.

> CTH 262 33-42
>
> A bodyguard [does not (just) go] outside on his own volition. If he really has to pee, then he will run after the whole [bo]dyguard, and he will tell the b[od]yguard who stands before him: "I have to go down to the toilet." Then that one passes it on to another bodyguard, then that one passes it on to a man of third rank, then the man of third rank tells a man of second rank, then the man of second rank tells the commander-of-ten of the bodyguard. If the chief of the bod[yg]uard is also present, he is in the [cou]rt of the bodyguard, then the [co]mman[der-of-ten of the bodygua]rd conveys it to the chief of the bodyguard, (asking) "May he [g]o down to the toilet?"[80]

Although only one barber and a small number of palace attendants participated in the bread-breaking ceremony, the text provides no details about the selection of the participants among the palace staff. The prospect of participation in festivals, which allowed rare access to high quality food and entertainment, may well have served as motivation for dutiful service.

The great assembly culminated in toasts to the gods and a feast. The order in which participants were seated, the patterns of squatting and sitting, and the food rations allotted to participants contributed to the reification of social hierarchies.

> The herald goes out. He brings in the princes and seats them. Then the herald leaves and leads in the cooks of higher rank. The cooks take their places. Then the herald leaves

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[79] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society,* trans. Stephen Mennell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 95.

[80] Jared L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 105-107.

> again and goes before the holy priests, the *en* of Ḫatti, and the mother-of-the-god of the goddess Ḫalki and seats them. Then the chief palace official enters and announces to the king: "Should they bring forth the Inanna-instruments?" The king says: "They should carry them forth!"
>
> The herald goes to the gate and says to the musicians: "Music! Music!" Then the musicians lift their Inanna-instruments. The herald goes before the musicians who carry in the Inanna-instruments, and they take their place in front of the *taršanzipaš*. The lector priests, reciters, and priests come in with Inanna-instruments. They go and take their seats. The cooks serve a "meat soup." They distribute cold fat.
>
> The herald goes before the visiting dignitaries (LÚ.MEŠ *ÚBARUM*), the master of the inner temple (EN GIŠ*zaḫurtiyaš tunnakkiešnaš*), and the commanders (LÚ.MEŠDUGUD) and seats them. When the pots have been distributed, the chief palace official announces the *marnuwan*-beer to the king: "Should we serve the *marnuwan*-beer?" They serve the *marnuwan*-beer to the assembly.[81]

The herald (LÚ GIŠPA) is responsible for seating participants in the proper order. First to be seated are the "princes" (DUMU.LUGAL) and the palace officials (DUMU.É.GAL). That the princes are seated before even the cooks, who must prepare the soup, fat, and beer for distribution, is an indication of their exalted position in the Hittite court. As befits their status, the high priests and the priestess of the grain god are the first cultic personnel to enter the forecourt. Though the musicians, lector priests, and chanters enter simultaneously, suggesting a similar rank, only the lector priests and chanters were given chairs. Last to be seated are the noble citizens of Ḫattusa, the chief priest of the temple, and dignitaries visiting from outlying towns and regions. That this group was seated last suggests a comparatively low social status. The chief priest of the temple was surely of more exalted status as the musicians and lector priests, but it is possible his role in cultic rituals - and by extension his personal importance - was superseded on festival occasions by that of the royal couple. The participants differed not only in processional

[81] Badali and Zinko, *Der 16. Tag des AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festes*, 51.

order but also food rations; the citizens and dignitaries were seated after the distribution of soup and fat and received only *marnuwan*-beer.

The king and queen carry out the religious activities during the assembly. After the king has signaled for the janitor (^{LÚ}ŠU.I) to sweep the floor, two palace servants bring the royal couple water to wash their hands. Once again it is the chief of the palace servants who offers them a linen cloth to dry their hands. Following the hand washing ceremony, the chief cupbearer and a palace cupbearer bring *marnuwan*-beer to the king and queen for the drinking ceremony.

> While sitting, the king and queen drink the god Ištanu and the divine Tappinu. The priests play the great Inanna-instruments. The king libates into a bowl. The cupbearer brings forth a thick sour bread and gives it to the king. The king breaks it. He sets it aside. The table-man brings forth two loaves of sweet bread from the table. He gives them to the king, and the king breaks them. The table-man lays them back upon the table. The king and queen sit back down, and the servant places the knee cloths on their knees again.[82]

The king and queen perform joint actions during the assembly, such as washing and drying their hands and drinking (to) the god Ištanu. These actions are unique to the royal couple and set them apart from their attending courtiers during the assembly. The drinking ceremony of the king and queen highlights their role as intermediaries between mortals and the gods; only they can consume the god safely. It is the king who takes the lead during the assembly, however, and the queen neither breaks loaves of bread nor decides when the Inanna-instruments or *marnuwan*-beer should be brought into the assembly. Though the queen is quite literally placed on a level above the rest of the Hittite court, the festival proceedings mark her status as subordinate to the king.

The order of processions and distribution of food during festivals created and reinforced social hierarchies. The Hittite court was stratified, and cooks, waiters, priests, bodyguards, and other officials of the Hittite court were bound by chains of command that were reified through

[82] Ibid., 52.

etiquette during festivals. Social status was signaled through dress, spatial positioning and proximity to the king, the order of processing and seating, and the allotment of food rations and prizes. Most importantly, the exalted position of the king and queen was reinforced through festival etiquette. On the horizontal axis, the king and queen took pride of place at the head of the festival processions. On the vertical axis, the royal couple sat on a throne dais during the great assembly, ensuring that they dominated their subjects facing them, who sat on chairs on the floor or squatted over baskets of bread.

Communing with female ancestors: the nuntarriyašḫaš festival

The EZEN *nuntarriyašḫaš*, the "festival of haste," was held in the fall when the king returned from military campaigns. The festival lasted for forty days in the reign of Tudḫaliya IV.[83] On the fifteenth day of the festival, the king travels from Taḫurpa to Arinna, while the queen stays in Taḫurpa and carries out festivities for the Sun Goddess of Arinna and Mezzulla. During this ceremony, the queen makes offerings to deceased queens.

> KUB 25.14 Vs. 18-30
>
> And the queen comes out of the inner chamber and goes into the palace (É*ḫalintuwaš*). The palace servants bring her water for her hands. The priest gives her a cloth, and she dries her hands. The queen prostrates herself before the Sun Goddess of Arinna.
>
> [The queen] sacrifices to the Sun Goddess of Arinna as follows: She sacrifices seven lambs, of which two are for the Sun Goddess of Arinna of Walanni, one lamb is for the Sun Goddess of Arinna of Nikkalmati, one lamb is for the Sun Goddess of Arinna of Ašmunikkal, one lamb is for the Sun Goddess of Arinna of Taduḫepa, one lamb is for the

[83] Taracha, *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia*, 140.

> Sun Goddess of Arinna of Ḫenti, and one lamb is for the Sun Goddess of Arinna of Tawananna.[84]

The offerings are dedicated only to queens of the Middle and New Kingdom. Walanni was the wife of Kantuzzili, the REX.FILIUS of an unidentified king and the probable father of Tudḫaliya I.[85] Nikkalmati was the wife of Tudḫaliya I/II, and her daughter Ašmunikkal was the wife of Arnuwanda I. Taduḫepa, Ḫenti, and Tawananna were wives of Šuppiluliuma I. In contrast to the libation of the king before the statue of Ḫattušili during the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the queen does not pay homage to any queens of the Old Kingdom. Indeed, the list signals a rejuvenation of the royal line at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Nikkalmati may have come from Kizzuwatna, for she bore a Hurrian name, and Hurrian religious practices begin appearing in the Hittite capital at this time.[86] Tudḫaliya I did not pass the throne to a son; instead he was succeeded by Arnuwanda I, the wife of his daughter Ašmunikkal. Since Arnuwanda was able to rule only through his marriage to her, Ašmunikkal was a prominent figure in the reign of Arnuwanda I, and a joint prayer of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikkal will be examined later in this chapter. Ḫenti was important to later Hittite rulers due to her status as the mother of Muršili II and grandmother of Muwatalli II and Ḫattušili III. The sacrifices of the queen to the spirits of the deceased queens reinforces the connection and continuity between the royal house of the present and bygone kings and queens. The sacrifices were undoubtedly intended to win the favor of the deceased queens. Ḫenti vanished from the historical record and was replaced by Tawananna, the daughter of the king of Babylon and the next wife of Šuppiluliuma I. Tawananna in turn was

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[84] Mitsuo Nakamura, *Das hethitische* nuntarriyašḫaš-*Fest* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002), 193.

[85] Ali M. Dinçol and Belkıs Dinçol, "Wer war Walanni?" *Hethitica* 16 (2010): 35–38.

[86] Campbell, "The introduction of Hurrian religion," 297.

banished from the Hittite court by her stepson Muršili II, who incurred her displeasure. By making sacrifices even to queens who had fallen out of favor, the queen ensures that the palace is not beset by malevolent spirits of the deceased.

Communicating with the gods: queenly prayers

The earliest form of Hittite prayers appeared in the Old Hittite period. Often embedded in rituals, the *mugawar* prayers, derived from *mugai-,* "to invoke," took the form of short invocations and exhortations to the gods.[87] The more common Hittite term for prayer, however, was *arkuwar*, derived from *arkuwai-*, "to plead, argue." *Arkuwar* prayers consisted of legalistic pleas to the gods and constituted the main part of prayers by the reign of Muwatalli II. Melchert has shown that *arkuwar* was used to refer to cases presented by both sides of a dispute, each servant presenting his case to his master.

> KBo III 3 iv 8-11
>
> *n=at PANI* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI takšan tiyanzi n=aš* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI ANA* DI.ḪI.A *punušmi nu=za kuiš kuit arkuwar* DÙ-*zi n=at* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI ištamašzi*
>
> They shall step before My Majesty together, and I My Majesty will interrogate them about the dispute, and I His Majesty will listen to the plea that each makes.[88]

Most of the surviving *arkuwar* prayers preserve arguments presented to the gods by their mortal servant and steward, the Hittite king, and were accompanied by a *mugawar* that summoned and pacified angry deities. Additionally, a typical Hittite prayer included the praising of the god (Hittite *walliya-*) in the form of a hymn adapted from Babylonian models and was concluded by a *malduwar*, a brief votive prayer in which the individual promised offerings to the gods in

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[87] Taracha, *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia,* 141-142.

[88] H. Craig Melchert, "Hittite *arku- '*Chant, Intone' vs. *arkuwā(i)-* 'Make a plea,'" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 50 (1998): 45-46.

return for a favorable response. Prayers sometimes included a *wekuwar*, a short plea for protection for the royal family and the land of Ḫatti.[89]

In the majority of Hittite prayers, the king or one of his representatives is the defendant. In a few instances, however, the queen makes a plea with or independently of her husband. The prayer of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal (CTH 375) is the earliest known prayer made by a Hittite queen. The prayer discusses the Kaška incursions into Ḫatti. Bands of Kaška had looted temples and captured prisoners and cattle, leaving devastation in their wake. The prayer begins with an invocation by the king and queen.

KUB 31.123+FHL3 i 1-4

> [Thus says] His Majesty, Arnuwanda, Great King, and [Ašmunikal, Great Queen]: [To] you, O Sun Goddess of Arinna, [and to you, O gods, this prayer] which Arnuwanda…[90]

Ašmunikal is present not as a passive observer but as an active participant, voicing the plea to the gods beside her husband. The royal couple emphasize the piety of the Hittites, who alone of the peoples of the ancient Near East attend to the needs of the gods appropriately.

CTH 375 1A i 1-27 + 1B i 9-11

> Only Hatti is a true, pure land for you gods, and only in the land of Hatti do we repeatedly give you pure, great, fine sacrifices. Only in the land of Hatti do we establish respect for you gods. Only you gods know by your divine spirit that no one had ever taken care of your temples as we have.
>
> No [one] had ever shown more reverence to your [cities?]; no one had ever taken care of your divine goods — silver and gold rhyta and garments — as we have. Furthermore, your divine images of silver and god, when anything had grown old on some god's body, or when any objects of the gods had grown old, no one had ever renewed them as we have.

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[89] Gary Beckman, "Prayers, Hymns, Incantations, and Curses: Anatolia," in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. Sarah Iles Johnston (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 359.

[90] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 40.

> Furthermore, no one had established such respect in the matter of the purity of the rituals for you; no one had set up for you like this the daily, monthly, and annual seasonal rituals and festivals.
>
> Furthermore, they used to oppress your servants and towns, O gods, by means of corvée duties; they would take your divine servants and maids and turn them into their own servants and maids. [For you, O gods,] I, Arnuwanda, Great King, [and Ašmunikal, Great Queen, have shown] reverence in every respect.[91]

In the *arkuwar*, the king and queen make their case to the gods by appealing to their self-interest. By turning against Ḫatti, the gods are acting against their own interests. The Kaška have no interest in maintaining the cults of the gods, and their occupation of cult centers such as Nerik made the celebration of festivals north of the Hittite heartland dangerous or impossible. The prayer emphasizes that both "Arnuwanda, Great King, and Ašmunikal, Great Queen" have worshiped the gods properly in every respect. The king and queen portray themselves in their prayer as ideal, pious rulers. Although the kings and the queens of the past had imposed corvée on priests and temple servants, Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal swear that they have not done so. Additionally, in a *do ut des* agreement, the king and queen promise offerings greatly exceeding the meager offerings of past kings.

> CTH 375 1B i 12-17
>
> Only you [gods] know [by your divine spirit] about the offering bread and libations which they used to give [to you].
> [We,] Arnuwanda, Great King, and Ašmunikal, Great Queen, shall regularly present fat and fine [oxen] and sheep, fine offering bread, and libations.[92]

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[91] Ibid., 41.

[92] Ibid., 41.

Significantly, the king and queen promise to provide regular offerings jointly. Ašmunikal had access to temple and palatial stores, and she possessed a joint seal with her husband, the outer ring of which outlined her title and royal lineage.

> [NA4.]KIŠIB ^{MUNUS}*ta-wa-na-an-na* ^{F}*Aš-mu-ni-kal* MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL D[UMU.MUNUS ^{F}*Ni-kal-ma-ti* MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL x?] DUMU.MUNUS ^{M}*Du-ut-ḫa-li-i*[*a* LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG]
>
> Seal of the Tawananna Asmunikkal, the Great Queen, d[aughter of Nikkalmati, the Great Queen] and daughter of Tudḫaliya [the Great King, the hero][93]

The outer ring of the seal contains the name and titles of her husband, Arnuwanda I.

> [N]A4.KIŠIB *ta-ba-ar-na* ^{M}*Ar-nu-an-ta* LUGAL.GAL DUMU ^{M}*Du-u*[*t-ḫa-li-ia* LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG]
>
> Seal of the Tabarna, Arnuwanda, the Great King, so of Tudḫaliya, the Great King, the hero[94]

As Ašmunikkal was the daughter of Tudḫaliya I and Nikkalmati, her husband Arnuwanda should be identified as an *antiyant* son of Tudḫaliya and Nikkalmati and eligible to succeed Tudḫaliya upon the throne in the absence of surviving sons according to the rules of succession codified in the Telepinu Proclamation.

> CTH 19 ii 36-39
>
> King shall become a son (who is) a prince of the first rank only. If there is no first rank prince, he who is a second rank son, he shall become king. But if there is no prince (among the ranks of) heir(s), then they shall take an in-marrying (son-in-law) for a daughter of first rank, and he shall become king.[95]

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[93] Richard H. Beal, "Studies in Hittite History," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* Vol. 35.1-2 (1983): 115.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Petra Goedegebuure, "The Proclamation of Telepinu," in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*, ed. Mark W. Chavalas (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 233.

The prominence of Ašmunikkal is undoubtedly due to her legitimizing role during Arnuwanda's reign; it was only through his marriage to Ašmunikkal, the daughter of the previous king, that Arnuwanda had a claim to the throne.

The prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal focuses on the devastation caused by the Kaška incursions. The king and queen discuss the pillaging in detail, noting the Kaška have seized sacrificial animals, divine emblems, rhyta and serving vessels, and temple staff. In light of recent archaeological discoveries, the description of plundered metal objects is particularly intriguing.

> CTH 375 1A iii 1-3
>
> They plundered silver and gold, rhyta and cups of silver, gold and copper, your objects of bronze, and your garments, and they divided them up among themselves.[96]

A rare assemblage of silver vessels, mugs, bowls, rhyta, and statuettes was discovered near the town of Kınık and may be the remnants of the booty plundered from Hittite temples by the Kaška.[97]

A prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna is the only other prayer in Hittite dedicated by a queen. Puduḫepa begins the prayer by bringing the goddess' attention to the dutiful service of the king and queen.

> I, Puduḫepa, am your long-time servant, a calf of your stable, a (corner)stone of your foundation. You picked me up, my lady, and Ḫattušili, your servant, to whom you married me, and he too was attached by destiny to the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son. The place in which you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, installed us, is the place of your beloved son, the Storm-god of Nerik. How the former kings neglected it, that you know

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[96] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 42.

[97] K. Emre and A. Çınaroğlu, "A Group of Metal Hittite Vessels from Kınık-Kastamonu," in *Aspects of art and iconography: Anatolia and its neighbors: studies in honor of Nimet Özgüç*, ed. Machteld Mellink, Edith Porada, and Tahsin Özgüç (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1993), 675-713.

> O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. Those who were former kings, to whom you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, had given weapons, kept defeating the [surrounding] enemy lands, but no one [tried] to take the city of Nerik.[98]

Puduḫepa's description of herself as a "calf of your stable" is a filial metaphor, known also from the edict of Ḫattušili I.

> Whereupon his mother bellowed like an ox: "They have torn my bull-calf from my living womb, (as if I were) a cow, and they have deposed him. (And now) you will kill [him]!"[99]

Puduḫepa points out to the goddess that Ḫattušili not only reclaimed Nerik but maintained control of the city even when under attack by his nephew Urḫi-Teššup.

> The princes kept intimidating him, saying: "For Nerik you might [perish]."[100]

Due to the military victories of Ḫattušili, yearly festivals could be celebrated in Nerik once again.

After the discussion of the resumption of festivals, Puduḫepa makes a plea by emphasizing her own merits.

> Have pity on me, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and hear me! Even among humans one often speaks the following saying: "To a woman of the birthstool the deity grants her wish." [Since] I, Puduḫepa, am a woman of the birthstool, and I have devoted myself to your son, have pity on me, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and grant me what [I ask of you]! Grant life to [Ḫattušili], your servant![101]

Puduḫepa makes a fascinating juxtaposition in this transition. The queen lauds the military victories of her husband, particularly the reconquest of Nerik that enabled the resumption of

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[98] Singer, *Hittite Prayers,*102.

[99] Gary Beckman, "Bilingual Edict of Ḫattušili I," in *The Context of Scripture II: Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World,* ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 79.

[100] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 102.

[101] Ibid., 103.

yearly and monthly festivals. Puduḫepa's worth, however, is derived from bringing forth children as a midwife, or "woman of the birthstool." This juxtaposition of warfare and childbirth is an apt one, for childbirth was exceedingly dangerous in the ancient world. Estimates of Roman maternal mortality rates range from 10 to 15 deaths per 1000 births, making a Roman woman 100 to 150 times more likely to die in childbirth than a woman in a developed nation today, where the maternal mortality rate is 0.1 per 1000 births.[102]

Puduḫepa makes additional pleas to Lelwani, the goddess of the underworld, Zintuḫi, the granddaughter of the Storm God of Ḫatti and the Sun Goddess of Arinna, Mezzulla, the daughter of the Storm God and the Sun Goddess, and the Storm God of Zippalanda, the son of the Storm God and the Sun Goddess. The queen requests that each deity intercede with the Storm God of Ḫatti and the Sun Goddess of Arinna on her behalf. In return, she promises a silver statue of Ḫattušili with extremities of gold, an ornament, towns and deportees, and a golden shield to Lelwani, Zintuḫi, Mezzulla, and the Storm God of Zippalanda, respectively. Trevor Bryce has observed that the request for intercession parallels how one "one might appeal to the king of Hatti through lower levels of the royal bureaucracy."[103] It is possible that members of the Hittite aristocracy may have appealed in the same fashion to Puduḫepa and her daughters, asking them to intercede on their behalf with the king, but no evidence for requests of intercession has survived.

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[102] Beryl Rawson, "Finding Roman Women," in *A Companion to the Roman Republic,* ed. Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 335.

[103] Trevor Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 146.

Dreams in the Ancient Near East

In a seminal study of dreams in the ancient Near East, Oppenheim distinguished between message dreams and symbolic dreams. Message dreams are revelatory dreams that "contain a message and occur, as a rule, only under critical circumstances and then as a privilege to the leader of the social group."[104] A record of a message dream noted the identity of the person who experienced the dream, the location in which he or she had the dream, and the verbal contents of the dream.[105] In a symbolic dream, the message is transmitted through allegorical means rather than words.[106] Dream texts can be studied as political propaganda, for a dream message from the gods "established the dreamer as a member of an exclusive club - as one who had been in direct contact with the gods."[107] That a king received messages from the gods in his dreams demonstrates divine favor. In the Hittite palace, kings were regular recipients of dream messages, which were carefully recorded. Uniquely in the ancient Near East, the Hittite queen Puduḫepa was also the recipient of divine message dreams. These dreams marked the special status of queens, setting them apart from other royal women of the palace. In the case of Puduḫepa, the wife of a usurper, dream messages provided legitimization for her husband's rule and her own lofty status as his politically active consort. Hittite message dreams are often accompanied by a vow and subsequent offerings to the gods, a ceremonial reminder of the interaction between the

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[104] A. Leo Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 46.5 (1956): 185.

[105] Ibid., 186.

[106] Ibid., 206.

[107] Kasia Szpakowska, "Through the Looking Glass: Dreams in Ancient Egypt," in *Dreams: A Reader on Religious, Cultural and Psychological Dimensions of Dreaming*, ed. Kelly Bulkeley (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 33.

gods and the royal couple. Hittite dreams have been collated and studied by Alice Mouton,[108] and Gary Beckman has studied dreams as a means of communication between sleepers and the gods, complex messages that sometimes required oracular inquiries to clarify their meaning.[109]

Message dreams are rare in the Egyptian historical record prior to the Late Period, but they appear as early as the Middle Kingdom in literary texts. At the beginning of the *Instructions of Amenemhat*, Amenemhat I visits his son Senusret I in a dream to impart advice about how to rule.

> *ḥꜣt-ʿ m sbꜣyt ỉrt.n ḥm n nswt-bỉty sḫtp-ỉb-rʿ sꜣ rʿ*
> *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt mꜣʿ-ḫrw ḏd=f m wpt mꜣʿt n sꜣ=f nb-r-ḏr*
>
> The beginning of the teaching made by the majesty of Sehetepibre, the son of Re, Amenemhat, true of voice, (as) he spoke in a message of truth to his son, the lord of all.[110]

Since Amenemhat is deceased at the time of his speaking to Senusret, the message dream is integral to the frame story. It is only by means of a dream that the assassinated king can warn his successor about the dangers of becoming too complacent with the people of the palace. That the message comes while Senusret is sleeping and defenseless underscores the importance of the message, for Amenemhat reveals that he had been attacked by his bodyguards while sleeping.

> *sḏr.kw ḥr ḥnkyt=ỉ bꜣg.n=ỉ*
> *šꜣʿ.n ḥꜣty=ỉ šms ḳd=ỉ*
> *ỉst spḫr ḫʿw nḏ-r ḥr=ỉ*
> *ỉr.kwỉ mỉ sꜣ-tꜣ n ḫꜣst*
> *nhs.n=ỉ n ʿḥꜣw ỉw=ỉ n ḥʿw=ỉ*

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[108] Alice Mouton, *Rêves hittites: Contribution à une histoire et une anthropologie du rêve en Anatolie ancienne* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[109] Gary Beckman, "On Hittite Dreams," in *ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis: Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. Itamar Singer (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2010).

[110] Transliterated and translated from the hieroglyphic transcription in Michel Dessoudeix, *Lettres Égyptiennes III: La Littérature du Moyen Empire* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2016), 504.

gm.n=ỉ ḥwny-r-ḥr pw n mnf

I lay upon my bed, (as) I had grown tired,
and my heart began to follow sleep.
Suddenly weapons of protection were turned against me.
I was like a snake of the desert.
As I came to myself because of the fighting,
I found that it was a face-to-face encounter with a soldier.[111]

Only three royal message dreams are known from New Kingdom Egypt. In all instances, the recipient of the dream is male. The dream of Amenhotep II during a campaign in Syria in the ninth year of his reign is the oldest surviving divine message dream received by a member of the royal family.[112] While the king rested, Amun visited him in a dream in order to give him bravery.[113] Merneptah of the Nineteenth Dynasty was visited by the god Ptah while on a military campaign, who offered him a sword and swore to remove his fear during the upcoming battle with the Libyans.[114] The Sphinx Stela of Thutmose IV of the Eighteenth Dynasty includes a detailed description of a dream in which the young prince encountered the sun god Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum while sleeping in the shade of the Sphinx at Giza.

> One of these days it happened that the king's son Thutmose came on an excursion at noon time. Then he rested in the shadow of this great god. Sleep took hold of him, slumbering at the time when the sun was at (its) peak. He found the majesty of this august god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks to his son, saying: "See me, look at me, my son, Thutmose! I am thy father, Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum. I shall give thee my kingdom upon earth at the head of the living. Thou shalt wear the southern crown and the

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[111] Ibid., 504-506.

[112] Kasia Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 49.

[113] Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 225-226.

[114] Szpakowska, "Through the Looking Glass," 32.

> northern crown on the throne of Geb, the crown prince (of the gods). Thine is the land in its length and its breadth, that which the Eye of the All-Lord illumines."[115]

Whereas the message dream of Amenemhat served as a framing device for a commentary on kingship, the stela of Thutmose IV was a monumental historical inscription that reminded literate visitors to Giza that Thutmose had been singled out among the sons of the king by the gods. That Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum had visited Thutmose in a dream and promised him the throne of Egypt legitimized Thutmose's rule.

Like the kings of Egypt, kings and other male members of the royal families of Mesopotamia received message dreams. In the 22nd century BCE, the god Ningirsu visited Gudea, the ruler of Lagaš, in a dream in order to demand the construction of a temple.

> On that day, in a nocturnal vision Gudea saw his master, lord Ningirsu. Ningirsu spoke to him of his house, of its building. He showed him an E-ninnu with full grandeur.[116]

Unlike the Egyptian kings, who seemingly had no difficulty interpreting their dreams, Gudea was uncertain of the meaning of his dream and visited Nanše, the sister of Ningirsu, to have his dream deciphered. After interpreting his dream, the goddess offered Gudea advice for building the temple.

> "Let me advise you and may my advice be taken. Direct your steps to Girsu, the foremost house of the land of Lagaš, open your storehouse up and take out wood from it; build (?) a chariot for your master and harness a donkey stallion to it; decorate this chariot with refined silver and lapis lazuli and equip it with arrows that will fly out from the quiver like sunbeams, and with the *ankar* weapon, the strength of heroism; fashion for him his beloved standard and write your name on it, and then enter before the warrior who loves gifts, before your master lord Ningirsu in E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, together with his beloved *balag* drum Usumgal-kalama, his famous instrument to which he keeps

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[115] James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 449.

[116] Jeremy A. Black, Graham Cunningham, and Eleanor Robson, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 46.

> listening. Your requests will then be taken as if they were commands; and the drum will make the inclination of the lord—which is as inconceivable as the heavens—will make the inclination of Ningirsu, the son of Enlil, favourable for you so that he will reveal the design of his house to you in every detail. With his powers, which are the greatest, the warrior will make the house thrive (?) for you."
> The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realize things. Accepting what Nanse had told him, he opened his storehouse up and took out wood from it.[117]

Although Ningirsu communicated directly with Gudea, the role of Nanše was vital, for only she could interpret the dream for the king and tell him how to gain the favor of Ningirsu in order to build the temple efficiently and successfully. Women were employed as interpreters of dreams in Mesopotamia, though more men are attested as dream interpreters.[118] Indeed, the earliest depiction of dream interpretation in Mesopotamian glyptic art dates to the 24th century BCE and depicts a female dream interpreter.[119] In Old Babylonian literature, dreams were most often interpreted by female relatives of the dreamer. Dumuzi consulted his sister Geštinana after having a nightmare, and Ninsun, the mother of Gilgameš, explains his dream to him in tablet I of the Gilgameš epic. Nanše's dream interpretation in Gudea's account is therefore one of her important duties as the mother of the king.[120]

Message dreams were exclusive to men in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but gods could transmit messages to women through symbolic dreams. The royal correspondence from Mari contains numerous letters from Addu-dūri, a prominent woman in the royal court, most likely the

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[117] Ibid., 48-49.

[118] Scott Noegel, "Dreams and Dream Interpreters in Mesopotamia and in the Hebrew Bible [Old Testament]," in *Dreams: A Reader on Religious, Cultural, and Psychological Dimensions of Dreaming*, ed. Kelly Bulkeley (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 94.

[119] Julia Asher-Greve, "The Oldest Female Oneiromancer," in *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient antique: compte rendu de la XXXIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 7-10 Juillet 1986),* ed. J.M. Durand (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987), 27-32.

[120] Niek Veldhuis, *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: The Sumerian Composition of Nanše and the Birds* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 28-29.

mother of Zimri-lim and the wife of his father Hadni-Addu.[121] Addu-dūri accompanied Zimri-lim to Mari at his accession and later moved into her own palatial residence, the *bît Addu-dūri*. Addu-dūri was in charge of economic affairs in the palace of Mari until her death. Ranking first among the palace women in the offering lists, Addu-dūri supervised palace servants and owned a significant amount of land.[122] As a high-ranking member of the royal family sharing a close relationship with the king, Addu-dūri was permitted to correspond directly with Zimri-lim. In *ARM* X 51, Addu-dūri reported a dream of Idin-ili, a *šangûm*-priest of Itūr-Mer. Addu-dūri stresses her concern for the welfare of the king and urges him to be cautious.

> ARM 26 238
>
> Speak to my lord: Thus Addu-duri: Iddin-ili, the priest of Itur-Mer, has had a dream. He says: "In my dream Belet-biri stood by me. She spoke to me as follows: "The kingdom is his brick mould and the dynasty is his wall! Why does he incessantly climb the watchtower? Let him protect himself!" Now, my lord should not fail to protect himself.[123]

On another occasion, Addu-dūri reported a troubling oracular dream of her own.

> ARM 26 237 (=ARM 10 50) 1-20
>
> Speak to my lord: Thus Addu-duri, your servant:
> Since the destruction of your father's house, I have never had such a dream. My earlier signs are [th]ese two:
> In my dream I entered the temple of Belet-ekallim, but Belet-ekallim was not present nor were there images in front of her. When I saw this, I began to weep. This dream of mine took place during the evening watch. When I returned, Dadâ, the priest of Ištar of Bišra, was standing at the gate of Belet-ekallim, and an eerie voice kept calling out: "Co[me ba]ck, O Dagan! Come back, O Dagan!" This is what it kept calling out over and over.
>
> Another matter: a prophetess arose in the temple of Annunitum and spoke: "Zimri-Lim, do not go on campaign! Stay in Mari, and I shall continue to answer."

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[121] Sharlach, *An Ox of One's Own*, 78.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Martti Nissinen, Robert K. Ritner, and Choon Leong Seow, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 69.

> My lord should not be negligent in protecting himself. Now I [myself] have hereby sealed my hair and a fringe of my garment and I have herewith sent them to my lord.[124]

The goddess Belet-ekallim, along with Dagan, Addu, and Itūr-Mer, was responsible for protecting the king during his military adventures. Her absence from the city and Dadâ's plea for Dagan to return indicates the king should stay in the city, as the gods did not favor any planned trips or military campaigns.[125] It is not known whether Zimri-lim received a similar dream. If the king had doubts about the success of a planned venture, ominous divine messages received by Addu-dūri and prophets like the priestess of Annunitum facilitated the king canceling trips without losing face in his court.

