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 new 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 Herbordt 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-i[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 (Il. 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 Herbordt (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 XI.I.2.

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

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 ^fPi-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 “^fPi-za-á”.⁶²

In confirmation of the validity of the writing ^fPi-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 “ S_3 -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.

FIG. 4.

1

2

FIG. 5.

1

2

3

FIG. 6.

1a

1b

2a

2b

2c

2d

2e

FIG. 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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