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HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC SEAL IMPRESSIONS FROM KORUCUTEPE*

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK, *Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*

EXCAVATIONS at the mound called Korucutepe in the area which is to be flooded by the Keban Dam on the upper Euphrates in eastern Turkey were conducted in 1968 as a Joint Expedition of the Universities of Chicago and of California at Los Angeles, Professors Maurits van Loon and Giorgio Buccellati serving as codirectors. In 1969 and 1970, with the participation of the University of Amsterdam, it became The Joint Expedition of the Universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam, with the writer as Expedition Director, Professor van Loon as Field Director, and Professor Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate heading the Dutch group. A report on the results of these three seasons will be published in a later issue of this journal;¹ it seems advisable, however, to make the hieroglyphic seal inscriptions available at this time.

In 1968, twelve clay bullae (including fragments) of the type best known from Boğazköy were discovered in a shallow pit in square O 21. A brief description of the find circumstances can be found in the *METU* report for 1968, p. 98.² The present writer, who spent that season as guest of the University of Istanbul Expedition at the neighboring site of Tepecik, was kindly invited by M. van Loon to study these bullae and to prepare them for publication.

Of the roughly circular pit only the southern half falling into the square O 21 was cleared in 1968. When we excavated its northern half, in O 20, in 1969, only two more bullae were found. However, during that same season the Elâzığ Museum confiscated seven more bullae (and one stamp seal) which had obviously come from our mound. Since the scarp between O 21 and O 20 as well as the surface of O 20 showed no traces of interference it is unlikely that they were dug up between the two seasons. It seems more probable that they went astray while the excavation of 1968 was in progress,

* This article constitutes Part VIII of the preliminary report on the excavations at Korucutepe, the rest of which will appear in the October 1973 issue of this journal.

¹ The following preliminary reports have so far appeared: *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* (*Turkish Review of Archaeology*) 17, pt. 1, 1968 (Ankara, 1969): 79–82 (on the 1968 season, by van Loon and Buccellati); 18, pt. 2, 1969 (1970): 123–28 (1969 season, by van Loon and H. G. Güterbock); 19, pt. 1, 1970 (1972): 127–31 (1970 season, by the same); Middle East Technical University, Keban Project Publications, Serial (*sic*) 1, Publication No. 1: *1968 Summer Work*, Text and Plates, Ankara, 1970, pp. 73–87 (Turkish), and pp. 89–102 (English, by van Loon and Buccellati); the same, Series 1, No. 2: *Keban Project 1969 Activities*, Ankara, 1971, pp. 47–57 (Turkish), and pp. 59–68 (English, van Loon) and 69 (Güterbock). These two volumes are cited hereafter “*METU* 1968” and “*METU* 1969,” respectively. Professor Machteld Mellink’s reports on “*Archaeology in Asia Minor*” in

the *American Journal of Archaeology* (hereafter *AJA*) contain the following sections on Korucutepe: for the season of 1968: *AJA* 73 (1969): 210 f.; for 1969: *AJA* 74 (1970): 165; and for 1970: *AJA* 75 (1971): 167 f.

Other abbreviations used are: *HW* = J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, with its *Erg*(änzungshefte); *JCS* = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*; *KBo* = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (*Wissenschaftliche Veröff. der Dtsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*); *KUB* = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*; *RHA* = *Revue Hittite et asianique*, quoted by fascicle; *SBo* = *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, 1 and 2 (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 5 and 7 [1940 and 1942]), by seal number unless quoted as “p.”

² Unnumbered plates are between the Turkish (pp. 73–87) and English versions (pp. 89–102) of the report by M. van Loon and G. Buccellati. Fig. 1 is the grid plan showing the location of O 21 in the southern part of the mound; figs. 10 and 14–16 illustrate some of the bullae.

or that the claim heard at the time, to the effect that they had been found years earlier in the course of earth movements, may be true after all. But there was general agreement that these bullae came from Korucutepe. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mrs. Ferhan Memişoğlu, the Director of the Museum of Elâzığ, for her kind permission to study these bullae and to include them in this publication.

Apart from the bullae, which can be dated to the thirteenth century B.C., a clay lump with four impressions of one seal was found in 1969 near the early second millennium city wall, though not in a clear stratum. In type it is older than the bullae. It will be included here because the impression was made with a seal that belongs to a known type of hieroglyphic seals, although no hieroglyphs are recognizable in the impressions.

The question of how the bullae got to Korucutepe must be asked but can hardly be answered. That they were found in a pit would indicate that they were discarded after having served their purpose of authenticating whatever document, package, or other object they may have been attached to. These may have been containers sealed on the spot for a certain period until the time was proper for an authorized person to open them; or they may have been sealed documents or packages that arrived from other places. The fact that among the seals there are some that belong to "kings"—not Hittite "Great Kings"!—can equally well be understood if these rulers resided at Korucutepe itself, in another city of the same region, or hundreds of miles away! At least it can be said that the use of hieroglyphic seals was not unknown in the area, since one biconvex (or "lentoid") seal of the common type was found years ago in a large mound near Ağansık (now Aşağı Ağın),³ a village only a few miles west of Korucutepe, and some seals of the same type were recently excavated in the nearby mounds of Norşuntepe and Tepecik.

No. 1A. KRC68-321: Bulla with flat back showing impression of a strap. Sealed surface slightly concave, left upper part forced up and bent over while wet. The impression is incomplete since the seal was larger than the surface of the bulla. Illustrated: *AJA* 73 (1969), pl. 57, fig. 4; *METU* 1968, fig. 14.

No. 1B. MusElz. No. 112: Conical bulla, partial impression including part of the circular border line at right but only the front part of the figure.

Two impressions of the same seal, showing a god striding toward the right, wearing the usual kilt and turned-up shoes. His left arm is stretched forward, the right hand holds a shouldered bow. The headdress is lost in both impressions.

Behind, i.e., to the left of the divine figure, there are traces of two hieroglyphs in A (lost in B); they must have belonged to the "secondary group" (called "Nebengruppe" in *SBo* 2, p. 41) which usually is either a title or some formula of blessing. For a possible restoration see below, sub No. 2.

