



A Fresh Look at Recently Published Anatolian Hieroglyphic Seals


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Abstract: Reexamination of Anatolian seals bearing legends in Hieroglyphic Luwian with revision and improvement of the readings presented in former editions.

Keywords: Anatolian glyptics, Hieroglyphic Luwian, Hittite, onomastics

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1) This stamp seal (Fig. 1.1) appears in the presentation by Ishida of the cuneiform tablets from the Middle Euphrates Region belonging to the Hirayama Collection, seal no. 057, tablet no. 13.¹ The reading of the name of the personage² as “*I-ra/ri-na / Irna*”³ has to be emended to *Mar^{+r}-n* (M 128+r-36 / L 462+389.2-35⁴). For a further recent example of the sign M 128+r / L 462+389.2 see a gorgeous silver signet-ring of the end of the Middle Hittite period from Ortaköy-Sapinuwa.⁵

The small element  behind the figure’s head is hard to identify, but it seems not to be a part of the man’s name (thus a second title rather than a weird space filler?).

2) In 2017 B. Dinçol proposed the interpretation of the legend on the central field (Fig. 1.2a–b) of a bulla,⁶ incomplete on the margin, unearthed at Alaca Höyük in 2012 (Fig. 1.3),⁷ another fragment of which (from the 1939 excavations) had previously been published by Güterbock.⁸

The author’s exegesis as “L.186 - L.247 - L.329 - L.90 (*Lu-DOMUS-kwi/a-ti*)”, which was read as “*Luparnakwati* or *Luparnakwiti*” (an anthroponym that “has not been encountered hitherto”),⁹

¹ Ishida (2017–2018, 54, see also 20 Fig. 3). Actually to be found already in Ishida (1991, 17; to be rotated 90° counterclockwise).

² A ‘son of the king’ (LUGAL.DUMU / REX.FILUS [M 276 / L 46]). On the value of this expression see Poetto 1992, 435 with references and, for some further examples, Ch. Lebrun 2014, 161 and Yamada 2019, 113 ad nos. “(10–11)”.

³ By Mitsuo Nakamura (so Ishida 2017–2018, 30 ad “Acknowledgements”), retained by Yamada (2019, 112).

⁴ For the decryption of the initial glyph cf. Melchert 1988, 36–38, substantiated by Hawkins (2006, 27 §21).

⁵ Süel – Weeden 2019.

⁶ Dinçol 2017, 227–228, Figs. 2a–c.

⁷ Çınaroğlu et al. 2014, 13, Fig. 1 (overturned).

⁸ Güterbock 1951, 196 ad “B.1.1. Al.d. 12”, pl. LXXVI, figs. 1a, 1b (upside-down).

⁹ Dinçol 2017, 227.

must be partly rectified: instead of “*Lu-*” (M 316 / L 186 “Étoile à quatre branches”¹⁰/445) the document shows LUGAL.DUMU.MUNUS (M 276a* / L 46.2 “REX.FILIA”) ‘princess’; top right stands M 219+365 / L 248 (i.e. “247 DOMUS+381 MINUS = DELERE”), with the value *MAR(A)*-¹¹ (see my modified drawing in Fig. 1.4), followed (as rightly given in the edition) by M 160 / L 329 *kwa/i-M 82 / L 90 ti*. The shadings on the edge of the glyphs are the smudges of the impression left on the fresh clay.

This new gyneconym *MAR(A)kwa/iti*¹² aptly matches the masculine *Marak(k)ui* (*Ma(-a)-ra(-ak)-ku-i*),¹³ with a *-ti*-enlargement¹⁴ as in, e.g., ^f*Muwat(t)i* vs. ^m*Muwa*.¹⁵

3) This interesting cylinder seal discovered at Elbistan-Karahöyük during the 2016 excavations¹⁶ was philologically presented by Alparslan and Uysal in 2018 (reproduced here, Fig. 2.1–2).¹⁷

The legend on the left register was read “L.115 (LEPUS/*tapa*) – L.209 (*i(a)*) –*515” (= M 121-171-300b*).¹⁸ However, the big-eared protome in the beginning of the column can hardly represent a hare head; rather, it depicts a wide- and roundish-eared donkey muzzle, i.e. *ta* (dextroverse; cf. M 92[a] / L 100), as it can also be perceived from the jaw shape, typical of the equids. Together with the sign underneath (M 171[.1] / L 209 [1st var.]) the interpretation of this andronym (given the identifier Δ.IL ‘vir’) is thus *Ta-a/i(a) /Taya/*, equivalent to *Tá-a/i(a)*¹⁹ on a number of bilingual clay sealings (responding to cun. *Ta-a’-e*) from Karkemish.

