

## VI. THE SEALS AND THE DYNASTY

J. D. Hawkins

The royal seals of the Nişantepe archive excavated in 1990 and 1991 were initially made available in part in photographic form by the excavator<sup>1</sup>; and again in part in preliminary form as edition with discussion by Otten<sup>2</sup>. Their evidence has thus been included in a number of studies on the Hattusa dynasty, notably for the Early Empire period those of Carruba<sup>3</sup>; Houwink ten Cate<sup>4</sup>; Freu<sup>5</sup>; Forlanini<sup>6</sup>; and for the general historical sources, Klengel<sup>7</sup>. In addition this evidence must be combined with that of a number of separate recent discoveries: the "Cruciform Seal"<sup>8</sup>; the Kantuzzili-Tudhaliya seal<sup>9</sup>; and the seal of Tudhaliya son of Kantuzzili<sup>10</sup> with other Kantuzzili seals<sup>11</sup>.

The Nişantepe seals offer new pieces of evidence relating to some but not all of the main problems of the dynasty, but such is the interlocking nature of these problems that a general reappraisal of the situation from the present standpoint may seem appropriate.

VI 1. Early Empire queens

The earliest queens' seals from the Nişantepe archive are the anonymous Tawananna seals Kat. 1 and 2, which with Ku. 97/61 from Kuşaklı join the already known seals *SBo* I no. 78 and no. 79 (B.154-155). The Cruciform Seal lists the queens in the genealogy of Mursili II as Nikkalmati – Asmunikkal – (?) – Taduhepa. Of these the only one attested on a Boğazköy seal is Asmunikkal, whose known seal *SBo* I no. 77 (B. 152) is now supplemented by the impression Kat. 3. The unparalleled character of these seals (single ring of Cuneiform, lack of NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB introduction) has led Otten to postulate a missing outer ring [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>why cuneiform upper case? K.M.W.?</sup> Arnuwanda etc.], which seems very probable. Asmunikkal also appears on the great seal of Arnuwanda *SBo* I no. 60 (B. 162) with its unfortunately largely lost central Hieroglyphic inscription. Together her two seals identify her as daughter of Nikkalmati and of Tudhaliya, raising the problem of her relationship with her supposed husband Arnuwanda son of

<sup>1</sup> Neve 1991; Neve 1992a and Neve 1992b.

<sup>2</sup> Otten 1993a; Otten 1993b, Otten 1994, Otten 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Carruba 1998a; Carruba 1998b; Carruba 2000; Carruba 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1995/96; Houwink ten Cate 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Freu 1995; Freu 1996; Freu 2002.

<sup>6</sup> Forlanini 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Klengel 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Dinçol et al. 1993.

<sup>9</sup> Dinçol 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Otten 2000.

<sup>11</sup> Herbordt and Alkan 2000; Herbordt 2003; Soysal 2003.

The position and family relations of this king continue to raise problems. It is typical of the slippery nature of the evidence that no sooner does the question of his paternity appear definitively settled by his Nişantepe seal naming him “son of Tudhaliya” (Kat. 8)<sup>23</sup>, thus confirming Alp’s earlier recognition<sup>24</sup>, than Houwink ten Cate in a closely argued article reasserts the paternity of Hattusili II<sup>25</sup>. *really?*

#### VI 2.1.1. *Houwink ten Cate: Hattusili II, father of Suppiluliuma*

His point of departure is Güterbock’s original proposal based on the genealogy of Hattusili III, who styles himself [DUMU.DUM]U.DUMU-ŠU ŠA <sup>1</sup>*Hattusili* LUGAL.GAL, literally “great-grandson of Hattusili Great King” (*KBo* VI 28, ll.1-5). This together with the evidence of the Aleppo Treaty preamble (*KBo* I 6, obv.15-32)<sup>26</sup>, which appears to require a Hattusili between a Tudhaliya and Suppiluliuma, was taken to establish the existence of a Hattusili II, with further support from an Early Empire fragment *KUB* XXXVI 109, apparently recording that a Hattusili, assuredly not Hattusili I or III, was “named for kingship”. <sup>26a</sup>