In front of the figure there is the sign for Šarrumma (L 80, M 71)⁴ surmounted by two antithetic hands. This is clearly the "main group" ("Hauptgruppe") which is the name of the seal owner. This name contains the divine name Šarrumma as second element; possibilities of interpreting the first part of the name will be discussed under the next number.

³ *The Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1911), p. 44, pl. 23, republished by I. J. Gelb in *Anadolu Araştırmaları 2: In Memoriam H. Th. Bossert* (1965), pp. 223 f. and pl. 25. The mound in question almost certainly is Norşuntepe.

⁴ Hieroglyphs are identified by their numbers in

the following sign lists: L = E. Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites*, Pt. 1: *L'écriture* (Paris, 1960); M = P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar*, 2d edition (Wiesbaden, 1962); occasionally also G = H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy* 2 (1942), pp. 84-104.

No. 2A. KRC68-403: Conical bulla with flat impression of the central part of a seal. Illustrated: *AJA* 73 (1969), pl. 57, fig. 5; *METU* 1968, fig. 16.

No. 2B. MusElz. No. 113: Conical bulla with partial impression of the same seal, including more than A above and on left, less below and on right. Partial impression on side of cone: part of the divine figure.

The impression on B includes parts of two cuneiform signs beyond the circular line on the left top. While these traces are too little to allow for a restoration, they show that the seal was bilingual. The use of both scripts is most common for royal seals,⁵ and in B the hieroglyph KING (L 17, M 275) is well preserved on the left.

The seal shows a god striding to the right like the one on No. 1, also with one arm stretched forward and the other hand holding the bow. The feet are not in the impression on either bulla, but the pointed hat with one horn, characteristic of Hittite gods, is preserved.

The hieroglyphic legend is divided into several groups. In the "main group," i.e., the name of the seal owner, the remnants in both A and B allow us to restore the same spelling as in seal No. 1: two antithetic hands over *Šarrumma*. The sign KING behind the god, already mentioned, characterizes this man as king (but not "great king"!). Below KING there are traces which, as a result of different damage, look somewhat different in A and B: only a straight line slightly descending to the right remains in B; in A there is a little more left, which may be part of the "profile" (L 19, 21; M 17). A restoration, on the left, to KING, HE[RO] (L 17 and part of 21, facing right) is possible but remains conjectural. Returning to No. 1, it is possible that the traces on the left side of 1A may belong to the same two titles.

What distinguishes No. 2 from No. 1 is the addition, in smaller hieroglyphs, of a second name with title, arranged in two columns below the outstretched arm of the god. The name itself clearly reads *ki-lu-x-ḫe-ba* (L 446, 186, x, 215, 334). The column to the left of this is composed of three elements: the volute, GREAT (L 363, M 184), a hand similar to L 44-45, below which there is only one vertical element resembling a pointed oval rather than a simple line; it is not the "word divider" (L 386, M 386) normally found in the group for CHILD (L 45, M 44). In the interpretation of this group I gratefully follow a suggestion made during the excavation by Philo Houwink ten Cate, who compared the cuneiform title DUMU.SAL.GAL, literally "great daughter," i.e., "princess," applied to a king's wife who is not reigning as Tawananna, as is the case with Kaššul(iy)awi(ya), the wife of Muršili II.⁶ On the seal *SBo* 1 104 (and, damaged, 37) her title is written with the combination KING + CHILD, and according to the photograph, *SBo* 1 pl. VI, the element below the "hand" in no. 104 is again a pointed oval, here even with a clear groove inside. It seems possible, thus, that DAUGHTER was—occasionally at least—differentiated from SON by the use of the WOMAN sign (L 79, M 324,1) below the "hand."⁷

⁵ Best known from the seals of Great Kings of Hatti. Examples belonging to lesser rulers are the famous "Tarkondemos" seal of a king of Mira and the stamp seal of Ini-Tešub, king of Carchemish, *Ugaritica* 3 (*Mission de Ras Shamra* 8, 1956), pp. 22 f., figs. 27-29 (and the cylinder seals, *ibid.*, figs. 30 ff.).

⁶ In *KBo* 4 6. Compare obv. 16 and 18 with rev. 21 and 24 for interchange between her title and her name. Cf. *KBo* 18 1 rev.

⁷ L 46 quotes under 2. "princesse," after *Gà-su-la-*

wi on the bullae from Boğazköy, the relief of Tell Açana (unfinished signs, not clear), *Malatya* 6 (bibliography in W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst* [Bonn, 1971], p. 520 under *Malatya* A/7), where there is nothing below the "hand," and seals Tarsus 14 and 17 (Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, vol. 2 [Princeton, 1956], figs. 401 and 405); in no. 14 the sign is broken, but in no. 17 it has the same shape as on our No. 2B.

