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The ‘Cruciform Seal’ from Boğazköy-Hattusa

Tafel 6

INTRODUCTION

The four authors of this contribution have been friends and colleagues of Peter Neve for many years, and have collaborated with the Boğazköy Expedition in the work on epigraphic material. Peter Neve opened the extraordinarily productive excavations of the Upper City at Hattusa, and has conducted them with the most gratifying results. It thus seemed to us that a joint presentation of our combined efforts on one of the most important finds of these excavations would be an appropriate means of offering to him, on the occasion of his 65th birthday, our high regards and gratitude for his achievements.

In 1986 Peter Neve reexcavating Temple 3 at Boğazköy found among other epigraphic material some large clay lumps bearing remarkable seal impressions¹. These he deduced from impressions on their reverse sides to be sealings for containers or possibly for door fastenings. They almost all came from the long room 8 on the north-east side of Temple 3, and were found in a level below that of the original floor immediately above a layer of yellow filling². Neve identified this as secondarily deposited building detritus and considered that the sealings would

Apart from the usual abbreviations used by the *Archäologische Bibliographie* and the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, we note the following:

ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
CTH	E. Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites (1970)
HH	E. Laroche, Les hiéroglyphes hittites (1960)
Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis	A. Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern, THeth 7 (1976)
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
Otten, Chronologie	H. Otten, Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie, AbhMainz (1968)
SBo	H.G. Güterbock, Siegel aus Boğazköy I-II, AfO Beiheft 5, 7 (1940, 1942)
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

1) P.Neve, AA 1987, 394 Abb. 13, 400 f.

2) *ibid.*, 400.

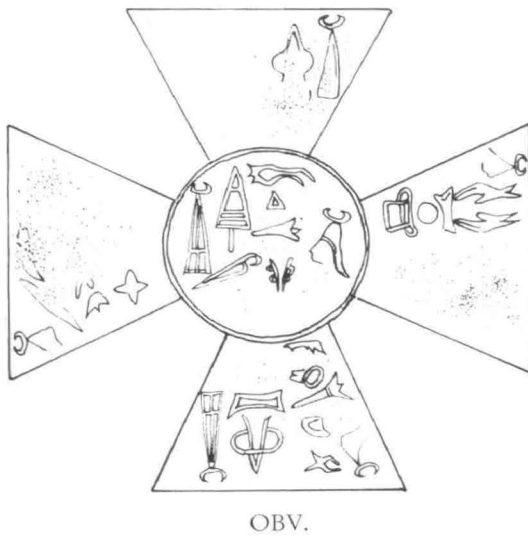


Fig. 1.

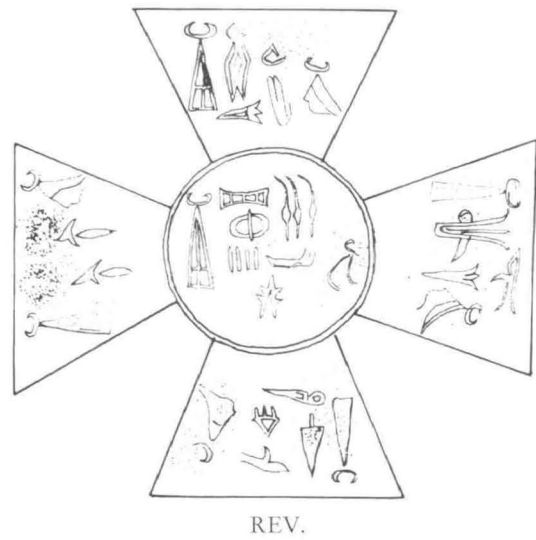


Fig. 2.

have come from rooms above their find-spot. One sealing belonging to this group was found in the courtyard 4³. In the following season of excavations, 1987, further such sealings were found outside Temple 2⁴. Since then no further examples have appeared, not even among the very extensive finds of bullae in the *Westbau* adjoining Nişantepe in 1990 and 1991⁵.

The impressions on these sealings could be identified as a number of different examples of impressions from two different seal faces, each of which could be seen from nearly complete examples to comprise a central boss surrounded by four trapezoidal ‘wings’ in the manner of a Maltese cross. Each of these five elements on each side bore an inscription in Hittite Hieroglyphs, though not all were easily legible. Because of their matching measurements and design, the two seal faces were identified by Neve as the two faces of the same seal, and he suggested with every probability that the original seal would have resembled a seal excavated at Boğazköy consisting of two metal discs joined back to back which turned axially on a semicircular swivel handle⁶.

Already in his first report Neve gave preliminary readings and identifications of the five Great Kings’ names on each side⁷, that is on side *a*, Suppiluliuma II surrounded by Tudhaliya IV, Hattusili III, Mursili II and an unknown, and on side *b*, Mursili II surrounded by Suppiluliuma I, Hattusili II, Tudhaliya I, and an unknown. He gained this order by reading the wings on each side clockwise from the top. He also noted the presence of the names of Great Queens alongside at least two of the Great Kings.

3) *ibid.*, 394 Abb. 13 (Bo. 86/638).

4) P. Neve, AA 1988, 371 Abb. 18, 374.

5) Reported by Neve, AA 1991, 325–335, and 1992, 311–316.

6) AA 1987, 400f., n. 17: the seal has the inventory no. 573/z, and is published by R.M. Boehmer – H.G. Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy* (1987) no. 214, p. 69 and pl. 25.

7) *loc. cit.*, 401.

Subsequently Heinrich Otten in the context of a preliminary report on the Bronze Tablet, also found in 1986, gave provisional drawings of both sides of the seal together with some observations on the significance of the piece⁸. He followed Neve's readings and identifications of the Great Kings and identified further Great Queens, particularly Nikkalmati with Tudhaliya I. He considered that the seal provided new evidence in favour of the sequence Tudhaliya-Hattusili-Suppiluliuma as grandfather-father-son, as proposed by Carruba in 1977⁹.

Contrary to these provisional readings and identifications however, we shall propose the sequences on side *a*, Suppiluliuma I surrounded by Labarna I, Hattusili I, Mursili I, and one still uncertain name; and on side *b*, Mursili II surrounded by Tudhaliya I/II, [Arnuwanda I], Tudhaliya III, and a still problematic space. These identifications are supported by the identifications of all the Great Queens except the one with the uncertain Great King.

These recognitions derive from detailed examination of the impressions by Hawkins in the presence of Wilhelm in 1989 and by Belkis and Ali Dinçol in 1990. It has to be said at once that the impressions are in general extremely small, unclear and difficult. Indeed the first impression created by a view of the sealings is one of impossibility. Only prolonged examination and comparison of all examples of each segment in a variety of lights (but especially sun-light) permits the gradual arrival at the more difficult readings.

Thus Hawkins in 1989 was able to offer new readings on side *a* of the Great King's name in the top wing; and on side *b* of the Great King's name in the top wing and the Great Queens' names in the left and right wings. He was able to check his results with Wilhelm who was present at the time. In 1990 Belkis and Ali Dinçol were able to confirm these readings, and to offer a new reading of the Great Queen's name on side *a*, centre, and to identify signs on the top, right and bottom wings which led subsequently to the probable identification of the names.

Because of this gradual process of elucidation in which one reading led to another, and because four separate persons were involved in this, it was agreed that it would be most appropriate to combine to publish the results jointly. We further felt it necessary to delay publication until it could be seen whether the large-scale finds of bullae at Boğazköy in 1990 and then again in 1991 would contribute further material evidence on the readings. In fact, though no further impressions of this seal have been found, the 1990-91 finds have contributed two important pieces of evidence relating to the identification and reading of the names of the Great Queens on side *a*, centre and lower wing¹⁰.

THE READINGS: GENERAL REMARKS

The basic reconstruction of the original seal by Neve as two-sided, with each side showing a central boss surrounded by four 'wings' has been described above. The 'Maltese cross' form of

8) H. Otten, Die 1986 in Boğazköy gefundene Bronzetafel, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften 42 (1989) 24-27.

9) O. Carruba, SMEA 18, 1977, 137 ff.

10) The new evidence includes the impression of the seal of Suppiluliuma I with Henti (P. Neve, AA 1992, 314 f. with Abb. 7a); and also a digraphic Cun.-Hier. seal inscription showing the Hier. sign HH no. 416 corresponding to Cun. *li*. See below, p. 94 f.

the design seems appropriately described as ‘cruciform’ (German ‘kreuzförmig’). Each of the five elements on each side bears the title and name of a Great King and a Great Queen, though as an exception, one Great King has no Great Queen. Further, two Great Kings’ names seem totally lost on all examples.

Neve refers to sides *a* and *b*, which for Otten have become »Vs.« and »Rückseite«, the former identified by the presence of the supposedly latest King’s name in the centre. Since according to our identifications the latest King is Mursili II not Suppiluliuma II, we have to reverse these terms: our »obverse« with Mursili II in the centre is Otten’s »Rückseite«, Neve’s side *b*, and our »reverse«, with Suppiluliuma I in the middle is Otten’s »Vs.«, Neve’s side *a*.