Addu-dūri wrote frequently to Zimri-Lim expressing well wishes for his good health, and the promptness with which she dispatched warnings of ominous dreams suggests her concern was genuine. The dream reports of Addu-dūri also served to elevate her in the royal court. The gods were using Addu-dūri as a vessel, transmitting warnings to her that she in turn sent the king. By writing to Zimri-Lim about omens and dreams she has experienced, Addu-dūri emphasized her connection with the gods and therefore her usefulness. Though Addu-dūri's lofty status as queen mother did not necessarily need divine support, her regular communication with her son ensured a close bond that superseded those between the king and his wives, rivals for the king's attention. This closeness to the king enabled Addu-dūri to make requests of him, such as interceding on behalf of a palace slave.

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[124] Ibid. 68.

[125] Jack M. Sasson, "Mari Dreams," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103.1 (1983): 287.

> Dagan-tillassu was raised in this palace since his youth. Yet, at the tip of his old age, you are giving him as a gift to Sumu-ḫadum. His kin, the palace attendants, have convened with me, but I could not satisfy them.[126]

That the family of Dagan-tillassu pleaded with Addu-dūri to take up their cause suggests they believed her to have a considerable amount of noncoercive power. Though Addu-dūri could not countermand the king's intention to give Dagan-tillassu to Sumu-ḫadum, she used her familial bond with the king, strengthened through regular communication, to attempt to guilt him into changing his mind and thereby avoid separating a long-serving palace worker from his family.

The dreams of Hittite queens

The Apology of Ḫattušili contains several message dreams received by members of the royal family. Throughout the Apology, it is solely through dreams that Ištar expresses her wishes to her servant Ḫattušili III. Ištar singled out Ḫattušili for divine protection (*para ḫandatar*) while he was still a boy (TUR-*aš*), and the goddess sent a message in a dream to his father Muršili II in the guise of his son Muwatalli, the elder brother of Ḫattušili.

> Ištar, My Lady, sent Muwatalli, my brother, to Muršili, my father, through a dream (saying): "For Ḫattušili the years (are) short; he is not to live (long). Hand him over to me, and let him be my priest, so he (will) live."[127]

Message dreams in which a god assumes the form of a person familiar to the dreamer are well-known in ancient literature. At the beginning of Book II of the *Iliad*, Zeus sends a dream to Agamemnon in the form of his trusted advisor Nestor, urging him to attack the Trojans (*Iliad* II 1-35). In the *Odyssey*, the goddess Athena appears to the Phaeacian princess Nausicaa in a dream

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[126] Jack M. Sasson, *From the Mari Archives: An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 297.

[127] Theo van den Hout, "Apology of Ḫattušili III," in *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 199.

in the guise of one of her friends, the daughter of Dymas. In this familiar form, Athena rebukes Nausicaa and urges her to wash her clothes in order to have clean clothes befitting her noble station (*Odyssey* VI 15-40).

Ḫattušili claims the favor of the goddess was a significant factor in his political success upon the death of Muršili II and the accession of his brother Muwatalli II.

> When my father Muršili became a god, my brother Muwatalli seated himself on the throne of his father, while I became army commander in front of my brother. My brother installed me as Chief of the Royal Bodyguard and gave me the Upper Country to govern. Prior to me, however, Armatarḫunta, son of Zida, used to govern it. (Now,) since Ištar, My Lady, had shown me her recognition, and my brother had been benevolent towards me - when people saw the recognition of Ištar, My Lady, and my brother's benevolence towards me, they envied me.[128]

Ḫattušili emphasizes his piety to the goddess and his loyalty to his brother, and the Apology portrays these qualities as the reasons for his success. As the son of the former king and the brother of current king, Ḫattušili was eligible by birth for high-ranking positions, but it was the favor of the goddess that distinguished him among his brothers. The dream of Muršili in the Apology provides a means of asserting that the king was aware of Ištar's protection and patronage of Ḫattušili, thus legitimizing his rule as the king of Ḫakpiš, the office assigned to him by Muwatalli II.

Ḫattušili asserts that Ištar first came to him in a dream after his reputation was attacked while he ruled in the Upper Land, threatening his standing with the king.

> Ištar, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream, and through the dream she said this to me: "To the deity (of the process) I will leave you, so do not fear!"[129]

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[128] Ibid., 200.

[129] Ibid.

Muwatalli cleared his brother of all charges, and Ḫattušili was placed in charge of the Hittite military forces. Upon his return from the battle of Kadesh, Ḫattušili visited the city of Lawazantiya to sacrifice to his patroness, and he describes how "at the word of the goddess I took [Puduḫepa, daughter of the *sanga*-priest Pentipšarri] as wife." The means by which the "words of the goddess" (INIM DINGIR-*LIM*) were communicated are unclear, but it is probable the goddess appeared to Ḫattušili in a dream, for that is her preferred means of communication throughout the Apology. Ištar's proposal of the marriage indicates that the marriage of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa was blessed by the gods. By the time of the composition of the Apology, Ḫattušili had not only seized the throne of Ḫatti but sought to place his son upon the throne, thereby ensuring that his line would continue without challenge. That Ištar had expressed a desire for the marriage of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa legitimized the reign of Tudḫaliya; Puduḫepa was of non-royal lineage, but Ḫattušili had an impeccable royal lineage, and his mother had been personally selected by Ištar. The birth of Tudḫaliya was therefore brought about by the machinations of Ištar, and in return Tudḫaliya was dedicated to the goddess. Ḫattušili expressly states that the goddess appeared to him in a dream after he married Puduḫepa and demanded that he, along with his household, serve her.[130] Just as Ištar had appeared only to Muršili and ordered him to dedicate Ḫattušili to her cult, Ištar appeared only to Ḫattušili as the head of his household. The goddess appeared to neither Puduḫepa nor their children, and Puduḫepa seemingly had little say in the dedication of their household to the goddess.

Ištar manifested in the dreams of Puduḫepa after Ḫattušili rebelled against his nephew Urḫi-Teššup. Just as the goddess had once promised Ḫattušili in his dreams that she would

[130] Ibid., 202.

ensure his innocence in the face of a deluge of accusations from political rivals, Ištar appeared to Puduḫepa in her dream to inform her servant that she supported Ḫattušili's rebellion.

> Because Ištar, My Lady, had already early (fore)told kingship for me, Ištar, My Lady, appeared at that moment to my wife in a dream (saying): "I will march ahead of your husband and all of Ḫattuša will turn to (the side) of your husband."[131]

Oppenheim noted that Puduḫepa's dream is virtually unique in the ancient Near East, for royal women in Egypt and Mesopotamia did not receive message dreams.

> In this text we have the only dream-report in the literatures of the ancient Near East in which a deity appears in a "message" dream to a woman. Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Old Testament reserve this favor exclusively to the male sex…
>
> The problem arises as to whether this unique occurrence of a "charismatic" dream (to use the term coined by Greek oneirocritics) experienced by a woman should be attributed to individual peculiarities of the Hattushili text as such or whether it reflects a different dream-pattern admitted in the literary texts of the Hittite civilization, caused by the different ethnic substratum…The social and political position of the Hittite queen, which greatly surpasses that of the royal spouse in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in Asia, seems here to explain her cultic standing, which in turn might have qualified her to receive "message" as well as "symbolic" dreams.[132]

The dream of Puduḫepa is indeed most likely due to the "individual peculiarities of the Hattushili text." Puduḫepa had a long association with Ištar through her status as the daughter of a priest of Ištar in Kizzuwatna, but this is the only time in the Apology that Ištar manifests herself to Puduḫepa. The dream of Puduḫepa marks her as favored by the goddess, but the primary function of the dream is to show the reader that Ištar supported Ḫattušili's rebellion against his nephew. Indeed, Ḫattušili does not consider his actions an unjust usurpation of the throne, for he

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[131] Ibid., 203.

[132] Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East," 197.

notes that the goddess had "spoken the kingship for him," thus making him the legitimate and divinely sanctioned ruler of Ḫatti.[133]

KUB 15.1 preserves a series of dreams and vows dated to the reign of Puduḫepa.[134] The first records a manifestation of the goddess of Ḫebat of Uda in a dream of the queen. While communicating with the goddess in her dream, Puduḫepa swore she would order a gold statue, gold rosette, and gold pectoral to be dedicated to the goddess in exchange for her protection of the king.

> KUB 15.1 obv. i 1-11
>
> Hepat of Uda. Dream of the queen. [She left] the matter of the neck (to the goddess) at a certain moment therein and in her dream the queen made the following vow to Hepat of Uda: "If you, o goddess, my lady, keep His Majesty alive (and) do not deliver him to Evil, then I will make a statue of gold for Hepat and for her I will make a rosette of gold and they will call it the rosette of Hepat; for your breast I will make a pectoral of gold and they will call it the pectoral of the goddess.[135]

Though the goddess seemingly acquiesced to the bargain, she demanded additional offerings from the queen in exchange for her blessings.

> KUB 15.1 obv. i 12-14
>
> Ù-*TUM* MUNUS.LUGAL Ù-*it-wa-mu* ^{D}*Ḫebat kuttanali* AŠ.ME.ḪI.A ^{NA4}ZA.GÌN-*ya* IR-*ta*
>
> A dream of the queen: Ḫebat requested a necklace of solar discs and lapis lazuli of me in a dream.

Hittite dream texts seemingly attest to the close personal relationship between Puduḫepa and the gods, as the king and queen are the primary recipients of message dreams. As nothing is known

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[133] *ammuk-ma* LUGAL-*ŪTTA* ^{D}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN=*YA annišan=pat kuit memišket*

[134] Johan de Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Hiet Nabije Oosten, 2007), 37.

[135] Ibid., 97.

about the dreams of non-elite Hittites, however, the degree to which message dreams were widespread cannot be determined.

Queens supervised the storage and distribution of palace goods, and royal women utilized these resources to persuade the gods to bless Ḫattušili and the royal household.[136] The majority of Puduḫepa's dreams are requests or offers of votive offerings in exchange for divine blessings. In one example, Puduḫepa was approached by the god Gurwašu, who offered a lifetime of 100 years for her husband. In exchange, Puduḫepa offered him storage vessels filled with offerings.

> KUB 15.1 rev. i 7-16
>
> [Dream of the quee]n. The matter of Gurwašu occurred at a certain moment when Gurwašu in the dream said [to] the queen: "Regarding that matter concerning your husband which remains on your heart: [ ] he will live and I shall give him 100 years." The queen made the following vow in the dream: "If you do thus for me, and the king, my husband, (remains) alive, then for the god I will set (down) 3 storage vessels: 1 with oil, 1 with honey, (and) 1 with fruit."[137]

A lifespan of one hundred years was likely the ideal Hittite lifespan. The ideal lifespan was 110 in contemporary Egypt.[138] In later sources such as the Papyrus Insinger, the ideal lifespan was 100 years.

> He spends ten (years) as a child before he understands death and life. He spends another ten (years) acquiring the work of instruction by which he will be able to live. He spends another ten years gaining and earning possessions by which to live. He spends another ten years up to old age before his heart takes counsel. There remain sixty years of the whole life which Thoth has assigned to the man of god.[139]

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[136] Matteo Vigo, "Sources for the Study of the Role of Women in the Hittite Administration," in *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Brigitte Lion and Cécile Michel (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016).

[137] Ibid., 102.

[138] Jac J. Janssen and Rosalind Janssen. *Getting Old in Ancient Egypt* (London: Rubicon Press, 1996), 67.

[139] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume III: The Late Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 199.

Just as Ištar may have taken the form of Muwatalli while appearing in the dream of Muršili in the Apology of Ḫattušili, it seems the gods took different forms while appearing to the queen. On one occasion Puduḫepa received a message dream in which her husband, possibly a manifestation of the goddess herself, communicated the desires of Ḫebat.

> KUB 15.1 obv. i 15-18
>
> Through a dream the king spoke [to me]: "Hepat says: In the country of Ḫatti for me they must make a *zizzahi*, in Mukiš they must make wine for me."[140]

Such dreams empowered the queen to take action regarding cultic offerings. A queen who received instructions from the gods in her dreams regarding the offering of votive objects could sponsor offerings to the gods even in the event of her husband's absence from the capital. Indeed, the long absences of the king from the capital due to military campaigns meant the queen held an important role in making offerings to the gods to ensure the king's health and the security of the empire.

Queens held considerable economic, political, and ideological power in ancient Anatolia, but all women in Hittite society were at risk of sexual violence. According to the collection of Hittite laws, the punishment for anyone who violated a woman in the mountains was death. A woman who was raped in a populated area, however, was held responsible and assumed to be guilty of adultery.

> §197 If a man seizes a woman in the mountain(s) (and rapes her), it is the man's offence, and he shall be put to death, but if he seizes her in (her) house, it is the woman's offence: the woman shall be put to death. If the (woman's) husband finds them (in the act) and kills them, he has committed no offence.[141]

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[140] de Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts*, 98

[141] Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 156.

Not even the queen was safe from sexual violence, and two dreams of Puduḫepa address her fears of violation in a moment of vulnerability.

> KUB 15.1 obv. ii 5-10
>
> Šarruma of Urikina. When in a dream some young men (at the back of) the bathhouse in Iyamma intended to seize the queen, the queen promised in her dream 1 bathhouse of gold to Šarruma of Urikina.[142]

Puduḫepa had a virtually identical dream about a bathhouse in another town.

> KUB 15.1 obv. ii 37-41
>
> Šarruma of Laiuna. When in a dream some young men (at the back of) the bathhouse in Laiuna intended to seize the queen, the queen promised in her dream 1 bathhouse of gold [to] Šarruma of Laiuna.

Puduḫepa's dream about Ištar promising success for her husband and dreams about Ḫebat demanding offerings were message dreams, verbal dreams with explicit requests or warnings. The dreams of the bathhouses are examples of symbolic dreams, dreams in which the message is communicated through allegorical means. That Puduḫepa offered gold bathhouses to the local manifestations of Šarruma indicates that the queen took the warning seriously. Bathhouses, where the queen was separated from her guards and in a state of undress, were a dangerous place for even the most elite women of Hittite society. Centuries later, the women of Anatolia in the Ottoman period faced the same dangers at bathhouses.

> Women's public baths were also good targets for sexual assault since no one protected the patrons. Men were occasionally caught gazing at naked women through glass on the roof tops. Some men behaved more aggressively and broke into women's baths to attack the naked women. For example, in December 1724 Avaz ibn Abdullah, an attendant and water carrier in a public bath in Galata, entered the women's bath and assaulted a woman

[142] de Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts*, 99.

> with his knife. When she screamed and tried to free herself, he hit her on the head with a rock.[143]

The gold bathhouses that the queen offers Šarruma in exchange for his protection have several parallels in the corpus of Hittite vows. In order to protect the city of Ankuwa from fire, Puduḫepa made a vow to offer a "silver city."

> KUB 15.1 rev. i 22-26
>
> The queen made the following vow to the Stormgod of heaven: "If Ankuwa, the city, surmounts the dangers, (so that) it shall not burn down completely, then I will make for the Stormgod of heaven 1 silver city of unspecified weight (and) I will give 1 ox and 8 sheep.[144]

Harry Hoffner proposed an identification of the "city of silver" with a mural crown.[145]

The dreams of Hittite queens, particularly the dreams of Puduḫepa, served political purposes. First, the dreams were divine legitimization. That the gods chose to speak through a queen indicates that the queen has their favor. The will of the gods was final, overriding even the wishes of the king. As a vessel for divine authority, therefore, the queen was able to order and supervise activities such as offerings and sacrifices. Finally, dreams consisted not only of messages from the gods to the queen but also messages from the queen to the gods. Vows made in dreams were a means of expressing the benevolence of the king and queen. In KUB 15.1, for example, the queen's vow indicates that the royal couple are concerned about the safety of the inhabitants of Ankuwa.

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[143] Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 115.

[144] de Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts*, 103.

[145] Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., "The 'City of Gold' and the 'City of Silver,'" *Israel Exploration Journal* 19.3 (1969): 178-180.

Chapter 3

The Power of Poisonous Words: royal women, conflict, and resistance

A woman's status and power in a patriarchal system are dependent upon her familial relationships with men. In the royal households of the ancient Near East, a royal woman derived her status from that of her father, husband, and son. The Instructions of Any, an Egyptian literary text dating to the New Kingdom, distinguishes between the sources of status for men and women.

> A woman is asked about her husband;
> A man is asked about his rank.[146]

Virtually all nonreligious titles for women were relational to men, and a royal woman could assume various titles as her kinship relationships with men changed. Over the course of her life, the Egyptian queen Ahmose-Nefertari of the early 18th Dynasty held the titles *sꜣt-nswt* ("daughter of the king"), *snt-nswt* ("sister of the king"), *ḥmt-nswt wrt* ("great wife of the king"), and *mwt-nswt* ("mother of the king").[147] Relational titles and epithets pertaining to other women, such Nefertiti's epithet *ḥnwt ḥmwt nbw*, "mistress of all women," were rare in ancient Egypt.[148] Like the Egyptians, the Hittites used relational titles for royal women. The Hittite term for "queen" was *ḫaššuššara*, the feminine form of *ḫassu-*, "king," but it was seldom written phonetically. More common was the Sumerographic rendering

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[146] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume II: The New Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 140.

[147] Wolfram Grajetzki, *Ancient Egyptian Queens: A Hieroglyphic Dictionary* (London: Golden House Publications, 2005), 51.

[148] Ibid., 60.

MUNUS.LUGAL, "wife of the king." Similar relational titles for women included DUMU.MUNUS.LUGAL, "female child of the king," DUMU.MUNUS GAL, "great daughter,"[149] and AMA.DINGIR, "mother of the god."[150]

Hittite royal succession, outlined most clearly in the Telepinu edict (CTH 19), was patrilineal. Eligibility for the throne also depended on the status of a prince's mother, for, like the other kings of the ancient Near East, Hittite kings were not monogamous. The position of MUNUS.LUGAL was held by only one woman at a time, but the king engaged in sexual relations with the DAM.MEŠ, "wives," and *EŠERTI*, "concubines," in addition to his wife. Establishing oneself as the chief wife of the king was therefore the surest means of becoming the mother of the next king, and Puduḫepa was adamant that her daughter be granted the status of in *ḥmt-nswt wrt* in Egypt. Being the offspring of a concubine did not preclude one from ascending to the throne. The mother of Muršili III was a concubine of Muwatalli rather than his wife, a factor cited by Mašturi of the Seḫa River Land as a reason for his support for Ḫattušili III.

> But when Muwattalli died, then Urhi-Teshshup, son of Muwattalli, became king. [My father] wrested the kingship away from Urhi-Teshshup. Masturi committed treachery. Although it was Muwattalli who had taken him up and had made him his brother-in-law, afterwards Masturi did not protect his son Urhi-Teshshup, but went over to my father, thinking: "Will I protect even a bastard? Why should I act on behalf of the son of a bastard?"[151]

In cases where the queen did not produce an heir, there would have resulted a jockeying for power between royal women, each aiming to improve her husband's or son's chances of

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[149] Itamar Singer, "The Title 'Great Princess' in the Hittite Empire," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 23 (1991): 327-338.

[150] Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood,* 367-368.

[151] Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 105.

succession and thereby gain power for themselves through their personal relationship with the king. The wives, sisters, and other female relatives of the king did not always accept his choice of an heir, and a mother's parental affection and ambition could come into direct conflict with the will and well-being of the king. Several royal accounts accuse royal women of using witchcraft or assassination in order to place their sons on the throne, like the case of Ziplantawiya discussed below. Moreover, as much of the political power of a royal woman is dependent on her access and ability to influence the king, some royal women sought to eliminate their female competition. Two such examples, the conflict between Tawananna and Gaššulawiya and the conflict between Puduḫepa and the DUMU.MUNUS GAL, will be discussed in this chapter.

Power and resistance: Conflict and disobedience in the Hittite palace

Most discussions of the structure of Hittite society have utilized a hierarchical view of power in which parties are subordinated to other, more powerful parties. These discussions are rooted in a Weberian view of power, "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests."[152] The gods imposed their will on the king, their dutiful servant, and the king in turn ruled his subjects. As noted by Gary Beckman, the hierarchy of Hittite society is encapsulated in a blessing of the king identifying the ruler as the administrator of the land on behalf of the gods.

[152] Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* Talcott Parsons and A.M. Henderson, trans., (New York: Free Press, 1964), 152.

IBoT 1.30 obv. 2-5

> May the Tabarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land belongs to the storm-god alone. Heaven, earth, and the people belong to the storm-god alone. He has made Labarna, the king, his administrator and given him the entire land of Khatti.[153]

Weber's definition of power suggests the use of power generates resistance, and Foucault observed that power and resistance are inextricably intertwined.

> There are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations are exercised.[154]

If one is to understand power in the Hittite palace, an examination of not only the king and his role in governance is required, but also an examination of the resistance against the desires and goals of the king. To this end, this chapter will examine conflicts between the king and the women of the royal family in order to better understand how royal women were able to contest the power of the king.

A study of power in the Hittite royal household has wider implications for Bronze Age Anatolia. The patrimonial model to the ancient Near East, laid out most clearly by David Schloen, asserts that early states are best understood as structured along the lines of a household.

> As elsewhere in this period, the entire state and its administrative apparatus was regarded as the king's "house" and royal officials were the king's dependent servants or, at the highest level, his "sons."[155]

In accordance with the patrimonial model, Hittite society can be reconstructed as a hierarchy

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[153] Gary Beckman, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* Vol. I, ed. Jack M. Sasson (New York: Scribner, 1995): 530.

[154] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 142.

[155] J. David Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001), 311.

of households, each household imitating the royal household in structure if not scale. The Egyptologist Mark Lehner, applying this concept to ancient Egyptian society, dubbed the structure the "fractal house of Pharaoh."[156] As the royal household is by far the best documented household in Bronze Age Anatolia, it serves as a suitable case study for women and power. There are, however, key distinctions between royal and non-royal households, and non-royal households merit further investigation.[157]

That women were subordinated to men in Hittite ideology is suggested by the tale of the Sun God, the cow, and the fisherman (CTH 363), which indicates an ideal wife was an obedient wife.

> A(n ideal) woman's mind is clever. She has cut (herself) off from command(ing others). She is dependent on the authority of the god. She stands in woman's subordination, and she does not disobey (her) husband's word.[158]

Being too harsh on one's wife was a source of discord in a household, however, an observation made of contemporary Egyptian households in the Instructions of Any.

> Do not control your wife in her house,
> when you know she is efficient.
> Don't say to her: "Where is it? Get it!"
> when she has put it in the right place.
> Let your eye observe in silence,
> then you recognize her skill.
> It is a joy when your hand is with her;
> there are many who don't know this.
> If a man desists from strife at home,

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[156] Mark Lehner, "Fractal House of Pharaoh: Ancient Egypt as a Complex Adaptive System, a Trial Formulation," in *Dynamics of Human and Primate Societies: Agent-Based Modeling of Social and Spatial Processes*, ed. Timothy A. Kohler and George G. Gumerman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[157] See the conclusion.

[158] Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1998), 87.

he will not encounter its beginning.[159]

"Strife at home" was a regular occurrence for Hittite kings, and royal women had several methods of combating the will of the king. Hittite historical accounts allege that royal women carried out magical attacks on their rivals, incited coups and rebellion against the king, and participated in assassinations of the king.

Formerly Labarna was king: royal women and early Hittite succession

The beginning of the Hittite Old Kingdom is shrouded in the haze of history. There are few contemporary Old Hittite texts, and the history of the early Old Kingdom has been reconstructed primarily from retrospective accounts. The edict of Telepinu, surviving in bilingual Hittite and Akkadian copies from the thirteenth century BCE, is the most detailed account of the political history of the Old Kingdom.

Classifying the Telepinu Proclamation as an "accession narrative" taking the form of an edict, Harry Hoffner made the observation that the text incorporates historical narratives of worthy remote ancestors, unworthy immediate predecessors, and a presentation of the usurper - that is, Telepinu - as the restorer of order and the renewer of a golden age.[160] By the time of the composition of the Telepinu Proclamation, the stability of the line of succession in the nascent Hittite kingdom had been eroded by a series of assassinations and coups. Telepinu sought to codify the rules for royal succession, ostensibly an attempt to curb the practice of individuals gaining the throne through bloodshed. Mario Liverani has pointed out

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[159] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 143.

[160] Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites," *Orientalia* 49.4 (1980): 332.

that the Telepinu Proclamation cannot be taken as a convenient and accurate record of Old Kingdom events but rather reflects the values and political goals of the reign of Telepinu; it is through this lens that we must view the edict as "biased historiographic theory."[161]

His edict begins with a historical prologue that showcases the violent competition within the royal family and underscores the need for a codified line of succession.

> [Fo]rmerly Labarna was Great King, and his [son]s, [brother]s, as well as his in-laws, his (further) family members, and his troops were united. The land was small but wherever he went on campaign, he held the enemy country subdued by (his) might. He destroyed the lands, one after another, stripped(?) the lands of their power and made them the borders of the sea. When he came back from campaign, however, each (of) his sons went somewhere to a country. The cities of Ḫupisna, Tuwanuwa, Nenašša, Landa, Zallara, Paršuḫanta, (and) Lušna, the(se) countries they each governed, and the great cities made progress.
>
> Afterwards Ḫattušili was king and his sons, too, his brothers, his in-laws, as well as his (further) family members, and his troops were united. Wherever he went on campaign, however, he too held the enemy country subdued by (his) might. He destroyed the lands one after the other, stripped(?) the lands of their power and made them the borders of the sea. When he came back from campaign, each (of) his sons went somewhere to a country, and in his hands the great cities made progress…
>
> When Muršili was king in Ḫattuša, his sons too, his brothers, his in-laws, his (further) family members, and his troops were united. The enemy country he held subdued by (his) might, and he stripped(?) the lands of their power and made them the borders of the s[e]a.
>
> He went to the city of Ḫalpa, destroyed Ḫalpa, and brought Ḫalpa's deportees (and) its goods to Ḫattuša. Now, later he went to Babylon, he destroyed Babylon and fought the Hurrian [troops]. Babylon's deportees (and) its goods he kept in Ḫattuša. And Ḫantil[i] was cupbearer and he had Muršili's sister Ḫar[apši]li for his wife. Zidanta [… had…] … the daughter of Ḫantili for a wife, and he stole up to Ḫantili, and they [committ]ed an evil deed: they killed Muršili and shed (his) blood.[162]

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[161] Mario Liverani, *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 31.

[162] Theo van den Hout, "The Proclamation of Telepinu," in *The Context of Scripture I: Canonical Inscriptions from the Biblical World,* ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 194-195.

Though Telepinu does not make it immediately clear in his edict, royal succession in early Hittite history was irregular and unsystematized. Between the reigns of Labarna and Telepinu, a period of at least six generations, no son succeeded his father on the throne except Ammuna, who did so by murdering his father.

Telepinu's edict states that the throne first passed from Labarna, the earliest named king of the Old Kingdom, to his nephew Ḫattušili I, who identified himself as the "son of the brother of Tawananna" in his annals.[163] Additionally, Ḫattušili referred in his edict to his grandfather's son Labarna.

> In Šanaḫuitta my grandfather had proclaimed his son Labarna (as heir to the throne). [But afterwards] his subjects and high noblemen had confounded his words and set Papaḫdilḫmaḫ (on the throne). How many years have now passed, and [how many] have escaped (their fate)? The households of the high noblemen - where are they? Haven't they perished?[164]

An offering list to deceased Hittite rulers (KUB 11.7) is the only other source of information about the kings of the early Hittite kingdom. After listing other royal ancestors, the texts notes that "PU-Šarruma, son of Tudḫaliya, father of Papaḫdilmaḫ (and/the) father of Labarna, gets one sheep."[165] If one identifies PU-Šarruma as the grandfather of Ḫattušili I, Papaḫdilmaḫ must be his son and the most likely candidate for the father of Ḫattušili I (Labarna II). In this reconstruction, Labarna I, Ḫattušili I's predecessor on the throne, was the husband of Tawananna, the sister of Papaḫdilmaḫ and the aunt of Ḫattušili I. Alternately, if

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[163] Trevor Bryce, *The Major Historical Texts of Early Hittite History* (Queensland: University of Queensland, 1982), 50.

[164] Beckman, "Bilingual Edict of Hattušili I," 81.

[165] Richard H. Beal, "The Predecessors of Ḫattušili I," in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.: On the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Gary Beckman, Richard Beal, and Gregory McMahon (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 16.

one identifies Tudḫaliya as the grandfather of Ḫattušili I, PU-Šarruma was the son of Tudḫaliya and the father of both Papaḫdilmaḫ and Labarna II. In this reconstruction, Tawananna was the sister of PU-Šarruma rather than of Papaḫdilmaḫ. In either scenario, the theophoric name PU-Šarruma requires explanation, as the god Šarruma is largely confined to New Hittite texts.

Although both family trees are viable in the absence of further information, Papaḫdilmaḫ's failed coup makes more sense within the context of the first reconstruction. If PU-Šarruma, the grandfather of Ḫattušili I and the father of Papaḫdilmaḫ, had passed over Papaḫdilmaḫ in favor of his sister Tawananna and her husband Labarna, the support of the nobles for Papaḫdilmaḫ's claim to the throne over that of Labarna I makes sense. Whereas Papaḫdilmaḫ may have been the son of PU-Šarruma, Labarna I would have been the *antiyant*-husband of Tawananna and therefore PU-Šarruma's son-in-law rather than biological son. Notably, Tawananna appears in the Annals of Ḫattušili I only as the means of identifying a male figure.

KBo 10.2 i 1-3

> [The Great King Tabar]na, Ḫattušili, the Great King, [King of the land of Ḫat]ti, Man of Kuššar. In the land of Ḫatti [he ruled as kin]g, son of the brother of Tawananna.[166]

Tawananna may have been significant in legitimizing the rule of her husband Labarna, but she does not seem to have been a political player in her own right.

Labarna's selection of Ḫattušili as his heir was a means of mending the rift in the royal family that occurred with the struggle for power between Papaḫdilmaḫ and his brother-in-law. As the nephew of the current king and the grandson of the previous king, Ḫattušili I was

[166] Bryce, *The Major Historical Texts,* 50.

in the best position to ascend to the throne in the absence of children of Labarna I and Tawananna. This reconstruction does, however, fail to explain why PU-Šarruma selected his son-in-law as his heir despite having a biological son. As was the case with Ḫattušili I and his original heir Labarna, discussed below, the problem may have lain with perceived flaws in Papaḫdilmaḫ's character.

Kadduši: searching for the wife of Ḫattušili I

The wife of Ḫattušili I is identified as Kadduši in royal offering lists.[167] Kadduši has also been identified as the paired partner of Ḫattušili I on right panel of the reverse side of the cruciform seal from Ḫattuša. The royal pair are accompanied on the seal by Labarna and Tawananna (reverse top panel), an uncertain royal pair (reverse left panel), Muršili I and Kali (reverse bottom panel), and Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫenti (reverse center).[168] The obverse side of the seal contains the names of Muršili II and Gaššulawiya (center), an unpreserved king (Tudḫaliya III?) and Taduḫepa (right panel), Tudḫaliya I/II or III (top panel), an unpreserved king (Arnuwanda I?) and Ašmunikkal (left panel), and Tudḫaliya I/II and Nikkalmati (bottom panel).

Assuming the top panel of the obverse refers to Tudḫaliya III as the husband of Taduḫepa, the seal lists the following royal pairs.

Old Kingdom

Labarna (I) and Tawananna (reverse top)
Ḫattušili I and Kadduši (reverse right)

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[167] Ali M. Dinçol, Belkis Dinçol, J. David Hawkins, and Gernot Wilhelm, "The 'Cruciform Seal' from Bogazköy-Ḫattuša," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993): 94.

[168] Ibid., 96.