Also for the female name *Ki-ki-á* (M 214-214-17 / L 446-446-19.2 [varr.], characterized by the specular combination for ‘woman’ [Δ.MUNUS] on either side) in the first column of the following register, a direct correlation can be established. One side of a seal of the Ashmolean Museum actually bears²⁰ the gyneconym *Ki-ki-a/i(a)*:²¹ if my suggestion²² that final *-á* corresponds to *-a/i(a)* in various occurrences on glyptics is sound, then this link turns out to be impeccable. In that case, these names could join the series of “élargissement[s] en *-a*”²³ (as well as *-ya*, cf., e.g., also Hitt. *Tatti* vs. *Tattiya*²⁴), to which Hier. *Tù-wa/wi-à* (m.)²⁵ (vs. *Tù-wa/wi-á*: see below) might belong too.²⁶

¹⁰ With the author’s reading of this sign perhaps influenced by Güterbock (1951, 196; description 195–196 sub “V. Empreintes – B.1.1”): “On y voit au milieu quelques hiéroglyphes parmi lesquelles on voit un carré et une étoile à quatre rayons [italics mine]?”

¹¹ Cf. Melchert 1988, 34–36, 38. The appended vertical “stroke” (missing in B. Dinçol’s drawing) is still discernible on the photographs.

¹² Still unregistered in Zehnder (2010).

¹³ Laroche 1966, 113 no. 755; 1981, 25; Rüster – Wilhelm 2012, 266b; add ^m*Ma-ra-ku-in* (acc.; a ‘charioteer’) in HKM no. 44 (Mšt. 75/86) vo. 3’ (Alp 1991, 196–197, with 78).

¹⁴ For which see Laroche 1966, 332 ad 8; Zehnder 2010, 96 no. 27.

¹⁵ Laroche 1966, 124 no. 838 and Zehnder 2010, 224–225, with literature; Laroche 1966, 122 no. 832; 1981, 27.

¹⁶ Uysal – Çifçi 2018, 577, Fig. 11 (photograph of the object).

¹⁷ Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 237a, Figs. 3 and 4 (photograph and drawing of the piece, respectively).

¹⁸ Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 236b.

¹⁹ A ‘son of the king’ (see n. 2 above), professionally a ‘charioteer of (the goddess) Kubaba’: see Peker (2017, 178–179). – On the distribution and use of the Hieroglyphic signs *ta* and *tá* (M 65 / L 29), Vertegaal’s (2019) recent analysis does not appear cogent.

²⁰ As already referred in Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 236b n. 1.

²¹ Cf., e.g., Kennedy 1958, 70 no. 15 [B], Pl. II; Laroche 1966, 92 no. 569; cf. also Zehnder 2010, 188.

²² Poetto 2010, 272 §§3–4.

²³ Treated in Laroche (1966, 245–246), cf. also Zehnder 2010, 70 §165.

²⁴ Laroche 1966, 181 nos. 1304–1305.

²⁵ Herboldt 2005, nos. 470–471, Pls. 37 and 36 with Hawkins’ (2005, 276b) observations.

²⁶ Differently Simon (2013, 3–4): *-á* marks the end of the word and does not have a real phonetic value; therefore *Ki-ki-á* and *Ki-ki-i(a)* are not identical, but *Ki-ki-i(a)* is a derivative of *Ki-ki-á* (/Kiki/), exactly as in the quoted pattern *Tatti*: *Tattiya*. Similarly, *Tù-wa/wi-á* may match *Duwaia*, though the latter can be

Finally, the last row of signs in this register, again with the personal name ending in *-á* and the pairing Δ .IL for ‘vir’ here at the bottom. The interpretation of the initial pictogram (“in dieser Form etwas problematisch”²⁷) as “*zu*” (M 298.2 / L 285) is far-fetched; the discarded alternative “Ein L.88 (*tu*) [/ M 81 *tù*, dextroverse] käme [...] ebenfalls in Frage, der Name würde dann Tuwa gelesen werden müssen”²⁸ appears, instead, the right option.²⁹ The PN *Tù-wa/wi-á* matches thus Cun. *Duwaia* (^m*Du-wa-a-í[a, KBo 44.1 ro. 4*]).