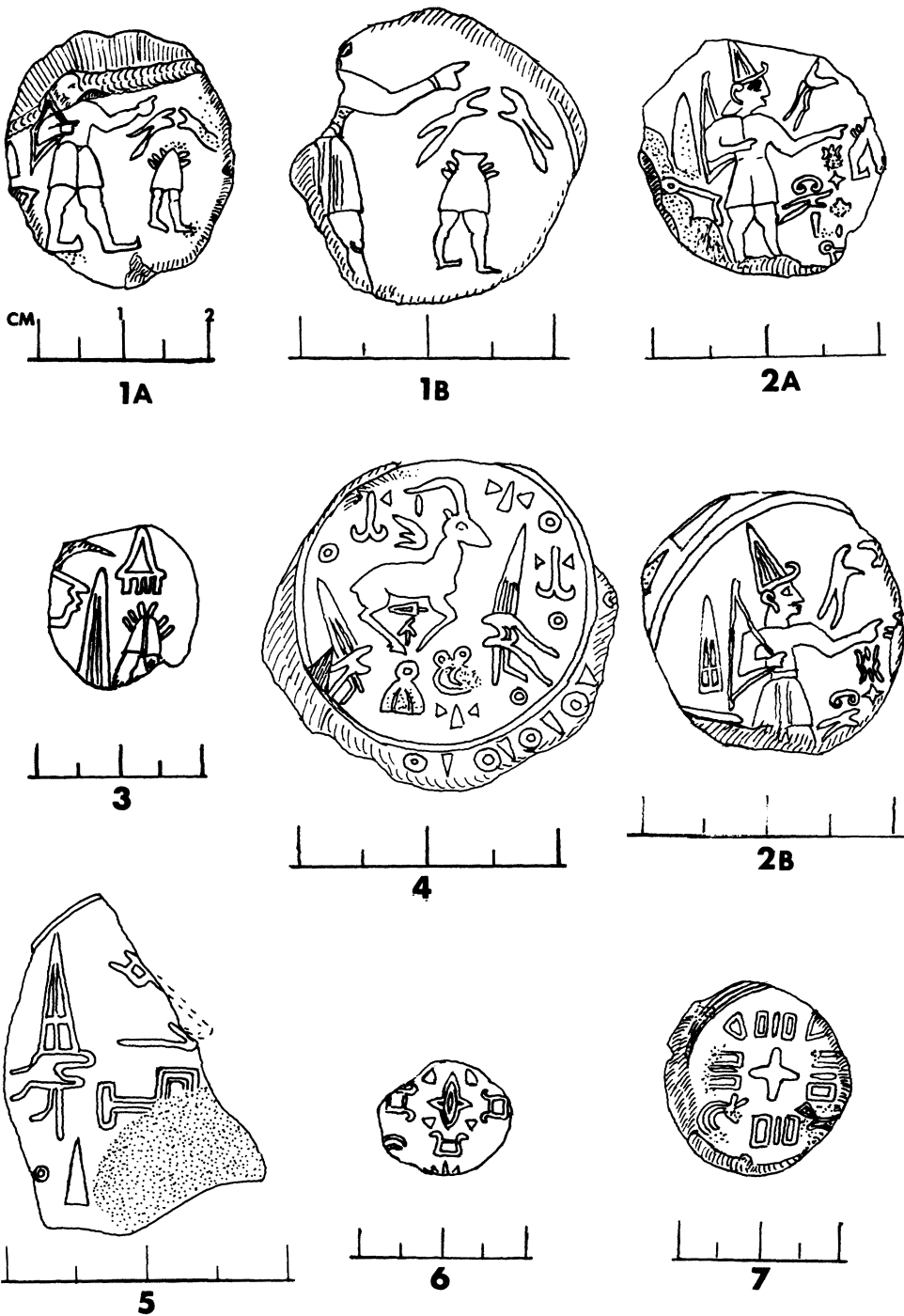


FIG. 1.—Drawings of seals Nos. 1A-7

PLATE 3



FIG. 2.—Photos of seals Nos. 1A-11

We thus are dealing with the common seal of a (local) “king” and a “princess” associated with him, presumably as his wife. Her name is easy to complete, since there is a lady named Kiluṣḥepa known from two vow texts (NH 579).⁸ Since Laroche proposed the reading *uṣ* for the lozenge in the name of Šaušga, it would be a welcome confirmation if the third hieroglyph in the name on No. 2A could be identified as the same sign (L 421); unfortunately that sign is too damaged (flattened while wet) for a clear decision, but the identity with L 421 is not impossible.

As just mentioned, the name of Kiluṣḥepa occurs in two vow texts⁹ which restore each other in part.

KUB 15 1 iii 48 ff.:

(48) [SAL.LUGAL-*za-ká*]n *A-NA* DUMU.NITA LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*I-šu-wa*

(49) [*še-er kiš-an*] *IK-RU-UB* *ma-a-an* DUMU.NITA

(50) [*e-di-iz*] GIG-*za* TI-*eš-zi*

(51) [...]*x-mi ŠA* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*I-šu-wa*

(52) [...G]IR BAL TUR!¹ I ZI KÙ.BABBAR-*ia*

(53) [KI.LAL.BI NU] GÁL *A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM pi-iḥ-ḥi*

(54) [.....]^t*Ki-lu-uṣ-ḥé-pa-ma-za* SISKUR ^{LÚ}*SANGA-ma-za*

(55) [.....] *ši-ip-pa-an-da-i*

[The Queen] vowed [thus for] the son of the King of Iṣuwa: “If the boy recovers from [this] illness, I shall give to the deity [...]... of the King of Iṣuwa a [...]... and a “life” (symbol) of silver, [its weight unde]termined.”

[For(?)] Kiluṣḥepa, however, an offering the priest [.....] will offer.

KUB 15 3 iv 5 ff.:

(5) SAL.LUGAL-*za ku-e-da-ni* UD-*ti* [.....]

(6) *nu-za-kán* SAL.LUGAL DUMU.NITA LUGAL KUR [^{URU}*I-šu-wa še-er kiš-an IK-RU-UB*]

(7) *ma-a-an-wa-ra-aš e-di-iz* [GIG-*az* TI-*eš-zi*.....]

(8) *wa-aš-ši-iz-zi A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM-ia-wa* [.....]

(9) *pi-iḥ-ḥi* KI.LAL.BI N[U GÁL]

(10) *ma-a-an-na* ^t*Ki-lu-uṣ-ḥé-pa-aš* [.....]

(11) *nu-un-na-aš* ^t*Ki-lu-uṣ-ḥé-pa-aš* [.....]

(12) *1-e-da-ni* UD-*ti wa-aš-šu-u-e-ni* [.....]

On the day on which the Queen [.....], the Queen [vowed thus for] the son of the king of [Iṣuwa]: “If he [recovers] from this [illness], he shall put on [.....], and to the deity I shall give [.....], its weight un[determined].”

And if Kiluṣḥepa [.....], then for us Kiluṣḥepa [.....] in one day we shall put on [.....] (end of text).