To this Houwink ten Cate adds a new piece of evidence from Nişantepe which must now be factored into the discussion. Kat. 14 of Suppiluliuma with Great Queen Henti preserves the inner Cuneiform ring styling her MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL GAL (UR.SAG), “Great Queen, daughter of the Great King, (Hero)”<sup>27</sup>. Is this title “daughter of the Great King”, even if reinterpreted as “Great Daughter-of-the-King”<sup>28</sup>, which would surely amount to the same thing, to be taken literally, i.e. that Henti was the daughter of a (Hittite) Great King? And if so, of which one, Tudhaliya III or Arnuwanda I, which would seem to make her Suppiluliuma’s sister or aunt, neither a probable marriage partner? X

Houwink ten Cate links this question with others longer known: (1) who is the “Tašmi-šarri associated with the queen Taduhepa (see above); (2) on the Cruciform Seal, which Great King should appear on the obverse, right wing, with Great Queen Taduhepa?; (3) where would this king belong in the genealogy of Mursili II? (Question 2 may be conflated with question 1 by the supposition that “Tašmi-šarri” stood here). His proposed solution may be summarized: (1) Tašmi-šarri is Hattusili II, a brother of Tudhaliya III, and these two kings

<sup>23</sup> Neve 1992a, 314 Abb.7a; Neve 1992b, 57 Abb.147; Otten, 1992, 10 f. Abb.3-4; Otten 1995, 7-11. 31 Abb.1.

<sup>24</sup> Alp 1980, 56 f. seal Mst 76/15.

<sup>25</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1995/96.

<sup>26</sup> See now Beckman 1996, no. 14, p.89

<sup>27</sup> Otten 1994, 259 f., pointing out that UR.SAG may descend from the titulary of Suppiluliuma from the lost outer Cuneiform ring.

<sup>28</sup> Otten 1994, 259 f.; Houwink ten Cate 1995/96, 56 with n.12.

<sup>26a</sup> *contra* Klinger and Haas, *Hurriter und Hurritisch* (Konstanz, 1988) p. 324.

see  
Maritzza,  
Guthrie,  
Tremouille,  
Groddek  
Join to  
Prayer  
Groddek,  
Shama...

had as queens respectively Taduhepa and Satanduhepa; (2) Suppiluliuma is the son of Hattusili II and Taduhepa or more probably their son-in-law by marriage to their daughter Henti; (3) Suppiluliuma was adopted by his uncle Tudhaliya II, hence his seal affiliation.

The explanation of Suppiluliuma's uncertain position and paternity by marriage to a Great King's daughter and adoption mirrors that proposed by Beal for Arnuwanda I with Asmunikkal, the weakness to this being the evidence that Tudhaliya and Nikkalmati had "sons", which might be circumvented by identifying these "sons" and the "children" Asmunikkal and Arnuwanda (see above). However Houwink ten Cate's new proposal suffers from the same weakness, name that Tudhaliya III also had recognized sons Tudhaliya the Younger (TUR, son of Tudhaliya) and his brothers, as attested in Mursili's first Plague Prayer. It has other weaknesses too. It is extremely difficult, given the facts at our disposal, to accommodate a putative Hattusili II *either* between Tudhaliya I/II and his son and co-reigning successor Arnuwanda I, *or* between Arnuwanda I and his *tuhkanti* and successor Tudhaliya (III), the Tudhaliya son of Arnuwanda who sat on his father's throne (*sarrassi*-ritual, *KBo X 34*, colophon). This very difficulty has led other scholars, on the evidence of the Aleppo Treaty <sup>seemingly</sup> requiring a Tudhaliya followed by a Hattusili, to place Hattusili II before Tudhaliya I/II and to split the latter into Tudhaliya I, the destroyer of Aleppo and Tudhaliya II conqueror of Arzawa, Assuwa and Isuwa and husband of Nikkalmati (Carruba, Freu, see below). space

A final difficulty for Houwink ten Cate is the question: if Suppiluliuma were the son-in-law of Hattusili II by marriage to his daughter Henti, why should Hattusili III name as his great-grandfather (i.e. Suppiluliuma's father) Hattusili (II)? Houwink ten Cate specifically evades this problem, asserting "this is not a valid objection"<sup>29</sup>, but it surely is. Further, this schema does not address the question of who was then Suppiluliuma's natural father – he was hardly the son of a nobody.