4) This seal impression, found during the 1955 excavations in the Palais royal d’Ugarit, was first published by Masson³⁰ and recently republished by André-Salvini and Salvini³¹ (Fig. 3.1–2).

Masson interpreted the vertical script as “*Hu-li-à-na-ni*” – partly shared by Mora (“*Hu-li-à’-tà/(ni?)*”)³² and Zehnder (“^(m)*Hu-li-a-na-ni*”),³³ but *in toto* by Laroche and Beyer³⁴ –, while André-Salvini – Salvini modified it into “*wa/wi? - pi - a - na - ni*”, with the erroneous insertion: “Le même signe *ni* (HH 411), inversé, est répété à l’intérieur du signe précédent (*na*)”.

It should be emphasized, however, that the element on top is not a hieroglyph, but the representation of a bird with wings aligned along the body and head turned rightwards (my drawing, Fig. 3.3), an iconographic component comparable with the one portrayed in this same configuration – curiously upside-down and head facing left – on a Meskene-Emar tablet, on the right of the god’s turned head (here Fig. 3.4a–b).³⁵

Below this image is the first sign of the name, two antithetic, superimposed feet (M 84 / L 96) with the value *Tarpa-*, which return, e.g., at the beginning of an andronym (a ‘son of the king’ [see n. 2]) on a stele kept in Afyon Museum (ll. 2, 5³⁶); in later Hieroglyphic texts the name is written *Tarpa-* (KULULU lead strip 3a, cols. 16–17³⁷ / ASSUR letter a l. 2 §6³⁸). In Cun. Hittite it is likewise not widespread.³⁹

The completion of the personal name is made by the glyphs *-n-na/ni* (*n* [M 36[b] / L 35] sinistroverse, *na/ni* [M 388 / L 411] dextroverse, correctly singled out in the previous editions); thus, in full, *Tarpanani*, with *-nani* = ‘brother’. On the left stands the ordinary designation Δ .IL ‘vir’.

* * *

a derivative of /Tuwa/ too.

²⁷ Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 237a.

²⁸ Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 237 n. 3.

²⁹ Such untypical shape should be added to the manifold variants of the glyph presented in Herboldt (2005, 403), with Hawkins’ (2005, 432b) description.

³⁰ Masson 1975, 227 no. 16, 233 no. 2 (photograph), 236 Fig. 16 (drawing).

³¹ André-Salvini – Salvini 2019.

³² Mora 1987, 257 XLI.2.

³³ Zehnder 2010, 164 (*sub Huliyasuhani*).

³⁴ Laroche 1981, 16 no. 393a; Beyer 2001, 21 (reproduction of the drawing), 23, Pl. 4 ad no. 30.

³⁵ Beyer 2001, 390, Fig. 95, 261, Fig. 16, Pl. B, Pl. 36 tablet 542–544). If birds of prey are here involved, they might be entered in Görke – Kozal’s (2018) study.

³⁶ Şahin – Tekoğlu 2003, 542, Fig. [4] ([b] inverted). – Definitely much rarer are the other vocables determined by M 84 / L 96, that is *tar-* and *tar-za-* of ARSUZ 1 l. 2 §7 and ARSUZ 1 l. 8 / 2 l. 7 §24b (B. Dinçol et al. 2015, 64–65, commentary 67a, 68b).

³⁷ Meriggi – Poetto 1982, 100; Hawkins 2000, 511 at KULULU lead strip 3, side ii, *register* 1.

³⁸ Hawkins 2000, 534, with commentary 542b.

³⁹ HKM 100 vo. 20, 22 (Alp 1991, 99; Del Monte 1995, 98–99), HKM 101 vo. 5 (Del Monte 1995, 102). – For a doubtful inquiry on the sense of this formant in the PN *Tarpulasdu* (misprinted “*Tarpa*”) cf. Zehnder (2010, 51): “‘er soll in *tarpala-* (ein Kleidungsstück, Schärpe?) sein’ (?)”.

Here, separately, further Hieroglyphic glyptic material is worthy of discussion. It concerns a number of improper “corrections” of the original proper interpretations.