In the centre of both sides the Great King’s name stands to the left, the Great Queen’s to the right, and the signs were not symmetrical face towards the centre, indicating that each name is to be read from the middle outwards, thus name followed by title. In the wings on the other hand, on *obverse* the Great King’s name is always on the right, the Great Queen’s on the left; but on the *reverse* the opposite, as in the centre. The signs, however, were not symmetrical, on the *obverse* all face right indicating a *sinistroverse* reading; on the *reverse* all face left, indicating a *dextroverse* reading. In this way the title Great King always comes first as might be expected. This further suggests that we should read from Great King to Great King, which means that the *obverse* wings should be read anti-clockwise, the *reverse* wings clockwise. The implications of this will prove to be of significance when the names have been identified.

One curiosity of the writing of the titles, both Great King and Great Queen (MAGNUS.REX, MAGNUS.REGINA), is that the sign MAGNUS (HH no. 363) seems to be written upside-down in all cases. It is not however apparent that this in any way affects the sense.

DETAIL ¹¹

Each side of the seal is represented by a number of different impressions on various sealings which are themselves identified by the Boğazköy register number (Bo.) followed by the year of discovery (’86 or ’87) and an individual number. Some sealings bear more than one impression, in which case we distinguish (1), (2), etc. For each side there are one or two more or less complete impressions and a further number of partial examples, some of which provide clearer readings than can be seen on the more complete examples.

The sides are represented on the following sealings:

obverse: Bo. 86/618(1) (almost complete), Bo. 86/622(3), Bo. 87/1a, Bo. 86/627(2).

reverse: Bo. 86/624 and Bo. 86/622(1) (both fairly complete), Bo. 86/627(1), Bo. 87/93(1) and (2), Bo. 86/611(1) and (2), Bo. 87/92, Bo. 86/618(2), Bo. 87/98.

In the discussion of each individual segment it is necessary to list each example of that segment and to make clear from which one(s) the reading derives. In the discussion below of the ‘wings’

11) The system of transliteration employed here follows that used by E. Laroche, HH, with the modifications introduced by J.D. Hawkins, which will be found collected in his *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (forthcoming), including the transcription of logograms into Latin. Note in particular the Empire Period syllabic values *kā* (HH no. 56); *ta_x* (HH no. 42); *nì* (HH no. 55); *i(a)* (HH no. 209); also Empire and late *a*, formerly *ā* (HH no. 450).

of each side, we take them in the order in which we think that they should be read. In the present section of our presentation we confine ourselves as far as possible to a simple discussion of the readings on each segment, and we reserve for the subsequent section, "History", the identification of the individual rulers and the significance of the sequences. We have departed from this schema only when the readings themselves, as they do in some cases, depend on the identification of the individual.

Obverse, centre

Impressions on Bo. 86/618 (1) and (2) and Bo. 87/1a show almost complete and adequately clear examples. Bo. 86/622(3) shows sufficient traces to identify it as a further example.

The names were read by Neve and Otten and are not problematic.

URBS+RA/I-li MAGNUS.REX, »Mursili«¹²
ká-su-la-wi MAGNUS.REGINA, »Gassulawi(ya)«

right wing



Fig. 3. Bo 86/622 (3)

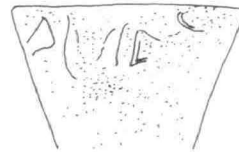


Fig. 4. Bo 86/618 (1)

The impressions on sealings Bo. 86/622(3) and Bo. 86/618(1) both preserve the outline of the wing and the writing on the left side, the name of the Great Queen (clearest on former). There seem to be traces of the writing of the name of the great king, which, however, remain illegible¹³ (fig. 3.4). The fragmentary impression on sealing Bo. 86/627(2) shows a part of the writing of the same Great Queen's name, which is very important for identifying the reading on the top wing.

Though the Great Queen's name is not easy to read even in its clearest occurrence, there is actually no doubt that it is correct.

ta_x-tu-ha-pa MAGNUS.REGINA, »Taduhepa«

The writing of this name is not attested in Hieroglyphic in this form before, but is easily read by analogy with the well attested Tanuhepa which is also written with the same initial *ta_x*, the pair of antithetic hands (HH no. 42). The person of Taduhepa was identified in a Hier. writing on Maşat bullae Mşt 75/10 and Mşt 75/39¹⁴, written *sà-tà-tu-ha-pa*, with the fragmentary Cunei-

12) The transliteration of the Mursili logogram as URBS+RA/I-li adapts that of Meriggi (URU, -li, Glossar, p. 178) rather than that of Laroche (*mur+li*, see Ugaritica III, 107 f.), where the interpretation *mur* cannot be sustained. See Hawkins, StBoT, Beiheft 3 (forthcoming), commentary on YALBURT block 1 § 1.

13) Hawkins in 1989 and Belkis and Ali Dinçol in 1990 thought traces to be visible. In any case, the surface here is not as smooth as the blank left part of the top wing.

14) See now S. Alp, Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük (1991) Abb. 2 with Taf. 1. 2.

form inner ring digraph, [... -*d*]u-*he-pa*. The presence of the initial, *sà-* was unexplained, but here a proposal is made (below, p. 101f.) which results in the discarding of the identification with Taduhepa.

The shadowy »Hattusili« read by Otten and Neve on this wing is not confirmed by examination. It appears to have arisen from a mistaken reading of the signs making up »Taduhepa«.

top wing

The impression on Bo. 86/618(1) has the outline of the wing fairly completely preserved, though in this impression the signs have not come out sharply. However, as noted above, the fragment of impression on Bo. 86/627(2), shows a part of the name Taduhepa and part of the adjoining wing, thus identifiable as another example of the top wing, where a part of the Great King's name appears much more clearly.

Neve and Otten, apparently using only the unclear impression, identified the name as *Suppiluliuma*. The fragment Bo. 86/627(2) however clearly shows the first part of the name as part of the sign MONS (HH no. 207), which dictates the reading on the more fully preserved but un-sharp Bo. 86/618(1) as

MAGNUS.REX MONS+*tu*, »Tudhaliya«

As far as can be seen on Bo. 86/618(1), the only place where it is preserved, the left side of this wing, where the Great Queen's name should have stood, is blank and never contained writing (*Taf.* 6,1). This would be the only segment in all the ten where there is no Great Queen's name.

left wing

This wing is preserved completely in outline only in the impression on Bo. 86/618(1), but traces of writing are preserved only down the left side where the Great Queen's name stood. Similarly impressions on Bo. 86/622(3) and Bo. 87/1a preserve only part of the left side of the wing. There are thus three examples with traces of the Great Queen's name, but the Great King's is nowhere preserved.

The traces are sufficiently clear to show with adequate certainty

x . . . -*n*[*i*]-*ka-lu* MAGNUS.REGINA

The Great Queen's name thus ends in *-nikkal(u)* written in the same way as that of the goddess in YAZILIKAYA no. 54. If we take this in conjunction with the readings on the other wings, there can be little doubt that the name which stood here should be *Ašmunikkal*, which is not yet attested in a Hier. writing. The first element should probably be written *a-sa-mu-*, and the initial x signalled in the transliteration could well be part of *a*.

bottom wing

The fully preserved and clearest example is on Bo. 86/622(3), while Bo. 86/618(1) has the Great King's name clear but only traces of the Great Queen.

The readings are those of Otten and are not problematic.

MAGNUS.REX MONS+*tu*, »Tudhaliya«
nì-ka-la-ma-ti MAGNUS.REGINA, »Nikkalmati«

Obverse, summary

The readings of the names here are thus:

centre: Mursili with Gassulawi(ya)
 right: [...] (with) Taduhepa
 top: Tudhaliya without queen
 left: [...] with [Ašmu]nikkal
 bottom: Tudhaliya with Nikkalmati

For identifications, restorations and the historical significance, see below, »History«.

Reverse, centre

Writings most clearly preserved in impressions on sealing Bo. 87/93(1) and (2), also Bo. 86/627(1). Less clear but recognizable examples on Bo. 86/624, Bo. 86/611(1).

The Great King's name was read by Neve and Otten, and the Great Queen's name is also certain.

PURUS.FONS.MI MAGNUS.REX, »Suppiluliuma«
hí-ti-i(a) MAGNUS.REGINA, »Henti«

The reading of »Henti« already certain, gained a parallel in 1991 with the impression on the Boğazköy bulla Bo. 91/1016, which has a completely parallel »Suppiluliuma with Henti« (above, n. 10).

top wing

On the sealing Bo. 86/624 the left side of the wing with the Great King's name is complete and clearest, and this is further recognizable on Bo. 87/93(2), Bo. 86/611(1), and Bo. 86/622(1). The right side of the wing with the Great Queen's name is damaged in all these examples, but traces are visible principally on Bo. 86/624 (*Taf.* 6,2) and Bo. 87/93 (2).