A modification of this schema which would resolve some at least of the problems might be considered. Suppiluliuma might have been the natural but junior son of Tudhaliya III, married to Henti the daughter of his paternal uncle Hattusili II and adopted by him for the usual reason, lack of a male heir. This would explain his apparent dual paternity: Tudhaliya (Kat. 8), natural father; Hattusili II (of the Hattusili III genealogy), father-in-law and adoptive father. His natural brothers would then have been Tudhaliya TUR and his brothers, presumably including Zida, Suppiluliuma's only known brother, as attested in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma and the Annals of Mursili. This would also fit with the Cruciform Seal

<sup>29</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1995/96, 57.

genealogy: obverse, right wing, Taduhepa with [Hattusili II], adoptive parents: obverse top wing, Tudhaliya III alone, natural father. Finally it avoids the historical improbability of the adoption of Suppiluliuma by Tudhaliya III against the interests of his own sons Tudhaliya TUR and his brothers, which Houwink ten Cate<sup>30</sup> feels obliged to explain by an elaborate drama for which there is little supporting evidence.

or "no"? The principal problem of this schema however remains: the difficulty of inserting Hattusili II between either Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I or between Arnuwanda I and Tudhaliya III. Houwink ten Cate's way round this is to insert the period of Hattusili II as Great King into a co-regency with his father Arnuwanda I, which must then be understood to have terminated in time for his brother Tudhaliya to be "anointed for kingship" as *tuhkanti* by Arnuwanda and Asmunikkal<sup>31</sup>. Such a complicated scenario is hard to accept.

#### VI 2.1.2. Carruba, Freu: Tudhaliya I - Hattusili II - Tudhaliya II

The alternative for advocates of "Hattusili II" is, as noted above, to place him before Tudhaliya (I/II) and Nikkalmati, but the necessity of having a Tudhaliya before him (Aleppo Treaty) then demands the splitting of Tudhaliya I/II into Tudhaliya I and (grandson) Tudhaliya II. This schema is argued by Carruba<sup>32</sup> and Freu<sup>33</sup>. Apart from the Aleppo Treaty however, arguments for a separate Tudhaliya I are weak, amounting to little more than that Tudhaliya "II" father of Arnuwanda I does not boast the conquest of Aleppo<sup>34</sup> – and this ignores the fact that his annals break off with the narrative of an Išuwa campaign involving the Hurrian king. Unlike Houwink ten Cate, this school of thought is not concerned to (re)establish Hattusili II as father of Suppiluliuma, but Carruba omits to address the problem of Henti as daughter of a great King and the rest of Houwink ten Cate's arguments, not even citing his article. He also dismisses the problem of *Satanduhepa*, identifying (unconvincingly) the name as a simple variant of *Taduhepa*. In this context we should note that Miller has now identified a damaged but plausible Cuneiform writing of the name Satanduhepa along with [Arnuwanda Great King], Asmunikkal Great Queen, [Tudhaliya the *tuhkanti*], also Par[iyawatra] in a newly published fragment of the Arnuwanda-Asmunikkal prayer

<sup>30</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1995/96, 69-72.

<sup>31</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1995/96, 58-69, esp. p.58.

<sup>32</sup> Most recently Carruba 2005a and Carruba 2005b, earlier Carruba 1998.

<sup>33</sup> Most recently Freu 2002.

<sup>34</sup> Freu 1996, 32 f.; Carruba 2005b, 185.

concerning the Kaska (*KBo* LIJ 10 ii 24, and p. IV)<sup>35</sup>. She is here appearing among the children of Arnuwanda and Asmunikkal/presumably as daughter-in-law.

Carruba's arguments drawn from the seals are not strong either<sup>36</sup>. For Taduhepa and the Cruciform Seal, see below. His proposed readings of the Hieroglyphic titles on the impressions *Bo* 78/56 and *SM* 90/2 do not convince. This leads us to a consideration of the various Kantuzzili seals.