Muršili I and Kali (reverse bottom)
Unknown royal couple (reverse left)

Middle Kingdom

Tudḫaliya I/II and Nikkalmati (obverse bottom)
Arnuwanda I (?) and Ašmunikkal (obverse left)
Tudḫaliya III/Tašmi-šarri (?) and Taduḫepa (obverse right)

New Kingdom

Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫenti (reverse center)
Muršili II and Gaššulawiya (obverse center)

REVERSE

	Labarna and Tawananna	
Unknown	Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫenti	Ḫattušili I and Kadduši
	Muršili I and Kali	

OBVERSE

	Tudḫaliya [?]	
[Arnuwanda I] and Ašmunikkal	Muršili II and Gaššulawiya	[Tudḫaliya III] and Taduḫepa
	Tudḫaliya I/II and Nikkalmati	

Although the queenless Tudḫaliya of the top panel of the obverse may refer to Tudḫaliya II, a postulated king reigning after Arnuwanda I and before Tudḫaliya III, more likely it refers to Tudḫaliya the Younger (DUMU-*RU*), the son of Tudḫaliya III murdered by his brother Šuppiluliuma I. This bloody affair is referenced in one of the plague prayers of Muršili II.

CTH 378.1

> [But when my father] wronged Tudḫaliya, all [the princes, the noblemen], the commanders of the thousands, and the officers of Ḫatti [went over] to my father. The deities by whom the oath was sworn [seized] Tudḫaliya and they killed [Tudḫaliya]. Furthermore, they killed those of his brothers [who stood by] him…
>
> But now you, O gods, [my lords], have eventually taken vengeance on my father for this affair of Tudḫaliya the Younger. My father [died?] because of the blood of Tudḫaliya, and the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands, and the officers who went over [to my father], they also died because of [that] affair.[169]

That Tudḫaliya the Younger appears alone on the cruciform seal can thus be explained by his assassination before he could marry.

King lists are widespread in the ancient Near East, including the Sumerian King List (SKL) composed in the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods, the Assyrian King List known from Neo-Assyrian copies, and the Palermo Stone (5th Dynasty), Karnak King List (reign of Thutmose III), Abydos King List (reign of Seti I), Saqqara King List (reign of Ramesses II), and Turin King List (19th Dynasty) from Egypt. The cruciform seal and the Hittite offering lists are unique, however, in listing both kings and queens. Although ancient Near Eastern kings were occasionally divinized after death or even during their lifetimes, queens were rarely deified. The "good god" (*nṯr nfr*) was a common epithet of the Egyptian king in the New Kingdom, but no queens were considered living goddesses, and only one queen of the New Kingdom achieved widespread worship after death. Ahmose-Nefertari, the wife of Ahmose I, unifier of Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom, was worshiped in the Theban area long after her death and became one of the patron deities of the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina, along with her son

[169] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 62.

Amenhotep I, overshadowing the wife of her son, Meritamun.[170] In Anatolia, however, the Hittites believed that both the king and queen became gods upon death. The *šallis waštaiš* funerary ritual notes that the ritual is to be performed whenever the king or queen dies and "becomes a god."

KUB 30.16 Vs. 1 i-2

mān ^{URU}*Ḫattuši šalliš waštāiš kišari*
naššu=za LUGAL-*uš našma* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* DINGIR-*LIM-iš kišari*

When in Ḫattuša a great sin occurs,
and either the king or queen becomes a god…

The offering lists and cruciform seal are two reflections of the same principle, a desire to legitimize kingship through a linkage to prominent rulers of the past. The kings of the Hittite Empire period traced their lineage not only through the paternal line but also through their maternal line, thereby emphasizing their right to rule over their relatives in collateral branches of the royal family. The son of a king and his chief wife was recognized as the offspring of two deities upon the death of his parents, a privilege denied to the offspring of the king's concubines, who could boast only one divine parent. Through ritual offerings to royal ancestors during festivals, the king and queen emphasized these divine connections.

Although the offering lists and the cruciform seal reveal that Ḫattušili I had a wife named Kadduši, little else is known about this early queen. It seems highly unlikely that she is the Tawananna who experienced *damnatio memoriae*, however, as Ḫattušili I notes in his edict that it was lack of heirs that prompted his daughter to rebel against him. Since Ḫattušili's decree expressly forbids the naming of the sons (DUMU.MEŠ) or daughters (DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ) of

[170] Gay Robins, W*omen in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 44.

the Tawananna, the decree more likely refers to the daughter or sister of Ḫattušili, suggesting the title passed to one of the king's female relatives after the death of his wife. That Ḫattušili originally intended his nephew to be his heir suggests that Ḫattušili might have appointed Labarna's mother, the king's sister, as Tawananna in order to strengthen the prince's claim to the throne. To complicate matters, Tawananna was both a title and personal name in the Old Kingdom, so Kadduši's actions may be masked by her title of Tawananna.

Power through maternal influence: Ḫattušili I, Labarna, and the "snake"

The question of whether Ḫattušili I was the son of Papaḫdilmaḫ or PU-Šarruma remains unsettled, but it is clear that he was the nephew rather than the offspring of Labarna and that a king had the capacity to name his successor. On his deathbed, Ḫattušili I dictated a proclamation to his followers regarding his successor. The decree included a stinging rebuke to his nephew Labarna, his original heir, and a command to his officials to place his adopted son Muršili on the throne.

> I designated the young Labarna to you: "He shall sit securely (upon the throne)!" I, the king, had named him as my son. I continually instructed him and looked after him constantly. But he showed himself a youth not fit to be seen. He didn't shed tears. He didn't show mercy. He was cold. He was heartless.
>
> I, the king, apprehended him and had him brought to my couch: "What (is this)? No one will ever again raise his sister's child (as his own foster son)!" But he didn't accept the word of the king. He always took the advice of his mother, that snake. His brothers and sisters continually sent cool words to him, and he consistently listened to their words. I, the king, heard (of this), and I indeed quarreled with him.
>
> "But enough!" (I said.) "He is no longer my son!" Whereupon his mother bellowed like an ox: "They have torn my bull-calf from my living womb, (as if I were) a cow, and they have deposed him. (And now) you will kill [him]!"[171]

[171] Beckman, "Bilingual Edict of Hattušili I," 79.

Accentuating his angry denunciation with animal imagery, Ḫattušili contrasts his own heroic nature with the duplicitousness of his sister. “In place of the lion, [the god will set up only] (another) lion,” he proclaims in his designation of Muršili as heir.[172] Virtually uniquely among Hittite rulers, Ḫattušili I used leonine imagery regularly to emphasize his might.

KBo 10.2 ii 17-19

nu kappuwandaš UD.KAM.ḪI.A-*aš* ÍD*Purundan ziḫḫun*
nu KUR URU*Ḫaššuwa* UR.MAḪ GIM-*an*
GÌR.ḪI.A-*it arḫa šakkuriyanun*

In just a few days I crossed the Euphrates. I overcame Ḫaššuwa like a lion with its paws.

KBo 10.2 iii 1-3

URU*Ḫaḫḫan=ma=za=kán* UR.MAḪ *maḫḫan*
arḫa tarkuwalliškinun
nu URU*Zippaššanan ḫarninkun*

Like a lion, I fended off Ḫaḫḫa and and destroyed Zippašna.

The heroic leonine figure of Ḫattušili is contrasted with the treacherous sister of Ḫattušili, the “snake” of Ḫattuša. No mighty lion seizing its prey, his sister is portrayed as a shadowy, serpentine threat lurking in the palace as the king weakens from age and illness. Elsewhere in his edict, Ḫattušili urged his listeners to keep the fires burning, lest the capital fall prey to a snake.

KBo 3.27 obv 25-27

mān=šan hašši paḫḫur
natta paraišteni ta uizzi URU*Hattušan*
MUŠ-*aš ḫulāliazzi*

If you do not fan the fire on the hearth, it will happen that a snake encircles Ḫattuša.

Hittite scribes used snakes as metaphors for enemies both without and within, and it seems the

[172] Ibid., 80.

metaphor here refers to an external threat caused by the impiety associated with allowing the hearth fire to be extinguished. The snake here is an external threat that threatens the security of the home and hearth, just as Ḫattušili implies the mother of Labarna wormed her way into her son's affections, thereby reducing Labarna's willingness to heed the words of the king and to maintain concord and order in the royal household. The mother of Labarna is not merely a snake; Ḫattušili utilizes a variety of animal imagery in his edict, and he evocatively compares the indecorous wailing of his sister to the bellowing of an ox. Equating herself with a cow deprived of its calf, the king's sister emphasizes the closeness of the bond between mother and son.

According to Ḫattušili's account, Labarna has proven himself unfit to be king due to his merciless and unfeeling character. Labarna's alleged character aside, Ḫattušili seems to have been concerned that he held little sway over his nephew. Indeed, Ḫattušili's chief concern with his successor Labarna is that the young prince values the advice of his mother and siblings over that of the king. By ingratiating herself with her son and making her son reliant on her advice, the mother of Labarna ensured that she would wield power in the future. As the mother but not the wife of a king, the sister of Ḫattušili had no potential to wield political power directly in the present or the future, but she had great potential to do so through her personal influence with the current and future kings. The relationship between the sister of Ḫattušili and the young Labarna was mutually beneficial; she gave her son guidance and protected his interests against those of political rivals, while his future accession to the throne was the only sure means of ensuring that Labarna's mother would have any political influence following the death of her brother. Ḫattušili emphasizes that this solidarity between mother and son outweighed the king's hierarchical power over his nephew. Nevertheless, the ability of the king to name a new successor ultimately

constrained Labarna's ability to ignore the king's wishes, and Labarna and his mother sank into political insignificance when Ḫattušili selected his grandson Muršili as his new heir.

After the advice to Muršili in his edict, Ḫattušili reminds his successor to keep his words in mind and implies that Labarna's failure to do so had cost him the throne.

> Up until now no one [in my family] has heeded my command. [But you] Muršili, you must heed it! … I have given to you my words. They shall read this (tablet) aloud in your presence every month. Thus you will be able to impress my [words] and my wisdom into (your) heart, [and] to rule successfully over my [subjects] and the high noblemen.[173]

Although Ḫattušili addresses Muršili, the primary function of the edict was to legitimize the young Muršili in the eyes of the great men of the Hittite court (LÚ.MEŠ GAL), urging them to be as loyal to Muršili as they had been to Ḫattušili. The reading aloud of the tablet was ostensibly to impress the words of Ḫattušili into the heart of Muršili I, but it served as a regular reminder to Muršili's courtiers that he was Ḫattušili's duly appointed heir.

Due to the fragility of the nascent Hittite state, Ḫattušili sought not only to settle the matter of his successor but also to ensure the stability of the reign of his successor. Urging Muršili to first consolidate his rule due to his youth and inexperience, Ḫattušili advised military action only after three years on the throne. Concern for Muršili's safety and, by extension, the line of succession was justified, for Muršili was still young and presumably had not yet produced an heir.

> [(Only when] three years (have passed) shall he go on a campaign. [For the present] I will make [a valiant king of him]. If for the moment this is not yet so, [honor him nonetheless]. He is the progeny of your monarch. Raise him to be a valiant [king. If] you take him on campaign [while he is still a child], bring [him] back [safely].[174]

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[173] Beckman, "Bilingual Edict of Hattušili I," 81.

[174] Ibid., 80.

Here the king reiterates his repudiation of Labarna[175] and his adoption of Muršili.[176] As the son of one of the daughters of Ḫattušili I, Muršili was a direct descendant of the king, and Ḫattušili emphasized this line of direct descent in order to strengthen Muršili's claim to the throne against that of his disinherited cousin, the son of a sister of the king.

The mother of Muršili was not the only child of Ḫattušili I. Ḫuzziya, the son of Ḫattušili I, had been made lord of the city of Tappaššanda. After local nobles encouraged the prince to rebel because of the taxes and corvée imposed upon the city, his father was driven to depose him.[177] The same fate most likely befell Ḫakkarpili, a son of Ḫattušili who had been placed in charge of Zalpa.

> The men of Zalpa heard this and released him […] and he […] a treaty with Ḫattuša. But the […] king […] Ḫurma to the father of the old king. And Ḫattuša and the elders of Zalpa desired a son from [him…]. And [Ḫattušili I gave] them Ḫakkarpili (his) son…[178]

Seizing the opportunity presented by the disinheritance of her brothers, an unnamed daughter of Ḫattušili attempted a rebellion against her father in order to place her son upon the throne.

> Then [even in Ḫattuša itself] the citizens of Ḫattuša [became hostile (to me)]. They got the attention of a daughter (of mine). And [since she had male] offspring, they acted in a hostile manner [against me] (in regard to her, saying): "[There is no heir for] your father's [throne]. A subject will sit (upon it). A subject [will become king]." And furthermore [she made] the city of Ḫattuša and the great [households disloyal], so that [the high noblemen] and courtiers became hostile [to me. Thus] she incited [the entire land]. Out of enmity she killed the citizens [of Ḫattuša…] When I heard that she had put the citizens of Ḫattuša to death, I sought tears for them [from her]. Had [I] not sought (them from her), you would have slandered me with (your) tongue (saying): "[He has] expelled [his

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[175] *dala ŪL* DUMU=*YA*

[176] *kašma* ^{m}*Muršiliš* DUMU=*YA*

[177] Trevor Bryce, "Ḫattušili I and the Problem of the Royal Succession in the Hittite Kingdom," *Anatolian Studies* 31 (1981): 9-17.

[178] Gary B. Holland and Marina Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative* (Pavia: Italian University Press, 2007).

> daughter].” I, the king, did [not do] anything (to her)… [This daughter had debased my person] and my name [so] I, [the king], took [(my) daughter and brought her down] here from Ḫattuša. And I replaced land for land; [cattle for cattle] I replaced. She has rejected [her] father’s word and has drunk [the life’s blood of the citizens of Ḫattuša]. Now she [has been banished from the city]. If she were to come to my household, [she surely would disrupt] my household.[179]

According to Ḫattušili’s account, the princess colluded with some of the inhabitants of the capital and staged a bloody uprising, attempting to crush opposition through bloodshed. Ḫattušili was able to quell the rebellion, and he banished his daughter from the capital. Though it seems Ḫattušili’s daughter married and produced children, there is no mention of the king’s son-in-law in Ḫattušili’s edict, and he may have passed away prior to his wife’s rebellion.

Ḫattušili’s account is remarkable in attributing such an active role in the treasonous plot to the princess. The citizens of Ḫattuša conspire with the princess, not her son, and Ḫattušili holds his daughter responsible for the insurrection and punishes her accordingly. Indeed, aside from the mention of the princess’s son as the reason for the citizens approaching the princess, the grandson of Ḫattušili plays no role in the narrative, and the edict makes no mention of the grandson accompanying his disgraced mother into exile.

Although it was the daughter of Ḫattušili who fomented rebellion in Ḫatti, her grasp at power was constrained by her gender. As a woman, though one of royal blood, the princess was ineligible to ascend her father’s throne and was therefore reliant upon the cooperation of her son, a male descendant of Ḫattušili I, to seize the reins of power in Ḫattuša. It was in this position as the mother of the heir presumptive that the princess was able to acquire allies among the Hittite elite and sow discontent in the capital. Her effectiveness in doing so is evident in Ḫattušili’s despairing claim that his high officials became hostile to him. Moreover, the defensive tone of

[179] Beckman, “Bilingual Edict of Hattušili I,” 81.

Ḫattušili regarding the treatment of his daughter suggests that support for the princess remained strong in the capital even after her defeat and exile. Ḫattušili's explicitly states that exile is intended to prevent his daughter from further meddling in palatial politics, indicating that the princess still had political allies and the capacity to continue to undermine his authority. Indeed, as long as her son was still alive and capable of taking the throne - if indeed he was, which cannot be determined - the princess would have posed a threat to Ḫattušili.

As was the case for Ḫattušili's nephew Labarna and his mother, the power relations between Ḫattušili's daughter and the nobles of Ḫattuša were lateral, not hierarchical. The princess did not have the power to compel nobles to join her cause; instead, she was obliged to win nobles over to her side through persuasion and negotiation, pointing out that the king no longer had any male sons to succeed him upon the throne. This collaboration between the daughter of Ḫattušili and Hittite nobles proved remarkably effective according to Ḫattušili's account, as winning the loyalty of nobles enabled the princess to exert military power over inhabitants of Ḫattuša who remained loyal to the king. With the exception of Puduḫepa, who offered military advice to her son, Hittite royal women play no significant role in warfare. It was only through utilizing her kinship ties with male offspring to win allies that a royal woman like the daughter of Ḫattušili was able to amass armed forces and thereby wield significant military power.

Ḫattušili justified his actions against his daughter at great length in his edict and emphasizes his mercy in banishing her to comfortable exile. The Hittite kingdom was as yet a fledgling state, and a king of the Old Kingdom was constrained by the need to appear impartial and just in matters of the state. As Ḫattušili was dependent upon the good will of his nobles and

officials, the king could not be viewed as making decisions on a whim. Perhaps reflecting on bitter experience, Ḫattušili demands in his edict that his officials respect the judgment of his successor.

> [No] one shall think: "In secret the king [does] what he pleases (saying): "I can justify it, whether it (really) is, or whether it is not."[180]

Here Ḫattušili indicates his awareness that gossip can serve as a means of resistance for the dominated, a method by which disgruntled nobles could sow discontent in Ḫattuša. To combat this threat from members of his court, many of whom were perhaps still loyal to his daughter or her son, Ḫattušili's edict vociferously justifies his actions in quelling his daughter's rebellion. The spread of rumors that the king acted "as he pleases" with regards to his family was not an unlikely threat, for Ḫattušili had to justify not only his treatment of his daughter but also of his sister, the mother of Labarna.

Ḫattušili's claim to the throne was, as previously noted, largely through his familial ties to his aunt, the dowager queen Tawananna, wife of Labarna, and he emphasized his status as the "brother's son of Tawananna" in his annals. During the reign of Ḫattušili, another woman named Tawananna became a political enemy and a threat to his rule. In a harshly worded decree, Ḫattušili declared *damnatio memoriae* on Tawananna and her children.

> KBo 3.27 Vs. 1-12
>
> Then he will take his hand… will bring them. Then he will come and make Ḫattuša an enemy city, a city of blood. In the future may no one speak the name of Tawananna! The names of her sons and her daughters may one also not speak! If a son [of Ḫatti] speaks [their names], they shall slit his throat and hang him upon his door! If one of my servants speaks their names, he is not my servant! They shall slit his throat and hang him upon his

[180] Beckman, "Bilingual Edict of Hattušili I," 80.

door![181]

The circumstances behind the *damnato memoriae* are uncertain. Because the decree addresses both Tawananna and her children, this Tawananna may have sought to remove Ḫattušili from the throne or to place a son on the throne over Ḫattušili's intended successor, and thus an identification with either the sister or daughter of Ḫattušili seems most probable.

Poisonous words: Did Ziplantawiya slander her brother?

A Middle Hittite ritual to purify the royal couple (CTH 443), Tudḫaliya I and Nikkalmati, sheds light on palace intrigue in the fifteenth century BCE. Following Hittite tradition, the beginning of the ritual outlines the supplies necessary for the ritual procedure and reveals the reasons for and circumstances behind the ritual.

KBo 15.10+KBo 20.42 Vs. i 1-21

> When they conciliate the Sun God of Blood and the Storm God, they take these [following items]: two *kurtali* containers of dough, into one seven tongues of dough are thrown, and into the other, seven tongues of dough are thrown. One *wakšur* of sheep fat, one *wakšur* of honey, two lambs, twenty *turuppa* loaves, one *sutu* of emmer meal. She places it on thick loaves. One puppy, seven fingers of dough, seven tear-drops of dough.
>
> They bring [the objects] into the client's house. She takes one *kurtali* container of dough with [the tongues]. She says as follows: "These evil tongues were prepared by Ziplantawiya, and now they are evil tongues. Now Ziplantawiya's soul (?) is wide, her limbs are good and bright, her mouth is good, and her tongue is good. She spoke evil against Tudḫaliya, Nikkalmati, and their sons. Against them she made tongues. She has been speaking evil of them to the Sun God of Blood and the Storm God. She has been bewitching them.[182]

The ritual, designed to counter the sorcery of Ziplantawiya, claims that Ziplantawiya had

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[181] Amir Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 99-103.

[182] Billie Jean Collins, "Women in Hittite ritual," in *Women in the Ancient Near East,* ed. Mark W. Chavalas (London: Routledge, 2014), 256.

attacked not only the reigning king and queen but also their children. Slandering the king before the gods could result in the revoking of divine favor and potentially lead to the king's replacement upon the throne.[183] One may assume that Ziplantawiya's intent in such a ritual was to place one of her own sons on the throne, and the ritual to protect the royal family therefore deflects the sorcery back upon Ziplantawiya and her sons.

> KBo 15.10+KBo 20.42 Vs. iii 182-190
>
> (S)he sticks [the figures…] and [says] as follows: "…Behold, the evil sorcerous tongues that Ziplantawiya [has made] against the lord and his wife [and his sons] …Let them release Tudḫaliya! …Let them seize [Ziplantawiya] together with her sons![184]

Hittitologists have traditionally accepted the view of Ziplantawiya presented by CTH 443 with little hesitation. In discussions of the ritual, scholars have labeled Ziplantawiya a "sorceress"[185] and an "unpleasant person."[186] Unqualified acceptance of Hittite accounts of court intrigue is imprudent. The official nature of the archives of Hattuša constrains scholars to a royal perspective of Hittite history, and exceedingly few extant texts purport to express female opinion. Certainly Hittite scribes did not seek to evaluate or criticize the actions of their kings, from whom they derived their status and prestige. Whenever Hittite texts discuss court intrigue, they invariably do so from the viewpoint of the king, presenting the king as the wronged party. These ideologically-driven accounts fail to provide a counter-narrative, and in the absence of further evidence, it cannot be assumed that Ziplantawiya was in fact guilty of these allegations of

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[183] Notably, Ḫattušili III defends his usurpation of the throne from his nephew by claiming the divine favor of the gods, particularly the Sun Goddess of Arinna.

[184] Collins, "Women in Hittite ritual," 259.

[185] Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., "From the Disciplines of a Dictionary Editor," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 50 (1998): 41.

[186] Andreas Willi, "Unholy Diseases, or why Agamemnon and Tuthaliya should not have offended the gods," *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics* 11 (2006): 190.

sorcery and slander. Ziplantawiya may well have posed a political threat to her brother's reign, perhaps wielding an undue amount of influence at court. Charges of witchcraft have long been used to silence and oppress women worldwide. In a study of contemporary Burkina Faso, Denise Sidonie Nebie/Zoma of UNESCO found that charges of witchcraft are most frequently targeted toward vulnerable female members of society who do not conform to traditional gender roles and expectations.

> Rebellious, economically independent women who insist on their right to speak freely, to choose a spouse, to plan their pregnancy, to be active outside of the home, come and go without prior authorization etc., fall into this category of people accused of witchcraft. In short, women who suffer from social exclusion as a result of witchcraft allegations are usually women without support, who constitute a burden on the family, or women who refuse to comply with their socially-sanctioned roles and status.[187]

Tudḫaliya's denunciation of his sister may therefore reflect a desire to rid himself a political rival rather than seditious behavior on the part of Ziplantawiya. Regardless, the claim that Ziplantawiya carried out a ritual to slander her brother and in-laws before the gods is a strong indication of the allure of the position of queen mother.

A "wicked" stepmother: Muršili II and Tawananna

As has been seen from the cruciform seal, the first wife of Šuppiluliuma, the founder of the Hittite New Kingdom, was Queen Ḫenti. Ḫenti vanished from history, however, and Šuppiluliuma thereafter married the daughter of Burnaburiaš II of Babylonia. A fragmentary prayer suggests that Ḫenti was banished to Aḫḫiyawa in order to make room for the Babylonian princess. Perhaps written in the reign of Muršili II, the text may reference the banishment of a queen.

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[187] Mégane Ghorbani. "Witchcraft accusations perpetuate women's oppression in Sub-Saharan Africa," Association for Women's Rights in Development. http://news.trust.org/item/20150306092102-a6ub5. Accessed April 16, 2017.

KUB 14.2 Vs. iii-v

kuitman=a ABI-*YA* TI-*an-za* [*ēsta*]
n=aš ITTI AMA-*YA kuit* [*kururiyaḫta*]
n=an INA KUR ^{URU}*Aḫḫiyawa* […*arunaš*]

And while my father [was] (still) alive, [so-and-so…],
and because (s)he [became hostile] to my mother,
[…] he dispatched him/her to the land of Aḫḫiyawa beside the sea.[188]

Upon the deaths of Šuppiluliuma I and his son Arnuwanda II from plague carried to Anatolia by Egyptian prisoners of war, Šuppiluliuma's younger son Muršili ascended the throne as Muršili II. One seated on the throne, Muršili clashed with his powerful and charismatic stepmother, resulting in a power struggle with the dowager queen for the first decade of his rule. At first content to let Tawananna remain in her position, most likely due to a combination of the absence of his mother, the illness of his wife Gaššulawiya, and his own inexperience, Muršili II denies any attempts to remove his stepmother from power.

> [When my father] died, Arnuwanda, [my brother, and I] did not harm Tawananna at all, nor did we curtail her power. As [she had governed the palace] and the land of Ḫatti during the reign of my father, in that same way she governed them [during the reign of my brother]. And when my brother [died, I also did not harm] Tawananna at all, nor did I [curtail] her [power] in any way. As she governed the palace and the land of Ḫatti [during the reign of my father and during the reign of] my brother, [likewise] she governed them then…As with her husband [she had ruled Ḫatti, so in the same way as a widow] she ruled Ḫatti in the same way.[189]

Although Tawananna was able to continue in her political and religious offices, Muršili informs us, she was highly corrupt and abused her office as priestess.

> Do you gods not see how she has diverted my father's entire estate to the stone monument building of the protective deity (and) to the royal funerary structure of the

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[188] Gary Beckman, Trevor R. Bryce, and Eric H. Cline, *The Aḫḫiyawa Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 159-160.

[189] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 75.

> deity? Moreover, some (of it) she dispatched to Babylon, while other (things) she distributed to the whole population in Ḫattuša. She left nothing behind. Do you gods not see (this)? And even then I said nothing to her; I gave her the benefit of the doubt on it. Still, she shut up (people's) mouths, and even that which she had not yet touched, even that she gave away to you, so that she ruined my father's estate.[190]

Although the king of Carchemish sent tribute in the form of silver to Tawananna, she embezzled the funds and feigned ignorance.

> She went… and pulled out from the mouth of the sick man [i.e. the ailing king of Carchemish], [and he said]: "His Majesty said that the queen has the silver of Aštata." [But she] kept saying to Išḫara of Aštata: "O goddess, [it isn't] I who have that [silver]. The one who has your, the god's, silver, the one who continually fills… don't you, O goddess, seize him? [Don't] you seize his wife and his children? Instead, you seize me, the innocent one. Seize him, or seize his wife and his children! But don't seize me." And the queen continually cursed me, my wife, and my son before Išḫara.[191]

As high priestess and the manager of her deceased husband's estate, Tawananna held a tremendous amount of economic power. Tawananna illicitly used these funds to fund a stone monument to one or more deities, and she used the remaining funds to bribe the silence of officials. Clearly troubled by these unorthodox actions, Muršili held his silence until his beloved wife became entangled in his stepmother's schemes.

> [The maidservant] Annella said [to my wife]: "Those which …the queen [sent] Mezzulla to them… and [she started] to utter conjurations…" The thing which [she revealed] to my wife, [that thing] she concealed from the queen. Did my wife reveal it to someone, or did she reveal it to me? Or did she make it into a lawsuit and involve [the queen] in some trial? Rather, [my wife] became an informer for the queen and [behold], she banished Annella, the maidservant, from the palace… Why did the queen turn that matter into a sin of my wife? She stands day and night before the gods and curses my wife before the gods. [She…] her, and she wishes for her death, saying: "Let her die!" O gods, my lords, why do you listen to this evil talk? Did my wife cause any harm to the queen? Did she curtail her power in any way? And yet, Tawananna killed my wife.

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[190] Jared L. Miller, "Mursili II's Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannanna," in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Hittitology*, ed. Piotr Taracha (Warsaw: Agade Publishing, 2014), 524-525.

[191] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 76-77

From this account, it seems that the hapless Annella stumbled across Tawananna colluding with the Wise Woman (MUNUS.ŠU.GI) Mezzulla and discreetly brought this information to the attention of Gaššulawiya, the wife of Muršili II. At some point Tawananna realized she had been exposed, either when Gaššulawiya informed her husband or when she fired Annella, perhaps to remove her from the palace for her own protection. Possibly realizing she no longer had anything to gain through discretion or realizing that Gaššulawiya posed a more significant threat to her than she had previously recognized, Tawananna moved into a full assault on the royal family, urging the goddess Išḫara to visit her wrath upon the king, queen, and prince. Although Gaššulawiya indeed died, removing the threat of Tawananna being replaced by a new queen, Muršili II was steadily maturing and strengthening his hold over the growing empire. At last, however, the rocky and unhappy peace between between Muršili II and Tawananna came to an end. Perhaps Tawananna was frustrated by her inability to influence the king, who by this point mistrusted her completely. Perhaps she simply felt the royal court no longer had enough room for the king and queen to coexist peacefully. Whatever the catalyst, Tawananna seized the opportunity to oust the king while he was away on campaign.

> [When] I marched to the land of Azzi, the Sun-god gave an omen. The queen [in Ḫatti] kept saying: "This omen which the Sun-god gave, [what did it] predict? Did it not predict the king's death? And if it predicted that, will the people of Ḫatti [seek someone] else for lordship? Will they [join(?)] lady Amminnaya and [the son] of Amminnaya?" I, My Majesty… in the land of Hayasa… (s)he responded in a tablet…[192]

The omen to which Muršili refers was a solar eclipse that occurred in 1312 BCE, and his annals reveal that his campaign to Azzi occurred in his tenth regnal year.[193] Seizing the opportunity

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[192] Ibid., 77.

[193] Ibid., 75.

presented by the solar eclipse, Tawananna attempted to sow doubt and fear in the capital. Such a dramatic omen would have lent credence to her claims, and with the king away on a dangerous campaign, who could say he had not fallen victim to a spear or plague? After all, it had been only ten years since the father and brother of Muršili had died of plague after military campaigns, and the high priestess of the empire would have held sufficient authority and gravitas to interpret celestial omens. Moving quickly, Tawananna attempted to have her son crowned king before Muršili could return from campaign. If the queen planned to have Muršili discreetly assassinated on his way home to Ḫattuša, her plan failed, and Muršili returned home swiftly once he caught wind of her machinations. Realizing that his stepmother posed too significant a threat to his rule to tolerate, he stripped her of her religious office and titles. Although the consultation of the omens yielded a death sentence, Muršili stayed his hand out of mercy for his stepmother and placed her under house arrest. Although the queen lacked for nothing, she was no longer entrusted with power.

> I consulted the gods, my lords, and it was determined for me by oracle to execute her. To dethrone her was also determined for me by oracle. But even then I did not execute her; I only deposed her from the office of priestess. Since it was determined for me by oracle to dethrone her, I dethroned her and I gave her an estate. Nothing is lacking that she desires. She has food and drink, and everything stands at her disposal. She is alive. She sees the Sun-god of heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of life. I imposed only this one punishment, I punished her with this one thing: I sent her down from the palace, and I deposed her from the office of priestess for the gods… And my punishment is the death of my wife. Has it gone any better? Because she killed her, throughout the days of my life [my soul] goes down to the dark netherworld [on her account], and it [aches] for me. She has bereaved me! Don't you, O gods, realize who was really punished?
>
> Now, because I deposed [the queen] from priesthood, I will provide for [the offerings] of the gods, [my lords], and I will regularly worship the gods. Don't install [her back] to priesthood for the gods! Don't take her into account at all![194]

[194] Ibid., 77-78.

Interestingly, Muršili II claims to have defied the will of the gods in deciding to spare his stepmother. Indeed, he presents his mercy as a virtue, noting that he had punished the queen only by banishing her to an estate outside Ḫattuša and deposing her from her religious office, an act sanctioned by the gods. His punishment of Tawananna, he notes heartbreakingly, pales in comparison to the loss of his beloved wife. The comfortable exile of Tawananna is reminiscent of Ḫattušili I's treatment of his daughter, and both women had powerful supporters at court whom the kings would not have wanted to anger.