Neve and Otten both identified the Great King's name as *Tudhaliya*, but here we must signal a correction.

MAGNUS.REX IUDEX+*la*, »Labarna«¹⁵
 [...] X-*na* MAGNUS.REGINA »[Tawana]nna(?)«

The Great Queen's name ending *-na* and coupled with *Labarna* is naturally restored as [Tawana]nna. The Hier. writing of the name is not attested: a minimal phonetic writing would be *ta-wa/i-na-na*, but a logogram might have been used. It is unclear whether space could have permitted a phonetic writing here, but a possible identification of the trace signalled x could be the muzzle of the donkey head, *ta* (HH no. 100).

15) For the transliteration and reading of the *Labarna* sign (HH no. 277), see now Hawkins, StBoT Beiheft 3 (forthcoming), Appendix 4. The present attestation is very important evidence in this matter.

right wing

There are several fairly complete and clear impressions: Bo. 86/622(1), Bo. 87/93(2), Bo. 86/627(1), Bo. 86/624 (*Taf.* 6,3). Also recognizable are impressions on Bo. 86/611(2), and (Great Queen only) Bo. 86/622(2).

The Great King's name was read by Neve and Otten, that of the Great Queen must be considered along with the Great Queen of the bottom wing.

MAGNUS.REX HATTI+*li*, »Hattusili«¹⁶
ká-x MAGNUS.REGINA, (see below)

bottom wing

Also represented by clear examples on Bo. 86/622(2), and Bo. 87/92 (*Taf.* 6,4); also recognizable on Bo. 86/624, Bo. 86/627(1) and Bo. 86/622(1).

The Great King's name was read by Neve and Otten, that of the Great Queen requires special discussion.

MAGNUS.REX URBS+RA/I-*li* »Mursili«
ká-*416 MAGNUS.REGINA (see below)

The Great Queens on bottom and right wings

The Great Queens with Hattusili and Mursili respectively both have names beginning with *ká*, written *ká*+x and *ká*-*416. The sign rendered x is unidentified, resembling the ordinary *la* sign but reoriented to stand on its point as *la* never is. The sign *416 is now seen to be very important in several Empire Period contexts, and requires further discussion below. The initial *ká* sign, HH no. 56, is the hand with downward pointing thumb, which is primarily a logogram representing »down, under« (SUB, INFRA, Luw. *kata*, *annan*). In the Empire Period it is used on seals in the writing of the names *Gassu*, *Gassulawi(ya)*, and others, where it clearly has a syllabographic value corresponding to Cun. *ga*, assumed to be derived acrophonically from *kata*, thus *ká*¹⁷.

It was obvious from the beginning that Hattusili is not with Puduhepa, and certain also that Mursili is not with Gassulawiya although the latter is less obvious since *416 can be mistaken for *su*+x, as was read by Otten. However the recognition that the centre has Suppiluliuma I not II (for which see below) and the reading of Labarna with [Tawana]nna (?) in the top wing, must suggest the possibility of identifying in the right and bottom wings Hattusili I not III and Mursili I not II, and of explaining their Great Queens in the light of this.

The women in the Offering Lists ('King Lists') apparently coupled with Hattusili I and Mursili I are *Kaddusi* and *Kali*¹⁸, neither of whom are otherwise known. The name of the Great

16) For the transliteration of the *Hattusili* logogram as HATTI+*li* rather than HA+*li*, see Hawkins, StBoT, Beiheft 3 (forthcoming), commentary on YALBURT block 1 § 1. There is no longer any evidence that the *Hatti* sign (HH no. 196) had a *há*-value in the Empire Period.

17) On monumental stone inscriptions the sign is at present only recognized in its logographic use as INFRA or SUB, »down« or »under«. An exception to this is a possible syllabographic use on FRAKTIN: INFRA (i.e. *ká*?) -*zu(wa)-na* (REGIO), »the land of Kizzuwatna«, for which see E. Laroche, RHA XXVII/ 84–85, 1969, 89.

18) Otten, *Chronologie*, 122.

Queen with Mursili on the cruciform seal (reverse) is written *ká* *416. Hawkins previously identified the sign HH no. 416 as the Empire Period form of HH no. 319, with the value *ta*₄¹⁹. But a recently discovered group of impressions of a digraphic signet at Boğazköy²⁰ gives as the equivalent for the Hier. name *ta*₅ *416-*mi*²¹ the Cun. writing ¹*a-ad-li-me-eš*, thus apparently the equation Hier. *416 = Cun. *li*. Hawkins has now given a full consideration of the evidence on this sign, which is not entirely straightforward²². Here however it suffices to note that a value *li*_x for *416 provides a ready answer to the identification of Mursili's Great Queen, where any other reading would be problematic. Thus Great Queen *ká-li*_x of the cruciform seal should be the *Kali* of the Offering Lists.

With this recognition we must further consider whether Hattusili's Great Queen written *kà*-*x* could plausibly be identified as *Kaddusi*. It does indeed seem possible to take the second sign as a form of *si* (HH no. 174). The Empire Period form of this sign has been recognized for some time in the scribal name written on a boulder found in the lower city gate at Boğazköy (BOĞAZKÖY 8), which is written *pa-ti-si-na*²³, and may be identified as the Hier. writing of the Hurrian name *Bentešina*²⁴. Forms of the sign have also been recently identified on seals in the name *Puhišenni* and others²⁵. These forms show the sign squat and widely extended, unlike the upright slender form here, but we could suppose that this elongation was the result of adaptation to the available space. Is the writing *ká-si* then a possible rendering of *Kaddusi*? We could perhaps recognize an abbreviated writing of the type Cun. ¹*kán-li* for *Kantuzzili*²⁶. Alternatively, bearing in mind the derivation of the syllabogram *ká* from *kata*, we might think in terms of a *rebus*-writing *Kata-si*, which would more closely represent the name. In any case, since other evidence points to the presence here of *Kaddusi*, the writing may well be taken to represent this in some way.

left wing

The names here of both the Great King and the Great Queen still remain a problem of uncertain solution. The wing is best seen on the impression on Bo. 86/622 (1) (*Taf.* 6,5), there are examples with broken remains of the lower part only on impressions on Bo. 86/624, Bo. 86/611(1), and Bo. 86/627(1) (*fig.* 5-7).

Both names end in the sign *zi/a*, and both have initial signs which though not unclear still elude identification. [But see now Addendum, below, p. 106].

The only Hittite king's name in the entire list, including Old and Middle Kingdoms and Empire, which ends in *zi/a* is that of *Zidanza*, although *Huzziya* too must probably be

19) Hawkins, AA 1990, 307, n. 17.

20) Attested most clearly on the bullae Bo. 91/474 and Bo. 91/592; also appears on Bo. 91/85, 505, 702, 921, 1294, 1465, 1549, 1710, 2012.

21) The name was quite widely attested before: see most recently M. Poetto in: *Festschrift Sedat Alp* (1992) 431-443, citing earlier attestations.

22) See Hawkins, *StBoT Beiheft 3* (forthcoming), Appendix 5.

23) M. Poetto, OA 26, 1987, 187-189.

24) Hawkins in: H. Gonnert, loc. cit. following note, 268.

25) H. Gonnert in: *La circulation des biens, des personnes, et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, CRRAI 38 (1992) 267 f.

26) See E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (1966) s.v. *Kantuzzili*.

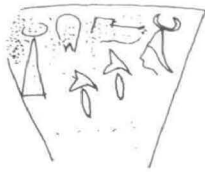


Fig. 5. Bo 86/622 (1)



Fig. 6. Bo 86/624



Fig. 7. Bo 86/627 (1)

considered as a candidate, if we may take the sign as representing *-zi(ya)*. The state of the readings being such, the problem transfers itself to one of identification, which is discussed below in the following section.

Reverse, summary

The readings of the names as so far arrived at are as follows:

centre:	Suppiluliuma with Henti
top:	Labarna with [Tawana]nna(?)
right:	Hattusili with Kaddusi(?)
bottom:	Mursili with Kali(?)
left:	uncertain

HISTORY

Our identification of the Suppiluliuma in the centre of the reverse as Suppiluliuma I not II has already been signalled, and it is of course the result of the reading of his queen's name as Henti. Since this reading, an actual impression of a seal of Suppiluliuma I with Henti has appeared (above n. 10).

The least problematic restoration on the obverse of the Cruciform Seal is that of the left wing, where the queen's name [Ašmu]nikkal suggests restoring the royal name Arnuwanda, thus referring to the well-known royal couple of the pre-Empire period. The restoration is supported by names of the royal couple next to them in the lower wing, Tudhaliya and Nikkalmati, who are known as the generation preceding Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal. That the names of the older royal couple Tudhaliya and Nikkalmati should be read after, not before, those of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal can be deduced from the order of the names (kings occupy the right, queens the left position), the orientation of the signs towards the right and hence the anti-clockwise reading. This indicates that the obverse of the seal is to be read as a genealogy, ascending in time from generation to generation, and not that of a kinglist which would start with the earliest rulers and descend to the latest.