### VI 2.1.3. *Soysal: the Kantuzzili seals*

A cluster of occurrences of the name Kantuzzili on seals appeared recently in the period 1999-2000: *Bo* 75/56, *SM* 90/2 and *Bo* 99/69; and the links with the *Kantuzzilis* attested in the texts were examined by Soysal<sup>37</sup>. Extraordinarily, a further cluster has appeared 2002-2006: *Bo* 2002/14 (publ. 2003), *Bo* 2004/12 (2004, unpubl.), and Kayalıpınar (2006, unpubl.). This last group somewhat changes the picture.

*Bo* 78/56 was reported in 1999 by A. Dinçol to the International Congress of Hittitology in Würzburg and published with the Acts, 2001. The digraphic inscription established the reading of Hieroglyphs for *Kantuzzili* (Cun. <sup>I</sup>*kantuzzili* = Hier. *ká*-L.283-*li*). Besides the central Kantuzzili entitled MAGNUS.HASTARIUS (established as the Hier. writing for Cun. GAL MEŠEDI), to the right stands the name *Tudhaliya* entitled MAGNUS.LITUUS. To the left may be another name LEO?, with title SCRIBA? The Hier. signs TI NA below Kantuzzili are also unexplained.

*SM* 90/2 (Sivas Museum), published by S. Herbordt and M. Alkan<sup>38</sup>. Not knowing the forthcoming publication of Dinçol<sup>39</sup>, the editors could not read the *tuzzi* of Kantuzzili, nor identify the title as MAGNUS.HASTARIUS.

*Bo* 99/69, excavated in 1999, published by Otten<sup>40</sup>, reading (Cun. outer ring) NA<sup>4</sup> KIŠIB <sup>I</sup>*du-ud-ha-li-ia* LUGAL.GAL, (inner ring) DUMU <sup>I</sup>*kán-tu-zi-li*; (Hier. centre) MAGNUS REX MONS.*tu* (apparently dextroverse, *contra* Otten). The seal was cautiously attributed by Otten to Tudhaliya I (II).

Basing his study on these three seals, Soysal attributed *Bo* 78/56 and *SM* 90/2 to the same Kantuzzili identified by him as "the Priest", brother of Tudhaliya III. Then on the grounds that

<sup>35</sup> See Miller 2004, 8 f. with n.12.

<sup>36</sup> Carruba 2005b, 190-194.

<sup>37</sup> Soysal 2003.

<sup>38</sup> Herbordt – Alkan 2000.

<sup>39</sup> Dinçol 2001.

<sup>40</sup> Otten 2000.

Tudhaliya the Younger, son of Tudhaliya (First Plague Prayer of Mursili) should not have the same name as his father, he explained this anomaly as resulting from adoption: Tudhaliya TUR, son of Kantuzzili the Priest, adopted by his paternal uncle Tudhaliya III. He found support for this in identifying Tudhaliya TUR with Tudhaliya, Great King, son of Kantuzzili of Bo 99/69, and with the Tudhaliya MAGNUS.LITUUS of Bo 75/56 accompanying his father Kantuzzili.

The premise for this construct is altogether too flimsy and has been succinctly rebutted by Miller<sup>41</sup>. Further, as is now becoming the rule with these adoption theories, it falls down on the problem of why a king who has son(s) (Tudhaliya III and sons Suppiluliuma, also Zida) should adopt another<sup>42</sup>. The three seals attributed to Kantuzzili (the Priest) and Tudhaliya (TUR) Great King appear too early for such an attribution.

Other of Soysal's arguments also require comment. His schema is of course quite incompatible with that of Houwink ten Cate<sup>43</sup>, which however he ignores along with its substantive arguments (particularly Henti "daughter of the Great King"). He attributes the seal SBo I no. 58 to Tudhaliya (I) [son of Huzz]iya (Cuneiform traces), unjustifiably dismissing Güterbock's notice of [...-]i-ia on the mantle impressions, in order to remove Bo 99/69 (Tudhaliya, Great King, son of Kantuzzili) for his later attribution. His arguments against the archaic character of this seal (no TI LUGAL; no *tabarna* title; Kantuzzili no title, therefore not great King; Kantuzzili more likely to be the GAL MEŠEDI than the UGULA LÚ.MEŠ IŠ.GUŠKIN killer of Muwatalli I) do not convince.