5) In 2005/2006, a cylinder seal was published by Schwemer (see Fig. 4.1–2).⁴⁰ His reading of the owner of the object as “*Pu-mu-za/i*” (*pu* [M 396 / L 328 var.] and *zi/za* [M 387.1 / L 376.2] dextroverse, *mu* [M 108 / L 107 var. (2)] sinistroverse) was altered to “*Pu-mu-wa-z(a)*, le signe WA étant gravé clairement en dessous de la gueule du bovin” by Lebrun (“Un nouvel anthroponyme”), with further onomastic considerations.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the element on the right of *zi/za* is not the glyph *wa/wi* (M 394 / L 439 var.), but the known space filler L 440,⁴² already identified as such by Schwemer. As an additional confirmation cf., e.g., the bulla no. 4 (2×) from Korucutepe;⁴³ the same applies to the final component on the Ebla impression presented by Archi:⁴⁴ filler / decoration,⁴⁵ not “-FRATER₂” (M 12a / L 276).

The beginning of the present name finds a parallel in ^f*Pu-mu-ti*⁴⁶ on face B of the Paris seal no. 14.⁴⁷

6) A well preserved biconvex seal of the Late Bronze Age from the Syrian archaeological site of Tell Tweini⁴⁸ bearing the personal name *S₃-ka-pi-a/i(a)* on both faces (*s₃* [M 98.1 / L 104.1] and *pi* [M 49.2 / L 66 var.] dextroverse, *ka* [M 281 / L 434] sinistroverse) – with the designation Δ.IL ‘vir’ plus the title M 408a / L 438 ‘shepherd’⁴⁹ (Fig. 5.1–2) – was provided by Bretschneider and Van Lerberghe.⁵⁰

This reading of the andronym was unfoundedly criticized by Lebrun and Tavernier: “de nouvelles recherches ont donné une autre lecture”, namely “*Sà-us-ga-pi-ya* (‘don de Šauška’)”.⁵¹ But the rendering *us* (L 421 [/ M 390b *w(a)s / us*]) for what *might* look like a vertical stroke attached to the horn of the animal protome is entirely untenable: the glyph *us* has a well-defined rhomboidal shape, while the present element is simply the lower rear section of the horn. For a very similar form of *s₃* cf. the Nişantepe seal no. 381b (here Fig. 5.3),⁵² where the silhouette of the appended *us* is clearly distinguishable and verifiable. What is more, *S₃-ka-pi-a/i(a)* finds a remarkable counterpart in cun. ^m*Sag-qa-bi*;⁵³ for the ending *-pi vis-à-vis -piya* note for instance ^m*Tulpi* vs. ^m*Tulpiya*.⁵⁴

7) In 1981, I quoted the legend on the unpublished seal of the British Museum no. 128868 (then on display), read by me through the showcase as *Pa-ti-la* (M 328-82-180 / L 334-90-175, all

⁴⁰ Schwemer 2005–2006, 251.

⁴¹ R. Lebrun 2010, 6 §5.

⁴² See Laroche (1960, 227), noting already: “Distingué de *wa* par Güterbock, SBo II (1942) 33, et Alp, Namen (1950) 13”.

⁴³ Güterbock 1973, 138 Fig. 1, Pl. 3 Fig. 2, 142.

⁴⁴ Archi 2008, 397 with Pl. 40[.1].

⁴⁵ As on the outer ring of the bulla no. 133 in Herbordt 2005, Pl. 10, with 136b.

⁴⁶ Reading in compliance with Mora 1987, 319 ad XIIb 1.71. Zehnder’s (2010, 254) analysis (*Pu- < Luw. puna- ‘ganz, alles’, “mit einer graphischen Verkürzung”*) seems unfeasible. In addition cf. Hawkins 2005, 269a, commentary to nos. 339–342, if the man’s name represents *Pu-mu* (in preference to *Pu-u*).

⁴⁷ Kennedy 1959, 153 with Pl. II (interpreted as “SCEAU?-*mu-ti*”).

⁴⁸ Located ca. 3 km from the coastal town of Jebleh, ca. 30 km south of Latakia.

⁴⁹ Bossert 1960, 411–412; cf. also, among others, Gonnet 1985, 74–75.

⁵⁰ Bretschneider – Van Lerberghe 2008, 33, 37 Ill. 37, and mentioned again in passing by Bretschneider et al. (2008, 37 n. 22) as well as by Al-Maqdissi et al. (2010, 33, 37 Fig. 28).