There is nothing uncommon about this genealogy; it is certainly what we might expect from a seal legend. However, when we inspect the reverse, it is obvious that the genealogy of the obverse is not extended there: even if the royal couple in the left wing belonged to the period of the late Old or the Middle Kingdom, the wide gap between Mursili I (youngest known king on

rev.) and Tudhaliya II (oldest king on obv.) cannot be bridged. Since the direction of reading on the reverse must be clockwise (cf. *supra*), the name of Labarna precedes that of Hattusili I, which in turn is followed by Mursili I. It is not only evident, then, that the reverse does not extend the genealogy of the obverse: it is no genealogy at all, but a sort of king list starting with an ancient ruler and proceeding to younger ones. The arrangement of the reverse might find its explanation in the circumstances of Suppiluliuma's accession to the throne. Being a son of the king, he was brother of Tudhaliya the Younger, who was heir apparent if not already king when he was ousted and murdered in a coup which placed Suppiluliuma on the throne. It is further suggested below that the arrangement of the genealogy on the obverse may best be explained by the supposition that Suppiluliuma was not the son of Tudhaliya's queen but of a woman of lower rank. The seal inscription might be interpreted as an attempt to compensate the lack of genealogical and political legitimacy by the reference to the famous founders of the Old Hittite empire. One might even argue that the reverse copied a seal of Suppiluliuma himself, particularly if Suppiluliuma's name does not appear on the obverse (see below). On the other hand, one should keep in mind that Suppiluliuma I did use a seal with reference to his father Tudhaliya (Mašat, and a new confirmation, see below).

Obverse, centre: The seal owners, Mursili II and Gassulawiya

The Cruciform Seal proves Gassulawiya to be Mursili II's queen. The couple is also attested on the seal SBo I no. 37²⁷, but there Gassulawiya's title is only badly preserved. It has been restored as REX+FILIA on the basis of SBo I no. 104 where this title qualifies a *Ká-su-la-wi*²⁸, and indeed traces seem to support REX+FILIA more than MAGNA REGINA²⁹, but they did not allow an independent reading. Now that the Cruciform Seal unquestionably proves Gassulawiya to be Mursili's queen, it becomes probable that SBo I no. 37 also contains this title.

It has hitherto been assumed that Gassulawiya was Mursili's first wife, who according to Mursili died of magic worked by Tawananna, Suppiluliuma's last queen³⁰. This, however, would now conflict with the assumption that a king's wife is not called »great queen« as long as the queen of his predecessor is still in office³¹. If the latter assumption were right, Gassulawiya could not be Mursili's first wife, who was outlived by Tawananna.

The Cruciform Seal appears to leave us with the alternatives that either a king's wife may bear the title »queen« while the old queen still holds office, or Gassulawiya is not Mursili's first wife, whose death was attributed to Tawananna's actions, but his second wife. Is it possible to give more weight to one or the other alternative?

27) Also Th. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy I* (1967) Nr. 220; see E. Laroche in: *Ugaritica III* (1956) 106 f.; Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (1966) 89 no. 539; H. Gonnet, *Hethitica* 3, 1979, 75; J. Tischler, *Das hethitische Gebet der Gassulijawija* (1981) 62f.

28) HH no. 56; E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (1966) no. 539,1; J. Tischler, loc. cit., 62.

29) H.G. Güterbock, SBo I, 18; J. Tischler, loc. cit.; see however H. Gonnet, loc. cit.

30) KUB XIV 4 III 22: *nu-kán* ^{MUNUS} *Tá-wa-an-na-an-na-aš* DAM-*IA* ^Γ *ku-en* [˘] *-[d]a* »Tawannanna killed my wife«; ~ IV 23: *nu-kán* DAM-*IA* *a-pe-el-la-az* BA.ÚŠ »My wife died through her«.

31) H.G. Güterbock, KBo XVIII, p. IV; idem, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78, 1958, 244; S.R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom*, *Texte der Hethiter* 5 (1975) 256.

The seal SBo I no. 104 is the personal seal of one Gassulawiya who is called »princess« (REX+FILIA), not »queen«. Though there is a possibility that the seal belonged to Hattusili III's daughter Gassulawiya who was married to Bentešina of Amurru³², it seems more likely that it belonged to a lady holding a responsible position in Hattusa.

The title DUMU.MUNUS GAL »great daughter« is used in a postscript to a king's letter addressed to his mother, the queen. The scribe assures the addressee of the well-being of the king and the DUMU.MUNUS GAL who could very well be the wife of the king³³.

More important is the evidence of the prayer KBo IV 6³⁴ with its duplicate 335/e³⁵. If the duplicate fragment represents the same prayer and not just a similar one³⁶, the author speaking in the first person is ^pTawana[nna] (355/e 3'), who is not identical with the ailing »great daughter« (DUMU.MUNUS GAL) mentioned several times in the prayer (KBo IV 6 obv. 7', 16', 18'). There is hardly any doubt that Tawananna is identical with Mursili II's stepmother and queen of his early reign. Gassulawiya's name appears in l. 21' for the first time, and according to Otten this line might open a new text³⁷.

But even if this were true, both texts belong closely together: The speaker prays for the health of a woman, and the ritual practices, and even certain expressions, display strong similarities³⁸. Tawananna's intercession for the well-being of Mursili's first wife is not what we would expect from the character depicted by Mursili in KUB XIV 4, but it would certainly fit the duties of a ruling queen and the requirements of an official text.

That Gassulawiya was Mursili's second wife is very unlikely, if we attribute the seal SBo I no. 104 to her, because the title REX+FILIA is certainly the equivalent of DUMU.MUNUS GAL, though not the literal correspondence. If KBo IV 6 contains one composition and not two, and if 355/e represents a duplicate throughout and not just a parallel prayer, the assumption that Gassulawiya was Mursili's second wife may be excluded.

It may be then that we do not necessarily have to choose between the alternatives offered above. It seems that even during the old queen's lifetime, in certain contexts the wife of the king might be referred to as »great daughter«, but in others she might be called »queen« as well. A further possibility, which leads us to the field of speculation, is that Tawananna after some years of queenship beside her stepson Mursili, was dismissed from her office, perhaps on the ground of extravagances mentioned by Mursili, and replaced by the already ailing Gassulawiya, whose subsequent death was attributed to the manipulations of the old, deposed queen.

In any case, the proposal that Gassulawiya was Mursili II's daughter³⁹ may now be positively dismissed.

32) KBo I 8 Vs. 19.

33) KBo XVIII 1; see H.G. Güterbock, KBo XVIII, p. IV; for this letter as a whole see A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter II, Texte der Hethiter 16* (1989) 3f.; for a different interpretation of the title see Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 147–149.

34) Tischler, loc. cit.

35) See H. Otten, *IndogermF* 89, 1984, 299 n. 3.

36) See the cautious statement of Otten, loc. cit., 299.

37) Otten, loc. cit., 299 n. 4.

38) See Otten, loc. cit., 300.

39) Tischler, loc. cit. (n. 27) 67f.; Tischler's (loc. cit. 20) explanation of KUB XXXVI 81 Rs. 7–11, a fragment of Mursili's prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna CTH 376 mentioning Gassulawiya in connection with the title MUNUS.LUGAL, can now be safely replaced by a less forced one.

Reverse centre and obverse, wings: The genealogy, Suppiluliuma and his predecessors

The wings of the obverse provide important clues for the long debated question of Suppiluliuma's predecessors. Not all the problems involved, however, can be solved, because a crucial part is not preserved and because a genealogy might be expected to omit all the rulers who do not belong to the direct line of ascent. It would be beyond the scope of this article to give a full account of all the various reconstructions which have been suggested during the last decades, but the main problems must be summarized.

The Offering Lists for deceased members of the Hittite royal house ⁴⁰ suggest the following sequence of kings and queens in the late Old and Middle Kingdom: Telipinu / Istapariya – Alluwamna / Harapsili – Hantili II – Zidanta II / Iyaya – Huzziya II / Summiri – Tudhaliya II / Nikkalmati – Arnuwanda I / Ašmunikkal. The kings Tahurwaili and Muwattalli I were not included, presumably because they were not considered legitimate. Unfortunately in none of the lists the immediate continuation of this sequence is preserved. Neither Tudhaliya III nor the disputed Hattusili II appear.

According to Mursili II's First Plague Prayer ⁴¹, Suppiluliuma I ascended the throne after the murder of »Tudhaliya the Younger, the son of Tudhaliya« ⁴². Tudhaliya the Younger is not expressly called king, but at least he seems to have been the legitimate heir to the throne, because the princes and high dignitaries were bound to him by an oath of loyalty. It is less likely that he was killed while his father was still alive, or that there was a regency of another member of the royal family. Presumably he was killed after a short rule or even before his coronation ceremonies ⁴³. The Deeds of Suppiluliuma do not leave much space for the time between the death of Suppiluliuma's father, who was king, and the beginning of Suppiluliuma's reign ⁴⁴. Despite the fact that it is odd that a son carries the same name as his father, Tudhaliya the Younger cannot be regarded as Tudhaliya's grandson ⁴⁵, as has been suggested ⁴⁶.