The new Kantuzzili seals not known to Soysal in any case change the picture.

Bo 2002/14 published by Herbordt<sup>44</sup> was read *ká-tu<sup>z</sup>zi-li* MAGNUS.HATTI REX FILIUS, "Prinz von Gross Hatti", with another name and title, unreadable as it still is, to the left.

Bo 2004/12 (Abb. 21), found in 2004, shows the name and title of Kantuzzili alone, more clearly preserved, permitting the correction of the title's reading to (*ká-tu<sup>z</sup>zi-li*) MAGNUS.AURIGA<sub>2</sub> REX.FILIUS.

Kayalıpınar, found in 2006 and made available to me by courtesy of A. Müller Karpe, has a very clear impression reading *ká-tu<sup>z</sup>zi-li* MAGNUS HASTARIUS.

We now have several Kantuzzilis comparatively well defined by groups of evidence, texts and seals. The problem is which, if any, of the groups refer to the same individuals.

<sup>41</sup> Miller 2004, 5 n.4.

<sup>42</sup> cf. Soysal 2003, 50 n.37.

<sup>43</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1995/96.

<sup>44</sup> Herbordt 2003.

Abb. 21 =  
Drawing by  
Christian  
based on photo  
+ sketch by  
J.D.B.  
+ sketch by  
J.D.B.  
corrected  
drawing

On the textual side we recognize Kantuzzili who with Himuili killed the usurper Muwatalli I (*KUB XXXIV 40*)<sup>45</sup>. They were sons of the queen and presumably the former murdered king Huzziya. Kantuzzili is identified with the UGULA LÚ.MEŠ IŠ.GUŠKIN on the Muwatalli I donation *KBo XXXII 185*, where Himuili is the GAL ~~LÚ~~.MEŠ GEŠTIN. He is further identified as the Kantuzzili found fighting with “(I) Tudhaliya the King” against Muwa identified as the GAL ~~LÚ~~.MEŠ MEŠEDI on the two Muwatalli I donations mentioned (*KUB XXXIII 16*, *Bo 90/671*). More recently since the discovery of the seal *Bo 90/69*, the *attasmiš*, “my father”, of the same text is also recognized as referring to Kantuzzili.

The other Kantuzzili now well established from the texts is “the Priest” (LÚSANGA), *smaller* named among a group of princes, sons of the king and queen now recognized as Arnuwanda and Asmunikkal (*KUB XXXVI 119 + 118*; *KUB XLV 47*; *KBo LIII 10* added to *CTH 375*). He is also recognized as the author of rituals and probably the prayer of Kantuzzili<sup>46</sup>. As priest he seems to have been given political authority in Kizzuwatna (*KUB XVII 22*)<sup>47</sup>. This Kantuzzili as a son of Arnuwanda would be brother of Tudhaliya the *tuhkanti*, later Tudhaliya III, and grandson of Tudhaliya I/II.

The seals now present at least two clear Kantuzzili's. The first is Kantuzzili the MAGNUS.AURIGA<sub>2</sub> REX FILIUS (*Bo 2002/14* and *Bo 2004/12*). Hier.

MAGNUS.AURIGA may be equated with Cun. GAL LÚ.MEŠ IŠ by identification of Hier. *ká-su* with Cun. Gassu, and AURIGA<sub>2</sub> may be a variant of AURIGA<sup>48</sup>, though these equations are not very secure.

The other Kantuzzili now known from his seals is the MAGNUS.HASTARIUS: *SM 90/2* with *Kayalıpınar 2006* (latter confirms the reading of the former's title, which might otherwise be doubted, as by Carruba)<sup>49</sup>; *Bo 78/56* where he is coupled with Tudhaliya MAGNUS.LITUUS. The Hier. MAGNUS.HASTARIUS is securely identified with the Cun. GAL MEŠEDI<sup>50</sup>. The title MAGNUS.LITUUS however is not elsewhere attested, indeed LITUUS is not elsewhere attested as a Hieroglyph in the Empire Period, being found only as an element in the iconography carried vertically by gods and (possibly the same) upside-down by the king, if it can be identified as the *GIŠkalmus*. An identification with Cun. *GIŠPA*, “staff”, as in (GAL) LÚ(MEŠ) PA, “(commander of) the staff-bearer(s)”, considered by

<sup>45</sup> See de Martino 1991.