A Hittite queen—she is probably Puduḥepa—would hardly make such vows for the

⁸ NH = E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1966) = *Études Linguistiques*, 4; quoted by numbers. Add *KUB 40 80*, a “deposition in court” text (not included in *StBoT* 4 though related to *KUB 40 90* treated there pp. 67 f.) which mentions

the death of Kiluṣḥepa (line 2) as well as two other names represented by the Korucutepe bullae: m.^D*ISTAR.LÚ* (Šaušga-ziti, No. 4) in 3, 5, 7, 27, and Lupakki (No. 6) in 12 f. and 27.

⁹ The third, *KUB 15 30 ii 5*, adds nothing.

health of a boy if he were not somehow related to her, and the mention of Kiluṣḥepa right after him in both texts seems to imply some relationship with her, too. The conclusion that Kiluṣḥepa was the boy's mother and thus the wife of the king of Iṣuwa is easily drawn but impossible to prove. It would well suit our bullae where a Kiluṣḥepa, designated as "princess," is sharing the seal with a king. And the fact that Korucutepe is situated in the region where scholars have always located the country of Iṣuwa¹⁰ would round out the picture.

Can the king be identified? Two kings of Iṣuwa are known whose names have *Šarrumma* as second part: Ari-Šarrumma,¹¹ a witness in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty, and Ehli-Šarrumma, mentioned in the letter of a king of Ḫanigalbat.¹² The Ulmi-Tešub treaty was, as Laroche has shown (*RHA* 48, 40 ff.), completed under Tudḫaliya rather than under his father, Ḫattušili III, but even so, Ari-Šarrumma was a contemporary of Puduḥepa and could well be the king of Iṣuwa mentioned in the vows. For Ehli-Šarrumma, Klengel¹³ has shown good reasons for dating him after Ari-Šarrumma: he is called DUMU.LUGAL "king's son" in a text that mentions Ḫišni and Tuttu, both known as contemporaries of Ari-Šarrumma from the Ulmi-Tešub treaty.

These two Šarrumma names of kings of Iṣuwa known from cuneiform texts may be confronted with the two royal names having Šarrumma as second element found on Kurucutepe seals: one is the name represented by Nos. 1 and 2, the other is on No. 3 (see below) where the first element is the sign L 416, M 266b. While it is by no means certain that the kings whose seals were impressed on bullae unearthed at Korucutepe were kings of Iṣuwa—the bullae may have come from a distant land!—or that, even if this were the case, the two attested Šarrumma names were the only ones, it is tempting to try to match the two sets of names. In particular, the occurrence, on No. 2, of the name Kiluṣḥepa together with a Šarrumma name, while a lady of that name is associated with Iṣuwa at a time when Ari-Šarrumma is mentioned as king of that country, causes one to look for possibilities of finding that name on the bullae Nos. 1 and 2.

My first idea was to take *ari-* as derived from the Hurrian verbal root *ar-* "to give"¹⁴ and to interpret the antithetic hands as ideogram for "to give," assuming (a) that the syllabic value *pi* of one of the "hand" signs presupposes that it originally was an ideogram for the verb, and (b) that an ideogram could be read in whichever language was appropriate. For (a) I found an example in the new stone inscription from the fountain chamber at Boğazköy,¹⁵ and for (b) one can adduce what Laroche wrote on the Storm-god sign under L 199, I, as well as my hypothesis on Hišmi-Šarrumma.¹⁶ Leaving the Korucutepe seals aside for a moment, the application of these two principles would yield a satisfactory reading for the "aedicula name" of Muwatalli in *SBo* 1 nos. 39–40: *Ari-Tešub-ba*.¹⁷

¹⁰ Mainly on the basis of inscriptions of Shalmaneser III; see J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959), p. 40. Cf. in general, H. Klengel, "Die Hethiter und Iṣuwa," *Oriens Antiquus* 7 (1968): 63–73.

¹¹ *KBo* 4 10 rev. 29; *NH* 126.

¹² *IBoT* 1 34, edited by H. Klengel, *Orientalia* n.s. 32 (1963): 280–91. Cf. *NH* 229.

¹³ Klengel, *Orientalia* n.s. 32 (1963): 288 ff. The text quoted there as *Bo* 1629 is now *KUB* 40 96.

¹⁴ On *ari* in proper names, participle "given" of the root *ar-*, see Laroche, *NH*, p. 351; A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient* (Heidelberg:

Carl Winter, 1968), p. 261 and pages listed there. I am indebted to my Munich colleague for having reminded me of this treatment of the names.

¹⁵ *Boğazköy* 4 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1969) = *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* Nr. 14, p. 52 with n. 5. The best-known example of ideograms in a proper name is, of course, L 322–215–391 corresponding to cuneiform *kū.tūl-ma* for *Šuppi-luḫiya-ma*.

¹⁶ *Apud* Laroche, *Ugaritica* 3, pp. 118 f.

¹⁷ As stated *Boğazköy* 4, p. 52, n. 4, the shape in *SBo* 1 40–41 is in favor of equating L 270 with L 66.

However, the application of these principles to the names written on our Nos. 1 and 2 encounters this difficulty: The shape of the two antithetic hands is not that of L 66, "the hand that gives,"¹⁸ but rather that of L 41, "the hand that takes"¹⁹ or possibly of the hand which stands for "to place, to put" (L 65, M 48).

This discrepancy in the shape of the hands may lead—and doubtlessly will lead some scholars—simply to reject the equation of the name on seals Nos. 1 and 2 with Ari-Šarrumma. However, since this identification is, as explained above, favored by the association with Kiluṣhepa, I prefer the following tentative solution: The two antithetic hands might be an ideogram for "give/given/gift" despite the diverging form of the single hands. One might even argue that it was not so much the position of the thumb that mattered in the case of "two hands" but rather the direction of the pair as a whole. Thus, "two hands up" would have been the expression for "to give" in contrast to the "two hands down" (L 42, M 56a) whose only attested syllabic value *ta* (in the name of Queen Tanuḫepa) presupposes the ideographic value "to take."

As a result, the identification of King X-Šarrumma on the seals Nos. 1 and 2 with Ari-Šarrumma of Iṣuwa, while not certain, remains possible. Whether future finds will bear out the hypothesis offered here remains to be seen.