The death of Gaššulawiya followed by the deposing of Tawananna presented Muršili II with a conundrum. The Hittite king and queen were the high priest and priestess of the empire, and they were expected to participate jointly in major festivals and rituals. Having no wife, sister, or daughter in whom he could entrust the responsibilities of queenship, how would Muršili see these duties carried out? The king decided the best option was simply to carry out the queen's ritual duties himself, suggesting that under dire circumstances the death or banishment of the queen(-mother) did not prevent the religious bureaucracy from functioning as normal.

As with the case of Ziplantawiya, however, scholars must remain skeptical of the view of the dowager queen's actions painted by Muršili. The young king had no blood ties or strong allegiance to his stepmother, and he may well have resented the woman who caused his own mother to be banished across the Aegean sea. Certainly Muršili did not welcome a power struggle with his stepmother, and the king would have been more comfortable with his wife Gaššulawiya holding the office of Tawananna. The prayers of Muršili II may therefore reflect a king attempting to assuage his guilty conscience after forcibly removing his stepmother from

power. Particularly interesting is the king's reluctance to bring the queen to trial; he notes that the sorcery episode was quietly hushed up and ignored, the maid informant fired and banished from the capital. Was the king's reluctance to bring his stepmother to trial out of lingering sympathy for her, a hesitation to broadcast weakness and tension within the royal family, or rather a complete lack of evidence to support his accusations? Nevertheless, that several prayers and omen texts refer to Muršili's anxiety over the health of his wife and the deeds of his stepmother suggests that the king's emotions were genuine.

The power of a princess: Puduḫepa and the DUMU.MUNUS GAL

The oracular inquiry of KUB 22.70 records a conflict between the queen (MUNUS.LUGAL) and the "great princess" (DUMU.MUNUS GAL). The king, queen, and great princess are referred to only by their titles, so their identities are uncertain. In his edition of the text, Ahmet Ünal dated the text to the 13th century BCE based on lexical, paleographic, and historical and contextual grounds.[195] Itamar Singer argued convincingly that the king, queen, and great princess in KUB 22.70 are Tudḫaliya IV, Puduḫepa, and the wife of Tudḫaliya IV, the daughter of the king of Babylonia.[196]

KUB 22.70 indicates the palace was split into two factions, the venerable Puduḫepa on one side and the great princess, Ammattalla, and Pattiya on the other. In the clash between Puduḫepa and her daughter-in-law, the degree of support the women could garner from the king and members of the royal court would determine victory. In the order of events described in the

[195] Ahmet Ünal, *Ein Orakeltext über die Intrigen am hethitischen Hof* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1978), 36-52.

[196] Singer, "The Title 'Great Princess' in the Hittite Empire," 327-338.

oracular inquiry, Puduḫepa made the opening move by bring charges of religious impropriety against Ammattalla, a supporter of the great princess.

> In regard to the fact that you, O deity of Arušna, were ascertained to be angry with His Majesty, is this because the queen cursed Ammattalla before the deity of Arušna? Because Ammattalla began to concern herself with the deity, yet did not go back and forth (in service to the deity)? Because the son of Ammattalla has dressed himself in garments entrusted to his mother and was summoned to the palace?[197]

Although Ammattalla's punishment is not mentioned explicitly in the text, she was apparently expelled from the palace, for she returns to the palace later in the inquiry. The faction of the great princess, suffering the loss of one of their number, made the next move. Puduḫepa, who remained the chief priestess of the Hittite state cult into the reign of her son Tudḫaliya, was accused of appropriating objects intended for the gods and sending inferior substitutes.

> In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, is this because Mala spoke as follows: "The queen made for herself a crown of gold in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity. In a dream the deity of Arušna demanded it from the queen, but the queen did not give it. She set it aside in the storehouse of the treasurer, and in its place the queen made two other crowns of silver for the deity of Arušna. And as long as she had not sent it to the deity of Arušna, the matter brought trouble for the queen, and she was expelled from the palace.[198]

Although the deity of Arušna demanded the crown, it was delivered to the statue of the queen in the mausoleum, not to a statue of the deity of Arušna. The statue of the queen must have functioned as a votive statue, the offerings of the queen placed below the statue so that Puduḫepa might serve as a perpetual devotee. Puduḫepa wrote from exile in the city of Utruli to clear her name and rectify her misstep.

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[197] Gary Beckman, "Excerpt from an Oracle Report," in *The Context of Scripture I: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World,* ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 205.

[198] Ibid.

> The queen wrote back to His Majesty from Utruli: 'The crown of gold which the deity of Arušna demanded from me in a dream is now lying in the storehouse of the treasurer. The inlay pieces and the precious stones which were left over (from its manufacture) are now lying in the container for *adupli*-garments. Send them off to the deity!' They found that crown of gold, and with it lay a falcon of gold, a grape cluster (made up of) precious stones, eight rosettes, ten knobs, and eyebrow(s) and eyelid(s) of precious stones. Then they took them to the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity, to the statue of the queen.[199]

The matter of Palla may refer to an attempt of the queen to pin the blame on the official in charge of the storehouse, if Palla is to be identified as the treasurer. According to the witness Naru, the queen had left items in the charge of Palla.

> Concerning the affair of Palla she said: "The queen said: 'May you, O deity, take cognizance of that which I gave to Palla, so that you will keep after Palla (about it.)'" We interrogated the associates of Palla, and they said: "We do not know about that affair."[200]

Apparently Palla has died or fled from the palace since the queen's exile, for Palla's associates are questioned about the matter. It is possible Palla's associates were indeed ignorant of the matter if the queen charged him with precious objects in secret, but they likely had no desire to come between the queen and her powerful enemies.

That Ammattalla was banished from the palace for her religious improprieties is suggested by the mention of her being brought back into the palace in secret.

> In regard to the face that it was once more unfavorable, (is this) because the great princess secretly [brought] Ammattalla up into the palace? If you, O god, are angry about this, let the extispacy be unfavorable.

Ammattalla and Puduḫepa were not the only women removed from the palace. Pattiya, another supporter of the great princess, was expelled from the palace and dedicated to the deity of Arušna.

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[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid., 206.

> In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, (is this) because the affair of Naru Was postponed? Because Naru was was brought and spoke of (the affair of the woman) Pattiya? Pattiya was expelled from the palace and will be given to the deity.[201]

Ünal tentatively identified Pattiya as the mother of the great princess and the king's mother-in-law.[202] This identification is unsatisfactory if the great princess was indeed the daughter of the king of Babylonia, for it is unlikely a wife of the king of Babylonia could be expelled from the Hittite palace so easily. A more plausible explanation is that Pattiya was a member of the princess' entourage who accompanied the Babylonian princess to Ḫatti. If the marriage between Amenhotep III and Giluḫepa, the daughter of Šuttarna II of Mitanni, was typical, the entourage of a princess could reach enormous proportions.

> Marvel brought to his majesty, life, prosperity, health, Giluḫepa, the daughter of Šuttarna, the prince (*wr*) of Naharin, and 317 ladies of her entourage.[203]

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[201] Ibid.

[202] Ünal, *Ein Orakeltext, 2*8.

[203] David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline, *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 257.

Chapter 4

Puduḫepa: a case study from the 13th century BCE

The wives of Muršili II and the birth of Ḫattušili III

Discussion of the reign of Ḫattušili III must begin with the "Apology of Ḫattušili" (CTH 81), the primary source for the events in the early life of Ḫattušili. The Apology is nearly unique in the Hittite textual corpus. Although it recounts historical events, it is not an enumeration of military campaigns like the "manly deeds" (Hittite *pešnatar*) or annals of the Hittite kings. Rather, the Apology presents a justification for the reign of Ḫattušili III in the form of a synopsis of the events that culminated in Ḫattušili's usurpation of the throne from his nephew Muršili III. Classifying the Apology and the Telepinu Proclamation as "accession narratives" taking the form of edicts incorporating historical narratives, Harry Hoffner identified the structure of the narratives as a description of worthy remote ancestors and unworthy immediate predecessors followed by a presentation of the usurper as the restorer of order and the renewer of a golden age.[204]

The Telepinu Proclamation contains numerous mentions of royal women, as it was through their marriages to royal women that rebellious courtiers were able to lay claim to the throne. The marriage of Ḫarapšili, the sister of Muršili I, to the king's cupbearer Ḫantili is an illustrative example. The marriage was a reciprocal arrangement intended to solidify the ties between the king and one of his courtiers. Ḫantili gained status and prestige by becoming part of the extended royal household as the king's brother-in-law. Marriage to Ḫarapšili did not place Ḫantili in the line of succession, however, so the benefit to Muršili of securing the loyalty of a

[204] Hoffner, "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East," 332.

high-ranking courtier outweighed the risk of creating a political rival. Ḫarapšili profited from the marriage as well, as it enabled her to leave the household of her brother and become the mistress of her own household, no longer subject to the queen of Muršili I. The name of Queen Kali is found in association with Muršili I in festival offering lists.[205] The cruciform seal from Ḫattuša, which preserves the name of MAGNUS.FEMINA *ká*-*416 accompanying Muršili (MAGNUS.REX URBS+*ra/i-li*) in the bottom panel of the reverse side, provides further support for a marriage between Muršili and Kali. Hawkins's proposed reading of li_x for *416,[206] identifying *ká*-*416 with the Kali of the offering lists, is now assured.[207]

The king's brother-in-law proved to be dangerously ambitious, however. At some point after his return from a successful campaign in Babylon, Muršili I was assassinated by Ḫantili and Zidanta, a co-conspirator.

> CTH 19 i 31-34
>
> Now, Ḫantili was a Cupbearer. He had Ḫar[apši]li, Muršili's sister as wife…Zidanta united with Ḫantili, and they [ma]de evil cause. They killed Muršili and (thus) created a crime of blood.[208]

Nothing more is known of Queen Kali after she was replaced upon the throne by her sister-in-law Ḫarapšili and Ḫantili. Whether Kali retired into self-imposed exile or was murdered alongside her husband remains unknown. With the death of her brother and the disappearance of

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[205] KUB 36.120 I 5

[206] Ali Dinçol, Belkis Dinçol, J. David Hawkins, and Gernot Wilhelm, "The 'Cruciform Seal' from Boğazköy-Hattusa," 95.

[207] Elisabeth Rieken and Ilya Yakubovich, "The New Values of Luwian Signs L 319 and L 172," in *Ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis*: *Luwian and Hittite studies presented to J. David Hawkins on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, ed. Itamar Singer (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, 2010), 199-219.

[208] Goedegebuure, "The Proclamation of Telepinu," 230.

her sister-in-law, Ḫarapšili became the highest ranking member of the royal family. Although Zidanta and Ḫantili plotted the death of Muršili together, it was undoubtedly his marriage to Ḫarapšili that enabled Ḫantili rather than Zidanta to seize the throne successfully. There is no indication that Ḫarapšili was involved with the assassination plot; her role in the account is significant only due to her role in legitimizing Ḫantili.

Ḫantili remained king until his death, but the throne passed to his co-conspirator Zidanta rather than one of his sons with Ḫarapšili.

CTH 19 i 63-66

> Now, when Ḫantili had become old and started to "become a god," Zidanta killed [Pišeni], son of Ḫantili, together with his sons, and he also killed his first-ranking servants. So now Zidanta had become king. But the gods started to seek the blood of Pišeni.[209]

Telepinu's claim that the gods sought vengeance for the murder of Pišeni indicates that the throne was supposed to pass to the the son of the king and his chief wife, the routine pattern of succession in the Hittite Empire. Telepinu's edict was not an attempt to introduce new rules of succession; rather, he sought to codify preexisting traditions.

In contrast to the Telepinu Proclamation, the Apology of Ḫattušili contains few references to royal women other than Ḫattušili's wife Puduḫepa. The relative prominence of royal women in the accession narratives is a function of the lineages of Telepinu and Ḫattušili III. Though Telepinu recollects "when he sat upon the throne of his father,"[210] he notes that it was his marriage to Ištapariya, the sister of his predecessor Huzziya, that had made him a target for assassination.

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[209] Ibid., 231.

[210] CTH 19 ii 16 *mān=šan* ^{m}*Telepinuš INA* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *ABI-YA ēšḫat*

CTH 19 ii 9-12

> Telepinu had Ištapariya, his sister of first rank (as wife). Ḫuzziya would have killed them, but the matter became known, and Telepinu chased them away.[211]

The accession of Telepinu therefore mirrors that of Ḫantili. Muršili I was replaced upon the throne by his brother-in-law Ḫantili, and Ḫuzziya was replaced upon the throne by his brother-in-law Telepinu. For both Ḫantili and Telepinu, marriage to the sister of the king was key to claiming the throne successfully. Aware of and perhaps disconcerted by this mirroring of circumstances, Telepinu asserts a difference between Ḫantili and himself in motivation; whereas Ḫantili was motivated by ambition, Telepinu seized the throne out of self-defense.

In contrast to the dubious lineage of Telepinu, Ḫattušili III was descended from a line of kings. His direct male ancestors, including Muršili II, Šuppiluliuma I, Tudḫaliya III, Arnuwanda I, and Tudḫaliya I, had ruled as the kings of Ḫatti for over a century. Emphasizing this preeminent lineage, the Apology of Ḫattušili begins by recounting Ḫattušili's ancestry.

KUB 1.1 i 1-4

> Thus Tabarna Ḫattušili, Great King, King of Ḫatti, son of Muršili, Great King, King of Ḫatti, grandson of Šuppiluliuma, Great King, King of Ḫatti, and descendant of Ḫattušili, King of Kuššar.[212]

Although Ḫattušili III traces his family back through multiple generations, he does so only through the male line. There is no mention of his mother, her identity irrelevant for his claim to the throne. Ḫattušili's mother is again absent when he identifies his siblings.

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[211] Ibid., 231.

[212] van den Hout, "Apology of Ḫattušili III," 199.

KUB 1.1 i 9-11

> My father Muršili begot us four children: Ḫalpašulupi, Muwatalli, Ḫattušili, and Maššanauzzi, a daughter. Of all these I was the youngest child.[213]

To identify the mother of Ḫattušili III, therefore, one must look to textual and glyptic evidence from the reign of Muršili II.

The first wife of Muršili II for whom a name is preserved is Gaššulawiya, who appears in the obverse center in the cruciform seal as *Ká-su-la-wi* MAGNUS.REGINA next to her husband Muršili II, written as URBS+*RA/I-li* MAGNUS.REX.[214] Gaššulawiya appears again as […]-*su-la-wa/i* alongside Muršili (URBS+*RA/I-li* [MAGNUS.]REX) in seal BO 90/755 from the Nişantepe archive[215] and as *Ká-su-la-wa/i* alongside Muršili (URBS-*li* MAGNUS.REX) on SBo 1 37.[216] This Gaššulawiya may be the unnamed wife of Muršili whose premature death Muršili II blamed on Tawananna, the Babylonian wife of Šuppiluliuma I.[217] In Muršili's exculpation in the Tawananna affair, however, he mentions only one son.

CTH 70 iii 23-33

> When I went to Kummani — my father had promised a festival of invocation to Ḫebat of Kummani, but he had not yet given it to her, so she bothered me — I went to Kizzuwatna saying as follows: "Let me fulfill the promise of my father!" I constantly implored and invoked Ḫebat of Kummani for myself, my wife, my son, my house, my land, and the brothers […][218]

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213 Ibid.

214 Ali Dinçol, et al., "The 'Cruciform Seal' from Boğazköy-Hattusa," 91.

215 Susanne Herbordt, Daliah Bawanypeck, and J. David Hawkins, *Der Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-archiv in Hattusa* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2011), 124.

216 Hans Gustav Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*. *Erster Teil: Die Königssiegel der Grabungen bis 1938* (Berlin: Archiv für Orientforschung, 1940).

217 The unnamed wife appears in CTH 70 iii 4-22.

218 Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 76.

CTH 70 iv 22-23

> And the queen continually cursed me, my wife, and my son before Išḫara. She continually sacrificed against us. Because of this my wife died.[219]

If the order of names in the Apology of Ḫattušili indicates that Ḫalpašulupi was the eldest son of Muršili, it seems that he was born to this first wife of Muršili. It was the death of his unnamed first wife, rather than the death of Gaššulawiya, that Muršili blamed on Tawananna.

Little is known of Ḫalpašulupi. Elena Devecchi proposed a reading of Ḫalpašulupi for the name of the GAL ^{LÚ}KUŠ$_7$ official in the witness list of the treaty between Muwatalli II and Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo (CTH 75A rev. 17), but the fragmentary nature of the line makes the reading uncertain. Ḫalpašulupi is also attested in a cretula from the Nisantepe archive, which bore the seal of TONITRUS.*ḪALPA*-AVIS with the title REX.FILIUS.[220] Ḫalpašulupi's ultimate role in the Hittite administration may be revealed by KBo 50.182. According to Jürgen Glocker, the first lines can be reconstructed as the genealogy of Ḫattušili III, which identifies Ḫalpašulupi as the "older brother" of the king.[221] At some point either Muršili II or Muwatalli II made Ḫalpašulupi king of Išuwa.

KBo 50.182 Vs. I

> 4 [^{m}*Ḫal-pa-šu-l*]*u-pí-iš* ŠEŠ *MAḪ-RI-IA e-*[*eš-ta*]
> 5 [x] *na-an I-NA* KUR URU *I-šu-wa* LU[GAL-*un* DÙ-*at*]
>
> [Ḫalpašul]upi, w[as] my older brother
> [he made] him ki[ng] in Išuwa.

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[219] Ibid., 77.

[220] Susanne Herbordt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nisantepe-Archiv in Hattusa* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 132.

[221] Jürgen Glocker, "Ališarruma, König von Išuwa," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 38.2(2011): 258.

If Muršili was the king who placed Ḫalpašulupi on the throne of Išuwa, he may have done so to remove him from the line of succession, paving the way for his eldest son by Gaššulawiya, Muwatalli, to succeed him. Indeed, he may well have done so at the urging of Gaššulawiya, who stood to benefit from serving as queen mother upon the death of her husband. Alternately, Muršili may have preferred to choose a son with a living mother as his heir; the appearance of Gaššalawiya on seal impressions suggests she played at least a limited role in the state administration, and she would have served as a source of counsel for her son Muwatalli upon his accession to the throne.

As Singer has noted, the cuneiform evidence for the first Gaššulawiya, wife of Muršili II, is very limited compared to the evidence for her homonymous granddaughter, daughter of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa.[222] CTH 380, a prayer for the health of Gaššuliyawiya, the "great daughter" (DUMU.MUNUS GAL), should be redated from the reign of Muršili II to the reign of Ḫattušili III or Tudḫaliya IV. De Roos cites a late form of URU, thirteen late forms of LI, and three late forms of TAR as evidence for dating KBo 4.6 to the 13th century BCE. Additionally, the prayer is addressed to Lelwani, the goddess to whom Puduḫepa frequently appeals.[223] Nevertheless, it seems clear that the first Gaššalawiya died prematurely, as Muršili II married for a third and final time to a woman named Tanuḫepa, who bore the king additional children.

In circumstances that mirrored the clash between Muršili II and Tawananna, Muwatalli, the son of Muršili II and Gaššulawiya, expelled his stepmother Tanuḫepa from the capital after the death of his father. Ḫattušili III discussed his actions with regard to Tanuḫepa.

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[222] Singer, "The title 'Great Princess' in the Hittite empire," 261.

[223] de Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts*, 65.

CTH 383 Vs. i 16 - ii 13

> When it came to pass that the case against Tanuḫepa, your priestess, took place in the palace, [how he curtailed the power of] Tanuḫepa until she was ruined together with her sons and all her men, lords and subordinates, that which was inside the soul of the goddess, my lady, nobody knew, namely, whether the ruination of Tanuḫepa was the wish of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, [my lady,] or whether it was not her wish. In any case, I was not involved in the matter of the ruination of Tanuḫepa's son. On the contrary, when I passed judgment over him, he was dear to me. Nobody was destroyed by the order of the word of my mouth. The one who did that evil thing — if somehow the Sun Goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry over the matter of Tanuḫepa — that one who did that matter of Tanuḫepa has already died.[224]

Ḫattušili refers specifically to his innocence in the ruination of one of Tanuḫepa's sons, suggesting Tanuḫepa had sought to place her own son on the throne rather than one of the sons of her predecessor. Ḫalpašalupi had been placed on the throne of Išuwa, and Muwatalli and Ḫattušili had no living mother. The eldest son of Muršili II and Tanuḫepa, the current queen, who had "men, lords, and subordinates" to support her politically, was a strong contender for the throne of Ḫatti. To eliminate this threat, Muwatalli moved swiftly to "ruin" Tanuḫepa and her son.

Ḫattušili emphasizes his status as the youngest child of Muršili II in his Apology. KBo 50.182 indicates that Ḫattušili was younger than Ḫalpašulupi, and Muwatalli's ascension to the throne ahead of Ḫattušili supports his status as the second son, but the birth order with respect to Maššanauzzi cannot be definitively established. Maššanauzzi was listed last in the Apology as the only named daughter of Muršili II; she may have been older or younger than any of her brothers. Regardless of the birth order of his siblings, Ḫattušili may have emphasized his status as the youngest child in order to invoke the literary topos of a virtuous and meritorious youngest

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[224] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 98.

son, known from many cultures and time periods. In the "Tale of the Queen of Kanesh," only the youngest son objects to the marriage of his brothers to their sisters.

> "Should we take our own sisters in marriage? Don't do such an impious thing! [It is surely not] right that [we should] sleep with them."[225]

Such a folklore motif is eminently suitable in light of the presentation of piety that Ḫattušili emphasizes in his Apology.

Maššanauzzi, the only sister of Ḫattušili III whose name is known, is the only royal woman to appear in the Apology other than Puduḫepa. Outside this text, she first appears in an oracle text comprised of questions about the cult of Išḫara. Muršili II, the father of Maššanauzzi, had fallen ill, and the oracular inquiries delved into the reasons for the illness and the means by which the malady could be reversed. The goddess Išḫara of Aštata was determined to be the source of the king's illness, and subsequent questions focused on the specifics of the correct cult practices necessary to secure the king's good health. Royal participation in these cultic rituals was required, and the seer (^{LÚ}AZU), augur (^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ), and Old Woman (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) inquired whether the daughter of a secondary wife would be sufficient. The following oracular inquiry about Maššanauzzi makes it clear that she was the daughter in question.

> CTH 570.1 ii 7-9
> […] *ANA* ^{D}*Išḫara* BAL-*anzi* DUMU.MUNUS ^{MUNUS}*NAPTARTI*
> [*iya*]*ttari IŠTU* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI SIG_5 *IŠTU* ^{LÚ}AZU ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ-*ya* $NU.SIG_5$
> [*nu=kan AN*]*A* ^{D}*Išḫara* BAL-*anzi* ^{F}DINGIR.MEŠ.IR-*ma iyattari*
>
> …they will make offeirng to Išḫara. Should the daughter of a secondary wife go? (Inquiry by) the Old Woman: favorable; by the seer and the augur: unfavorable. They will make offering [to] Išḫara. Maššanauzzi is on her way.[226]

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[225] Hoffner, *Hittite Myths,* 63.

[226] Beckman, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 188-189.

References to secondary wives and their children are exceedingly rare in texts of the empire period. All other attestations of the MUNUS*NAPTARTI* refer to secondary wives and their children in a general sense rather than to specific individuals. To cite a contemporary example, Muwatalli pledges in his treaty with Alakšandu of Wiluša to support the designated heir of Alakšandu regardless of the mother to whom he was born.

> KUB 21.1 i 65-68
>
> [DUMU]=*KA=ma kuin* LUGAL-*eznanni zik taparriyaši* x[
> [*Š*]*A* DAM=*KA mān=āš=ta ŠA* MUNUS*NAPTIGA*[227]
>
> In regard to the [son] of yours whom you designate for kingship - [whether he is by] your wife or by your concubine…[228]

Although not the daughter of Muršili and his chief wife Gaššulawiya, Maššanauzzi assumed a prominent role during the reign of her brothers Muwatalli and Ḫattušili due to an arranged marriage with Mašturi, king of the Šeḫa River Land. According to the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru, Muwatalli II gave his sister in marriage to Mašturi.

> Muwatalli took Mašturi, who was king of the land of the Šeḫa River, and he made him his brother-in-law, giving him his sister Maššanauzzi in marriage. And he made him king in the land of the Šeḫa River.[229]

According to a memorandum, however, it was Muršili III who gave Maššanauzzi in marriage to Mašturi, rather than his father Muwatalli.

> [MNIR.GAL-*iš=kan*] EN=*YA* FDINGIR.MEŠ.IR-*in ANA* M*Manapa*-DU *AŠŠUM*
> É.G[I$_4$(.A)]
> [*ŪL ḫand*]*ait* M*Murši*-DINGIR.LIM-*iš=m=an=ši IDDIN*

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[227] To be read as MUNUS*NAPTI=KA*, an abbreviated form of MUNUS*NAPTARTI=KA*

[228] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 88.

[229] Ibid.,105.

[Muwatalli], my lord, [did not ar]rrange Maššanauzzi to Manapa-Tarḫunta as a daughter-[in-law], but Muršili gave her to him.[230]

Michele Cammarosano has proposed a coregency between Muwatalli and Muršili III, which would resolve the inconsistency.[231]

According to the Šaušgamuwa treaty, Mašturi proved loyal to neither Muwatalli or his successor Muršili. Regarding Muršili as a bastard son of Muwatalli, Mašturi declined to support Muršili III and instead backed Ḫattušili, Mašturi's brother-in-law. That the Hittite principles of succession allowed for the accession of the son of a secondary wife or concubine under certain circumstances is clear from the Proclamation of Telepinu, however.

CTH 19 ii 36-39

LUGAL-*uš=šan ḫantezziyaš=pat* DUMU LUGAL DUMU-*RU kikkištaru takku* DUMU L[UGAL] *ḫantezziš* NU.GÁL *nu kuiš tān pēdaš* DUMU-RU *nu* LUGAL-*uš apāš kišaru mān* DUMU LUGAL=*ma* IBILIA NU.GÁL *nu kuiš* DUMU.MUNUS *ḫantezzis nu=šši=ššan* LÚ*antiyantan appāndu* LUGAL-*uš apās kišaru*

King shall become a son (who is a) prince of first rank only. If there is no first rank prince, he who is a son of second rank shall become King. If there is no prince, (no) male, she who is a first rank princess, for her they shall take an in-marrying (son-in-law) and he shall become king.[232]

Given that Ḫattušili notes his connection with Maššanauzzi in the Apology, Maššanauzzi may have felt a stronger loyalty to her brother, with whom she grew up in the capital, than her nephew, whom she had quite possibly never met. Indeed, the closeness of the bond between Ḫattušili and Maššanauzzi may well have played a critical role in Mašturi's decision to support Ḫattušili over Muršili III. It is unlikely Maššanauzzi held as much sway with her nephew as with

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[230] Michele Cammarosano, "A Coregency for Muršili III?" *Altorientalische Forschungen* 39 (2009): 173-174.

[231] Ibid.,171-202.

[232] van den Hout, "The Proclamation of Telepinu," 197.

her brother, and Mašturi would be highly esteemed as brother-in-law to the king if Ḫattušili were to assume the throne. Marriage to the sister of the king correlated to considerable prestige in western Anatolia, as the Alakšandu treaty makes clear.

> KBo 19.73 iii 31-35
>
> Additionally, it is you who are the four kings of the lands of Arzawa: you, Alakšandu, [Piyama]-Kurunta, Kupanta-Kurunta, and Ura-Ḫattuša. Kupanta-Kurunta is a descendant of the king of Arzawa on his father's side, but he is a descendant of the King of Ḫatti on his mother's side. He is the son of the sister of my father Muršili, Great King, King of Ḫatti.

Indeed, it seems that Ḫattušili III kept a careful eye on his western Anatolian vassals and remained in touch with his sister. A letter from Ramesses II to Ḫattušili III indicates that Maššanauzzi's troubles in conceiving a child troubled the Hittite king.

> KBo 28.30 Vs. 1-Rs. 5
>
> So speaks Ramesses-Setepenre, the Great King, King of the Land of Egypt, the son of Ra, Ramesses-Meryamun, the Great King, King of the Land of Egypt:
> To Ḫattušili, the Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, my brother, speak:
> Now, I find myself well, I, the Great King, the king [of Egypt], your brother. May it go well with you, my brother.
> Speak thus to my brother: That which my brother wrote to me regarding Matanazi, his sister, as follows:
> "May my brother send to me a man to prepare a medicine for her so that she may bear children." Thus did my brother write to me.
> So I say to my brother: Now look, Matanazi, the sister of my brother, the king, your brother knows her! Fifty or sixty years old is she! And look, a woman who is fifty or sixty years old, for her no man can prepare a medicine allowing her to bear children.[233]

Trevor Bryce has estimated that Maššanauzzi could have been no younger than 55, and Ramesses' estimation of her age was thus quite accurate.[234] How Ramesses II was so familiar with the age of a member of the Hittite royal family not residing in Ḫattuša is unknown. His

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[233] Trevor Bryce, "How Old Was Matanazi?" *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 84 (1998): 213.

[234] Ibid., 212-215.

Egyptian messengers may have encountered messengers from the Šeḫa River Land while stationed in Ḫattuša or even the princess herself on a visit to her brother. It is unlikely that Ramesses maintained correspondence with the western Anatolian vassal kingdoms, indicated by his sharply worded reprimand to Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira that reaffirmed his dedication to the Egyptian-Hittite alliance.[235]

Returning to the other siblings of Ḫattušili III, Muršili's later wife Tanuḫepa and her children posed a threat to the accession of Muwatalli. As discussed previously, CTH 383 mentions the ruination of Tanuḫepa along with her "sons and all her men, lords and subordinates." The reappearance of Tanuḫepa on seal impressions from the reign of Muršili III, however, suggests she was returned to favor in the Hittite court. Hawkins notes that the reasons for her return remain a matter of speculation, as it was not in the interest of either Muršili III or his uncle.[236] Since no wife of Muršili III has been identified, Tanuḫepa may have served as queen in the absence of a consort. The disdain of Mašturi for the mother of Muršili III suggests a concubine was not considered an appropriate choice for the position of queen.

> Mašturi committed treachery. Although it was Muwatalli who had taken him up and had made him his brother-in-law, afterwards Mašturi did not protect his son Urḫi-Teššup but went over to my father, thinking: "Will I protect even a bastard? Why should I act on behalf of the son of a bastard?"[237]

The return of Tanuḫepa to court under Muršili III, however, raises the question of whether her children posed a threat to Muršili's claim to the throne. Indeed, scholars have largely overlooked

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[235] CTH 166 (KBo 1.24 + KUB 3.23 + KUB 3.84). It should be noted that the letter to Kupanta-Kurunta was found at Ḫattuša, not in western Anatolia. Whether Kupanta-Kurunta himself ever received a copy of the letter is unknown.

[236] Herbordt, et al., *Der Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen*, 93.

[237] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts,* 105.

the offspring of Tanuḫepa although, as the offspring of Muršili and a chief wife, the sons of Tanuḫepa held as strong a claim to the Hittite throne as Ḫattušili.

The answer to the question of the fate of the sons of Tanuḫepa may be provided by the Egyptian accounts of the battle of Kadesh. In the pictorial account of the battle, the Egyptians included labels for the most important of the slain Hittite warriors. Although Gardiner provided transliterations of the names of the Hittite dead in his edition of the Kadesh inscriptions,[238] they have received little study. Among the dead are *Spṯr* (*sꜣ-pꜣ-ṯꜣty-r*) and *Ḫmṯrm* (*ḫꜣ-m-ʿ-ṯꜣty-r-mꜣꜣ*), brothers of the king of Ḫatti.[239] As the brothers of Muwatalli II, these are likely the sons of Tanuḫepa. The Hittite rendering of *Spṯr* remains unknown, but Elmar Edel suggested a Hittite reading of Ḫimmu-zalma for *Ḫmṯrm,* considering Ḫimmu to be a theophoric element.[240] Melchert has proposed a meaning of "shield, protection" for *-zalma*, resulting in the translation of Ḫimmu-zalma as "Ḫimmu is my protection."[241] Alternately, zalma can be read as the god Šarruma; the element Ḫimmu is otherwise unknown. Unfortunately, Ḫimmu-zalma is a name unattested in the Hittite corpus. If *Spṯr* and *Ḫmṯrm* were indeed the sons of Tanuḫepa, they had been killed by the time of Muwatalli's death, leaving only Ḫattušili and his nephew as rivals for the throne of Ḫatti. Muršili III was therefore able to return his step-grandmother Tanuḫepa to the court to serve as queen, as the dowager queen had no surviving sons to challenge him for the throne.