<sup>46</sup> Singer 2002, 309 f.

<sup>47</sup> Beal 1992, 320 f.

<sup>48</sup> Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005, 301 f.

<sup>49</sup> Carruba 2005, 193.

<sup>50</sup> Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005, 304.

Dinçol<sup>51</sup> is quite uncertain. One would expect the *GISPA* as a mark of secular office to be straight as seen in Neo-Hittite reliefs, while the curved *lituus* seems to be a religious symbol.

Then there is the Kantuzzili appearing on the seal Bo 99/69 as the father of Great King Tudhaliya. There really can be no doubt that this is Tudhaliya I/II, the only king of that name whose father was not known (Tudhaliya III is "son of Arnuwanda Great King (who) sat on the throne of his father". Tudhaliya IV of course son of Hattusili III; if a separate Tudhaliya II existed he would be son of Hattusili II). Equally this Kantuzzili can hardly be anyone other than the *UGULA LÜ.MEŠ IŠ.GUŠKIN*, killer with Himuili of Muwatalli I, the "my-father Kantuzzili" of "Tudhaliya the King" of the annals fragment *KUB XXIII 16*. How Tudhaliya became king in the aftermath of the killing of Muwatalli I is unknown, nor is it clear whether Kantuzzili himself ever held the kingship<sup>52</sup>.

Can either of the two groups of Kantuzzili seals, that of *MAGNUS.AURIGA<sub>2</sub> REX.FILIUS* or that of the *MAGNUS.HASTARIUS* be attributed to the elder or the younger Kantuzzili?

In her original publication of Bo 2002/14, S. Herbordt dated it on stylistic criteria (small flat seal, presence of TI) to the period between Arnuwanda I and Suppiluliuma I, and reading the title *REX FILIUS MAGNUS.HATTI* attributed the seal to Kantuzzili the Priest. With the reading of the title now corrected by Bo 2004/12 to *MAGNUS.AURIGA<sub>2</sub> REX.FILIUS* we must consider whether the title does not fit better with Kantuzzili the *UGULA LÜ.MEŠ IŠ.GUŠKIN* (note that no Hier. equivalent of *GUŠKIN* has been identified). We may thus allow this to outweigh the supposed stylistic criteria and attribute both seals to the elder Kantuzzili, killer of Muwatalli and father of Tudhaliya I/II.

Turning to the three seals of Kantuzzili the *MAGNUS.HASTARIUS* (= *GAL MEŠEDI*), we note that no such officer is attested in the texts. Though the seals are stylistically different from each other, we can hardly suppose that they could be attributed other than to a single individual, a caution perhaps on placing too much weight on stylistic criteria. Dinçol on such criteria preferred an attribution to the younger Kantuzzili the Priest<sup>53</sup>, and for him the Tudhaliya *MAGNUS.LITUUS* would be Tudhaliya, later the *tuhkanti*, then king Tudhaliya III. Herbordt argued for an earlier dating both for Bo 78/56, and SM 90/2, and an attribution to the elder Kantuzzili<sup>54</sup>. Neither attribution is without problem.

<sup>51</sup> Dinçol 2001, 91.

<sup>52</sup> See Beal 2002, 59-61.

<sup>53</sup> Dinçol 2001, 95 f.

<sup>54</sup> Herbordt 2003, 23 f.



The attribution to Kantuzzili the Priest would imply as Dinçol acknowledges that he was GAL *MEŠEDI* before his brother Tudhaliya was anointed for kingship (as *tuhkanti* ?). But an attribution to the elder Kantuzzili would mean that after the killing of Muwatalli I, Kantuzzili took the office of GAL *MEŠEDI* from Muwa, who had held it under the murdered king and who is later found in battle with Kantuzzili (in what office?) and his son Tudhaliya as king. Both attributions suggest rather complicated scenarios, yet to postulate yet another Kantuzzili, a GAL *MEŠEDI*, associated with yet another Tudhaliya, does not look promising either. If I must express a preference for one option, it must be in favour of an attribution to the elder Kantuzzili and the period between the killing of Muwatalli I and the emergence of Tudhaliya I/II as Great King when we are almost totally ignorant of the sequence of events. We should note however that this option would involve the attribution of both groups of Kantuzzili seals to the elder of that name.