No. 3. KRC68-364: Conical bulla with partial impression of a hieroglyphic seal.

Illustrated *AJA* 73 (1969), pl. 57, fig. 6; *METU* 1968, fig. 15 (inverted).

The legend runs from right to left. The name is composed of L 416 (M 266b) and Šarrumma. Left of it, KING and the profile sign, probably part of the title L 21, HERO(?).

The sign L 416 is only known to occur in the Empire period as first element of proper names.²⁰ Without going into hypotheses one has to state that this is another only half-readable name, Y-Šarrumma, of an unknown king.

If, however, one tries to match the two hieroglyphic Šarrumma names with the two known names of kings of Iṣuwa, one may—hypothetically again!—argue as follows: The meaning of Hurrian *ehli* is known: "salut, sauver."²¹ If, still assuming that a hieroglyphic ideogram can be read in various languages, we look for a sign that comes close to this notion, the one that offers itself is L 165, M 147, which serves as ideogram for a number of words (noun, adjective, verb) of propitious meaning. As far as I can see from Laroche's references, it only occurs in texts of the first millennium, and one of its variants contains the elements of L 416: a triangle over three²² vertical lines (though surrounded by pairs of "rays"). Could it be that L 416 is the old form of L 165, and that it could be used as ideogram for *ehli* in Hurrian names?²³

No. 4. MusElz. No. 117: Conical bulla with seal impression. The round center part of the seal is complete, and a section of the frame is also in the impression. The frame consists of alternating circles and triangles, cf. *SBo* 2, p. 31, B, 1.

¹⁸ M 49; cf. the Boğazköy variants under G 18.

¹⁹ *tā* as syllable; old forms of *tā* under G 14. Meriggi lists the old form under 43a, *ta*⁴, as distinct from M 55, *tā*.

²⁰ It is to be kept apart from L 319 which only in Carchemish, A 22 b, looks similar. My own attempt of 1950 (quoted under L 416) is to be given up. Under L 319 the variants from A 22 b and A 27 e³ were interchanged by mistake.

²¹ J. Friedrich, *HW* 3. Erg. p. 48 gives (Substantiv) "Heil," (Verb) "retten" after Laroche ("briefflich"). The latter has now published his interpretation,

which was anticipated by B. Landsberger (*JCS* 8 [1954]: 57, n. 111), in *Ugaritica* 5, pp. 456 f., on the basis of the quadrilingual vocabulary, *Ugaritica* 5, pp. 242 f., no. 137 ii 17, copy on p. 420.

²² As on the Aginsī seal, see above, p. 136 and n. 3; others have four.

²³ Of the names listed by Laroche under no. 416, the one with *-ziti*, should, of course, be read with one of the Luwian values, possibly the divine name listed under L 165, 6. His suggestion that 416 may contain the triangle, L 370 "BIEN, SANTÉ" would well suit its connection with 165.

The name in the center of the seal reads Šaušga-ziti: the animal (ibex?) is given in full (cf. L 104), with the signs for *-uš-ga* (L 421, 434) hanging from its horn as usual. The two signs for *ziti* (L 312, 376) are set between the legs of the animal. This Šaušgaziti is characterized as prince by L 46, M 276 framing the name on either side. The field is filled with symbols: the circle (L 402), both L 440 and 441, and two unidentified signs below the animal. For the name see *NH* 1143 and above, n. 8.

No. 5. KRC69-257: Fragment of a bulla with only part of the inscription. Described *METU* 1969, p. 69.

Preserved are the title PRINCE (L 46) and parts of two signs of the name. The first can be restored to *u(wa)* (L 105, form 3); the second, also damaged, is not readily identifiable. The small circle and pointed triangle below are to be taken as symbols or fillers.

No. 6. KRC68-285: Small bulla with impression of the central part of a seal but not the entire central field. Illustrated *METU* 1968, fig. 10, right.

The sign in the middle is *lu* (L 445, M 316); radiating from it in (originally) four directions are *pa* (L 334, M 328) and (restored) *ki* (L 446, M 214), the pointed ends of which are preserved on one side. Between the four branches of this cross-shaped arrangement there are, close to the center, four small triangles and, farther out but visible on one side, parts of another, unidentified sign.

The name *Lu-pa-ki* is well known and belongs to several persons (*NH* 708; cf. above, n. 8). On the seal *SBo* 2 54 it is written in the same cruciform pattern but with L 186 and with the title SCRIBE-*lu* (L 326, M 258) in the angles.²⁴

No. 7. KRC68-339: Conical bulla with impression of almost the whole central field of a seal, including part of the border but not the frame. Illustrated *METU* 1968, fig. 10, left.

The name is arranged in the same form as on No. 6 and consists of *lu* (L 186 = 445, M 316) as center and *wa* (L 439, M 394) in all four directions. In two of the angles there are triangles, in the other two there are unclear signs, one of them perhaps comparable to the one on Nos. 6 and 8-10.

The name *Lu-wa* occurs, again in the same crosslike pattern, on the bulla *SBo* 2 204 (cf. *NH* 711) but in a much more elaborate design: here the title SCRIBE + 2 strokes (L 326 + 385) fills the angles; an inner frame consists of circles and triangles, and an outer frame repeats the name and title, *Lu-wa* SCRIBE-385, antithetically, and interspersed with L 440.

While our Nos. 6 and 7 are different in detail from *SBo* 2 54 and 204, it is nevertheless interesting to note that they all share the cruciform arrangement of the signs—apparently suggested by the shape of the *lu*—and that two of the Korucutepe seals represent names also attested at Boğazköy, whether belonging to the same individuals or not.

²⁴ One bearer of this name is a *kartappu* "charioteer" according to *KUB* 31 68:39; in line 41 follows a king of Išuwa. And *KBo* 18 4 is a letter from a king of Išuwa to "the Chief of Charioteers, my dear

father." Is Lupakki, the owner of seal No. 6, the same as the charioteer? Is he the father of a king of Išuwa? Is this why his seal came to Korucutepe? Cf. n. 8.