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238 Alan Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1975), 40.

239 Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions Volume II: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 137-138.

240 Elmar Edel, "Hethitische Personnamen in Hieroglyphischer Umschrift," in *Festschrift Heinrich Otten,* ed. Erich Neu and Christel Rüster (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), 66-68.

241 H. Craig Melchert, "Luvian Lexical Notes" in *Historische Sprachforschung* Vol. 101 (1988), 241-243.

The rise of Puduḫepa, daughter of Kizzuwatna (1274 BCE)

The chief wife of Ḫattušili III was Puduḫepa. The Apology of Ḫattušili III recorded the earliest known event in Puduḫepa's life, her marriage to Ḫattušili in Lawazantiya after the battle of Qadesh.

> KUB 1.1 ii 79 - iii 13
>
> When, however, I returned from Egypt, I marched to the city of Lawazantiya to bring offerings to the goddess and worshipped the goddess. At the behest of the goddess I took Puduḫepa, the daughter of Pentipšarri, the priest, for my wife: we joined (in matrimony and) the goddess gave us the love of husband (and) wife. We made ourselves sons (and) daughters. Then the goddess, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream (saying): "Become my servant [with] (your) household!" So the goddess' servant with my household I became. In the house which we made ourselves, the goddess was there with us, and our house thrived: that was the recognition of Ištar, My Lady. [Then] I went and fortified the cities of Ḫawarkina and Dilmuna. Ḫakpiš, however, turned hostile. I sent Kaškeans and on my own I set it straight again. I became king of Ḫakpiš while my wife became [queen of] Ḫakpiš.[242]

Brides in Mesopotamia were typically between fourteen and twenty years old.[243] Assuming Puduḫepa married Ḫattušili while within this age range, she was born around 1290 BCE based on the dating of the battle of Qadesh to 1274 BCE.[244]

Accounts of royal marriages are otherwise scarcely attested in the Hittite textual record, and a record of the union of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa was highly unusual.[245] Since Ḫattušili was a usurper who seized the throne from his nephew, the background and connections of his wife

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[242] van den Hout, "Apology of Ḫattušili III," 202.

[243] Martha Roth, "Age at marriage and the household: a study of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian forms," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987): 715–747.

[244] Kitchen, Kenneth A., *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1982), 240.

[245] Muršili II recounts a marriage overture made to Šuppiluliuma I by a widowed Egyptian queen (CTH 40 A iii 1-15). A prince was dispatched to Egypt, but he died en route. Blaming the Egyptians for the death of his son, Šuppiluliuma invaded Egyptian territory. It was plague brought back to Ḫatti with the prisoners-of-war that killed Šuppiluliuma and his son Arnuwanda II (CTH 378.II).

were critical. Ḫattušili needed not only to gain support among the elites of the empire but also to ensure that his son was considered of sufficiently high birth to ascend the throne upon his death over rival claimants like Kurunta or any surviving offspring of Urḫi-Teššup.

Piety was ostensibly the reason for Ḫattušili's selection of Puduḫepa as a bride. Ištar desired the match, and Ḫattušili obligingly obeyed. Both participants seemingly found the marriage eminently satisfactory, and Ḫattušili notes that the goddess gave them "the love of husband and wife."[246] Out of this union were born "sons and daughters" in unspecified number.[247]

Although Ḫattušili mentions only the machinations of Ištar as the motivation behind his marriage to Puduḫepa, there were strategic reasons for the marriage. Firm control of Kizzuwatna was vital for Hittite trade and control of Syria, as Kizzuwatna controlled the primary routes from the Anatolian plateau to northern Syria via the Amanus Gates and Cilician Gates. Moreover, Ura, the primary Hittite port and the nexus of trade between Ḫatti and Ugarit, lay in Kizzuwatna.[248] The marriage of the king's brother to Puduḫepa, the daughter of a prominent priest in Lawazantiya, was a means of demonstrating royal interest and investment in Kizzuwatna. Moreover, the connections Puduḫepa had with high-ranking individuals in Kizzuwatna, including her father Pentipšarri, would likely prove useful to her husband and brother-in-law. Puduḫepa's identity as a daughter of Kizzuwatna was never superseded by her identity as queen; the degree to which Puduḫepa flaunted her affiliation with Kizzuwatna long after her marriage to

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246 LÚ*MUDI* DAM *āššiyatar*

247 van den Hout, "Apology of Ḫattušili III," 202.

248 Itamar Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, ed. Wilfred G.E. Watson and Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 660.

Ḫattušili indicates she was aware that it was her origins and connections in Kizzuwatna that facilitated her marriage into the Hittite royal family.

The rock relief at Fraktin, depicting Puduḫepa pouring a libation before the Sun Goddess, emphasizes the Kizzuwatnan origins of Puduḫepa. The hieroglyphic label above Puduḫepa's outstretched arm identifies her as *pu-tu-ha-pa* MAGNUS.DOMINA, "Puduhepa, Great Queen." An inscription behind the queen reads *ká*-*285-*na*(REGIO) FILIA DEUS *á-za/i-mi*, "Daughter of Kizzuwatna, beloved of the god."[249] Puduḫepa's Kizzuwatnan origins were commemorated in a similar fashion through moveable objects, as the queen was identified as the "daughter of Kizzuwatna" on the seal she used for the Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty. The silver tablet bearing the seal impressions of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa has not been preserved, but the Egyptian copy of the treaty at Karnak includes a detailed description of Puduḫepa's seal that was attached to the tablet.

> [*nty m ḥrỉ-ỉb ḥr t*]*ɜy=f k*[*t*] *rwỉɜt*
> *ḫpwỉ* <*m*> *rpy*(*t*) *n* [*tɜ*]*-ntrt n Ḫt ḥr ḳnỉ rpy*(*t*) *n wrt n* [*Ḫt*]
> *ỉnḥw* <*m*> [*sm*]*dt mdw m ḏd*
> *pɜ ḫtm n pɜ Rᶜ n dmỉ n ʿrnn*
> *pɜ nb n pɜ tɜ*
> *pɜ ḫtm n Pwtwḫp*
> *tɜ wrt n pɜ tɜ n Ḫt*
> *tɜ šrỉt n pɜ tɜ n Ḳỉdwdn*
> *tɜ* [*ḥm-nṯr n pɜ Rᶜ n*] *ʿrnn*
> <*t*>*ɜ ḥnwt n pɜ tɜ*
> *tɜ bɜkt* <*n*> *tɜ* [*nṯr*]*t*
>
> [What is in the middle of] its backside:
> A depiction in the form of the goddess of Ḫatti embracing the form of the great one (fem.) of Ḫatti, surrounded by these words:
> The seal of the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna,
> the lady of the land,

[249] Horst Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften: Die Felsreliefs der Hethitischen Grossreichszeit in der Türkei* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 61-64.

the seal of Puduḫepa,
the queen of the land of Ḫatti,
the daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna.
The [priestess of the Sun Goddess of] Arinna
the mistress of the land,
the servant of the [goddes]s.[250]

The battle of Qadesh and the Egyptian-Hittite treaty have been dated to the fifth and twenty-first regnal years of Ramesses II; Puduḫepa was therefore associating herself with Kizzuwatna more than fifteen years after her marriage, despite having spent half of her life in Hakpiš and Ḫattuša.[251]

The representation of Puduḫepa in the rock relief at Fraktin and her role as signatory in the Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty are highly unusual for a Hittite queen. Although nearly three dozen rock reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions have been preserved from Late Bronze Age Anatolia, royal women are virtually absent from monumental art and inscriptions. Aside from the Fraktin relief, the only monument depicting royal women is Taşçı A, which depicts Manazi, the granddaughter of Šuppiluliuma and a cousin of Ḫattušili III.[252] Hittite queens are not attested as signatories on treaties before the Egyptian peace treaty, nor are queens signatories to the treaties after the reign of Ḫattušili III, such as the bronze tablet treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša.[253]

The significance of the marriage of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa must be viewed within the context of his usurpation of the throne from his nephew Muršili III. As discussed above,

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[250] Elmar Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II von Ägypten und Ḫattušili III von Ḫatti* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997), 82-83.

[251] Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 240.

[252] Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften*, 68.

[253] Bo 86/299

Tanuḫepa seems to have returned to her previous role as queen during the reign of Muršili III. Moreover, the Apology of Ḫattušili makes no reference to a wife or children of Urḫi-Teššub.

> I went back down to Urḫi-Teššub and brought him down like a prisoner. I gave him fortified cities in the country of Nuḫašše and there he lived. When he plotted another plot against me and wanted to ride to Babylon - when I heard the matter, I seized him and sent him alongside the sea.[254]

Urḫi-Teššub fled to Egypt, and his extradition became a heated topic in the correspondence between Ḫattušili and Ramesses II. The letters involving Urḫi-Teššub, however, mention only the former king and contain no references to his family.[255] A hieroglyphic inscription at Kızıldağ referring to "the Sun, Great King Hartapu, Hero, beloved of the Storm God, son of Muršili, Great King, Hero," however, suggests that Muršili married and produced offspring after being deposed.[256]

Ḫattušili presents himself as the ideal king throughout his Apology. Whereas Ḫattušili was the son of Muršili II and his chief wife Gaššulawiya, Muršili was the son of Muwatalli and a concubine. Ḫattušili's wife was of a distinguished family from the important region of Kizzuwatna; Muršili was seemingly as yet unmarried. Most importantly, the gods had blessed Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa with sons and daughters by the time Ḫattušili was placed upon the throne of Hakmiš. Ḫattušili explicitly links his success with the piety of his household and the blessings of the gods.

> KUB 1.1 iii 6-8
>
> *nu=nnaš* É-*er kuit ēššūen nu=nnaš=kan* DINGIR-*LUM anda artat nu=nnaš* É-*er parā* [*iyan*]*niš kaniššūwar=ma=at ŠA* ^{d}IŠTAR GAŠAN=*YA ēšta*

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[254] van den Hout, "Apology of Ḫattušili III," 203.

[255] ÄHK 20-33

[256] J. David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 438.

> In the house which we made ourselves, the goddess was there with us and our house thrived: that was the recognition of Ištar, My Lady.[257]

By presenting his household as blessed by the gods with prosperity and bountiful offspring, Ḫattušili demonstrated his moral virtue and capacity for leadership. The Hittites had a king who was a dutiful servant to the gods and was in turn blessed by the gods, and the many sons of Ḫattušili by his wife Puduḫepa promised decades of stability and smooth succession upon his death.

The Egyptian-Hittite treaty (1259 BCE)

In the twenty-first year of the reign of Ramesses II, Ḫattušili III and Ramesses II finalized a peace treaty, the culmination of months of negotiation. The Egyptian copy, inscribed at Karnak on the exterior of the western wall of the southern processional way from the Tenth Pylon to the Hypostyle Hall, provides the date for the treaty.

> Year 21, first month of Peret, Day 21, under the majesty of Usermaatre-Setepenre Ramesses-Meryamun, given life forever and ever…[258]

The finalization of the treaty was accompanied by a flurry of communication between the royal courts of Ḫattuša and Per-Ramesses, and thirteen letters from the Egyptian court celebrating the occasion have been found at Ḫattuša. Members of the Egyptian court sending letters included Ramesses II, his son and designated heir Set-her-khepeshef, his mother Tuye, his Great Royal Wife Nefertari, and the vizier Paser. Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa, and several princes were recipients in the Hittite court of letters from Egypt.

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[257] van den Hout, "Apology of Ḫattušili III," 202.

[258] Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, 226.

Ramesses wrote congratulatory letters to Ḫattušili (ÄHK 7), Puduḫepa (ÄHK 19), the Hittite princes Kannuta (ÄHK 14), Teššub-Šarruma (ÄHK 16), and Tašmi-Šarruma (ÄHK 17), an unidentified prince (ÄHK 18), and unidentified male member of the royal family (ÄHK 15). One letter each from the vizier Paser (ÄHK 8) and the crown prince Set-her-khepeshef (ÄHK 9) have been found, both written to Ḫattušili. The queen mother Tuye wrote to Ḫattušili (ÄHK 10) and Puduḫepa (ÄHK 11), whereas both of the letters from Nefertari were addressed to Puduḫepa (ÄHK 12 and 13).

Referring to herself as "mother of the great king, king of the land of Egypt," Tuye wrote a letter to Ḫattušili, "great king, king of the land of Ḫatti, [her] brother." This form of address asserts Tuye's parity with the Hittite king, and Tuye announces her own well-being before that of her son. The remainder of the letter consists of formulaic well wishes and Tuye's hope for the preservation of the peace between Egypt and Ḫatti. At the end of the letter, Tuye notes that she has sent presents to the Hittite king with the courier Pariḫnawa, including a gold beaker, a dyed garment of byssus, and a dyed tunic of byssus.[259] The letter from Tuye to Puduḫepa preserves only the greeting and part of Tuye's well wishes but is virtually identical to the letter sent to Ḫattušili.[260]

No letters from Nefertari to Ḫattušili have been discovered. Only two letters from Nefertari have been discovered at Ḫattuša, both written to Puduḫepa. The lengthier letter consists primarily of greetings and well wishes from Nefertari, "great queen of the land of Egypt," to Puduḫepa, "great queen of the land of Ḫatti." Nefertari notes that Puduḫepa had inquired

[259] KBo 34.2 Vs. 10-13

[260] KBo 28.50

solicitously about her health, and she assures her "sister" that she is well. Of particular interest is the section of the letter referencing the treaty, as it notes a sisterhood between the queens paralleling the brotherhood of the Egyptian and Hittite kings.

> KBo 9.43 Vs. 12-19
>
> The Sun God and Storm God will raise your heads, and the Sun God will cause the peace to thrive, and he will grant that the good brotherhood of the great king, king of the land of Egypt, with the great king, king of the land of Ḫatti, his brother, last forever. Likewise I [am in peace and sisterhood] with you, my sister.[261]

Nefertari's reference to this sisterhood underscores her lack of correspondence with Ḫattušili; it was seemingly appropriate for her to write to her female counterpart but not the Hittite king. Nefertari showered lavish gifts upon Puduḫepa, outdoing the gifts sent by Tuye to Ḫattušili, as befitted her rank. Nefertari's gifts, sent by means of the Egyptian courier Pariḫnawa, consisted of a twelve-stringed necklace of gold, a dyed *maklalu*-garment of byssus, a dyed tunic of byssus, five dyed garments of fine quality, and five dyed tunics of fine quality.[262] Little of Nefertari's other letter to Puduḫepa has been preserved aside from the address.[263]

Only the beginning of KBo 28.17, a letter from Ramesses to Puduḫepa, has been preserved, but it closely resembles the letter of Tuye to Puduḫepa and sends the Pharaoh's well wishes to the Hittite queen. Pleasantries aside, some of the letters in the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence suggest Puduḫepa suspected her messages to Egypt were not always being read and acted upon. One of Puduḫepa's sons wrote to Ramesses on her behalf, urging the king to pay

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[261] Elmar Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz: aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache: Umschriften und Übersetuzungen* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), 40-43.

[262] KBo 9.43 Vs. 25-27 + Rs. 1-4

[263] KBo 28.49 Vs. 1-7

attention to his mother's messages. Ramesses responded to the prince, assuring him that he had listened dutifully to Puduḫepa's missives.

> KBo 2.10 Vs. 3-11
>
> Say thus: As for the matter about which you said as follows: "Look, as for the matters which the great queen, the queen of Ḫatti, my mother wrote about, listen to them!" So you said. Now see, all of the matters about which the great queen of Ḫatti wrote to the king, those matters I have heard.[264]

Puduḫepa broached the subject in one of her own letters to Ramesses, and the king assured the queen that he had ordered all relevant parties to attend to her letters.

> KUB 3.58 Vs. 2-13
>
> Thus spoke my sister: And what you wrote to me was as follows: "I have now dispatched Piqašta, my messenger on a mission to my brother, and I have sent him with his report and with my message to the sons of my brother. He should bring my words before the king, and he should have them hear my words, that is, the sons of my brother."
> All the words which you said to Piqašta, I have arranged for him to say them in his report to the king. He allowed all of my sons to hear them, just as you, my sister, said.[265]

Puduḫepa's request that the sons of Ramesses attend the royal audience was a politically savvy move; by requesting that the princes hear the messages coming from Ḫattuša and witness the receipt of gifts from Puduḫepa, the queen was ensuring that Ramesses' successor ascended the throne having already formed a favorable opinion of Ḫatti and Puduḫepa. Puduḫepa's uncertainty over whether her messages were being heard reveals the limits of her power in the Egyptian court, however. Ramesses was free to ignore her messages or to receive her messenger privately, excluding the princes and other members of the court Puduḫepa intended to hear her messages.

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[264] Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz*, 48.

[265] Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz*, 72-75.

Motherhood and marriage negotiations

The Hittites recognized the bond between mother and child as extraordinarily strong. In the Hittite royal household, the closeness of this bond often exceeded that of the bond between father and child. Kings typically fathered child by multiple women, and even a man advanced well into middle age can be sufficiently fertile to have a child. Famously, Ramesses II fathered over one hundred sons and daughters. For women, however, the nine months required to bring a child to term and the onset of menopause limit the number of children they can produce. Moreover, the child mortality rate was exceptionally high in the ancient world, making it all the more unlikely for a woman to raise multiple children to adulthood.[266]

The Hittite laws indicate a father and mother held joint legal and financial responsibility for their offspring, and both the father and mother were responsible for arranging a marriage for their daughter. If the parents of a young woman broke her engagement, they were required to compensate the failed suitor.

> KUB 6.5 ii 10-14, iii 1-5
>
> If a young woman has been promised to a man, but another runs off with her, as soon as he runs off with her, he shall compensate the first man for whatever he gave. The father and mother shall not make compensation. If her father and mother give her to another man, the father and mother shall make compensation [to the first man]. If the father and mother refuse, they shall separate her from him [the second man].[267]

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[266] Estimates based on mortuary data suggest the infant mortality rate in the Roman period ranged from 30% in typical circumstances to 60% in adverse conditions. See David Soren and Noelle Soren, "The infant cemetery at Poggio Gramignano: Description and analysis," in *A Roman Villa and a Late Roman Infant Cemetery: Excavation at Poggio Gramignano, Lugnano in Teverina* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1999), 482.

[267] Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 38.

The ties between mother and child were not severed by death, and the speaker in an Old Hittite lament refers to a burial and afterlife alongside his mother.

KBo 3.40 13-14

Nešaš wašpeš Nešaš wašpeš
tiya=mu tiya
nu=mu annaš=maš katta arnut
tiya=mu tiya

Clothes of Nesa, clothes of Nesa,
bind (on) me, bind!
Bring me to my mother!
Bind me, bind![268]

A common Hittite euphemism for death was "the day of the mother," emphasizing the reunion of mother and child after death.[269]

Hittite art provides few depictions of motherhood. The finest example is a gold pendant in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[270] The pendant consists of a seated Sun Goddess, almost certainly the Sun Goddess of Arinna, with a child on her lap, either the Storm God of Nerik or the goddess Mezzulla.[271] The Sun Goddess sits on a throne decorated with lion's paws and scarcely touches the child, one hand extended in a gesture of beneficence and the other poised to catch the child should it lose its balance.

The Hittites recognized motherhood as an onerous task. Clearly proud of her actions, Puduhepa boasted of her childrearing feats in a letter to Ramesses II.

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[268] Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 248.

[269] Alfonso Archi, "The soul has to leave the land of the living," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 7.2 (2008): 190.

[270] "Seated goddess with a child." http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327401

[271] The incised triangle in the child's pubic region could denote either a penis or pubic triangle, leaving the sex of the child ambiguous.

> And when the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God, Hebat, and Šauška made me queen, she joined me with your brother, and I produced sons and daughters, so that the people of Hatti often speak of my experience and capacity for nurture. You, my brother, know this. Furthermore, when I entered the royal household, the princesses I found in the household also gave birth under my care. I raised them, and I also raised those whom I found already born. I made them military officers…[272]

Puduḫepa emphasizes her fruitfulness, reminiscent of Ḫattušili's claim in his Apology that Ištar had blessed them with children. Male offspring were potential successors and could be appointed to high-ranking administrative positions or to the priesthood. Female offspring were typically married off in diplomatic marriages to secure alliances. Puduḫepa implies that Ramesses himself should expect to father many children by his Hittite bride, the daughter of the fecund Puduḫepa.

Perhaps partially because motherhood required considerable danger and dedication, it granted women prestige in both the mortal and divine spheres. In a prayer to her patron, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, Puduhepa makes particular note of her status as a mother to persuade the goddess to grant her request.

> Even among humans one often speaks the following, saying: "To a woman of the birthing stool the deity grants her wish." I, Puduhepa, am a woman of the birthing stool, and I have devoted myself to your son, so have pity on me, O Sun Goddess of Arinna, my lady![273]

Whereas mothers could only pray for the gods to be favorable to them, they demanded proper respect and attention from their offspring. In the mythological tale of Kešši, the narrator

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[272] Harry A Hoffner, Jr., *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 287.

[273] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 103.

notes disapprovingly that the eponymous hunter was so captivated by the beauty of his wife that he neglected the gods and his mother.

> Kešši took in marriage the sister of Udubšarri, an evil man. The woman's name was Šintalimeni. She was beautiful, endowed with everything. As a result Kešši had ears only for his wife. He no longer took account of the gods with thick loaves of bread and libations. Kešši no longer went into the mountains to hunt. He only had ears for his wife. His mother said to Kešši: "Your wife alone has become your object of love! You do not go any more to the mountains to hunt. You do not bring me anything!"[274]

Duly chastised, Kešši immediately set out on a hunt. Indeed, the Hittite laws reveal that neglect of one's mother could be grounds for disinheritance. Not only could a mother disinherit her child, but she apparently could do so at any time and for any reason.

> *takku annaš* TÚG-*SÚ* DUMU.NITA-*ši edi nāi nu=za=kan* DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU parā šuīzzi*
>
> If a mother removes his [her son's] garment from her son, she is disinheriting her sons…[275]

As Norbert Elias noted in his classic sociological study of courtly life in the reign of Louis XIV, the household of the king functioned as the center of courtly life and therefore as the center of administration.

> In countries with absolutist rule, the princely court still combined two distinct functions as it had done at earlier stages of the development of the state when centralization was less complete: it was both the first household of the extended royal family and the central organ of the entire state administration, the government. The personal and professional duties and relationships of the ruling princes and their assistants were not yet as sharply differentiated as later in the industrial nation states.[276]

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[274] Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 88.

[275] Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 137 and 217.

[276] Elias, *The Court Society*, 1.

As the Hittite palace was both the household of the king and queen and the center of the Hittite government, and as Hittite tradition expected a father and mother to jointly arrange a marriage for their daughter, Puduḫepa was able to use her role as matron of the royal household to participate in the negotiation of diplomatic marriages involving her children. The arrangement of diplomatic marriages, particularly those involving two Great Kings, were often extensive and took months of negotiation. By inserting herself into these protracted negotiations, Puduḫepa raised her international profile.

The Egyptian-Hittite marriage (1246 BCE) and other diplomatic marriages

Although Ḫattušili III and Ramesses II signed a treaty in 1259 BCE, the future of Hittite-Egyptian relations remained uncertain, and the disappearance of Ḫattušili's nephew Muršili rankled him. In order to cement the alliance, Ramesses II married a daughter of Ḫattušili III in 1246 BCE, the thirty-fourth year of his reign. Seizing upon the marriage as an opportunity to display Egypt's might, Ramesses II documented the marriage alliance at the temple of Karnak in Thebes as well as temples between the first and third cataract of the Nile, including Elephantine, Abu Simbel, Aksha, and Amarah West. The beginning of the text from Abu Simbel and Elephantine includes the quotation of a speech by the Hittite king to Ramesses II.

> *ḏd-mdw ỉn wr ꜥɜ n ḫt*
> *ỉy.n*[*.ỉ ḫr=k r*] *dwɜ nfrw=k m wꜥf ḫɜswt*
> *ntk šrỉ n swtḫ m-mɜꜥt wḏ=f n=k tɜ n Ḫt ḥɜḳ.n*[*=f*] *wỉ m ḫt nbt*
> *sɜt.ỉ wr*(*t*) *m-ḥɜt=sn r msy.w n ḥr=k*
> *nfr wḏ=k n=n nbw tw=ỉ ḫr rdwy=k r nḥḥ ḏt ḥnꜥ tɜ n Ḫt r-ḏr=f*
> *ỉw=k ḫꜥ.tw ḥr*
> *nst Rꜥ tɜ nb ḫr rdwy=k ḏt*
>
> Words spoken by the great chief of Ḫatti:
> "I have come before you in order to praise your beauty in subjugating the foreign lands, for in truth you are the child of Seth. He has decreed that the land of Ḫatti is for you, and he has plundered me of all of (my) things.

> My eldest daughter is with them (the king's possessions) in order to present them to your face.
> Good is is all that which you decreed for us, while I am under your feet for ever and ever together with the entire land of Ḫatti.
> When you rise upon the throne of Re, every land is under your feet forever."[277]

According to the Egyptian account, Ḫattušili announced that his eldest daughter (*sɜt wrt*) has come with "all of his possessions" (*ḫt nbt*) in order to present them to the Ramesses. The text draws a parallel between the Hittite king offering his daughter and offering his possessions, but the Hittite princess retains some agency. It is the princess, not her father or a male relative, who presents her dowry to the Pharaoh. Conflating princesses with tribute belies their agency and intended role within their new households.

Princesses in the ancient Near East did not sever ties with their fathers' households. Rather, they served as bridges linking their old and new households. In an ideal marriage arrangement, a princess functioned as an agent of her father, ingratiating herself with her husband in order to promote the interests of her native land. In the Old Babylonian period, Zimri-lim of Mari married his daughters Šimatum and Kiru to his vassal Ḫaya-Sumu of Ilanṣura. Kiru served as her father's eyes in Ilanṣura, and the queen wrote to Zimri-lim to report suspicions about her husband's activities.

> ARM 10 35
>
> Yarim-Dagan can tell you all about my situation. My lord should pay him attention.
> Another matter: I swear it by my lord and by myself: he killed Dimri-Ḫammu. They say, "A lion killed him and two women as well." My lord should listen to this matter and send me an answer to my letter."[278]

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[277] Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, 234-235.

[278] Sasson, *From the Mari Archives: An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters*, 114.

Discretion was a necessary part of the queen's position. While in private she might report suspicious behavior to her father, the king must feel that he has the support of his wife. Whether Ḫaya-Sumu had activities he wished to remain concealed or Kiru was simply overzealous in her reports to her father, Ḫaya-Sumu grew frustrated with his wife's supervision.

ARM 10 32

> In a fancy house, I am held until death, as you already know. I am now sending the hair from my skull and the tatters that are torn from my body, handing them to the care of the carrier of this letter.
> Then he arose, Ḫaya-Sumu, to say in my presence, "Are you posted here as a resident-commissioner (*ḫazannūtam wašbāti*)? Since I plan to have you killed, he should come, 'your Star,' and take you back."[279]

The marriage was no longer useful to either Zimri-lim or Ḫaya-Sumu, as Kiru had failed in her role as intermediary and diplomat. Kiru had lost the confidence of Ḫaya-Sumu, and clearly he considered her counsel of no value, rendering her incapable of promoting the interests of Mari and ensuring her husband's loyalty to her father.

The success of a princess as an agent of her father was contingent on continued access to messengers. The role of the Hittite princess in the Egyptian court was a key part of the negotiations between Ramesses II and Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa that comprise dossier E in Edel's publication of the Egyptian and Hittite correspondence.[280] A Hittite copy of a letter from Ramesses to Puduḫepa reveals that Puduḫepa was concerned about maintaining access to her daughter once she entered the household of Ramesses II. Ramesses wrote back to Puduḫepa, assuring her that her daughter would be allowed to meet with the Hittite messengers.

KUB 26.89 5-14

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[279] Ibid., 114-115.

[280] Edel, *Die Ägyptisch-Hethitische Korrespondenz*, 90-167.

> As for what you, my sister, wrote to me as follows: "I will send messengers regularly, and my messengers should be able to see my daughter each time, and they should be able to speak with her! The daughter should be allowed to speak with my messengers!" When you give me your daughter, then I will make that pledge for the daughter, and I will make myself a genuine man of oath.[281]

Puduḫepa had written to the Egyptian king expressing doubts about his intentions, mentioning that the messenger of the Babylonian king had spoken of Ramesses' poor treatment of his Babylonian wife.

> KUB 21.38
>
> Concerning what you, my brother, wrote to me as follows: "My sister wrote to me: "When messengers traveled to visit the daughter of Babylonia who had been given to Egypt, they were left standing outside!" Enlil-bēl-nišē, messenger of the king of Babylonia, told me this. Because I heard his information, should I not have written about it to my brother?
> But now that about which my brother has now expressed his disapproval to me I will not again do. I will not again do to my brother anything that displeases him. If I do not know something, I might do such a displeasing thing to my brother. But because I already know, I will certainly not do anything displeasing to my brother.[282]

Here Puduḫepa references her pivotal role in international affairs; she has been in contact not only with Ramesses and Nefertari in the Egyptian court but all of the royal courts of the ancient Near East. As she notes in her reply to Ramesses, she has arranged marriages for many women of the palace.

> The daughter of Babylonia and the daughter of Amurru whom I the Queen took for myself —were they not indeed something for me to be proud of before the people of Ḫatti? It was I who did it. I took each daughter of a great King, though a foreigner, as daughter-in-law. And if at some time his (the royal father's) messengers come in splendor to the daughter-in-law, or one of her brothers or sisters comes to her, are they not also

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[281] Ibid., 215.

[282] Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, 288.

(a source of) praise (for me)? Was there no woman available to me in Ḫatti? Did I not do this out of consideration for renown?[283]

The "daughter of Babylonia" (DUMU.MUNUS KUR ^{URU}*Karanduniyaš*) was most likely the wife of Puduḫepa's son Tudhaliya IV and is to be identified with the "Great Princess" (DUMU.MUNUS GAL) who clashed with an anonymous queen in KUB 22.70, discussed previously in chapter 3. The "daughter of Amurru" (DUMU.MUNUS KUR ^{URU}*Amurriya*) is known from the treaty between Ḫattušili III and Bentešina of Amurru. Bentešina had been removed from kingship in Amurru by Ḫattušili's brother Muwatalli after he defected to the Egyptians. After Muwatalli regained control of Amurru, he placed Šapili upon the throne of Amurru, and Bentešina was placed in the care of Ḫattušili. Bentešina was loyal to Ḫattušili when he rebelled against Muršili III and seized the throne from his nephew, and Ḫattušili rewarded Bentešina's loyalty by restoring him to kingship in Amurru.[284] As a solidification of the alliance, Ḫattušili arranged a reciprocal marriage.

CTH 92 obv. 11-21

Following my father, my brother Muwattalli acceded to the throne of kingship. To my brother Muwattalli, Bentešina was (politically) dead in [the land] of Amurru. Bentešina had acceded to the throne of kingship in the land of Amurru, but my brother Muwattalli removed Bentešina from the throne of kingship in the land of Amurru. He took him to Ḫatti. At that time I requested Bentešina from my brother Muwattalli and he gave him to me. I transported him to the land of Ḫakpiš and gave him a household. He did not suffer any harm. I protected him.

When Muwattalli, Great King, went [to] his fate, I, Ḫattušili, took my seat upon the throne of my father. I released Bentešina for a second time to [the land of Amurru]. I assigned to him the household of his father and the throne of kingship. [We established]

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[283] Ibid., 286.