40) CTH 661; cf. H. Otten, MDOG 83, 1951, 47–71; Otten, Chronologie, 26–29; H. Otten, AnzWien 123, 1987, Abb. 2–3.

41) CTH 378; see A. Götze, Kleinasiatiscbe Forschungen I/2, 1930, 164–204.

42) KUB XIV 14+ obv. 10f.: A-WA-AT [^mDu-ut-ba-li-ia TU]R^{RI} ŠA DUMU ^mDu-ut-ba^ˉ-[i-ia].

In Akkadian an older and a younger namesake are distinguished by TUR (= akk. *šeburu*), not DUMU (= *māru*) as it has been taken for granted since F. Sommer in: A. Götze, Kleinasiatiscbe Forschungen I/2, 1929, 181; cf. Kurigalzu *šeburu* »Kurigalzu the Younger«, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 34, 38 I 16, 18, and Kuraš ... *šabri* »Cyrus the Younger«, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 4, 220 I 29.

43) Otten, Chronologie, 12f.: »... zur Thronfolge bestimmt war, oder gar kurzfristig den Thron bestiegen hat«; O.R. Gurney in: CAH³ II 1 (1973) 673 (»Had he been actually king, the text would surely have given him the title.«); O. Carruba, SMEA 18, 1977, 148 n. 31 (assumes that Hattusili II as the father of Suppiluliuma was ultimately responsible for the murder).

44) H.G. Güterbock, JnCunSt 10, 1956, 43a; see also G. Wilhelm – J. Boese in: P. Åström (ed.), High, Middle or Low?, Part 1 (1987) 83.

45) O.R. Gurney in: Studia Mediterranea 1, Part 1 (1979) 216 n. 17. It has been shown by H. Otten, ZA 61, 1971, 235, within the discussion of the genealogy of Hattusili III (KBo VI 28 obv. 4) that the determinative pronoun ŠA can be repeated with an apposition to a genitive; cf. also D. Sürenbagen, AltorF 8, 1981, 104; H.G. Güterbock, Orientalia 59, 1990, 158. This syntagma seems not to be rooted in Akkadian according to W. von Soden, Grundriß der Akkadischen Grammatik² (1969) § 134, but there is an attestation in peripheral Akkadian (Nuzi): NA₄.KIŠIB PN *ša bēl eqli* »seal of PN, the owner of the field« Harvard Semitic Series XIII, no. 69, 14.

46) Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis, 179.

After the discovery of Suppiluliuma II⁴⁷, who was the son of Tudhaliya IV, the historical sources which contained the genealogy of a Suppiluliuma son of a Tudhaliya had to be attributed to the later king of this name⁴⁸. The question of Suppiluliuma's father was thereby reopened and various solutions were suggested: Arnuwanda I⁴⁹, Hattusili II⁵⁰ or even Tudhaliya II⁵¹. Under the influence of the new discovery, the fragment KUB XIV 23+, which mentions »[my] grandfa[ther T]uthaliya« (l. 18') and which Güterbock had attributed to the Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Fragment 2, was eliminated from the Deeds⁵².

In a thorough analysis of all these reconstructions Gurney again established a Tudhaliya as father of Suppiluliuma I⁵³ and identified him with (1) Tudhaliya, father of Tudhaliya the Younger, (2) Tudhaliya, son of Arnuwanda according to the ritual KUB XI 31, and (3) Tudhaliya, the ^{LU}*tub(u)kanti-* who appears together with the royal couple Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal on the seal SBo I no. 60 and in the tablet of loyalty oaths sworn to Arnuwanda I⁵⁴. This reconstruction was widely accepted⁵⁵, especially since the discovery of the seal Mšt 76/15 of a Suppiluliuma, which gives [Tudhali]ya as his father's name⁵⁶ and which the editor attributed to Suppiluliuma I⁵⁷. The fragment of a seal with the names of two Tudhaliyas, one presumably the grandson of the other, gave additional support⁵⁸.

The intriguing problem of the existence or non-existence of a king Hattusili II results (1) from the much debated genealogy of Hattusili III, which calls this king [... DUMU. DU] MU.DUMU-*šu ša Hattušili*, an expression which has been taken as a reference to Hattusili I⁵⁹ or to Hattusili II⁶⁰; (2) from the question whether the Hattusili mentioned in lines 20 ff. of the Aleppo treaty KBo I 6 is a successor to Tudhaliya, who would have to be Hattusili II⁶¹, or whether

47) E. Laroche, RA 47, 1953, 70–78.

48) Otten, Chronologie, 6 f.; H.G. Güterbock, JNES 29, 1970, 74.

49) Otten, Chronologie, 17.

50) H.G. Güterbock, Oriens 21/22, 1968/69, 379; idem, JNES 29, 1970, 74; O. Carruba, SMEA 14, 1971, 88ff.; idem, SMEA 18, 1977, 147.

51) A. Kammenhuber, Die Arier im Vorderen Orient (1968) 42 n. 98; eadem, Orientalia 39, 1970, 278–301; eadem, MSS 28, 1970, 66 n. 8; Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis 183.

52) O.R. Gurney, CAH³ II 1 (1973) 673; Otten, Chronologie 7; H.G. Güterbock, JNES 29, 1970, 73–77.

53) O.R. Gurney, CAH³ II 1 (1973) 672–675; idem in: Studia Mediterranea 1, 1 (1979) 213–223.

54) E. von Schuler, Orientalia 25, 1956, 233.

55) See especially H.G. Güterbock, JNES 29, 1970, 76 with reference to the previous separate edition of Gurney's contribution to CAH.

56) S. Alp, Belleten 44/173, 1980, Abb. 3 and Tafel 4 after p. 32; idem, Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük (1991) 49f., Abb. 3, Tafel 3. [Evidence establishing beyond doubt that Suppiluliuma I was indeed the son of Tudhaliya (III) became available after the submission of this manuscript. It is the seal impression published by P. Neve, AA 1992, 314 Abb. 7a; idem, AW Sondernummer 1992, 57 Abb. 147 (upper bulla). See Otten, AdW Mainz, Jahrbuch 1991, 250.]

57) Doubts were expressed by C. Kühne in: H.-J. Nissen – J. Renger (Hrsg.), Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn, Teil I, CRRAI 25 (1982) 226; a different solution was suggested by I. Hoffmann, Orientalia 53, 1984, 45–48.

58) 336/z and 337/z; see H.G. Güterbock in: Boğazköy V (1975) 50f.

59) Otten, Chronologie 15 with n. 1; idem, ZA 61, 1971, 233–238; idem, RIA IV (1972–75) 174; Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis, 164; O.R. Gurney in: Studia Mediterranea 1, 1 (1979) 223 n. 35.

60) H.G. Güterbock, Oriens 21/22, 1968/69, 379; idem, JNES 29, 1970, 75; idem, JCunSt 25, 1973, 101–104; O. Carruba, SMEA 14, 1971, 78. 94; O.R. Gurney, OLZ 67, 1972, 453; idem, CAH³ II 1 (1973) 673; W. Helck in: Festschrift Elmar Edel (1979) 243 f.; H. Otten, Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy, StBoT Beiheft 1 (1988) 31 n. 1.

61) A. Goetze, JCunSt 22, 1968, 46–50; H.G. Güterbock, JNES 29, 1970, 74; A. Kammenhuber, Orientalia 39, 1970, 288f.; O. Carruba, SMEA 14, 1971, 75–94; O.R. Gurney, OLZ 67, 1972, 451–454; H.G. Güterbock, JCunSt 25, 1973,

the text here refers to Hattusili I⁶²; (3) from several historical fragments claimed for Hattusili II⁶³, which, however, may be attributed to Hattusili I or Hattusili III, or which are difficult to date⁶⁴; (4) from the fact that he does not appear in the Offering Lists.

The Hurrian rituals, prayers and historical texts from the late pre-Empire period frequently mention Tašmišarri and Taduhepa, apparently as a couple⁶⁵. Taduhepa may be identified with the queen of the same name⁶⁶ who appears in the Offering Lists closely related to Suppiluliuma I and his two wives Henti and Tawananna. Because of this relation, Taduhepa has been regarded as Suppiluliuma's first wife and consequently Suppiluliuma has been identified with Taduhepa's consort in the rituals, Tašmišarri⁶⁷. The fact, however, that Tašmišarri is attested together with Ašmunikkal⁶⁸ has led to the assumption that Tašmišarri is identical with Arnuwanda I⁶⁹ or Tudhaliya III⁷⁰. The latter identification received corroboration, though not an unambiguous one, from the possibility that ^mAr[nuwanda(?)] might be attested besides ^mTašm[išarri]⁷¹ and that another fragment might qualify Ašmunikkal, unfortunately in broken context, as Hurrian *nera* »mother«, perhaps in relation to Tašmišarri⁷². The identity of Tašmišarri and Tudhaliya III seemed to be further confirmed by the seal Mšt 75/10 and 75/39, whose owner was the royal couple Tudhaliya and *sà-tà-tu-ha-pa*⁷³.