No. 8. MusElz. No. 110;

No. 9. MusElz. No. 111;

No. 10. MusElz. No. 114: Three bullae with impressions of seals representing the same name but in detail differing from one another, hence made with different stamps.

The name is *Ma-la-ma* (L 110–175–110, M 104–180–104); it does not occur among the names registered in *NH*.

As secondary group all three seals show a large sign, similar to G 55 and, especially, to the sign on *SBo* 2 200 which S. Alp correctly separated from the adjacent *na*.²⁵ Larocche registered these as shape (2) under L 135 “oiseaux divers,” but whether it is meant to be a bird is uncertain. It appears on the right in No. 8, on the left in Nos. 9 and 10. Opposite it, Nos. 8 and 9 have L 409 (G 145), but No. 10 has a four-pointed star instead. Other fillers are: more such stars, triangles, L 440 and 441, freely and differently arranged on the three seals. Only in No. 9 part of the frame is preserved, consisting of alternating circles and triangles.

Whether there were three men named Malama or only one, and if the latter, why he had three different but similar seals, is impossible to decide.

No. 11. KRC68–404: Bulla with impression of almost the entire central field of a seal.

The three signs in the center are L 110–327–107, M 104–346–108, read *ma-sa₅-mu(wa)* or *ma-š¹-mu*, respectively. A name Maša-muwa is attested (*NH* 771). However, on the left there is a sign which looks like the upright variant of L 214, M 203, *ná*, and it is tempting to consider this as part of the name despite its position which could be a matter of composition in the limited round field, because *Masana-muwa would be a meaningful (though unattested) Luwian name meaning “Offspring of a god.”

On the right there is a triangle and an inverted(!) sign L 441; two small four-pointed stars are fillers.

No. 12. KRC69–334: Bulla, the tip of the cone shape broken; seal surface well preserved and containing the whole central field of a hieroglyphic seal. Discussed *METU* 1969, p. 69.

The title on the left and right is “master of the country,” composed of L 228, M 198 COUNTRY and L 390, M 371 LORD and corresponding to the cuneiform writing EN.KUR-TI (Akkadian *bēl māti*).²⁶

The central group representing the name consists of twice the sign L 376, M 387, 1, usually read *i*, and the profile, L 19, M 17, read *á*, which would yield a name *I-i-a*.

However, if one followed Bossert’s last articles²⁷ and applied one of the values *zi* or *za* to L 376,²⁸ one would get a name Ziziya or Zaza’a. None of these forms is attested, so far, as a name, and the decision for or against Bossert’s readings will depend on a careful checking of all occurrences of the signs in hieroglyphic texts.

²⁵ S. Alp, *Zur Lesung von manchen Personennamen auf den hieroglyphenethitischen Siegeln und Inschriften* (Ankara, 1950) = *Ankara Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi yayımlarından* No. 65: *Hititoloji Enstitüsü*, No. 1, pp. 37 f., as against my listing G 10.

²⁶ Cf. L 390, 3 (on p. 210) and, for the cuneiform, E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškarer* (Berlin, 1965) = *Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen*

Archäologie, vol. 3, p. 148.

²⁷ “Ist die B-L Schrift im wesentlichen entziffert?,” *Orientalia* n.s. 29 (1960): 423–42, especially 433; “Zur Vokalisation des Luwischen,” *ibid.*, 30 (1961): 314–22, both posthumously published.

²⁸ In the Empire period the differentiation of L 377, M 387, 2 by two oblique lines at the bottom was not yet made.