[284] Itamar Singer, "A Concise History of Amurru," in *The Calm Before the Storm: Selected Writings of Itamar Singer on the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Levant* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 219-225.

> friendly relations between us… My son Nerikkaili will take the daughter of Bentešina of the land of Amurru [as] his wife, [while I have given] Princess Gaššuliyawiya to the land of Amurru, to the royal house, to Bentešina, [as] his wife. She now possesses queenship [in the land] of Amurru. In the future the son and grandson of my daughter shall [exercise] kingship in the land of Amurru.[285]

Bentešina gained considerable prestige from marrying into the royal family, and his marriage to a daughter of Ḫattušili was an incentive to remain a loyal vassal. Gaššuliyawiya was his primary link to the Hittite court, first to Ḫattušili and later to her brother Tudḫaliya, and he was superior to the other Syrian vassals only as long as his wife's relatives remained on the throne. That Bentešina held an exalted position relative to the other Syrian vassal kingdoms of Ḫatti is suggested by his presence in the witness list of the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša. Of the witnesses to the treaty, only Ini-Teššub of Carchemish and Bentešina of Amurru were vassal rulers in Syria, both of whom were married to daughters of Ḫattušili III.[286] Ḫattušili and Bentešina, each of whom acquired his throne in part due to the loyalty of the other, were bound in a mutually beneficial relationship culminating in the reciprocal marriages that entwined their family lines. Bentešina proved to be a loyal vassal and, like Ramesses II, wrote letters to both Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa. At least two letters from Bentešina to Puduḫepa have been identified. The respectful nature of the address formula is indicative of the high status of Puduḫepa and the power she wielded with regard to her vassal and son-in-law.

> KBo 28.54 Vs. 1-3
>
> To the Great Queen, my lady, speak! As follows speaks Bentešina, your servant. At the feet of my mistress I fall seven times (and again) seven times.[287]

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[285] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 101.

[286] Ibid., 122.

[287] Albertine Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1989), 375.

The same address formula is used in KBo 28.55, another letter to Puduḫepa.[288] Bentešina states he falls "twice seven times" at the feet" of Ḫattušili III in KBo 28.56.[289] The address formula is the same as that used by Levantine vassals to their Egyptian overlord in the Amarna letters.

EA 53

> To Namḫuria, son of the sun god, my lord, thus (speaks) Akizzi, your servant. Seven times (and) seven times at the feet of my lord have I fallen.[290]

That Bentešina, the "servant" (ARAD) of the Hittite queen, falls "seven times and seven times" at the feet of Puduḫepa places her not only on equal footing with her husband but of equal standing with the king of Egypt.

Ḫattušili formed a very similar association with Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša, a younger brother of Urḫi-Teššub who supported Ḫattušili during the coup against his nephew. As a reward for Kurunta's support during the coup, Ḫattušili placed Kurunta upon the throne of Tarḫuntašša. The treaty between Ḫattušili and Kurunta contained the unusual stipulation that Kurunta marry a woman of Puduḫepa's choosing. In the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta, however, Tudḫaliya waives this requirement.

Bo 86/299 ii 84-94

> And in regard to the fact that it is stipulated on the treaty tablet of my father as follows: "Set in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša the son of the woman whom the queen (of Ḫatti) will give you in marriage" - at the time when they made the treaty tablet in the reign of my father, Kurunta had not yet even taken this woman for himself. If Kurunta now takes this woman for himself, or if he does not take her for himself - this matter will not be taken up further. Whichever son Kurunta approves, whether he is a son of this woman or of some other woman, whichever son Kurunta has in mind, and whichever son

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[288] Ibid., 377.

[289] Ibid., 373.

[290] William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 125.

> he approves, he shall install in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša. No one shall determine this matter for Kurunta.[291]

As the queen of Ḫatti, Puduḫepa had raised many women of the palace and arranged suitable marriages.

> Furthermore, when I entered the royal household, the princesses I found in the household also gave birth under my care. I raised them, and I also raised those whom I found already born. I made them military officers…[292]

Since Puduḫepa was so well acquainted with the women of the palace, she was the ideal choice to select a wife for Bentešina. Almost certainly Ḫattušili intended Puduḫepa to select a woman of unwavering loyalty to the Hittite throne who could serve as his contact and intermediary in Tarḫuntašša, just as Zimri-lim intended Kiru to be his eyes, ears, and mouth in the palace of Ilanṣura. That Tudḫaliya IV revoked the stipulation, so favorable to the Hittite throne, is surprising. If Puduḫepa is indeed to be identified as the queen in KUB 22.70, as argued in chapter 3, she clashed with her son and daughter-in-law and was expelled from the palace. Tudḫaliya waiving the marriage requirement for Kurunta should therefore be viewed in the context of a power struggle between mother and son. In Tudḫaliya's eyes, permitting his mother to select the wife of an important vassal and his most significant threat to the throne may have afforded her too much power.

That Puduḫepa monitored the status of the Syrian vassals was already seen in the letters from Bentešina. The correspondence regarding the kingdom of Išuwa provides further evidence for Puduḫepa's involvement in Anatolian affairs. KBo 8.23, found on Büyükkaya, is one of the most politically significant of the letters from officials to the queen. The name of the sender of

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[291] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts,* 119.

[292] Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, 287.

the letter is not preserved, but the letter was sent to the queen (MUNUS.LUGAL), probably Puduhepa, and discusses the betrayal of the Hittite king by the king of Išuwa.[293] The preserved portion of the letter begins with the leader of the Hittite forces, likely Tuthaliya IV, outlining the plan of attack against the Assyrian troops.

> "When [Tikulti-Ninurta of Assyria] arrives here, from behind we will attack him."

The king, however, ran afoul of a treacherous vassal.

> "But now, when the king of Išuwa arrived here, [the Assyrians] turned him back to them (and) he is also lost in the rebellion. The king of Išuwa does not follow any longer His Majesty! Let the Queen, my lady, be informed!"[294]

While the king was on campaign in Syria, Puduhepa was apparently kept abreast of her son's activities. Though the news would have been alarming, Puduhepa could have sought to offset the treachery through propitiatory offerings to the Hittite gods. Indeed, the sender of the letter plaintively inquires about the next actions of the queen.

> *nu* MUNUS.LUGAL GAŠAN-*YA kuit iyaši*
>
> "O Queen, my lady, what will you do?"[295]

Puduḫepa may have been expected to intervene because her daughter Kilušhepa was married to the king of Išuwa.[296] Whatever actions Puduhepa took, they were ultimately futile, as the battle proved a humiliating defeat for the Hittites. After the king retreated, he sent a stinging rebuke to the king of Išuwa for abandoning him on the battlefield.[297]

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[293] Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter,* 80.

[294] Itamar Singer. "The Battle of Niḫriya and the End of the Hittite Empire," in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985), 117.

[295] KBo 8.23 Rs. 17

[296] de Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts,* 60-68.

[297] KBo 4.14 II 7 ff.

That Puduḫepa kept a close eye on the military affairs of the empire is demonstrated by KUB 19.23, a letter of Tutḫaliya IV to his mother after the death of his father Ḫattušili III but apparently before his coronation, as he does not refer to himself as king. In the letter, Tutḫaliya describes several attacks in the Hittite Upper Land, the northeastern portion of the empire.

> "Kappazuwa has attacked the enemy…He destroyed the Upper Land…by fire… To Šamuḫa (it is) near. Three cities, however…"[298]

No mere passive observer, Puduḫepa did not hesitate to discuss military strategy with her son. Responding to a prior letter by Puduḫepa, Tutḫaliya expressed uncertainty about her proposed plan.

> "I have heard what you have written to me concerning the matter of Ḫannutti. Ḫannutti the Younger has never before been assigned in the field for my lord [Hattusili III]… For that reason, I do not believe that interpretation of what place he should go to and what place he should still bypass."[299]

Puduḫepa could make military suggestions, but ultimately command of the army was left to the king. Tutḫaliya then revealed to his mother just how dire the situation was for the stability of the empire.

> "But if the men of Lalanda — that is, some cities — have defected, (well,) the people are treacherous. They have often run off before. When my lord fell ill in Ankuwa, at that time they were already on the point of defecting. But when they heard that His Majesty would survive, they did not defect after all. But now that they have heard of the death of my lord, they have once again defected… If it is only all of Lalanda which falls, it will be for us (a matter) of overpowering and conquering (it again). Were the Lower Land to fall, there would be nothing at all for us to do."[300]

Tutḫaliya was obliged to carry out military campaigns in western Anatolia to quell this unrest, recorded in the YALBURT hieroglyphic inscription. That Tutḫaliya could confide in his mother

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[298] Hoffner*, Letters from the Hittite Kingdom,* 348.

[299] Ibid.

[300] Ibid., 349.

about such weighty affairs of state indicates that he trusted her absolutely and valued her insight concerning politics and military management. As a young man who had just been elevated from prince to king, Tutḫaliya IV no doubt found himself uncertain about his next steps as ruler, particularly at such a critical juncture in Hittite history. His mother, equipped from decades of experience with affairs of state, would have been a comforting source of advice.

Though the king took up much of Puduḫepa's attention, naturally she also devoted time to her children. The verso of KBo XVIII 6 preserves a letter to the queen from one of her children. Respectfully referring to the recipient as "the queen, my lady, my dear mother" (MUNUS.LUGAL GAŠAN-*YA* AMA.DÙG.GA-*YA*), the sender inquires into the health of his or her mother and the king. After dispensing with the pleasantries, the writer makes his or her request.

kaša=mu kā ÚL kuiski nu AMA.DÙG.GA-*YA eḫu nu=mu kattan ūnni*

With me here now there is no one! My dear mother, come! Hurry to me![301]

Regrettably, little can be deduced from the letter about the identity of the sender. De Roos interprets the letter as a missive from a lonely Tutḫaliya to his mother Puduḫepa,[302] but it could be another prince, stationed outside the capital, or a princess, married to someone on the fringes of the empire through a diplomatic marriage. The letter indicates that the queen has freedom to travel and seemingly had the means to arrange a trip should she so desire. It also reveals that life outside the capital could be lonely for members of the high elite. If Puduḫepa or other queens

[301] KBo 18.6 Rs. 6-8

[302] de Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts,* 68.

experienced such pangs of loneliness while traveling the countryside to fulfill their ritual duties, the textual record provides no indication.

KBo 18.8 is likely another example of a letter from a member of the royal family to the queen. The sender begins the letter rather abruptly: "To the queen, speak! Thus speaks (PN) …"[303] Given this abbreviation of the typical address, the sender is almost certainly the king or one of the queen's children, but little more can be said of the letter.

Relatively few letters refer to Hittite princesses. In the piggyback letter to the letter from the king to the queen in KBo 18.1, discussed above, the official Lupakki ("your servant," ÌR-*KA*) informs Puduḫepa ("the queen, my lady," MUNUS.LUGAL GAŠAN-*YA*) that her daughter or daughter-in-law (DUMU.MUNUS GAL) is well.[304] Singer has argued convincingly that the term DUMU.MUNUS GAL refers to the daughter of a Great King married abroad, in this case a Babylonian princess who was the wife of Tuthaliya IV. This princess later caused considerable discord in the royal court and created a rift between Puduhepa and her son, possibly out of ambition for the prestigious title of Tawananna still held by Puduhepa after the death of her husband.[305]

The recto of KBo 18.12 preserves a letter from Ašnuhepa to the queen. Hugenbuchner noted Ašnuhepa as a *hapax legomenon*,[306] but a recent discovery from Alalakh has shed more light on this important woman. A stamp seal impression was found on the floor of a Phase 4 room in a mudbrick building dating to the LB II. The right side of the sealing contains

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[303] Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter,* 26.

[304] Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 84-85.

[305] Singer, "The title 'Great Princess' in the Hittite Empire," 327-338.

[306] Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter,* 86.

Tuthaliya's name and the title of prince (REX.FILIUS), and the left side contains the name Ašnuhepa and the title of princess (REX.FILIA). This Tuthaliya can be connected with the rock relief from Alalakh depicting Tuthaliya and a heretofore unidentified princess. In the light of this new discovery, it seems likely that the verso of KBo 18.12 contained a letter from this Ašnuhepa of Alalakh to the queen, whereas the recto contained the letter from her husband Tuthaliya to the king.[307] The content of the letter has not been preserved, however, so the significance of the exchange between the two women is unknown. The (probable) letter from Tuthaliya to the king discusses "heavily armed" troops and *šarikuwa*-troops, suggesting the dispatches contained military information.[308]

Puduḫepa and Her Officials

Although Puduḫepa garnered international recognition for her role in arranging diplomatic marriages, she was also responsible for strategic marriages within the Hittite court. The offer of marriage to a member of the royal family, with a concomitant rise in status, was a powerful incentive for loyalty among the elites of Ḫattuša. In a successful attempt to keep a Babylonian physician in Ḫattuša, Ḫattušili III arranged a marriage with one of his female relatives.

> [Concerning the first] experts whom they received here: Perhaps the incantation priest died, [but the physician] is alive and proprietor of a fine household. The woman whom he married is a relative of mine.[309]

Marrying a courtier to a member of the queen's family raised the courtier's status but precluded any claim to the throne. In the Tawagalawa letter, Ḫattušili III notes the prominence of the

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[307] K. Aslihan Yener, Belkis Dinol, and Hasan Peker. "Prince Tuthaliya and Princess Ašnuhepa" in *N.A.B.U.* 2014/4 (2014): 136-138.

[308] Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 87.

[309] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts,*143.

queen's family while maintaining an artificial divide between the queen's family and his own family.

> Otherwise, let this charioteer remain (as a hostage) in his place, while he (Piyamaradu) is coming and while he returns there. Who is this charioteer? Because he has (a wife) of the queen's family — and in Ḫatti the family of the queen is very highly regarded — is he not more than an in-law to me?[310]

Puduḫepa's role in arranging marriages between the royal family, courtiers, and vassal rulers enabled the queen to monitor and influence the behavior of powerful subjects. In a letter from Puduḫepa to the official Tattamaru, for example, Puduḫepa accuses him of failing to uphold his familial obligations.

> You, Tattamaru, had taken the daughter of my sister in marriage. But fate dealt you a grievous blow: she died on you. Why do they say, "A male in-law remains nevertheless fully an in-law, even if his wife dies"? You were my male in-law, but you did not recognize my obligation. You recognize no one…[311]

Eleven letters from officials to the queen have been found, of which one appears to be a scribal exercise. KBo 13.62, found in the Haus am Hang at Hattusa, is a model letter based on a copy of an actual letter; the verso contains the teacher's copy of the letter in neat writing, and the recto contains the student's attempt to reproduce the letter, marred by mistakes and erasures. The use of model letters in scribal training has a long history in Mesopotamia and is also attested in Ramesside Egypt, but KBo 13.62 is thus far the lone example in Anatolia.[312]

> "Say to the Queen, my lady: Thus speaks [PN], your servant: All is well with His Majesty, my lord. May all be well with the queen, my lady! May the gods keep my lady alive! And may they take the illness from my lady again and make you well!

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[310] Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, 308.

[311] Ibid., 365.

[312] Ibid., 335.

> But concerning this matter of a fever that my lady wrote me about — (rather) it was Aruhipa who wrote it to me, (saying) 'In addition, she is eating *maḫḫuella*-bread and fruit' — on account of that matter, my soul has gone down into the Dark Netherworld. And my tearful cry goes up to the gods! Oh that the gods would step in again! If only they would make my lady well again! If only [fragmentary god's name]… We will scour the countryside. And because the countryside is very… and because we moved it out from the underbrush (?), I will certainly write to my lady however much wildlife we see."[313]

From this letter arise a number of interesting issues. The tablet is a clear example of scribal training, but it preserves a letter from an official to the queen. Since the letter presumably would have been sent to the palace, how and why did the scribes of the Haus am Hang gain access to the letter? Indeed of the 232 letters of state correspondence found at Hattusa, only 7 were found in the Haus am Hang, whereas Büyükkale yielded 82 letters.[314] The senior members of the scribal school at the Haus am Hang presumably had access to the archives in Büyükkale and were able to use texts from the royal archives for scribal training exercises. Issues of access aside, the choice of subject matter is intriguing. A letter discussing the illness of the queen is an odd subject for a model letter, given the terse and practical nature of most Hittite correspondence, but the complexity of the letter may have made it an ideal school text.

A *terminus ante quem* for the letter is suggested by the scribal signatures on the tablet, "the hand of Šaušgaziti" and ASINUS-tà-la-na, probably to be read as Tarkašnatalana. Šaušgaziti can be identified as a scribe during the reign of Tutḫaliya IV.[315] The letter was likely written early in the reign of Tutḫaliya IV or, more likely, during the reign of Ḫattušili III. The dating of

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[313] Ibid., 338-339.

[314] Mark Weeden, "State Correspondence in the Hittite World," in *State Correspondence in the Ancient World: From New Kingdom Egypt to the Roman Empire*, ed. Karen Radner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 40.

[315] Giulia Torri. "The scribes of the House on the Slope," in *VI. Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia Roma, 5-9 settembre* 2005, ed. A. Archi and R. Francia (Rome: CNR - Instituto de Studi sulle Ciiviltá dell'Egeo e del del Vicino Oriente, 2008), 779-780.

the letter to the reign of Ḫattušili III is confirmed by the reference in the letter to Aruḫipa, a female official serving in the Hittite court at that time.[316] That a female official bearing a Hurrian name wrote the letter's sender about the health status of the queen is intriguing. Was she perhaps one of Puduḫepa's ladies-in-waiting? A clear reference to ladies-in-waiting comes from the treaty of Šuppiluliuma with Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša.

> Beware of a woman of the palace! Whatever sort of palace woman she might be, whether a free woman or a lady's maid, you shall not approach her, and you shall not go near her.[317]

The references to "scouring the countryside" are very curious. What is the significance of the references to the countryside (*gimras*)? The sender of the letter notes that he will notify the queen of any wildlife (*ḫuetar*) he and his men come across. Soysal suggested that the men were sent on a safari and relates it to a safari referenced in HKM 48.[318]

> "Concerning the fact that you, Your Majesty, my lord, commanded me, Ḫapiri, as follows: 'On this trip collect birds,' (people) kindly collected birds for us, (but) a lion, a l leopard, a *šarmiya*-, and a *kūrala*-animal have not been captured for us."[319]

If the letter to Puduḫepa refers to a similar expedition, the queen had the authority to send men to collect animals for the royal menagerie, typically a prerogative of the king in the ancient Near East. Alternately, it is possible that the collection of wild animals related in some way to the illness of the queen and that an organ or secretion of some animal was sought for medicinal purposes.

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[316] Stefano de Martino, "Hebat," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History,* ed. Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner.

[317] CTH 42 A iii 44-46. See Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts,* 32.

[318] Oğuz Sosyal, "Review of J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary Vol. 6: Words Beginning with M*," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 63 (2006): 568.

[319] Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, 183.

The trial record of Ura-Tarḫunta, the queen's overseer-of-ten, sheds light on Puduḫepa's economic activities. Ura-Tarḫunta had been entrusted with the shipment of sealed goods from Ḫattuša to Babylonia, but several items disappeared under his watch. Puduḫepa accused Ura-Tarḫunta of embezzlement and brought him to trial in the temple of Lelwani (CTH 293).

Puduḫepa possessed her own seal, and seal impressions from the Nişantepe archive indicate she took an active interest in the movement of goods. Through the trial of Ura-Tarḫunta, one learns that the queen controlled the lending of horses and mules, the distribution of captives, and the exchange of items such as fine textiles and weaponry. The queen owned horses and livestock and lent them out for profit.

Although Ura-Tarḫunta denied the charges of embezzlement, he admitted that he had taken possession of old items when newer replacements became available for the palace. He also confessed to exchanging the mules the queen had given him with his own, presumably inferior, mules and to taking possession of a man and woman from the captives with whom he had been entrusted. As a result of these proceedings, the queen announced that her officials could acquire old items no longer in use, including chariots, garments, and wall hangings, but she prohibited them from taking possession of items made of precious metals, which retained value and could be reforged. Since Puduḫepa's officials were reliant upon her continued good will for access to these valuable goods, she gave them new incentive for loyal behavior. Moreover, each of her officials maintained a social network of his own that involved the exchange of these items for prestige and profit. By indirectly promoting these economic and social networks, Puduḫepa facilitated the flow of information and services between the palace and other areas of the capital.

Puduḫepa and Ugarit

RS 15.008 preserves a letter from Talmiyānu to his mother Šarelli.[320] Queen Šarelli is attested from the reign of Ammištamru II to the reign of Ammurapi. Ammištamru II (ca. 1260-1235 BCE) married and divorced the daughter of Bentešina and Gaššulawiya of Amurru, a contentious and well-documented affair.[321] A letter from the king of Carchemish references the marriage of a king of Ugarit to a Hittite princess.

> RS 34.136
>
> Thus says the king (of Carchemish). Speak to the king of Ugarit: May you be well! As to your messenger whom you sent to Ḫatti and the gifts which you sent to the high officials, they are much too few! Did I order you as follows: "The gifts which you will send to the high officials should be few"? Did I not write to you in the following manner: "Send your gifts to the tallanuru" … Why are you behaving like this? If you do not believe it, let them read for you the wooden tablet that they sent to me. At the time of your father, the son-in-law (*ḫatānu*) of His Majesty, how did they treat him in Ḫakpiš and Kizzuwatna because of his gifts? Did they not bind his servants? Now, perhaps because of me they did not do anything against your servants, but do not do anything like this ever again!

Ibiranu (ca. 1235-1225 BCE) is possibly attested in a letter from the archive containing RS 34.136, but Van Soldt identified the recipient of RS 34.136 as Ammurapi (ca. 1215-1190 BCE) due to his prominence in the archive.[322] The king who married the Hittite princess must therefore have been Niqmaddu III (ca. 1225-1215 BCE). Itamar Singer proposed that the princess in question was Eḫli-Nikkal, known to have married a king of Ugarit and who was most likely a daughter of Tudḫaliya IV and a cousin of the wife of Ammištamru II.[323] By process of

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[320] The queen's name is written as Tryl in Ugaritic and Šarelli in Akkadian. The Akkadian form will be used here.

[321] CTH 107

[322] W.H. Van Soldt, "Tbṣr, Queen of Ugarit?" in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 21 (1989): 389-392.

[323] Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit," 700-703.

elimination, therefore, Šarelli has been identified tentatively as the wife of Ibiranu. By the time of her death, Šarelli had outlived her husband Ibiranu and served as dowager queen during the reigns of her son Niqmaddu III and grandson Ammurapi. In sum, Šarelli held power as queen and queen mother for at least three decades.[324]

Talmiyānu, identified in the letter as a son of Šarelli but not as king of Ugarit, is presumably a younger brother of Niqmaddu III.

> RS 15.008
>
> Message of Talmiyānu: To Tarriyelli, my mother, speak:
> May it be well with you. May the gods of Ugarit protect you; may they keep you well. My mother, you must know that I have entered before the Sun, and the face of the Sun has shone brightly upon me. Thus may my mother cause Ma'abu to rejoice. May she not be discouraged, for I am the guardian of the army.
> With me everything is well. Whatever is well with my mother, may she send word of that back to me.[325]

As the letter does not include the name of the king of Ugarit or Ḫatti, it is not possible to assign a secure date to the letter; the king of Ugarit was most likely either Šarelli's husband Ibiranu or her son Niqmaddu. It seems more probable that Talmiyānu served as envoy to the Hittite king during the reign of his brother. By the beginning of the reign of Niqmaddu III, Puduḫepa was approximately sixty-five years old, and Ḫattušili III had been dead for at least a decade.[326]

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[324] Ibid., 691.

[325] Dennis Pardee, "Talmiyānu to his mother Tarriyelli" in *The Context of Scripture: Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 89.

[326] The date of the death of Ḫattušili III has not been definitively established, but the king was alive at least as late as Year 34 (ca. 1245 BCE) of the reign of Ramesses II, by which time he was in his early seventies. Ḫattušili had been succeeded on the throne by the middle of the next decade, as it was Tudḫaliya who confronted the Assyrians at Niḫriya.

Although Puduḫepa was still alive into the beginning of the reign of Niqmaddu III,[327] Talmyānu notes only that he met with the Hittite king.

A letter from the Hittite official Piḫa-walwi demanding the presence of the king of Ugarit in the Hittite court likewise makes no mention of Puduḫepa.

> RS 17.247
>
> Thus says Prince Piḫa-walwi: Say to my son Ibiranu:
> At the moment all is well with His Majesty.
> Why have you have not come before His Majesty since you have assumed the kingship of the land of Ugarit? And why have you not sent your messengers? Now His Majesty is very angry about this matter. Now send your messengers quickly before His Majesty, and send the king's presents together with my presents.[328]

Since the letter concerns Ibiranu's failure to appear before the Hittite king, the text was most likely composed within one or two years of Ibiranu ascending to the throne of Ugarit (ca.1235 BCE). At the time, Puduḫepa was around fifty-five years old. Following Singer's dating of the Battle of Niḫriya to 1234 BCE, the first or second year of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta, Tudḫaliya IV had recently ascended to the throne.[329] As a new monarch and the son of a usurper, Tudḫaliya IV was undoubtedly keen to establish ties with the new king of Ugarit and to display his important vassal before members of his court. In light of Puduḫepa's position as a bridge between the generation of Ḫattušili III and Ammištamru II and the generation of Tudḫaliya IV and Ibiranu, it is surprising that Ibiranu is summoned before only the Hittite king.

In a letter from the king of Ugarit to the queen mother, the king of Ugarit informs her that he has successfully met with the Hittite king and queen.

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[327] As evidenced by RS 17.434+. See the discussion below.

[328] Jean Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV: Textes en cunéiformes babyloniens des archives du Grand Palais et du palais sud d'Ugarit* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1956), 191.

[329] Singer, "The Battle of Nihriya and the End of the Hittite Empire," 100–123.

RS 11.872

> To the queen, my mother, say: Message of the king, your son.
> At my mother's feet I fall. With my mother may it be well! May the gods guard you, and may they keep you well. Here with me everything is well. There with my mother, whatever is well, send word back to me.
> From the tribute they have a vowed a gift to the queen. My words she did indeed accept and the face of the king shone upon us.[330]

The queen mother in question is almost certainly Šarelli, which identifies the anonymous king of Ugarit as Niqmaddu III and the Hittite queen as Puduḫepa, then in her late sixties. In contrast to her absence from the correspondence regarding the visit of Ibiranu to the Hittite court, Puduḫepa played a prominent role in the diplomatic visit of Niqmaddu III, receiving the words (*rgm*) of the king as well as his tribute (*ṯy*). Significantly, the letter is a mirror of the first part of another letter between the king and queen mother, perhaps pertaining to the same trip.

RS 11.16379

> To the queen, my mother, say: Message of the king, your son.
> At my mother's feet I fall. With my mother may it be well! May the gods guard you, and may they keep you well. Here with me everything is well. There with my mother, whatever is well, send word back to me.
> Here to the king from the tribute they have vowed a gift and [h]e (as a result has agreed to) augment his "vow?."[331]

The king treats the Hittite king and queen as virtual equals in his letters, as there is no distinction drawn between the tribute brought to the king and that brought to the queen.

Letter RS 11.872 notes that the "face of the king shone" upon the Ugaritic delegation. The Hittite king, often referred to respectfully in Hittite letters as "My Sun" (UTU-š*i*), has a

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[330] Dennis Pardee, "The King of Ugarit to the Queen-Mother in the Matter of His Meeting with the Hittite Sovereigns," in *The Context of Scripture: Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 92.

[331] Dennis Pardee, "The King of Ugarit to the Queen-Mother in the Matter of His Meeting with the Hittite Sovereign," 92.

unique association with the Sun Goddess of Arinna and, like the sun, radiates health and prosperity to his subjects. Here the letter suggests a sequence of events; the king of Ugarit produced pleasing words to the queen of Ḫatti, which she accepted, and in return the face of the Hittite king shone benevolently upon the king of Ugarit. As discussed in chapter 2, the king often adopted the trappings of the Sun God, and monuments such as Südberg blur the distinction between the two. There are, however, no references to the king's shining face in Hittite texts.

The tribute from Ugarit is helpful for reconstructing the hierarchy of the Hittite court. The treaty between Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti and Niqmaddu II mandates the tribute due to the Hittite king, queen, and members of the royal court.

CTH 47 Mandated Tribute from Ugarit

Recipient	Cups	Linen garments	Blue-purple wool	Red-purple wool	Other
King	1 gold cup of 1 mina	4 garments 1 large garment	500 shekels	500 shekels	12 mina and 20 shekels of gold
Queen	1 gold cup of 30 shekels	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels	
Crown prince	1 gold cup of 30 shekels	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels	
Chief scribe	1 gold cup of 30 shekels	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels	
First *ḫuburtanuri*	1 gold cup of 30 shekels	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels	
Second *ḫuburtanuri*	1 gold cup of 30 shekels	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels	
^{LÚ}SUKKAL		1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels	
andubšalli	1 gold cup of 30 shekels	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels	

The royal couple receive between them six linen garments, 600 shekels of blue-purple wool, and 600 shekels of red-purple wool. The crown prince and officials, including the chief scribe, the

two *ḫuburtanuri,* the SUKKAL, and *andubšalli,* likewise receive between them six linen garments, 600 shekels of blue-purple wool, and 600 shekels of red-purple wool. With the exception of the 12 mina and 20 shekels of gold due to the king, the tribute from Ugarit is therefore divided neatly in half between the king and queen on one hand and the crown prince and high officials on the other. This tribute, imposed upon Ugarit by Šuppiluliuma I, indicates that the queen, though well below the king in the hierarchy of the Hittite court, equaled the crown prince, chief scribe, and other magnates in importance and prestige. The tribute from Ugarit may have served as a steady source of income for the queen, which she could use to invest in livestock or land that could be rented out, thereby increasing its value, or to offer as a reward to loyal courtiers.

As a point of comparison with the tribute mandated by the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Niqmaddu II, the Akkadian text RS 11.372 records a shipment of tribute from Ugarit to Ḫatti.

RS 11.372 Tribute from Ugarit

Recipient	Cups	Linen garments	Blue-purple wool	Red-purple wool
King	1 gold cup of 50 shekels	5 garments	500 shekels	500 shekels
Queen	1 gold cup 1 silver cup	2 garments	200 shekels	200 shekels
Crown prince	1 gold cup 1 silver cup	2 garments	200 shekels	200 shekels
Chief scribe	1 gold cup 1 silver cup	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels
First *ḫuburtanuri*	1 gold cup 1 silver cup	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels
Second *ḫuburtanuri*	1 gold cup 1 silver cup	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels

LÚEN É-*ti abusi* (Lord of the Storehouse)	1 gold cup 1 silver cup	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels
LÚGAL LÚ.MEŠ*qardabbi*	1 silver cup	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels
LÚSUKKAL	1 silver cup	1 garment	100 shekels	100 shekels

In sum, the king and queen receive approximately half of the tribute from Ugarit, including seven of the fourteen linen garments, 700 shekels of the 1500 shekels of blue-purple wool, and 700 shekels of the 1500 shekels of red-purple wool. The queen and crown prince received proportionately more tribute in this shipment than was mandated by the Šuppiluliuma-Niqmaddu treaty; both received twice as many garments, blue-purple wool, and red-purple wool as the high officials.

RS 17.434+ is a letter recording less amicable relations between Puduḫepa and Niqmaddu. In a sharply worded complaint, the queen demands that Niqmaddu explain his delay in paying the required tribute to the Hittite sovereigns.

> Concerning the fact that you have sent to the royal palace your message (as follows): "Now [the g]old of my tribute [to] the Sun [I] hereby remit, [and] as for you, the [MRT] that you stipulated in the trea[ty, certainly] you will receive it," I went to 'UD and o[ur] king [stayed in] the capital city. We were to return with you by the midst of… But to me you have not come […and] your messenger party you have not sent to me.[332]

The letter suggests that Puduḫepa's status abroad suffered a decline after the death of her husband and the accession of her husband to the throne. It is possible that the letter was sent in the time period surrounding the conflict between Puduḫepa and her daughter-in-law, discussed in chapter 3.