The name of the queen on this seal resembles »Taduhepa«, but the initial *sà-* has resisted explanation so far. With all reservation, Wilhelm adduces KBo XXIII 22 13'] *ša-ta-an-du-hé-pa* here. The fragment has been joined to KBo IX 39⁷⁴, a text which mentions Ašmunikkal and Tašmišarri, but not Taduhepa. The ending *-hepa*, preceded by *-u*, suggests a female name of

100 f.; Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis 163; W. Helck in: Festschrift E. Edel (1979) 238–246; S. Košak, Tel Aviv 7, 1980, 165; N. Na'aman, JCS 32, 1980, 34–42; C. Kühne, loc. cit. 261 n. 215; R.H. Beal, Orientalia 55, 1986, 442ff. n. 87; O. Carruba in: X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, TTKY IX 10a (1990) 548, 553.

62) Otten, Chronologie 14 f.; idem, Oriens 21/22, 1968/69, 376f.; idem, ZA 61, 1971, 233ff.; M.C. Astour, JNES 31, 1972, 102–109; J. Klinger in: V. Haas (Hrsg.), Hurriter und Hurritisch, Xenia 21 (1988) 31–35; Klinger maintains that »eine Lesart, die im Aleppo-Vertrag einen Hattušili II. erwähnt sieht, auch allein aufgrund dieses Textes einen zusätzlichen Tutḫalija ansetzen müßte« (l.c. 35), a consequence which R.H. Beal, Orientalia 55, 1986, 442ff. n. 87, tries to evade without an alternative suggestion.

63) O. Carruba, SMEA 14, 1971, 75–94; Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis, 163; O. Carruba, SMEA 18, 1977, 149, 176ff.; S. Košak, Tel Aviv 7, 1980, 165f.

64) H. Otten, RIA IV (1972–75) 174; H.G. Güterbock, JCS 25, 1973, 100f.; J. Klinger, loc. cit. 33.

65) Cf. V. Haas, ChS I 1 (1984) 496ff.

66) With the variant writing ^{MUNUS}*Du-ú-du-hé-pa* KBo II 15 obv. II 2', 14'.

67) H.G. Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 122.

68) Otten, Chronologie 18.

69) Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis 162–176 (under the premiss that Arnuwanda was the brother and immediate predecessor of Suppiluliuma I).

70) O.R. Gurney in: Studia Mediterranea 1, 1 (1979) 218–221.

71) ChS I 1, Nr. 54 Rs. IV⁷ 2', Vs. I⁷ 5'; cf. V. Haas, ChS I 1, p. 8; idem, AltorF 12, 1985, 273 with n. 50; cf. also S. Heinhold-Krahmer, AfO 36/37, 1989/90, 163 n. 24, who expresses scepticism about the restoration.

72) ChS I 1, Nr. 39 rev. III 22', 23'; cf. Heinhold-Krahmer, loc. cit. 37, 163 n. 24 with doubts on the historical validity.

73) S. Alp, Belleten 44/173, 1980, Abb. 1 after p. 32; idem, Hethitische Briefe aus Mašat-Höyük (1991) 48ff., Abb. 2, Tafel 1–2; Alp, loc. cit. 48 n. 30, remains sceptical about the identification of the queen on the seal and Taduhepa. For more positive judgement in this matter cf. H. Otten in: Alp, loc. cit.; C. Kühne in: H.-J. Nissen – J. Renger (Hrsg.), Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn, Teil 1, CRRAI 25 (1982) 264 n. 235; V. Haas, AltorF 12, 1985, 272; J. Freu, Hethitica 8, 1987, 160f.

74) ChS I 1, Nr. 39 with addition ChS I 2, p. 481.

the well known Hurrian type (Puduhepa, Taduhepa, Danuhepa, etc.). This is supported by the spelling *-hē-*, which in the whole Tašmišarri corpus⁷⁵ is regularly used only in the name Taduhepa and in the name of the goddess Hepat herself, whereas the sign 𒄩 is extremely rare elsewhere⁷⁶ except in ChS I/1 41 (eight attestations), the only text which writes the name Taduhepa with *-hi-*⁷⁷. There is a verb *šad-* in Hurrian names⁷⁸, and a root-complement *-and-* is known from the verb *pic=and-* »to rejoice«. There is even a *hepa*-name from Nuzi with the verb *šad-* as the first element: *Ša-du-hē-pa-a*⁷⁹ (*Šad=o=hēba*). Usually, the verbal element of *hepa*-names do not carry root-complements, but that is not necessarily the case, as the name *Šuwar-hepa*⁸⁰ shows. Thus, a name *Ša-ta-an-du-hē-pa* (= *Šad=and=o=hēba*) would cause no serious problems with Hurrian morphology. The text containing the name has been defined as a decree on the occasion of Tašmišarri's installation as crown prince. Forms of the 1st person singular like *linganunun* I 15', 26' and 1st person plural like *TUPPI iyawen* point to king and queen as authors, whereas Tašmišarri appears in the accusative. This would date the text still into the reign of Arnuwanda I. It might be relevant that also the only other text from the Hurrian corpus that mentions Ašmunikkal⁸¹, refers to Tašmišarri as far as it is preserved, six times, but never to Taduhepa. Consequently both texts seem to belong among the oldest examples of the Tašmišarri corpus. It might be hypothesized that Šatanduhepa was Tašmišarri/Tudhaliya III's first queen, already married to him during his time as a crown-prince and replaced later by Taduhepa who outlived her husband.

To which extent does the Cruciform Seal contribute to solving the problems of Suppiluliuma's predecessors?

First of all, it may be positively stated that our seal accords with the other evidence establishing a king Tudhaliya III, son of Arnuwanda I. A problem arises from the fact that Tudhaliya's name is not accompanied by that of a queen. The seal thus does not yield the direct and unequivocal proof that Taduhepa was Tudhaliya's queen. One could speculate that the lower part of the right wing was blank just as the left part of the upper wing, thus pairing Tudhaliya and Taduhepa as a royal couple, though in different wings. This, however, seems to be excluded by some traces of signs – unfortunately illegible ones – to the right of Taduhepa's name, which suggest that the wing contained a king's name. Analogous with the scheme of most of the other wings, we would expect Taduhepa to be the queen and consort of that ruler.

75) According to the index of ChS I 1.

76) ChS I 1, Nr. 10 Vs. II 5 (2x); 11 Vs. 23, Rs. 13'; 12 Vs. II 5', 6'; 65 Vs. II³ 19'; 68 Vs. 5.

77) ChS I 1, Nr. 41 Rs. III 63.

78) Cf. *Ša-tu-up-še(-ni)*, D.J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (1953) no. 66:2, 10 (<**Sad=o=m=šenni*; see G. Wilhelm in: Festschrift Klaus Heger (1992) 668); *Ša-du-um-ke-e[š-b]i* (Chagar Bazar), O. Loretz, AOAT 3,1 (1969) Nr. 42 obv. I 3; *Ša-du-um-na-a-a* (Nuzi), Harvard Semitic Series XIII 403:4, XVI 127:13, etc. Apparently the same root is attested at Nuzi as an infinitive (*šad=umma* AASOR XVI 3:3, 5); a meaning »to give back, replace, compensate« (suggested by J. Fincke) would perfectly fit the context. Names with the first element *šad-*, then, would parallel Akkadian names like E/Irib-DN (*Ersatzname*) or Iddin-GN (*Dankname*). The Urartian and presumably also most of the Hurrian material collected by M. Salvini, ZA 81, 1991, 129f. (Uart. *šat-*, Hurrian *šatt-*) has to be kept apart from our *šad-*.

79) G. Wilhelm, Das Archiv des Šilwa-teššup 3 (1985) 48, Nr. 82:4.

80) See Wilhelm, loc. cit., 49.

81) ^{MUNUS}*Aš-mu-ni-ga-lu-u-un* ChS I 1, 52 Vs. 9.

One could think of Hattusili II, whose existence, however, is doubtful. If this were so, Güterbock's interpretation of Hattusili III's genealogy would be confirmed. It would, however, lead to a scheme of Suppiluliuma's predecessors different from all the schemes which have been suggested so far (Tudhaliya II – Arnuwanda I – Tudhaliya III – Hattusili II – Suppiluliuma I, all in direct descent). The scheme is difficult to reconcile with the testimony of Mursili's First Plague Prayer, because Tudhaliya the Younger would be a (half-) brother of Hattusili II's, his claim to the throne would be difficult to explain, and his death could not well be attributed to Suppiluliuma⁸². The Taduhepa connected with Tašmišarri would have to be separated from the Taduhepa, the queen connected with Hattusili and still living during the first years of Suppiluliuma, because Tašmišarri is already attested during the reign of his predecessors, Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal, and hence most probably identical with Tudhaliya III. (This scheme, however, can now be safely excluded because Suppiluliuma I was positively the son of Tudhaliya, according to the testimony of his own seals [see above, p. 100 and n. 56]).