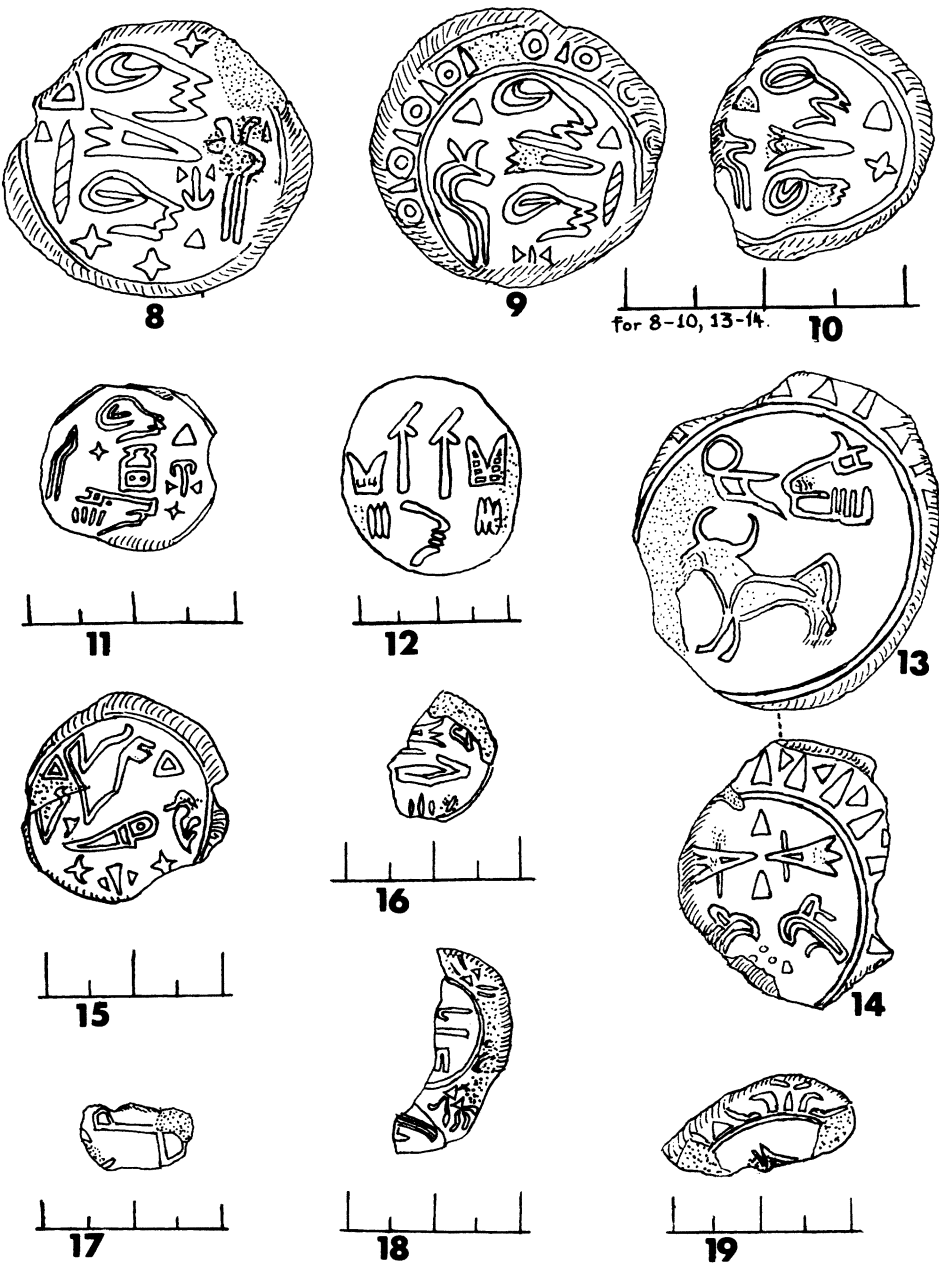


FIG. 3.—Drawings of seals Nos. 8-19

PLATE 4

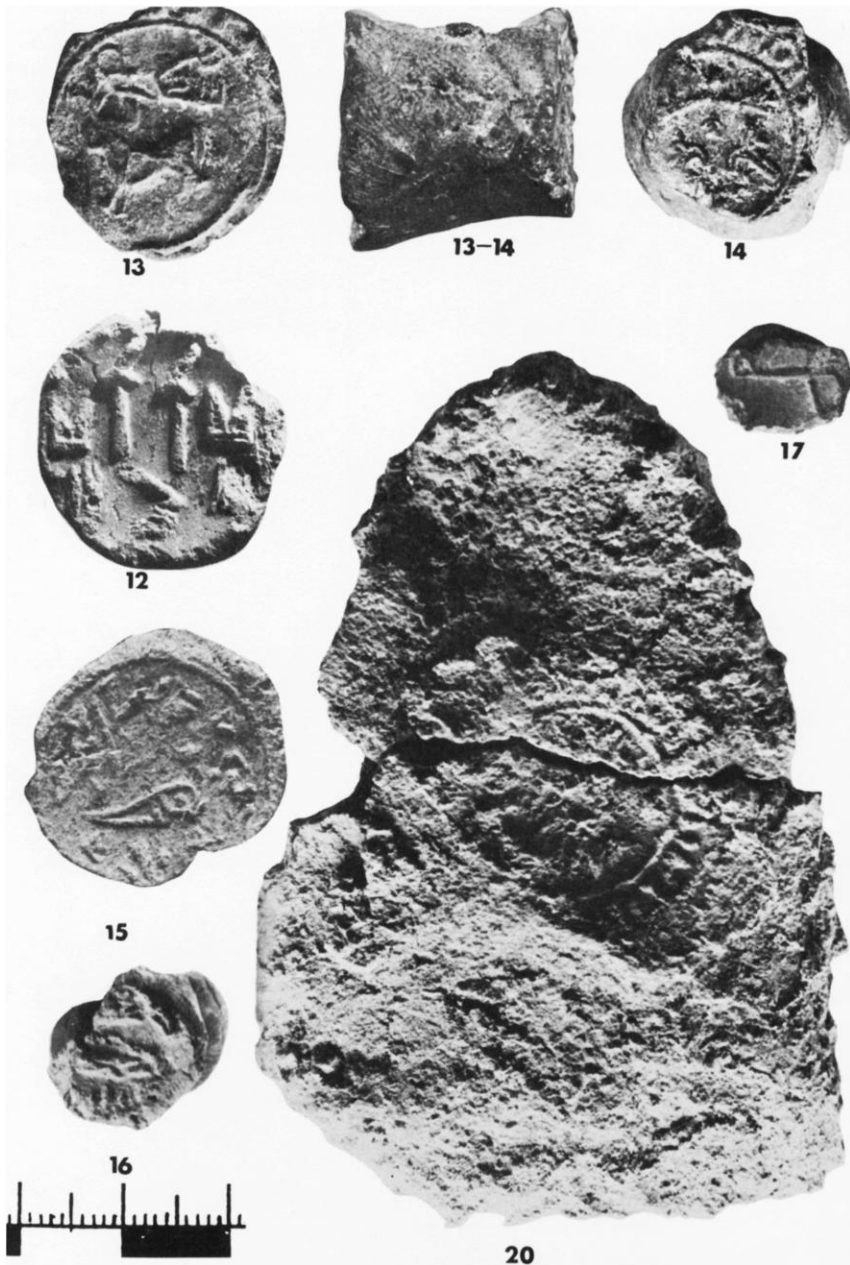


FIG. 4.—Photos of seals Nos. 12-17, 20

Nos. 13–14. MusElz. No. 116. Two impressions on either end of a bulla of roughly cylindrical shape (see fig. 4); for such “double bullae” see *SBo* 2, p. 3.

No. 13 shows only a small section of its frame made up of wide and narrow triangles.

The central field is complete, showing the full picture of a bull facing left. Above it, also facing left, are two signs: the first looks like a combination of a circle and a very simplified hand, for which I can find no example; following it is *mu(wa)*, L 107, M 108. Whether the full-figure bull is part of the name (*u(wa)* after *mu*?) remains undecided, as long as the first sign is not read.

In No. 14 the frame consists of alternating symbols: a pointed triangle and L 440.²⁹ The center field is only partly impressed, but there is enough to show that the same group of two signs was repeated antithetically. They are L 177 and 283, M 181a and 295. Both are ideograms of unknown meaning and reading, so the name cannot be read. Triangles and dots serve as fillers.