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[332] Dennis Pardee, "Puduḫepa, Queen of Ḫatti, to the King of Ugarit," in *The Context of Scripture: Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 96.

Chapter 5

Royal women and iconography: From Hittite to Neo-Hittite royal ideology

The Storm God of Ḫatti and his consort, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, ruled supreme in Ḫatti, but it was the king, the mortal steward and representative of the gods, who governed the people of the land of Ḫatti. Although a prince's parentage qualified him for kingship, he ascended to the throne only at the behest of the gods.

> IBoT 1.30 obv. 1ff.
>
> May the Tarbarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land belongs to the Storm God alone. Heaven, earth, and the people belong to the Storm God alone. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator and given given him the entire land of Ḫatti. The Labarna shall continue to administer with his hand the entire land.[333]

The king involved himself in state administration, and the texts from Maşat Höyük include numerous letters from the king, who maintained regular correspondence with officials at Tapikka.[334] Kings were also responsible for supervising military campaigns, participating in many of the religious festivals celebrated throughout the empire, engaging in diplomatic relations with foreign powers, and meting out justice in serious criminal cases.

Although Puduḫepa occasionally counseled her son Tudḫaliya IV on military matters, Hittite queens were excluded from military activities. The queen's role was largely one of support, governing in the capital in the king's absence and offering votive gifts to the gods in exchange for the divine blessing of Hittite troops. Queens engaged in economic exchange and monitored the movement of palace goods, and the Nişantepe bullae attest to the role of the queen in inspecting and sealing goods. Ten kings are attested in the Nişantepe seal impressions:

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[333] Beckman, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia," 530.

[334] Sedat Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Başkanlığı, 1991).

Tudḫaliya I/II, Šuppiluliuma I, Arnuwanda II, Muršili II, Muwatalli II, Muršili III, Ḫattušili III, Tudḫaliya IV, Kuruntiya, and Arnuwanda III. With the exception of Arnuwanda II, all of the kings appear on seals both independently and in association with queens. The queens Ḫenti, Tawananna, Gaššulawiya, and Tanuḫepa appear on seals only in association with a king. Ašmunikkal and Puduḫepa are unique among the queens represented in the Nişantepe corpus in having their own seals.[335]

The seal of Ašmunikkal consisted of a ringed cuneiform inscription containing the Sumerian logogram SIG_5, "good," at its center.

[F]*Aš-m*[*u-n*]*i-ka*[*l*] M[UNUS.]LU[G]AL.GAL DUMU.[MUNU]S *Ni-ka*[*l*]*-ma-*[*t*]*i*

Ašmunikkal, Great Queen, daughter of Nikkalmati[336]

The seals of Puduḫepa contain a similar ringed cuneiform inscription, but the seal impressions are dominated by central hieroglyphic inscriptions. Puduḫepa's seals feature the hieroglyphic writing of the queen's name (*Pu-tu-ha-pa*), flanked on either side by her queenly title (MAGNUS.DOMINA); a winged sun disc soars above Puduḫepa's name and title.[337] Only literate individuals would have been able to identify the seal of Ašmunikkal, consisting solely of cuneiform signs, as that of a queen. Literacy was not a prerequisite for recognizing the seals of Puduḫepa as belonging to a queen, for the usage of the hieroglyphic logogram DOMINA was an unmistakable marker of the seal owner's female identity. The seals from the reign of

[335] Herboldt, et al., *Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen,* 15-17.

[336] Ibid., 109.

[337] Ibid., 183-184.

Šuppiluliuma I, including the joint seals of Šuppiluliuma and Ḫenti, are the earliest sealings in the Nişantepe corpus to utilize both cuneiform and Anatolian hieroglyphs.[338]

Royal women appear only in only three Hittite monuments: Fıraktın, Taşçı A, and the reliefs of Alaça Höyük. Fıraktın, located approximately 25 kilometers from the town of Develi in Kayseri Province, is a monumental relief 1.25 meters long. The left side of the relief depicts Ḫattušili III pouring a libation before an altar and the Storm God. An inscription above and between the altar and Ḫattušili identifies the king.[339]

MAGNUS REX ḪATTUŠA+*li* MAGNUS REX

Great King, Ḫattušili, Great King

The right side of the relief depicts Puduḫepa pouring a libation before the goddess Ḫebat. Puduḫepa's name and title are written above and between the queen and the altar. An inscription behind the queen refers to her origins in Kizzuwatna.

pu-tu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA
ká-*285-*na*(REGIO) FILIA DEUS *á-zi/a-mi*

Puduḫepa, Great Queen,
Daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna, beloved of the god(s)[340]

Libation holes indicate that the libations were carried out at the site in honor of the royal couple and the gods, and Hittite potsherds were found in the vicinity of the relief.[341]

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[338] Ibid., 110.

[339] Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften,* 61.

[340] Ibid., 64.

[341] A. Tuba Ökse, "Open-Air Sanctuaries of the Hittites," in *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*, ed. Hermann Genz and Dirk Paul Mielke (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 234.

Taşçı A, approximately 25 kilometers from Fıraktın, is an incised rock relief depicting three figures in a procession facing the right. The name of the leading figure is unclear, but the labels identify the second and third figures as a daughter and father pairing.

ma-na-a-za/i FILIA *lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS SCRIBA

Manazi, the daughter of Lupakki, the army scribe

Lupakki is identified as "the son of Zida, the bodyguard" (FILIUS VIR-á HASTARIUS).[342] The inscription on the far left refers to a "servant of Ḫattušili, Great King, Hero" (MAGNUS.REX ḪATTUŠA+*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS), but its referent is unclear.[343] Zida the HASTARIUS is likely the same individual as Zida, the GAL MEŠEDI and brother of Šuppiluliuma I, making Manazi a second cousin of Ḫattušili III.[344] Ḫalwaziti, the son of Lupakki and the scribe referenced in the bronze tablet treaty, is almost certainly the son of the Lupakki of Taşçı and the brother of Manazi.[345]

The reliefs of Alaca Höyük, which depict the king and queen worshiping the bull of the Storm God and festival scenes, serve as public reminders of the generosity of the king and queen in providing food and entertainment and their all-important role as the intermediaries between the gods and the people of Ḫatti. In one relief from the left side of the sphinx gate, the king approaches an altar and a depiction of the bull of the Storm God. The king is dressed in the ceremonial attire described in festival texts, including a skullcap, long robe, and earrings. He

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342 Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften,* 68.

343 Ibid.

344 Shai Gordin, *Scribal Families of Ḫattuša in the 13th Century BCE: A Prosopographic Study*. (Tel Aviv: Unpublished thesis, Tel Aviv University, 2008), 150.

345 Ibid.

holds the *lituus* in his right hand, and his left hand is raised in a worshiping gesture. The queen stands behind the king, her hands raised in adoration.[346] The joint worship by the royal couple with the king taking the lead is congruent with the festival texts discussed in chapter 2.

The Hittite empire disintegrated at the end of the Late Bronze Age, but aspects of Hittite royal ideology survived in the Neo-Hittite states of the Iron Age. Neo-Hittite rulers decorated the walls and gates of their citadels with monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions that bore witness to their military and building achievements, a continuation of the tradition that began with the Late Bronze Age inscriptions of Tudḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II. Few monumental inscriptions discuss administrative and ceremonial matters, the arenas in which Hittite queens had been prominent. Consequently, royal women are almost completely absent from the monuments of the Neo-Hittite period.

Karkamiš

Of the excavated Neo-Hittite cities, only Carchemish has yielded more than two Luwian inscriptions referencing women. This may be due primarily to the disproportionately large corpus of Luwian inscriptions excavated at Carchemish, as women do not seem to have been unusually prominent at the site. Women appear only in the monuments of Suhi II and Katuwa, and only two monuments from Carchemish were dedicated by royal women.

The earliest references to royal women at Carchemish are in the Long Wall of Sculpture. The Long Wall, dating to the late tenth century BCE, was approximately 36 meters long and consisted of a series of carved orthostats. Fourteen orthostats were discovered *in situ*, other fragments were discovered reused in Roman wall foundations, and at least eight orthostats

[346] Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften*, 8.

remain missing. The orthostats were set upon a 1.35 meter high foundation of three courses of limestone ashlar blocks, ensuring excellent visibility. The series begins with a 13 meter long procession of warriors, followed by the Luwian inscription of Suhi II. The procession resumes after the inscription with a 9 meter long procession of charioteers. A procession of three goddesses and two gods and the depiction and inscription of BONUS-tis, the wife of Suhi II, concludes the Long Wall.[347]

KARKAMIŠ A1a focuses on the construction and military activities of Suhi II. The ruler emphasizes the support of the gods, who appear on the Long Wall and to whom he has dedicated his constructions.

> *ARHA-pa-wa/i* REL-*i* PES-*wa/i-i-ha-'*
> *wa/i-mu-'za-a-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi ta-ní-mi-zi* CUM-*ní ARHA* PES-*wa/i-ta*
>
> And when I came forth, all of these gods came forth with me.[348]

Visually reinforcing the victories to which Suhi refers in his inscription, the bottom line of the orthostat depicts sixteen severed hands and three heads of defeated enemy soldiers, a practice well-attested in Egyptian and Assyrian sources. At the end of the third line of the inscription, written sinistroverse, Suhi references his wife.

> *ARHA-pa-wa/i* REL-*i* PES-*wa/i-i-ha-'*
> *wa/i-mu-'mi-i-sa-'* BONUS-*mi-sa* FEMINA-*ti-sa* [I]BONUS-*ti-i-sa*
>
> When I came forth, me my dear wife BONUS-tis…[349]

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[347] Alessandra Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance: The Stone Reliefs at Carchemish and Zincirli in the Earlier First Millennium BCE* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 31-32.

[348] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* 88.

[349] Ibid.

The inscription continued onto the orthostats to the left and right, neither of which has been discovered. As the verb was inscribed on the missing left panel, the action of BONUS-tis is unknown. BONUS-tis appears also in KARKAMIŠ A1b, the final section of the Long Wall of Sculpture.

KARKAMIŠ A1b, dedicated by BONUS-tis, forms a complementary pair with the orthostat KARKAMIŠ A1a dedicated by her husband. Based on the decorative pattern of KARKAMIŠ A1b, it is likely that one of the missing panels to the left or right of KARKAMIŠ A1 contained a depiction of Suhi II that accompanied his inscription. BONUS-tis identifies herself in her inscription as the "dear wife" of Suhi, echoing the sentiments of line 3 of KARKAMIŠ A1a and marking her subordinate status. Although Suhi II refers to himself as the "ruler" (*tarwanis*) of Carchemish, BONUS-tis claims no title other than wife. *Tarwanis*, written logographically as IUDEX (*371), is a title that first appears in the Suhi-Katuwa monuments of Carchemish.[350] Additionally, the inscription of BONUS-tis makes no note of her achievements; rather, Suhi takes the active role.

> EGO-*mi-i* [1]BONUS-*ti-sa* [1]*Su-hi-si-i* REGIO-*ní* DOMINUS-*ia-i-sa* BONUS-*mi-sa* FEMINA-*ti-i-sa*
> *wa/i-ti-'mi-i-sa-'* VIR-*ti-i-sa* REL-*i-ta* REL-*i-ta á-ta$_5$-ma-za i-zi-i-sa-ta-i*
> *mu-pa-wa/i-ta-'*BONUS-*sa$_5$+ra/i-ti* CUM-*ní i-zi-i-sa-ta-i*
>
> I am BONUS-tis, the dear wife of Suhi, the country-lord.
> Wherever my husband honors his name,
> he shall honor mine also with goodness.[351]

[350] Federico Giusfredi, "The problem of the Luwian title *tarwanis,*" *Altorientalische Forschungen* 36.1 (2009): 140.

[351] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 92.

The inscription is accompanied by a depiction of the queen, who sits on a throne with a footstool. The queen is shown wearing a long enveloping mantle that covers her hair and a short-sleeved garment. Of the queen's right arm, nothing is shown aside from her right hand, which grasps a spindle, a symbol of femininity in Hittite and Neo-Hittite art. The queen's left arm, adorned with a coiled bracelet at the wrist, is outstretched and points to herself, a common rebus for the Luwian logogram EGO ("I (am)"). The seated queen faces a forward-facing nude goddess, who is shown wearing a horned helmet and cupping her breasts. Whereas the inscription of Suhi is strongly militaristic and accompanied by soldiers and severed limbs, the inscription of BONUS-tis stresses the interaction of the royal couple with the divine and reminds the viewer of the gods who enthroned Suhi II. The presence of BONUS-tis among the gods suggests the orthostat portrays a deceased queen who has become a goddess herself.

The Long Wall functioned as a highly visible vehicle for kingly propaganda. The procession of armed soldiers and chariots emphasize the military power of Suhi II, and the inscription with its accompanying severed limbs broadcasts his victories in battle. The representation of queen BONUS-tis, excluded from military activities, focuses on her ideological role. Though Katuwa had a right to the throne as the son of Suhi II, the depiction of BONUS-tis with the gods strengthens Katuwa's claim through his maternal side. Stressing a lineage through the "dear" wife of Suhi II would have strengthened his claim to the throne over the claims of half-brothers born to other mothers.

While diplomatic marriages are well-attested in the Late Bronze Age, the reign of Suhi II provides one of the rare attestations from the Neo-Hittite period. In an inscription on the

KELEKLI stela, discovered in the open country near the village of Kelekli, two hours north of Carchemish, Suhi discusses giving his daughter in marriage to a king Tudḫaliya.

> EGO-*mi-i* [L]*Su-hi-sa-'* IUDEX […*kar-ka-*]*mi-si-sa*(URBS) REGIO.DOMINUS-*ia-i*$_x$*-sa*
> [L]*Á-sa-tú-wa/i-ta*$_4$*-ma-za*…
> *wa/i-ti-'ku-ma-na* (MONS)TÚ-*sa-'*REX-*ti-sa ...-[na?] á-mi-na* BONUS-*mi-na* FILIA-*tara/i-na* CAPERE-*í*
>
> I (am) Suhi the ruler, Karkamisian country-lord, Astuwalamanza's [son?]. And when king Tudḫaliya takes to himself my dear daughter…[352]

The details of the marriage alliance are not preserved. That Suhi refers to himself as *tarwanis* ("ruler") but to Tudḫaliya as *handawatis* ("king") suggests deference if not subordination to Tudḫaliya. If the distinction between the terms had been lost by the 10th century BCE, however, Neo-Hittite city-states may have used different titles for the same position. Regardless, although Suhi used his daughter to cement a political alliance with either an overlord or equal, there is no indication that the princess had agency in the matter.

The only other royal woman known from Carchemish is the wife of the son of Suhi II, Katuwa. The west door-jamb of the King's Gate contained a building inscription of Katuwa that discussed his genealogy, accession to the throne by divine favor, the quelling of a rebellion and the subsequent success of his reign, the construction of a temple for Tarḫunzas of Carchemish, the decoration of the gates of the city with orthostats, and the construction of wooden upper floors as apartments for his beloved wife.

> *a-wa/i za-ia* "PORTA"-*na* SCALPRUM-*sa*$_5$*+ra/i-ha*
> *wa/i-tà-'*FRONS-*la/i/u* ARGENTUM.DARE-*si-ia sa-tá-'*
> *wa/i-tà-'*"LIGNUM"-*wa/i-ia-ti* AEDIFICARE-*MI-ha*
> *za-zi-pi-wa/i* (DOMUS)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-ni-zi* [L]*Á-na-ia* BONUS-*sa-mi-i* FEMINA-*ti-i*
> DOMUS-SCALA(-)*tá-wa/i-ni-zi i-zi-i-ha*

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[352] Ibid., 93.

These gates I outfitted with orthostats. They were foremost in cost (?). I built them with wood, and these upper floors for Anas my beloved wife as TAWANI apartments I made.[353]

The assignment of women to a separate living space is not necessarily indicative of their subjugation or an attempt to control their reproduction. Indeed, it may well be a mark of the high status of the ruler's wife. Hittite kings and queens followed a policy of seclusion; the purity of the royal couple was of paramount importance, and status in court was measured by personal access to the king.

Anas appears again in KARKAMIŠ 20a1, a small fragment of an inscription. As the fragment preserves only seven to ten hieroglyphs per line, the context is impossible to reconstruct.

…*mi-i-'*BONUS-*sa-mi* FEMINA-*ti-[i]*…
…"PODIUM"-*ma-tà-si-na* (DEUS)*ku*-AVIS…
…*za-ti-ia-za* (SCALPRUM)*ku-ta-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-za* REL…

…my dear wife…Kubaba of the podium…who to these orthostats…[354]

Bit Adini-Masuwari

TELL AHMAR 2 dates to the reign of Hamiyatas in the early ninth century BCE. Preserved to a height of 2.06 meters, the front of the four-sided stela depicts a storm god wielding a thunderbolt in his left hand and a hammer in his right. The inscription begins on the left side, runs across the back, and ends on the right side and discusses the gods' favor. The inscription concludes with a

[353] Ibid., 95-96.

[354] Ibid., 120.

curse against anyone who moves or desecrates the stela. In the curse formula, Hamiyatas refers to his wife.

> *á*-[*ma-za*]-*pa*-[*wa/i*]-*ta á-ta*$_5$*-ma-za* REL-*sa ARHA* "MALLEUS"(-)**71-la-i*
> NEG$_2$-*a-pa-wa/i mi-i-'* VAS-*ni-i* REL-*i-sa* MALUS-*wa/i-za-'* CUM-*ni* ["VAS"?]*za+ra/i--ti-ti-i*
> NEG$_2$-*a-pa-wa/i mi-i* INFANS-*ni-'*
> …
> NEG2-*a-pa-wa/i-ti mi-i-na-'* FEMINA-*ti-i-na* LITUUS-*PA-la-ni-ia-i*
> (FEMINA.FEMINA)*á-ma-na-sa*$_5$*+ra/i-na*
>
> But he who shall erase my name,
> or shall desire evil against my person,
> or my son,
> …
> or shall regard my wife as his (???)[355]

The meaning of (FEMINA.FEMINA)*á-ma-na-sa*$_5$*+ra/i-i-na* remains unknown. The context suggests a position of subservience, and David Hawkins proposed a reading of "concubine."[356] Regardless of its meaning, being turned into a (FEMINA.FEMINA)*á-ma-na-sa*$_5$*+ra/i-i-na* is clearly considered a negative outcome for the wife of Hamiyatas.

TELL AHMAR 1 provides the only other reference to royal women in the inscriptions of Bit Adini. The stela is structured very similarly to TELL AHMAR 2; the front face depicts the storm god with thunderbolt and hammer, and the inscription runs along the sides and back. The storm god of TELL AHMAR 1, however, stands upon a bull, and a guilloche marks the bottom border of the inscription. The ruler, whose name has not been preserved, introduces himself as the great-grandson of Hapatilas and the son of Ariyahinas, ruler of the city of Masuwari. Originally, according to the author of TELL AHMAR 1, Hapatilas was king (*handawatis*) of Bit

[355] Ibid., 228.

[356] Ibid., 229.

Adini. Upon the death of Hapatilas, the throne was seized by an unknown party rather than passing successfully to the grandson of Hapatilas. The throne passed from the usurper to his son Hamiyatas, who restored the author of TELL AHMAR 1 to favor, "greater than [Hamiyatas'] own brothers."[357] Upon the death of Hamiyatas, however, Hamiyatas' son "decreed evil" for the author of TELL AHMAR 1, who beseeched the gods. Hearing his prayer, the gods responded favorably.

> *wa/i-mu-'* "AUDIRE+*MI*"-*ti-i-tá za-a-sa* "CAELUM-*si*"-*i-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS…
> *wa/i-mu-'* DARE.CRUS *mi-i-na-'* ("*314")*ka-pi-la-li-i-na*
> *wa/i-tá-'* ARHA CAPUT **69*(-)*i-ti-*[*x*]
> *pa-si-pa-[wa/i]-'* INFANS…
> *pa-si-pa-wa/i-'* (FILIA)*tú-wa/i-tara-na* FEMINA…
>
> This celestial Tarḫunzas heard me. To me he gave my enemy. His head *I destroyed*, and his sons…and his daughter I made a hierodule.[358]

TELL AHMAR 1 sheds valuable light on the struggles for power between rival noble families that occurred during the Iron Age, and women emerge as key players in these dynastic conflicts. TELL AHMAR 2 includes a curse for whoever takes his wife as a (FEMINA.FEMINA)*á-ma-na-sa₅+ra/i-i-na,* perhaps an indication of the practice of taking the wife of a deposed successor in order to solidify one's claim to the throne. TELL AHMAR 1 notes that the triumphant new ruler murdered his predecessor and most likely his sons and installed his predecessor's daughter as a priestess. This reduced the threat of any future claimants to the throne without resorting to the execution of a woman.[359]

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[357] Ibid., 240.

[358] Ibid., 241.

[359] The Hittites of the Late Bronze Age appear to have been similarly squeamish about spilling the blood of royal women, and in virtually all cases traitorous women were exiled rather than executed. This contrasts sharply with the often harsh punishments meted out to guilty men.

Malatya-Melid

The kingdom of Melid has yielded two monuments relating to royal women, both of exceptional interest due to their early date and the rare depictions of queens. ISPEKÇÜR, the later of the two monuments, was dedicated by King Arnuwantis II in honor of his grandfather Arnuwantis I. Three sides of the four-sided stela are sculpted and inscribed, depicting Arnuwantis II, Arnuwantis I, and the unnamed wife of Arnuwantis I. Arnuwantis I and his wife are depicted as deceased ancestors, and the homonymous grandson stands upon a bull while pouring a libation for his ancestors. While each king wears an identical robe and lituus, their beards and hairstyles are distinctly different, due either to a change in fashion or an artistic means of distinguishing between the two rulers. Arnuwantis I (side B) is clean-shaven with a curled hairstyle, whereas Arnuwantis II (side C) sports a rectangular beard and long hair in an Assyrian style. Though Arnuwantis II dedicated the stela in his grandfather's memory, the inscription beneath Arnuwantis I speaks in the first person, reinforced by the self-referential gesture of the king, evoking the hieroglyphic EGO logogram.

> *a+ra/i-nú-wa/i-ti-sa*$_5$ REX *ku-zi*-TONITRUS HEROS (INFANS)*ha-ma-si-sa*$_5$ PUGNUS-*mi-li* INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za MA*$_X$-*LI*$_X$-*zi*(URBS) REGIO.DOMINUS
>
> I am Arnuwantis the king, grandson of Kuzi-Teššub the hero, son of PUGNUS-mili, country lord of the city Malizi.[360]

Side A depicts the queen standing atop a city wall and contrasts with the mountainous scene of her husband. Hittite kings served as roving warriors while their wives remained behind to serve as city administrators, and the visual imagery here may refer to a similar scenario. The

[360] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 302.

inscription beneath the queen is fragmentary, and only the name of Arnuwantis, best read in the genitive case, can be read definitively.[361]

Hittite kings and queens made offerings to deceased kings and queens during festivals, and the "king lists" of Ḫattuša are more correctly termed offering lists. The Hittites believed the king and queen became gods upon death and therefore required offerings like other deities. ISPEKÇÜR is strongly reminiscent of this tradition, a function of its very early date. The label of Arnuwantis I identifies him as the grandson of Kuzi-Teššub, the "great king" of Carchemish and a descendant of Šuppiluliuma I. Arnuwantis II was therefore a direct descendant of the Great Kings of the Hittite empire and approximately ten generations removed from Šuppiluliuma I. Assuming thirty years for each generation, Arnuwantis II reigned 300 years after Šuppiluliuma I, dating the monument to a little before 1000 BCE. This continuity with the ruling family of Ḫattuša explains why Arnuwantis I and II refer to themselves as "kings" (REX) rather than "rulers" (IUDEX).

MALATYA 6, the only other representation of a royal woman from Malatya, depicts a female figure dressed in a polos with a long veil and a gown. The woman pours a libation from a jug into a vase on the ground in honor of a winged goddess wielding an axe and standing atop two birds. A smaller figure leading a goat stands behind the royal woman. The inscription identifies the figure in the scene as Tuwati, prince/princess (tu-wa/i-ti REX.INFANS).[362] As REX.INFANS is qualified by neither VIR_2 nor FEMINA, it is unclear whether Tuwati is to be identified with the female figure or the smaller male figure. In light of the prominence of the

[361] Ibid.

[362] Ibid., 307-308.

female figure and the parallel with the libation scene of PUGNUS-mi-li in MALATYA 5, it is plausible that Tuwati is the name of the woman. If the beardless figure leading the goat is a prince participating in the religious ceremony alongside his mother, the title REX.INFANS may refer to him rather than to Tuwati.

Kummuh

BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2 are two pairs of blocks, each pair consisting of a large block and small block that once joined to form a podium. The inscriptions were found by villagers in Boybeypınarı and thereafter taken to the Augusteum in Ankara.[363] BOYBEYPINARI 1 begins by noting that the throne and table that once stood upon the podium had been dedicated by the wife of the king of Kummuh.

> [*z*]*a-wa/i* (THRONUS)*i-sà-tara/i-tá-za za-ha* MENSA-*za mu* ˡ*pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-sa* PURUS.FONS.*MI-sa* IUDEX-*ni-sa* FEMINA-*na-ti-sa* PONERE-*wa/i-ha*
>
> This throne and table, I, Panamuwatis, the ruler Šuppiluliuma's wife, dedicated.[364]

Panamuwatis was also the dedicator of BOYBEYPINARI 2.

> *za-wa/i á-ta₅-na* DEUS.AVIS *mu-u* ˡ*pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-sa* PURUS.FONS.*MI* IUDEX-*ni-sá* FEMINA-*na-ti-sa* ˡ*HÁ+LI-sa* […]-*sá* (SOLIUM)*i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha*
>
> This ATA Kubaba, I, Panamuwatis, the ruler Šuppiluliumas's wife, Hattusilis's [moth]er seated.[365]

Panamuwatis, nearly unique in royal women of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms in dedicating her own monuments, stresses her kinship ties with three men in her inscriptions. Most important and first mentioned is her husband Šuppiluliuma, the ruler of Kummuh. A reference to Šuppiluliuma in

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[363] Ibid., 334.

[364] Ibid., 336.

[365] Ibid., 336.

the Pazarcık stele of Adad-nirari III (810–783 BCE) dates the reign of Šuppiluliuma to the late 9th and early 8th centuries BCE.[366] Next comes a mention of her son Ḫattušili, presumably first in line for the throne. Since the rulers of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms took more than one consort, competition to produce an heir was keen. It was through her role as mother of the probable crown prince that Panamuwatis ensured the security of her lofty position. Finally, Panamuwatis mentions her father Azimis in both BOYBEYPINARI 1 and BOYBEYPINARI 2 and refers to his role in the erection of the monuments.

> BOYBEYPINARI 1
>
> This throne and this table I Panamuwatis, the ruler Šuppiluliumas's wife, dedicated. (He) who (is) Sukita-ean River-Lord, I dedicated them for his *tithe.* But Azamis, the ruler Šuppiluliumas's servant, brought them.[367]
>
> BOYBEYPINARI 2
>
> And this throne and this table my father Azamis, loved by by the gods, the sun-blessed, the *Sarita*-ean and Sukiti-ean River-Lord, brought, and dedicated them.[368]

The description of Azamis as the river-lord (FLUMEN.DOMINUS-*ia-sa*) of Sarita and Sukiti suggests he is a subordinate ruler under the authority of Šuppiluliuma. It remains unknown whether Azamis was a subordinate river-lord prior to the marriage of Šuppiluliuma and Panamuwatis. If he had long been a vassal ruler, the marriage may have been a strategic political marriage to strengthen the alliance between the ruling house of Kummuh and the regions of Sarita and Sukiti. In this scenario, it may be at least partially her status as the daughter of a river-lord that offered Panamuwatis the significant economic resources required to dedicate two monuments. If, on the other hand, Azamis acquired his position only after the marriage of

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[366] Trevor Bryce, *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 113.

[367] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 336.

[368] Ibid.

Šuppiluliuma and Panamuwatis, he may have been appointed in light of his new position as the father-in-law of the king. Regardless, the marriage of Panamuwatis to the king of Kummuh elevated the status of Azamis over that of other river-lords in the kingdom.

Patin

Two Early Iron Age stelae from the kingdom of Palistin/Walistin have been recovered. The MEHARDE inscription is a dedication of Taita, the king of Walistin, to the Queen of the Land. The SHEIZAR inscription, inscribed on a round-topped stela, is written in the voice of Kupapiya, the wife of Taita.

> I am Kupapiyas the wife(?) of Taitas the Hero of the country Walasatini. On account of my justice I *lived* one hundred years. My children put(?) me on the ... pyre(??), and this stele my grandchildren, great-grandchildren (and) great-great-grandchildren caused to . . . . Among my [posterity?] (he) who (is) my grandchild, great-grandchild, great-great-grandchild, great-great-great-grandchild, (he)who shall [harm(?) them(?)], against him may the divine Queen of the Land be the prosecutor![369]

The reign of Taita of MEHARDE and SHEIZAR has been assigned on the basis of paleography and orthography to the 10th century BCE, a generation or two after the reign of Taita of ALEPPO 6 and 7.[370] Although the inscription is written from the perspective of Kupapiya, it is clear that the queen is deceased. Kupapiya claims to have lived for one hundred years, the ideal lifespan Puduḫepa sought for her husband Ḫattušili III, as discussed in chapter 2. The funerary stela was erected by her offspring or descendants and therefore does not indicate whether Kupapiya, like Panamuwatis of Kummuh, had the resources to dedicate her own monument. The

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[369] Ibid., 417.

[370] Mark Weeden, "After the Hittites: The Kingdoms of Karkamish and Palistin in Northern Syria," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 56.2 (2013): 15.

stela does suggest, however, that royal women like Kupapiya were remembered and revered by their descendants.

Conclusion

Scholars have long acknowledged the prominence of royal women in the Late Bronze Age, but the nature of the relationship between queens and power has rarely been the subject of inquiry. How did queens interact with members of the royal court? To what extent could a female member of the royal family contest the will of the king, and what motivated royal women to do so? How did queens parlay their roles as wives and mothers into political power at home and abroad? Through a series of reflections on Hittite queenship, this dissertation has sought to answer these questions and to discover new lines of inquiry.

Agency, power, and gender in the ancient Near East

Studies of women in the ancient world have often conflated power and agency with autonomy. From this perspective, the benchmark for female power and agency is the modern liberated or emancipated woman, an individual who works outside the home and is financially self-reliant. As Carol Delaney pointed out in a discussion following Rivkah Harris' presentation of "Independent Women in Ancient Mesopotamia?" in 1987, however, these approaches to power and agency are an outgrowth of modern societies and cannot be applied to a study of women and power in the ancient world.

> Surely the whole notion of individual independence and autonomy is a very western, modern notion, and to read that back into antiquity and look there for evidence for that sort of thing seems to me distorting what is there.[371]

[371] Barbara S. Lesko, *Women's Earliest Records: From Ancient Egypt and Western Asia: Proceedings of the Conference on Women in the Ancient Near East, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, November 5-7, 1987* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 163.

Concurring, Prof. Harris noted that "you're right about the whole issue of autonomy and independence, do we even have a word in Akkadian for independence or autonomy?"[372] In the ancient Near East, men and women alike were constrained by a network of familial, political, economic, and cultic obligations. A study of the intersection of gender and power in Hittite Anatolia must study power from a gendered perspective - that is, assuming "masculine power" and "feminine power" exist and are qualitatively distinct - or study gender relations from the perspective of power. This study has adopted the latter approach.

Hittitologists have reconstructed a hierarchical model of Hittite society based largely on titles and bureaucratic offices. The king and the office of kingship were the apex of Hittite society, and discussions of the constraints on the king's power and authority have focused chiefly on his accountability to the gods. As Raymond Westbrook noted, the legitimacy of a divinely ordained ancient Near Eastern monarch's rule was contingent upon his success in maintaining order and justice.