It might be suggested as an alternative that Taduhepa's name was paired with the name of Tudhaliya, as it would be expected from the Tašmišarri-Taduhepa corpus. In this case we have a sequence Arnuwanda – Tudhaliya – Tudhaliya – Suppiluliuma. This, however, can also be excluded, because the Tašmišarri corpus links this king with Taduhepa on the one hand, and with Ašmunikkal, Arnuwanda I's wife, on the other, thus leaving no space for a further generation.

The most likely candidate would be Suppiluliuma I himself, because Taduhepa is closely linked to Suppiluliuma's queens in the Offering Lists. This, however, also leads to problems. It would imply that Taduhepa was Mursili II's mother, because the obverse of the Cruciform Seal appears to contain his genealogy. Since it is inconceivable that Suppiluliuma was married to his father's queen, even if she was not his own mother, one must accept a second Taduhepa, which again is extremely unlikely.

Apart from that, this solution would be difficult even in the framework of the shortest possible chronology of Suppiluliuma: Mursili, in this case, would at least have reached the age of 20, but more likely 24 or more, when he became king, because queen Henti is already attested in the decree of Telipinu's appointment in Kizzuwatna CTH 44 from the early years of Suppiluliuma's reign. An age of 20 or more years, however, would hardly have permitted the enemies to assess him as »a child«⁸³. Furthermore, it does not seem very likely that Mursili would give Henti so much prominence in the centre of the other side of the seal, had she not been his mother but a queen with only a few years of reign⁸⁴. Consequently, it seems more plausible to accept the centre of the reverse with Suppiluliuma's and Henti's names as the first step in Mursili's genealogy. It thus remains unexplained why the side of the seal with Mursili II's ancestors apparently contains a break in the sequence of royal couples.

82) O. Carruba, *SMEA* 18, 1977, 148f. n. 31, however, considers this possibility.

83) T.R. Bryce, *AnatSt* 39, 1989, 28–29, however, argues in favour of the possibility that Mursili was already 26 years old when he ascended the throne.

84) See Bryce, *loc. cit.*, 25f.

Reverse, wings: The founders of the Kingdom of Hatti

It has already been stated above, that the reverse of the Cruciform Seal does not contain an extension of the genealogy of the obverse, nor does it show any direct link with the royal couple Suppiluliuma I and Henti in the centre. Instead, it refers to the founders of the Old Hittite Kingdom in the sequence of a kinglist, not of a genealogy. Therefore, we do not receive any information about Hattusili I, Mursili I, and their queens beyond what has already been available from the Offering Lists.

The sequence Labarna – Hattusili I – Mursili I confirms the evidence of the Edict of Telipinu which places these three kings at the beginning of its historical narrative as the representatives of the expanding and flourishing empire. Things have been obscured because Hattusili I supposedly chose his name after establishing Hattusa as his main residence, but also called himself by the name Labarna (II). In modern historiography, Labarna I and Hattusili I sometimes have been regarded as one and the same person, because the Edict of Telipinu describes the reigns of both kings in parallel phrases⁸⁵. The Offering Lists, which place either Labarna or Hattusili next to queen Kaddusi, have also been adduced in support of this view⁸⁶. Taken together, however, both arguments do not seem to be fully compatible. It is very unlikely that already in the time of Telipinu the remembrance of the early rulers should have faded to the extent that a famous king was split into two persons, whereas the Offering Lists kept the knowledge of their identity until the last half-century of the Empire. The Cruciform Seal, manufactured in the Empire period, clearly distinguishes Labarna and Hattusili and thus contradicts the interpretation of the Offering Lists, which claim the two names for one king only. There are plausible explanations for the evidence of the Offering Lists⁸⁷, and the remaining arguments in favour of the identification do not carry weight enough to disprove the combined evidence of the Edict of Telipinu⁸⁸ and the Cruciform Seal.

A great queen with the name Tawananna, who lived a generation before Hattusili I, is known from various sources. In a much debated passage of his annals (CTH 4)⁸⁹, Hattusili refers to Tawananna as his father's sister⁹⁰. In the Offering List B, Tawananna immediately precedes Labarna II / Hattusili I and Kaddusi. In his Testament (CTH 6), Hattusili mentions a Labarna who was the son of Hattusili's grandfather and heir designate. The text does not say explicitly that this Labarna became king, but it suggests that Papahdilmah, who was put on the throne against the grandfather's will, failed.

85) O.R. Gurney in: CAH³ II 1 (1973) 235–238.

86) Otten, Chronologie 8f.; the identification was not accepted by K. Riemschneider in: H. Klengel (Hrsg.), Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 1 (1971) 81 n. 10; Sh. R. Bin-Nun, The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom, Texte der Hethiter 5 (1975), 60f.; W. Helck in: Festschrift Kurt Bittel (1983) 280. Most recently, O. Carruba in: Festschrift Sedat Alp (1992) 85, turned the argument around and assumed a later syncretism of the tradition about Labarna I and Labarna II / Hattusili I.

87) H. Otten, MDOG 83, 1951, 49f.

88) Also Hattusili III's Tiliura treaty mentions Labarna and Hattusili as two distinct rulers: *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-ia-aš-ma-aš-kán* ^mLa-ba-ar-na-aš ^mHa-[a]t-tu⁷-ši-li-iš (5) ^{1D}Ku-me-iš-ma-ḫa-an pa-ri-an Ú-UL tar-né-eš-kir KUB XXI 29 Vs. II 4f.; cf. E. von Schuler, Die Kaškäer (1965) 146: »Als erste aber haben sie Labarna (und) Ḫattušili nicht über den Kumešmaḫa-Fluß gelassen.«

89) KBo X 2 Vs. I 3.

90) Carruba, loc. cit. 83f., thinks this genealogy is a later gloss.

The Cruciform Seal does not establish the genealogical link and chronological distance between Hattusili and Labarna, but taking all the evidence together, it is safe to say that Labarna I and Tawananna represented the royal couple of the preceding generation.

The most intriguing question raised by the Cruciform Seal is the identity of the royal couple in the left wing of reverse.

It has already been said above, that Zidanza and perhaps Huzziya are the only royal names which would match the sign *zi/a* at the end of the king's name. In the case of Zidanza, the seal would display the form used by Zidanza II in his treaty with Pilliya of Kizzuwatna, in his own seal on the land donation KBo XXXII 184, and in some of the Offering Lists. The lists, however, also use the form Zidanta⁹¹, which appears in the Edict of Telipinu for Zidanta I.

It is extremely unlikely that the Cruciform Seal should mention Zidanta I or Zidanta II. Both king's queens bear names which do not end in *-zi/a*. Zidanta I was married to Hantili I's daughter, whose name is partially preserved in a copy of the Edict of Telipinu⁹²; it ends in *-š]a*, *-t]a* or *-n]a*. Zidanta II's queen was Iyaya according to the Offering Lists⁹³. Zidanta I apparently was not considered in the Offering Lists⁹⁴, probably because he was not accepted as a legitimate ruler. We do not know very much about the reign of Zidanta II. In any case, he was contemporary with the expansion of the Mittani kingdom in the 15th century, without many chances to intervene outside Anatolia. It is difficult to imagine a reason why he should have been mentioned on the seal next to the great founders of the Old Kingdom.

More or less the same can be said about Huzziya I and Huzziya II. The name of Huzziya I's wife is unknown, Huzziya II's wife was Summeri according to the Offering Lists⁹⁵. It cannot be decided whether Huzziya I was included in the Offering Lists or not. The Edict of Telipinu raises doubts whether he was considered. Almost nothing is known about the reign of Huzziya II except that he was murdered⁹⁶. There is no reason to assume that he was more important to Hittite history than Zidanta II. The Offering Lists apparently regarded Huzziya II as the last legitimate king before Tudhaliya II, who is the oldest king in the genealogy of the obverse of the Cruciform Seal. If Huzziya II were referred to on the reverse, there would be a convincing connection between obverse and reverse: The idea of legitimacy by continuity from the earliest kings down to the seal owners would be strengthened by the mention of Huzziya, the last king before the most important ruler of the Middle Kingdom. Nevertheless, the testimony of the Offering Lists concerning Huzziya II's wife carries too much weight, and it is improbable that the Cruciform Seal refers to another, hitherto unknown queen of the same king. It is more likely that the seal and the Offering Lists refer to the same accepted version of the older history of Hatti.

Thus it might be more sensible to look for a king even before Labarna I. There is also a formal aspect which supports such a solution: Since the obverse of the seal, which is to be read anti-clockwise, starts with the right wing, it might be expected that the reverse, which is to be read clockwise, should be read the other way round, starting on the left wing.