⁵¹ R. Lebrun – Tavernier 2012, 319–320, with extensive discussion on the goddess (320–326). – The interpretation of the title “VIR₂ PASTOR” as ‘Overseer of the domain’ by Bretschneider et al. (2008, 37 n. 22), is evidently due to an oversight.

⁵² Herbordt 2005, Pl. 30.

⁵³ Laroche 1981, 37 no. 1078a.

⁵⁴ Laroche 1966, 188 no. 1367; 1981, 45; Zehnder 2010, 70 §165 (with further examples).

sinistroverse).⁵⁵ Subsequently, in June 1998, I could study and photograph the piece (Fig. 6.1a).⁵⁶ The complex on the left part of the impression of this personal name (here Fig. 6.1b), that I gave as “Δ.408a” – with M 408a = L 438 representing the “Hirtensack”, hence ‘shepherd’⁵⁷ –, was manipulated by Zehnder: “wobei Δ.408a als BONUS₂.FEMINA zu verstehen sein dürfte”,⁵⁸ evidently with M 408a mistaken for L 408, an “oval” = L 79 ‘femme’, thus arbitrarily turning a male name into a female one!

8) Instead of the indisputable (collated!) reading ^f*Pi-zi/za-á* (M 49.2-87.1-17 / L 66 var.-376.2-19.2, all sinistroverse) of the inscription on side *b* of the Borowski seal no. 9 (here reproduced, Fig. 6.2a[-original]-2b[impression]),⁵⁹ Mora’s rectification “*Pi-ja/i?-á*”,⁶⁰ followed by Zehnder,⁶¹ has to be rejected: the “head” of the “arrow” (*zi/za*) is still recognizable (Fig. 6.2c, my drawing) and the short vertical stroke beside its lower section is merely a minimal scratch! My reading was, in any case, registered by Beckman as “^f*Pi-za-á*”.⁶²

In confirmation of the validity of the writing ^f*Pi-zi/za-á* – if there is still a need to – it behooves us to call in also the masculine anthroponym *Pi-zi/za-a/i(a)* (a ‘scribe’) on a seal of the Bibliothèque National de Paris.⁶³

A name common to both genders should not surprise: cf., one for all, ^{f/m}*Zizila*,⁶⁴ also occurring on the Borowski seal no. 27 beside the (unpublished) piece no. 126092 of the British Museum,⁶⁵ neglected by Zehnder⁶⁶ but reported by Beckman.⁶⁷

9) This biconvex seal was first made known by Garstang (Fig. 7.1) and subsequently by Hogarth (with decent photograph of the impression, here reproduced, Fig. 7.2).⁶⁸ Mora’s interpretation of face A as “*Tá?-za/i-tà* (o *pī?*)” (a ‘daughter of the king’, LUGAL.DUMU.MUNUS [see above, *sub 2*])⁶⁹ – to which Zehnder fully adheres⁷⁰ – is largely unjustified. The right solution was put forward by Hawkins:⁷¹ “*zi/a-pī?-zi/a-pī*” (M 387.1-49-387.1-49 / L 376.2-66-376.2-66, all sinistroverse; *-pi-* is beyond doubt [see my drawing, Fig. 7.3]), linked to the Anatolian gyneconym *Zibezibe* of the Old Assyrian documents.⁷² In defiance of this, Mora – by means of the plain hint: “Cf. Zehnder 2010, 290, with reference to Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005, no. 285a” – persisted in the inexact rendering “*Tá?/Pi?-za/i-tà*”!⁷³

⁵⁵ Poetto 1981, 34 *ad* no. 27 n. 62 of the Borowski collection.

⁵⁶ Thanks to a permit of the Trustees of the British Museum with the friendly support of Dr. Dominique Collon.

⁵⁷ Bossert 1960, 411–412.

⁵⁸ Zehnder 2010, 247.

⁵⁹ Poetto 1981, 19, Pl. IX.

⁶⁰ Mora 1987, 155 *ad* VIb 1.29.

⁶¹ Zehnder 2010, 248, with profuse discussion on “*Pi-i(a)?-á*” as possibly identifiable with Luw. *piya-* ‘gift’.

⁶² Beckman 1983, 625b *ad* no. 1037b.