> Continued legitimacy depended on the king fulfilling the mandate that the gods assigned to him, the most important element of which from the legal perspective was the duty to do justice…The king, therefore, was not in law an absolute ruler. Although not answerable to a human tribunal, he was subject to the jurisdiction of the gods. Failure to fulfill his divine mandate could lead to divine punishment, which might affect not only himself but also his entire kingdom.[373]

The king's authority was not curtailed solely by the gods, however; people beneath the king, including the women of the palace, not infrequently sought to frustrate the king's agenda, either through assassination or open rebellion or through more covert means such as bribery and

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[372] Ibid.

[373] Raymond Westbrook. "Introduction," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. Raymond Westbrook (Leiden: Brill, 2003) 25-26.

witchcraft. The social rungs beneath the king consisted of the crown prince, the highest officials such as the GAL GEŠTIN and GAL MEŠEDI, the DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL, scribes and priests, and soldiers, merchants, and artisans. Farmers and slaves, often but not exclusively prisoners-of-war, comprised the two lowest and largest social classes.

A hierarchical model of Hittite society derived from official and bureaucratic titles - that is, a structural study of power - necessarily marginalizes women, for it was rare for women to hold bureaucratic positions in Ḫatti. A hierarchical view of Hittite society, while useful for the analysis of interactions between men of different rank, is therefore less useful for an understanding of the power dynamics between men and women in ancient societies than the analysis of heterarchical power relations, a system in which individuals may be unranked or ranked in a variety of different ways. As I have shown, for example, the Hittite queen wielded considerable power in the cultic sphere and was able to make votive offerings of substantial economic value, dispatch scribes to distant regions of the empire to copy festival texts, and issue decrees regarding the royal funerary structures. The queen had negligible influence in military matters, however, and is virtually absent from the annals and deeds detailing Hittite military activities. In the military sphere, it is the *tuḫkanti*, not the queen, who is second to the king in importance.

This dissertation has evaluated where Hittite queens were able to wield power and influence and queens' capacity to ensure the compliance of the individuals with whom they interacted. That Hittite Anatolia was a patriarchal society does not preclude the power and agency of individual women, and the status of royal women must be evaluated not only with respect to the king but also with other members of the Hittite court, including scribes, priests,

soldiers and bodyguards, artisans, servants, and doctors, diviners, and other experts. A comparison of the status of any individual to the king is invariably an unfavorable comparison, for kings are by far the most prominent individuals in Hittite texts. Virtually all denizens of Ḫatti were subservient to the king, from the most powerful officials in Ḫattuša to the prisoners-of-war imported from conquered territories, but their deference to the king does not deny them power or authority. Letters to and from Hittite queens, dream texts, decrees, land grants, treaties, reliefs, seal impressions, and tribute lists mark the elevated status of Hittite queens, the most senior authorities in the palace after the king.

This study has focused on royal women because they are the most easily identified women in Hittite society, and many of the preserved texts from the Hittite royal archives deal with relations between men and women in the Hittite palace. Speaking collectively of "Hittite women" is not a fruitful line of inquiry, for gender was only one aspect of identity; ethnicity, age, social class, and other social distinctions also shaped a woman's life and experiences. As gender cannot be separated from other aspects of identity, the status and roles of royal women vis-à-vis men do not necessarily resemble those of the wives of farmers or soldiers. Whereas a chief responsibility of a married peasant woman was to nurse and raise her children, wealthy women such as the queen were able to afford wet-nurses, nannies, and tutors for their children, freeing them from many of the responsibilities of childrearing. Hardly hapless victims of the Hittite patriarchal societal structure, royal women were active and willing participants in a society that disadvantaged women but enabled them to maximize their own personal power, an example of what Deniz Kandiyoti has termed "patriarchal bargaining."[374]

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[374] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender and Society* 2.3 (1988): 274-290.

Puduḫepa and power: conclusions

The survey of the political, economic, and ideological power wielded by Puduḫepa reveals that the queen played an active role in multiple aspects of governance. She participated in the negotiation of treaties and diplomatic marriages, appointed members of the extended royal family to positions in the military and government, owned, leased, and distributed livestock, captives, and prestige goods, and sponsored state festivals. The primary source of Puduḫepa's power was her status as the wife of the king and, later, her status as queen mother. Consequently, Puduḫepa's ability to act was always constrained by the necessity of promoting the stability of the rule of her husband or son. The king could countermand Puduḫepa or revoke her privileges at will, as when her son Tudḫaliya IV revoked her right to procure a wife for Kurunta.[375] The king could even expel a queen from the palace, and a political struggle between royal women during the reign of Tudhaliya IV seems to have ended with Puduḫepa's ignominious exile in the town of Utruliya.[376] Though Puduḫepa's power and control over members of the royal court were constrained by the Hittite patriarchal system, she encapsulates proactive queenship within the framework of male rule.

An analysis of Puduḫepa's activities raises the question of whether she was typical of a Hittite queen. It is a difficult question to answer, as the majority of Hittite texts date to the thirteenth century BCE. That Puduḫepa features so prominently in the Hittite textual corpus may be due largely to the chronological context of preserved texts rather than an unusual degree of political acumen or ambition. Nevertheless, virtually all of Puduḫepa's actions and

[375] Bo 86/299

[376] KUB 22.70

responsibilities are similarly attested for other Hittite queens. Ašmunikal, like Puduḫepa, possessed her own seal, dedicated prayers to the gods on behalf of the land of Ḫatti, issued decrees, and granted land to high-ranking officials together with her husband Arnuwanda I. The alleged plots of the sister and daughter of Ḫattušili I and Tawananna suggest that in all periods royal women were concerned with the future status of their sons and worked to place them upon the throne. Puduḫepa was not the only queen to receive dream messages from the gods, nor was she the only queen to maintain a correspondence with her husband, though far more dreams and letters of Puduḫepa have been preserved than for any other queen. This will almost certainly change, however, upon the publication of the texts from Ortaköy, where letters between the kings and queens of the Middle Hittite period have been found. Puduḫepa remains unique among Hittite queens in writing letters to foreign rulers, but the letter from the Hittite king to the queen of Babylonia[377] suggests more correspondence between the royal men and women of the Late Bronze Age occurred than has been discovered. Additionally, an Amarna letter referring to otherwise unattested correspondence between Tiye of Egypt and Yuni of Mitanni is tantalizing evidence for direct diplomatic relations between queens.[378]

Ideological power: the role of festivals and feasting

The kings of the ancient Near East employed and manipulated ideology to legitimize their rule. According to Hittite royal ideology, the king and queen were the servants of the gods and the stewards of the land of Ḫatti, governing the land of the gods of Ḫatti in accordance with their divine will. As the high priest and priestess of the empire, the king and queen were responsible

[377] IM 50966

[378] EA 26, discussed in more detail below.

for overseeing the multitude of festivals that took place throughout the empire. The Hittites carried out festivals to thank the gods for their agricultural bounty and to placate them to secure their continued blessings, but festivals also created an environment in which social stratification was created and reinforced through ceremony and spectacle. Puduḫepa took a particularly keen interest in festivals as part of her reorganization of the state cult, and she dispatched the chief scribe Walwaziti to Kummani to collate a new edition of the Hurrian *Ḫišuwa* festival.

The detail in Hittite festival texts permits the reconstruction of elaborate processions and eating and drinking ceremonies. Class distinctions were reinforced through spatial positioning (where individuals are situated relative to one another), the type and quality of food rations allotted to each individual, behavioral distinctions (whether an individual is sitting, squatting, kneeling, bowing, or some other behavior), and temporal distinctions (the order in which people are served food, participate in a procession, etc.). In the ceremonial procession that opened the KI.LAM festival in Ḫattuša, for example, the chariots of the king and queen take pride of place at the head of the procession, followed by ceremonial carts, dancers, priests, spear-men, and emblems of the gods. During the Great Assembly, the king and queen sit and stand on the throne dais, whereas the visiting dignitaries sit facing the royal couple. This places the king and queen in clear view of their nobles, who observe their ritual regalia as well as their actions during the ceremony. The bodyguards and palace servants, the participants of lowest status, squat along the sides of the gathering and consequently have a poorer view of the proceedings on the throne dais. A primary function of courtiers throughout the ancient Near East was to serve as the audience for

the king, and the Neo-Assyrian courtly title *mazzāz pāni* refers to the spatial positioning of courtiers relative to the king.[379]

We know virtually nothing of the nature of dreams of commoners in Hittite Anatolia, for dream texts almost exclusively record dreams experienced by Hittite kings and queens. Most, but not all, of the dream texts date to the reign of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa. The epiphany of the gods in dreams to the royal couple reinforces their role as the stewards of the land of Ḫatti, blessed and supported by the gods. Additionally, a god's directive to a queen delivered in a dream enabled her to carry out divinely sanctioned activities within the capital, typically the offering of prestige objects to the gods.

One of the queen's chief responsibilities was offering prayers and vows to the gods. Virtually all surviving prayers and vows offered by royal women address the welfare of Ḫatti, the security of one of the cities within the empire, or the safety and security of the queen's husband or children. There is little to suggest that a queen could offer votive offerings to the gods in exchange for personal favors; rather, it is in her role as helpmeet to her husband that the gods communicate with the queen. That so many votive texts date to the reign of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa is perhaps not merely an outcome of preservation bias, as Ḫattušili suffered from poor health since childhood, and the votive texts and letters from Puduḫepa indicate that she concerned herself with his health. Puduḫepa's status at court was largely dependent upon the good health of her husband and son, so Puduḫepa's offerings to the gods in exchange for the health of her son ensured not only the stability of the empire but also her personal power.

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[379] Melanie Groß and Reinhard Pirngruber, "On Courtiers in the Neo-Assyrian Empire: *ša rēsi* and *mazzāz pāni,*" *Altorientalische Forschungen* 41.2 (2014): 161-175.

Political power: alliances and social networks

The Hittite laws indicate a father and mother held joint legal and financial responsibility for their offspring in marital matters. If the parents of a young woman broke her engagement, they were required to compensate the failed suitor. As the Hittite palace was a household writ large, Puduḫepa, in her role as matron of the royal household, participated in the negotiation of diplomatic marriages. In a letter to Ramesses II of Egypt, Puduḫepa refers proudly to her accomplishments as queen and matchmaker.[380] The arrangement of diplomatic marriages, particularly those involving two Great Kings, were often extensive and took months of negotiation. By inserting herself into these protracted negotiations, Puduḫepa raised her international profile, and she notes that the marriage she arranged are a source of praise for her among the people of Ḫatti.

The offer of marriage to a member of the royal family, with a concomitant rise in status, was a powerful incentive for loyalty among the elites of Ḫattuša. In a successful attempt to keep a Babylonian physician in Ḫattuša, for example, Ḫattušili III arranged a marriage with one of his female relatives.[381] Marrying a courtier to a member of the queen's family raised the courtier's status but precluded any claim to the throne. In the Tawagalawa letter, Ḫattušili III explicitly notes the significance of marrying into the family of the queen.[382]

By arranging marriages between the royal family, courtiers, and vassal rulers, Puduḫepa was able to monitor and influence the behavior of powerful subjects. In a letter from Puduḫepa to the official Tattamaru, for example, Puduḫepa accuses him of failing to uphold his familial

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[380] KUB 21.38

[381] CTH 172, a letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II of Babylon

[382] KUB 14.3

obligations.[383] As part of the treaty between Ḫattušili III and Kurunta, Kurunta was required to marry a woman of Puduḫepa's choosing. Puduḫepa obviously intended to select a woman loyal to the royal couple, allowing the queen to keep a watchful eye on the quiescent threat of Tarḫuntašša. She was thwarted by her son Tudḫaliya IV, however, who nullified this section of the treaty and permitted Kurunta to choose a wife for himself.[384]

Economic power: control over the exchange of goods

Puduḫepa possessed her own seal, and seal impressions from the Nisantepe archive indicate she took an active interest in the movement of goods. The trial record of Ura-Tarḫunta, the queen's overseer-of-ten, sheds light on Puduḫepa's economic activities.[385] Ura-Tarḫunta had been entrusted with the shipment of sealed goods from Ḫattuša to Babylonia, but several items disappeared under his watch. Puduḫepa accused Ura-Tarḫunta of embezzlement and brought him to trial in the temple of Lelwani. Through the trial of Ura-Tarḫunta, one learns that the queen controlled the lending of horses and mules, the distribution of captives, and the exchange of items such as fine textiles and weaponry. The queen owned horses and livestock and lent them out for profit.

Although Ura-Tarḫunta denied the charges of embezzlement, he admitted that he had taken possession of old items when newer replacements became available for the palace. He also confessed to exchanging the mules the queen had given him with his own, presumably inferior, mules and to taking possession of a man and woman from the captives with whom he had been

[383] KUB 23.85

[384] Bo 86/299

[385] CTH 293

entrusted. As a result of these proceedings, the queen announced that her officials could acquire old items no longer in use, including chariots, garments, and wall hangings, but she prohibited them from taking possession of items made of precious metals, which retained value and could be reforged. Since Puduḫepa's officials were reliant upon her continued good will for access to these valuable goods, she gave them new incentive for loyal behavior. Moreover, each of her officials maintained a social network of his own that involved the exchange of these items for prestige and profit. By indirectly promoting these economic and social networks, Puduḫepa facilitated the flow of information and services between the palace and other areas of the capital.

Conflicts within the royal palace

Royal women utilized several methods of resisting the king's wishes. The daughter of Ḫattušili I fomented rebellion in a failed attempt to place her son on the throne. Though she could not ascend to the throne herself, her influence over her son empowered her to make political alliances on his behalf. The sister of Ḫattušili took a less violent path of resistance. By monopolizing the affection of her son, the king's designated heir, she ensured that Labarna heeded her advice even when it ran counter to the advice or command of the king.

Other royal women chose similarly subtle means of resistance. Tudḫaliya I accused his sister Ziplantawiya of speaking evil of him before the gods, an attempt to place her son upon the throne. Indeed, there may have been support for Ziplantawiya in the royal court, for while she had a son to inherit the throne, Tudḫaliya and his consort Nikalmati had produced instead a daughter, Ašmunikal. Tudḫaliya therefore adopted Arnuwanda, the husband of Ašmunikal, as his *antiyant* son and designated him as his heir. As the reign of Arnuwanda I was legitimized through

his wife Ašmunikal, Ašmunikal was unusually prominent during her husband's reign. Ašmunikal had her own seal marking her as the daughter of Tudḫaliya and Nikalmati, dedicated prayers with her husband,[386] issued a decree regarding royal mortuary monuments,[387] and received the sworn loyalty of soldiers and officials along with her husband and son Tudḫaliya.[388]

Several decades later, Muršili II accused his stepmother Tawananna, the daughter of the Babylonian king, of slandering his wife before the gods and causing her illness and death. Muršili also alleges that Tawananna attempted to use a solar eclipse as an omen that Muršili had run afoul of the gods' displeasure, an attempt by the queen to parlay her religious power into political power. Tawananna, he asserts, abused her station of high priestess and diverted prestige goods to Babylon rather than their proper destination in temples and the royal mortuary complexes.[389] Muršili's capacity to strip Tawananna of her office is seen as evidence for the interpretation that Hittite queens wielded power only at the behest and through the goodwill of their husbands. That Muršili so forcefully and repeatedly argues for his innocence in the affair of the Tawananna, however, suggests that the king did not hold unlimited power over the queen; he was held accountable by the gods, and - as the testament of Ḫattušili I suggests - by members of the royal court.

Finally, the clash between Puduḫepa and her stepdaughter highlights the conflicts that arise when female relatives of the king struggle over access to and influence over the king. Just as the daughter of Ḫattušili and Tawananna had been sent into comfortable exile, Puduḫepa was

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[386] CTH 375

[387] CTH 252; KUB 57.46+KUB 13.8

[388] CTH 260

[389] CTH 70; KUB 14.4

expelled from the Hittite palace. The Ugaritic correspondence between Puduḫepa and Niqmaddu III, however, suggests she later returned to her son's good graces.

Hittite monuments and iconography

The reliefs on the left side of the sphinx gate of Alaca Höyük, which depict the king and queen worshiping the bull of the Storm God and festival scenes, served as public reminders of the generosity of the king and queen in providing food and entertainment and their all-important role as the intermediaries between the gods and the people of Ḫatti. While a feast may be successful in raising or solidifying the social status of the host on a temporary basis, a feast must be remembered in order to have a long-term effect. Visual reminders of the festivities sponsored by the palace reminded viewers of the king's generosity and closeness to the gods. Indeed, this closeness to the gods is the aspect of kingship and queenship the Hittites emphasized most. Whereas monuments in Egypt and Mesopotamia memorialized and glorified the king's feats in battle, Hittite rock reliefs focus almost exclusively on the ritual duties of the royal couple. The east side of the sphinx gate contains reliefs depicting a procession of officials processing toward a seated goddess. The prominence of the king and queen on the left side of the gate and the local officials on the right side of the gate serves as a visual reminder of the interaction between the royal couple and local authorities during festivals. Although state festivals displayed and reinforced the legitimacy of monarchic rule, they also bolstered the status of local officials through their privileged association with the royal couple during festivals.

The Fraktin relief, like the reliefs of Alaca Höyük, depicts the king and queen engaged in ritual activities. Unlike the Alaca Höyük relief, however, Puduḫepa takes an active role in the Fraktin relief rather than standing behind the king as a passive participant. As Ḫattušili pours a

libation to the Storm God of Ḫatti, Puduḫepa pours a libation to Ḫebat. The outfits of the king and queen closely resemble those of the Storm God and Ḫebat, respectively, drawing a parallel between the mortal and divine couples. In light of this parallel, the divine triad of Storm God, Ḫebat, and Šarruma in Chamber A of Yazilikaya can be viewed as the divine counterparts of Ḫattušili III, Puduḫepa, and their son Tudḫaliya IV. Two goddesses of smaller size and less importance stand behind Šarruma in the central relief of Chamber A, Alanzu, the daughter of the Storm God and Ḫebat, and the "granddaughter of the Storm God." The former has mortal counterparts in the daughters of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa such as Gaššulawiya, married to the king of Amurru, and Maathorneferure, married to the king of Egypt. Though of lesser importance than her brother Šarruma, Alanzu has a position of greater prominence than all other members of the divine court. The left and right sides of Chamber A depict processions of male and female divinities, respectively, and the depiction of their equal status in terms of size and position suggests another form of heterarchical power relations in the Hittite court. Just as one cannot claim that the male war god ZABABA (Hattic Wurunkatte) took precedence over the goddess of magic Kamrušepa, the status of their male mortal counterparts is not necessarily greater than those of their female counterparts. The high status of the queen within the state cult, therefore, is a result of her role as intermediary to the Hittite goddesses, particularly Ḫebat.

Through an examination of Neo-Hittite monuments, I argue that the fragmentation of the Hittite empire at the end of the Bronze Age and the subsequent intermittent warfare between the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of the Iron Age led to the reduced prominence of royal women, who no longer played a prominent role in the rituals, festivals, diplomatic marriages, and economic exchange that had unified the Hittite empire. Whereas depictions of military activities are wholly

absent from Hittite royal monuments, Neo-Hittite reliefs and inscriptions extol the military and building activities of male rulers in an Assyrianizing style.

Avenues for future research: Gender and the Hittite royal court

Although this study has focused on the political, economic, and religious activities of queens, many other women were associated with the Hittite royal court, including secondary wives, servants, and priestesses, and a comprehensive study of gender relations in the Hittite palace remains a desideratum. The treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša contains a rare reference to the women of the palace.

> CTH 42 A iii 59-73
>
> Beware of a woman of the palace. Whatever sort of palace woman she might be, whether a free woman or a lady's maid, you shall not approach her, and you shall not go near her. Beware of her. When you see a palace woman, jump far out of the way and leave her a broad path. Beware of this matter of a palace woman.
>
> Who was Mariya, and for what reason did he die? Did not a lady's maid walk by and he look at her? But the father of My Majesty himself looked out the window and caught him in his offense, saying: "You - why did you look at her?" So he died for that reason. The man perished just for looking from afar. So you beware.[390]

The anecdote about the death of Mariya, serving as an instructive example for Ḫuqqana, raises several questions. Why are men of Mariya's rank forbidden from even gazing at the women of the palace? To what degree were queens and other royal women freed from or subject to these restrictions outside of sanctioned events such as festivals?

An oath from the reign of Tudḫaliya IV may shed some light on the Mariya incident. The oath references palace women and seems to restrict their relationships with courtiers.

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[390] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 32.

CTH 255.2 A iv 29-37

> [No]w, since women are to be let [(into yo)]ur [(houses)], [(but, becau)se (this)] is the palace, then whatever [pa]lace [(woman)] is (concerned), be she a chambermaid (or) be she a [(free person), *i*]*f* anyone (of you) has known any one (of them), [(b)ut he does not [(now)] break it off with [he]r, [(and)] they hear […(*about him*)] *from* [(*he*)*r*], [(and it/ they)…], then from this day on whoever […goe]s near another [*woman of* the pa]lace, (it) shall be placed under oath.[391]

As Miller has pointed out, these restrictions seem to have been intended to prevent courtiers from pursuing relationships with palace women with the goal of having a mole inside the palace.[392] The role of the deaf servant (^{LÚ}Ú.ḪÚB) in the protocol for the gatekeeper (^{LÚ}Ì.DU$_8$) may be another result of the emphasis on discretion within the palace.

> Then a palace servant goes up to the roof, but before him [a deaf man] leads. Then the deaf man pulls the windows shut, and the [palace] servant throws the door-bolt closed, and he [co]mes down. Then the deaf man pulls the top of the staircase closed, and the pal[(ace)] servant throws the door-bolt closed.[393]

That a deaf servant must close the windows and the top of the staircase before the palace servant can lock them suggests palace servants were not permitted to hear conversations within royal chambers, at least without explicit permission.

Avenues for future research: Queenship in comparative perspective

In a pioneering study of Egyptian and Mesopotamian kingship, Henri Frankfort observed that a comparative study of two dissimilar cultures highlights less obvious aspects of the institution under study.

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[391] Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts,* 305.

[392] Ibid., 295.

[393] Ibid., 96-97.

> It is, therefore, logical to envisage the ancient Near East a whole. But it is fortunate that Egypt and Mesopotamia differ profoundly in spirit. For if, across the chasm which separates us, we focus on now one and then the other of these two great centers of civilization, we shall find that the interplay of contrasts and similarities sharpens our sight not a little.[394]

By the early 13th century BCE, Egypt and Ḫatti were the preeminent powers in the ancient Near East. Though initially locked in conflict, Egypt and Ḫatti became allies during the reigns of Ramesses II and Ḫattušili III, an alliance that endured until the disintegration of the Hittite Empire. Though Ramesses and Ḫattušili regularly exchanged letters, goods, and princesses, however, the royal courts of Per-Ramesses and Ḫattuša varied in their social structure, architectural organization, sacred and secular ceremonies, and gender and ethnic diversity. An examination of the role of royal women in the Egyptian court is therefore a useful means of identifying unique aspects of gender and courtly life in Hittite Anatolia.

The archaeologist Bruce Trigger argued that comparison is an invaluable component of research in the social sciences, for only through comparative studies can one determine whether an aspect of human behavior is culture-specific.

> The most important issue confronting the social sciences is the extent to which human behavior is shaped by factors that operate cross-culturally as opposed to factors that are unique to particular cultures. In part this debate addresses to what degree and in what ways human behavior is influenced by calculations of self-interest that all human beings make in a similar manner as opposed to particularistic, culturally conditions, and largely autonomous modes of conceiving reality…At the centre of this debate is a fundamental question: given the biological similarities and the cultural diversity of human beings, how much the same or how differently are they likely to behave under analogous circumstances?[395]

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[394] Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), X.

[395] Bruce Trigger. *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3.

Comparative studies of kingship, particularly those focusing on kingship in Egypt and Mesopotamia, are not uncommon. Examples range from monographs written by a single author[396] to edited volumes with contributions covering a variety of periods of Egyptian and Mesopotamian history.[397] Most studies of queenship in world history, such as the collection of articles edited by Anne Walthall, exclude the royal women of the ancient Near East, however.[398] Hermann Müller-Karpe's monograph on women of the 13th century BCE, one of the few works dedicated to the royal women of the Late Bronze Age, studies each woman in a separate chapter and does not attempt to draw sweeping conclusions about the relative status of royal women in Bronze Age civilizations.[399]

Queenship in Egypt has been much studied, and the monographs by Lana Troy,[400] Joyce Tyldesley,[401] and Silke Roth,[402] among others, have advanced our understanding of the role of royal women in Egyptian society and politics. Whereas Hittite queens must by necessity be studied almost exclusively from textual sources, the sources for the study of queenship in ancient

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396 Dale Launderville, *Piety and Politics: The Dynamics of Royal Authority in Homeric Greece, Biblical Israel, and Old Babylonian Mesopotamia* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003).

397 Jane A. Hill, Philip Jones, and Antonio J. Morales. *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority: Cosmos, Politics, and the Ideology of Kingship in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2013).

398 Anne Walthall, *Servants of the Dynasty: Palace Women in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

399 Hermann Müller-Karpe, *Frauen des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1985).

400 Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1986).

401 Joyce A. Tyldesley, *Chronicle of the Queens of Egypt: From Early Dynastic Times to the Death of Cleopatra* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2006).

402 Silke Roth, *Gebieterin aller Länder: Die Rolle der königlichen Frauen in der fiktiven und realen Aussenpolitik des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* (Freiberg: Universitätsverlag, 2002).

Egypt are remarkably varied. Queens appear not only in written accounts but also iconographically in temple and tomb reliefs, stelae, and statuary. Additionally, excavations at Malqata, Amarna, and Gurob have shed light on the spatial distribution of women's activities in the palatial complexes of the New Kingdom.

Although Puduḫepa was a contemporary of Nefertari of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, little is known of the life of Nefertari aside from depictions of her religious activities. The temples of Luxor and Karnak contain numerous depictions of Nefertari, and one of the temples at Abu Simbel was dedicated to the queen. No texts shed light on Nefertari's political and economic activities, however, aside from the singular exception of the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence, and her familial background remains a mystery.[403] A comparative study of Puduḫepa and the royal women of the Amarna period, particularly Tiye and Nefertiti, is more promising. As discussed in chapter 4, Puduḫepa was unusually prominent in the political affairs of the 13th century BCE. Ḫattušili's poor health and the dubious circumstances in which he ascended to the throne required Puduḫepa to assume more political responsibilities than any other Hittite queen. Similarly, Tiye and her daughter-in-law Nefertiti were unusually prominent Egyptian queens; Tiye is better attested than any other queen of the Eighteenth Dynasty except Hatshepsut.[404] The lives of Old and Middle Kingdom queens are even more poorly understood; virtually nothing is known of queens before the Eighteenth Dynasty except their names, their tombs, and their grave goods.[405] Like Puduḫepa, Tiye was born the daughter of a priest and local official and married

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[403] Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 98-99.

[404] Lawrence M. Berman, "Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 5.

[405] Joyce Tyldesley, "The Role of Egypt's Dynastic Queens," in *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*, ed. Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean MacIntosh Turfa (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 273.

into the ruling family. Her father Yuya's titles included "master of the horse," "his Majesty's lieutenant commander of chariotry," "priest of Min," and "overseer of the cattle of Min, lord of Akhmim."[406] As a final point of comparison, religious reforms were a key component of the reigns of Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya III of Ḫatti and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten of Egypt, and royal women were highly visible participants in the religious festivals and processions that displayed and reinforced royal power and ideology. Whereas Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV sought to reinstate neglected cults, however, Akhenaten devoted the majority of his resources to the newly constructed temples of the Aten in Akhetaten, starving the temples dedicated to other Egyptian gods of financial resources.

A variety of political activities are attested for Hittite queens, including interfering with royal succession, maintaining a correspondence with the king and officials, and offering votive gifts in exchange for the safety and security of the king and the land of Ḫatti. Though there is little direct evidence for the political activities of the queens of New Kingdom Egypt, oblique references in historical and literary texts suggest queens were able to sway the king's opinion. In an early boundary text from Amarna, Akhenaten announces the location of his new city and his refusal to listen to contrary opinions from his wife Nefertiti or officials.

> Nor shall the King's Chief Wife say to me, "Look, there's a nice place for Akhetaten someplace else," nor I shall listen to her. Nor shall any officials in my presence - be they officials of favor or officials of the outside, or the chamberlains, or any people in the entire land - say to me, "Look, there's a nice place for Akhetaten someplace else."[407]

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[406] Berman, "Overveiw of Amenhotep III and His Reign," 5.

[407] William J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1995), 77.

In a remarkable letter to Tiye, the mother of Akhenaten, Tušratta mentions that Amenhotep III informed him that, aside from the messengers Keliya and Mane, only Tiye was informed of the words exchanged between the kings.

> EA 26 10-18
>
> [And as for me], what I wo[uld write and] what I say to Mimmureya your husband and as for Mimmure[ya, on the other] hand, your husband, [what] words to me [he would always] write and would always say, [Kel]ia and Mane know and it is you, [on the other han]d, more than all of them, who knows the words [which] we said to one another. No one [els]e knows them.[408]

Because the queen had not only the confidence of her husband Amenhotep III but also that of her son Amenhotep IV, Tušratta enlisted her assistance in procuring statues of solid gold and lapis lazuli that had been promised by Amenhotep III.

> EA 26 49-63
>
> As for the words whi[ch yo]urself spoke t[o me], then why don't you present to Nap[ḫurreia]? If [you] don't present (them) befo[re h]im, then who e[lse] knows? So[lid] statues of gold, may [Na]pḫurreya give me. May he not cause me any distress whatsoever! May [he not…]. Ten times more than his father may he surpass f[or me] in love and in respect.
>
> [And] may your own envoys c[ome] regularly with the a[mbassadors] of Napḫurreya, with a g[ift fo]r Yuni my wife; and [may] the envoy[s] [o]f Yuni my wife go to [you] regularly.[409]

The mention of the "envoys of Yuni" (LÚ.DUMU.MEŠ.KIN ša ^{F}Iuni) references a routine feminine correspondence with gift-giving that parallels the letters exchanged between Tušratta and Amenhotep III, but virtually nothing is known of this queenly correspondence.

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[408] Anson Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna based on Collations of all Extant Tablets* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 277.

[409] Ibid., 279.

In the thirtieth year of his reign, Amenhotep III celebrated his first Sed festival. The occasion is documented in numerous dockets from Malqata, the tombs of Khaeuef (TT192) and Khaemhet (TT57), the funerary temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu, the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, and the temple at Soleb.[410] In order to ensure that the Sed festival was carried out properly, scribes under the supervision of the indefatigable Amenhotep son of Hapu studied inscriptions on ancient monuments and papyri in temple libraries. It seems these scribes even consulted predynastic records, for the reverse side of a fragment of a predynastic palette in Cairo bears the cartouche of Tiye in addition to her queenly title *ḥmt-nswt* and the two feathers of her vulture headdress.[411] Tiye played a key role in the first Sed festival. The king and queen sailed across Birket Habu in royal barges, a procession over water running precisely parallel to the processional way between the temples of Luxor and Karnak. Upon reaching land, the king was carried in a sedan chair while Tiye and the princesses followed on foot.[412] Tiye's dress and actions during the Sed festival merit further attention and should be juxtaposed with the ritual roles of Puduḫepa and other ancient Near Eastern queens of the Late Bronze Age.

This dissertation demonstrates that a comparative study of gender and power in the royal courts of the Late Bronze Age would shed light not only on the nature of kingship and authority in the ancient Near East but also the role of women as linkages in the crisscrossing relations between rulers, courtiers, and officials. Though the royal women of antiquity rarely held official

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[410] José Galán, "The Ancient Egyptian *Sed*-Festival and the Exemption from Corveé," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59.4 (2000): 255.

[411] Bernard Von Bother, "A New Fragment of an Old Palette," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 8 (1969): 5-8.

[412] Arielle P. Kozloff, *Amenhotep III: Egypt's Radiant Pharaoh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 186.

titles, they not infrequently played an outsized role in ancient politics by maintaining, manipulating, or subverting the delicate balances of power in ancient Near Eastern courts.

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