91) See H. Otten, MDOG 83, 1951, 64–70: E Vs. III 8, F Vs. I 3: *Zi-da-an-za*; C Rs. 2: *Zi-dan-ta*, E Vs. II 7: *Zi-da-an-ta-an*; 1307/z Vs. II 5: *Zi-dan-da*.

92) KUB XI 1 Vs. I 32.

93) E obv. II 9, 1307/z Vs. II² 6.

94) Cf List A with the sequence Hantili – Ammuna.

95) E Vs. II 13, F Vs. I 2.

96) H. Otten, AnzWien 123, 1987, 31.

Apart from Hattusili I's testament, which mentions his grandfather without giving his name, the Offering Lists are the only source which seems to refer to a king at least one generation earlier than Labarna I. The only list, however, in which the relevant sections are preserved, is far from being clear in its details, but it basically seems to observe the chronological order⁹⁷. The preserved part of List C apparently starts with an offering to a king, whose name is completely destroyed:

KUB XXXVI 121 obv.

§ 1	1'	[I GUD I UD]U A-NA ^m [
	2'	[x x x-]zi-ia š[i]-p[a-an-ti
§ 2	3'	[EGIR-š]U [?] ^{LÜ} NAR [?] šUM ^m Hu-u[z-zī-ia te-ez-zī(?) ⁹⁸

In § 2, the musician (^{LÜ}NAR) pronounces the name Huz[ziya], which presumably refers to the king whose offerings were described in § 1. The kings' names in the following entries are not preserved, but they have been plausibly restored by Goetze as Labarna, Hattusili I, Mursili I, and Hantili I⁹⁹. It seems, then, that there was an early king Huzziya before Labarna I¹⁰⁰, whose name would fit the royal name ending in *-zi/a* on the Cruciform Seal. Such a restoration would be even more convincing, if in the first paragraph of List C, [...-]zi-ia were the rest of the queen's name and consequently matched the *-zi/a* of the Cruciform Seal.

If we were allowed to restore the name Huzziya on the left wing of the reverse, we would get a sequence of the great founders of the Old Kingdom who were fully acknowledged by later tradition. There remains some uncertainty about this solution, but at the time being we cannot conceive of another one which is more probable.

[Addendum by J.D. Hawkins:

New observations from the Boğazköy bullae of 1990–1991 made during the season of 1993 provide a possible elucidation of the reading of the name of *Huzziya* on the Cruciform Seal, rev., left wing. In an article published in *Kadmos* 32, 1993, 50–60, Anna Morpurgo Davies and I distinguished a sign with the value *hwi/a* from the relative sign (REL, value *kwi/a*) on the basis of the Empire Period form seen on YALBURT, 2). We noted (loc. cit., n. 16) that this sign was found on the new bullae in writings of the name *Mahuzzi* (*ma-hwi/a-zi/a*). It now seems likely that a form of this sign is used on the Cruciform Seal to write *Huzziya*, thus read *hwi/a-zi/a*.]

97) A. Goetze, *JCunSt* 11, 1957, 54 n. 14.

98) Restored according to List E Rs. IV 24.

99) A. Goetze, loc. cit.

100) See H. Otten, *MDOG* 83, 1951, 62 n. 1; see also *KBo* XI 36 Vs. III 12 which mentions *Hu-uz-zi-ia* LUGAL^{RI} after Hattusili, Labarna, and Pimpirit, with the biggest offering for him; see Riemschneider, loc. cit. (n. 86).

HEINRICH OTTEN

Ein Siegel Tutḫalijas IV. und sein dynastischer Hintergrund

Tafel 7

In PRU VI (1970) hatte J. Nougayrol unter Nr. 179 = RSL. 2 einen stark lädierten, akkadisch geschriebenen Text veröffentlicht, den er S. 129(f.) als »*Décision(?) de [Tudhaliya (IV)] interdisant aux messagers hittites de prendre des chevaux en Égypte*«, und vice versa, bezeichnete. Der Empfänger ist vielleicht Ammistamru II. ¹, der Absender durch den Namen Tutḫalija (IV.) im Mittelfeld des Siegelabdruckes auf der Vorderseite ² durch die hh Schreibung L 207 – TU (linksläufig geschrieben) in 'großer Kartusche' festgelegt (s. *Taf. 7,1*).

Dieses großkönigliche Siegel mit zwei Keilschrifttringen um das Mittelfeld hat einen Gesamtdurchmesser von 64 mm, die Köpfe der Keilschriftzeichen sind nach außen gerichtet ³. Die Umschrift lautet (von außen nach innen gelesen):

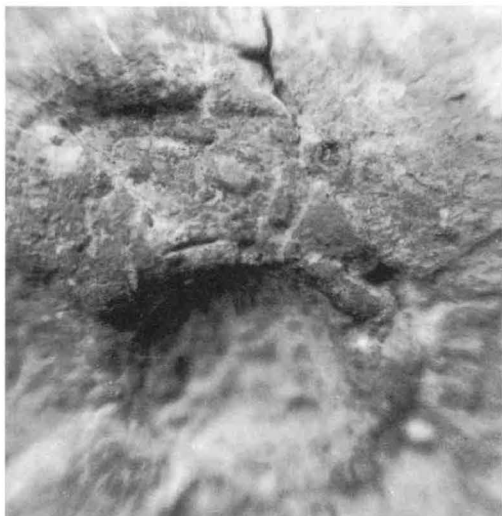
^{NA4}KIŠIB t[a-LUGA]L².GAL² UR.SAG
^{NA4}KIŠIB [t]a-ba[-ar-na^mDu-ut-ḫa-l] i-ia [LUGAL.G]AL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti

Der Schriftbeginn liegt jeweils im oberen rechten Viertel des Siegelabdruckes, also in beiden Ringen jeweils untereinander.

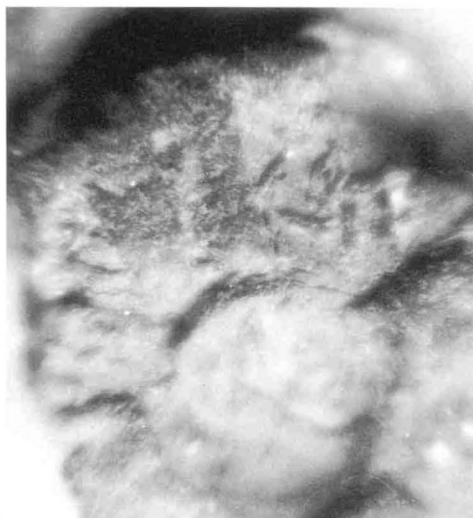
In dieser Form hat C. Mora auch 1987 das Siegel in ihrer Zusammenfassung *La glittica Anatolica del II Millennio A. C.* (Band I S. 203 unter gruppo VIII Nr. 8.2.) gebracht, anschließend allerdings den Versuch unternommen, das Siegel als »una probabile testimonianza di coregenza« ⁴ von Tutḫalija IV. und Ḫattušili III. zu interpretieren. Somit ergänzt sie nunmehr den äußeren Kreis mit Titel und Genealogie:

Tafel 7,1 bringt mit freundlicher Zustimmung von Frau Clelia Mora die Photographie des Département des Antiquités Orientales du Musée du Louvre nach ihrem Aufsatz in *RendIstLomb* 121, 1987: die anderen Aufnahmen verdanke ich Frau Dr. Gisela Krien, die als Grabungsphotographin in Boğazköy tätig war. – Die *Abbildungen 1, 2 und 4* beruhen auf den Entwürfen des Grabungszeichners, Herrn Ulrich Schede; *Abb. 3* hat Herr Peter Rüter freundlicherweise nach Photographie in *Ugaritica III* Abb. 23 umgezeichnet.

- 1) Die Ergänzung [Ammis]tamri (II.) Z. 13, 17 mitten im Text gestattet keine eindeutige Zuweisung.
- 2) Der Abdruck ist mit einer Drehung des Siegels um 180° erfolgt, so daß das Bild gewissermaßen auf dem Kopf steht.
- 3) Zeichnung in Originalgröße zusammen mit der Textedition in PRU VI; Photographie bei H. Gonnet, *Catalogue des Documents Royaux Hittites* (1975) Taf. 10 Nr. 40.
- 4) *RendIstLomb* 121, 1987, 97–108.



1



2



3



4



5

BOĞAZKÖY. 1. Bo 86/618(1). – 2.3. Bo 86/624. –
4. Bo 87/92. – 5. Bo 86/622(1)



1



2



3



4

1. PARIS. Louvre AO 21091. Siegelabdruck auf Tontafel RSL.2. –
 2–4. BOĞAZKÖY. Siegelabdrücke.
 2. Bulle Bo 90/205. – 3. Bulle Bo 90/977. – 4. auf Seitenfläche der Bulle Bo 90/1016