Why and how such “double bullae” were produced can only be guessed at. It may be that two persons had to “sign and countersign” a shipment or document, which would mean that the two seals belonged to different persons. Or the two impressions could have been produced with the two sides of a two-faced seal; *SBo* 2 218–19 is a bulla with impressions of two seals that are stylistically so similar that they could well represent the two sides of one disc seal, and the difference in the names (or spelling?) is not a decisive criterion since such differences occur on two-faced seals.

No. 15. KRC68–266. Bulla-shaped like a truncated cone but with rounded top. This was the first bulla found in the first season. Illustrated in *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 17 pt. 1, 1968 (Ankara, 1969), p. 82, fig. 4 (inverted).

The center field is almost complete. Of the main group only *li* (L 278, M 284) is clear. The sign above it may be a form of a bird like L 131, 134, or 135, but nothing is gained from this for the reading of the name.

The secondary group, on either side, begins with a triangle, but the sign below it is damaged on both sides, and the remnants look different. Four-pointed stars and an inverted sign L 440 are fillers.

The next four numbers are bullae whose seal impressions are incomplete, either because of the small size of the lump of clay or as a result of breakage.

No. 16. KRC68–362: One recognizes only *la* and *na*.

No. 17. KRC68–291: Unidentified traces, not clear how to turn.

No. 18. KRC68–290, and No. 19. KRC68–286: On both, the small existing part of the field does not allow for identification of the incomplete signs, but both had rather elaborate frames, apparently composed of stylized plant motifs, on No. 18 also possibly a bird. Comparable elements are in the frames of *SBo* 2 nos. 38, 58, 208, 210, and 213–15.

No. 20. KRC68–287. Irregular piece of clay with one complete but partly effaced impression of a circular stamp seal.

The seal has a frame composed of L 440 and a triangle like No. 14. The name begins

²⁹ For this combination cf. *SBo* 2, pp. 31 f., sub B 2. The sign L 440 is G 175.

with the W-shaped symbol of the Storm-god, L 199, M 398. The sign below it is too damaged for identification. The secondary group seems to consist of only a triangle.

No. 21. KRC69-102: Irregular lump of clay with four impressions of one round seal, two complete and two broken. Found in the vicinity of the old city wall. (Cf. *METU* 1969, p. 69.)

In the center which, according to parallels, must have had some hieroglyphs, only very faint traces can be made out. They are so faint that they could not be included in the drawing.

The very wide circular frame is divided in two parts, each filled with a different kind of guilloche: one a real tress pattern, the other a series of loops. These two bands are separated from each other by small seated figures, one being fairly well visible, the other in traces. The better preserved figure has a typical "Hittite altar" in front and the combination crescent and star in the back. Accordingly, these figures (at least one but probably both) are deities.

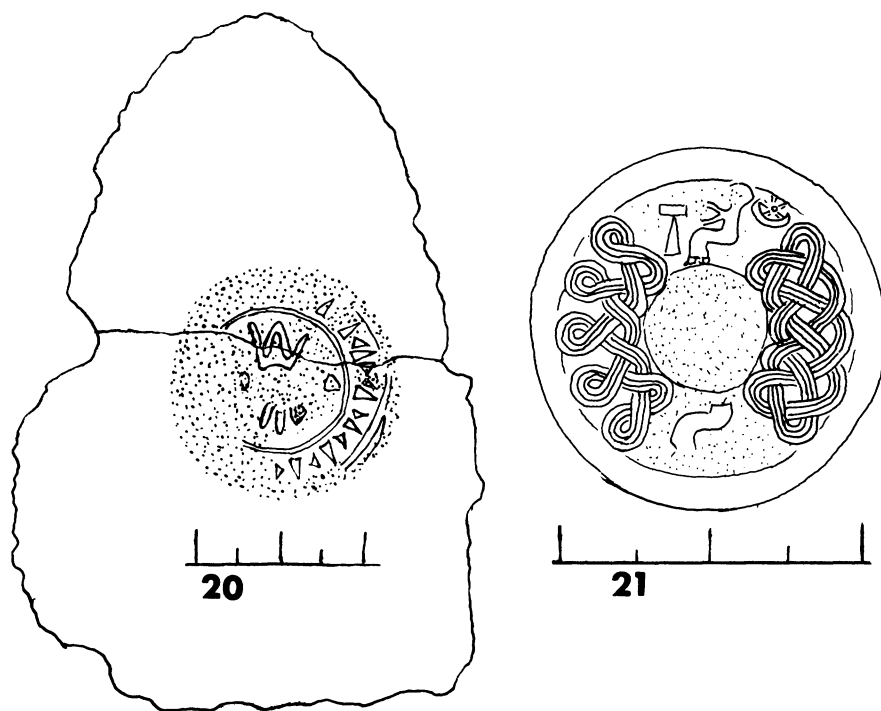


FIG. 5.—Drawings of seals Nos. 20-21

This type of seal is known from other examples, all actual seals. One, complete with "hammer" handle, is in The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore,³⁰ another in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,³¹ and a third, with handle broken, was found in Boğazköy.³²

³⁰ C. H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq* 6 (1939): 25, pl. 9, no. 72.

³¹ L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910), no. 649.

³² T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, pt. 1 (Berlin, 1967) = 76. *Wissensch. Veröff. der Dtsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 94 on pl. 9, pp. 26 and 61.



FIG. 6.—Photos of seals Nos. 7, 15, 18-19, 21

Still another example, comparable but differing in composition, was found at Höyük near Alaca.³³ The Boğazköy seal was found in Level 3 of the Lower City; Beran dates it to the Old Kingdom, mainly because it has a hieroglyphic inscription. In Höyük the information supplied by the excavator, 4.80–5.00 m. deep, corresponds in its context to what he called Old Hittite. At Korucutepe, the fact that the object was found in the vicinity of the city wall fits well into this time range, but the find circumstances were not such that an exact correlation between the wall and the seal could be established.

³³ H. G. Güterbock, in H. Z. Koşay, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük . . . Rapport . . . 1937–39* (Ankara, 1951) = *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay.*, V. Seri, no. 5, p. 193, no. 5 and pl. 80, 3 (Al.c.34).