⁶³ Kennedy 1959, 162 no. 43, Pl. IV; Wright 1886, Pl. XVII with neat drawing, Pl. XVI no. 14 (here reproduced, Fig. 6.2d–e).

⁶⁴ Laroche 1981, 51 no. 1564b; Zehnder 2010, 4, 323.

⁶⁵ Poetto 1981, 34(–35) with n. 62, also recalling the Cun. oronym ^{HUR.SAG}*Zizzilla*.

⁶⁶ Zehnder 2010, 323.

⁶⁷ Beckman 1983, 626b *ad* no. 1564b.

⁶⁸ Garstang 1908, Pl. XIV and Hogarth 1920, 90 Fig. 114.

⁶⁹ Mora 1987, 140 *ad* VIa 3.5.

⁷⁰ Zehnder 2010, 290.

⁷¹ Hawkins 2005, 285a *sub* no. 631 (followed by Bilgin 2018, 239 with n. 727).

⁷² Laroche 1966, 210 no. 1550. – At a closer look, it must be acknowledged that the name was already entirely recognizable on Hogarth’s photograph.

⁷³ Mora 2019, 636 with n. 19 *ad* VIa 3.5.

10) Finally, a last clarification. In 1980, I published a seal (here Fig. 7.4a–b), belonging to a private collection, bearing the woman’s name S_3 -pa-pa-à (M 98.1-328b-328b-18 / L 104a-334.1-334.1-450, all dextroverse [Fig. 7.4b, impression]).⁷⁴

This result was adjusted by Mora in “*Sà-pa-ha/e²-pa-à*”,⁷⁵ and to a certain extent taken into account by Zehnder (with a possible connection with ^{DINGIR}*Hepat* for the presumed second member).⁷⁶ However, I reaffirm that the element between the two *pa*’s does not portray the *ha* pictogram (M 191 / L 215, being too small and lacking the middle vertical stroke – collated!), but represents a little ornamental globe lined up in an intermediate position, exhibited likewise, e.g., on a Berlin seal reissued by Mora herself⁷⁷ (here Fig. 7.5; the sphere appears slightly out of alignment because of the space taken up by the “dagger” of *tá* in *Tá-ti-li*) or on the Nişantepe bulla no. 451 between *tá* and *ti* in *Tá-ti-x* (here Fig. 7.6),⁷⁸ not to mention the other impression from Nişantepe no. 172 under the coupled *ku*’s of *Ku-ku-la-n* (supported by the two globes on each edge, here Fig. 7.7)⁷⁹ and the endorsement to my reading S_3 -pa-pa-à by Dinçol and Dinçol (with the interpretative option \dot{A} -s₃-pa-pa).⁸⁰

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⁷⁴ Poetto 1980, 3–4 no. 2, Pl. II.

⁷⁵ Mora 1987, 324 ad XIIb 1.91.

⁷⁶ Zehnder 2010, 265.

⁷⁷ Mora 1987, 320 ad XIIb 1.75.

⁷⁸ Herbordt 2005, Pl. 35.

⁷⁹ See Herbordt 2005, Pl. 14.

⁸⁰ Dinçol – Dinçol 1986, 239 ad no. 5A.

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FIG. 1.



1



2a



2b



3

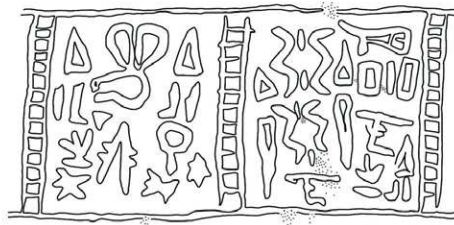


4

FIG. 2.



1



2

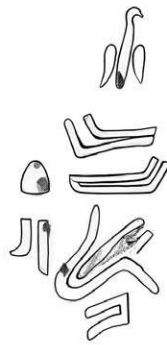
FIG. 3.



1



2



3



4a



4b

FIG. 4.



1



2

FIG. 5.



1



2



3

FIG. 6.



1a



1b



2a



2b



2c



2d



2e

FIG. 7.



1



2



3



4a



4b



5



6



7



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ON THE COVER:

Excavations at Grd-i Tle in 2019 –
the northern face of the tell with Trenches I and IV.
Photo: ELTE Archaeological Mission in Iraqi Kurdistan.

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