#### VI 2.1.4. *Forlanini: Hattusili II*

A new attempt to accommodate a Hattusili II is that of Forlanini<sup>55</sup>. He very reasonably observes:

Wenn man bei der Wiederherstellung der Geschichte des Tudhaliya I., Sohn von Kantuzzili und Vater von Arnuwanda I., einen Zeitlichen Raum und eine historische Funktion findet, in denen sich die Gestalt des Hattusili sozusagen verkörpern kann, und gleichzeitig auch die Ursache seines Verschwindens aus den Texten, wird die Hypothese, *auch ohne direkten Beweis* (my italics), sich als wahrscheinlicher als die Wiederherstellungen der betreffenden Periode erweisen, die zwei verschiedene Tudhaliya, oder im Gegensatz, keinen Hattusili II. voraussetzen<sup>56</sup>.

2 ?  
(lower case)

^ ?  
n ?

Acknowledging that this is based only on the evidence of the Aleppo Treaty he attempts to create a space for Hattusili II in the reign of Tudhaliya I as co-regent before the adoption and co-regency of Arnuwanda I. He suggests that Hattusili's disappearance from history and the documents might have been due to a failure over Aleppo as described in the treaty.

If the Aleppo Treaty is still thought to demand a Hattusili between Tudhaliya I and Suppiluliuma I, some such solution must be accepted. Though unsupported by hard evidence, it avoids the major obstacles of the other schemes considered above. We should note however that it does not address the question of Henti as the daughter of a Great King. As for the Aleppo Treaty evidence, we may further note new arguments in favour of recognizing the references to Hattusili following the section on Tudhaliya I as applying to Hattusili I<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Forlanini 2005.

<sup>56</sup> Forlanini 2005, 234

<sup>57</sup> Miller 2004, 6 n.6, citing arguments in his still unpublished thesis.

VI 2.2. Suppiluliuma's queens: 1. Taduhepa and the Cruciform Seal

Of the queens named in the texts with Suppiluliuma, Taduhepa, Henti and Tawananna, the first as noted above is not attested on any contemporary seal but does appear on the Cruciform Seal after the sequence Tudhaliya with Nikkalmati – [Arnuwanda] with Asmunikkal – Tudhaliya (III) with no queen. The king with Taduhepa (obverse, right wing) is not readable, so the question remains, whose name stood here and who was her husband (the answers not necessarily identifying the same individual)? For Carruba it is Tudhaliya III/ Tašmi-šarri<sup>58</sup>, but this involves taking the sole Tudhaliya (obverse, upper wing) as Tudhaliya I, giving a strange non-sequence of kings, and rejecting the evidence for Satanduhepa<sup>59</sup>. For Houwink ten Cate Tašmi-šarri, husband of Taduhepa, is Hattusili II who might have been the missing name beside her<sup>60</sup>, but alternatively it could have been her son(-in-law?) Suppiluliuma, with whom she also appears in a text (*KUB XXVI 57 I 8-9*). He twits us the editors of the Cruciform Seal for not commenting on the traces of the king's name. Perhaps here is the place to "come clean" on this.

The Dinçols and I examined the impressions of the Cruciform Seal separately and independently and we each thought that we saw traces of the PURUS of Suppiluliuma's name on Bo 86/618, but when we came to check this together, we could not verify it, hence our somewhat equivocal presentation of this part. I publish here (Abb. 22) my own contemporary sketches of the impressions of the obverse. Following Houwink ten Cate's remarks, I must now admit that the most probable name to seek here is indeed that of Suppiluliuma. ~~The obverse of the Cruciform Seal would then give as the genealogy of Mursili II (omitting a Hattusili II): father Suppiluliuma with grandmother Taduhepa – grandfather Tudhaliya III (without first wife Satanduhepa – not related) – great-grandfather Arnuwanda etc.~~

Please send illustration

Why she should appear here with Suppiluliuma when on the other side he is with Henti (probably Mursili's mother) would remain unexplained.

Suppiluliuma's new seal impressions provide additional evidence for his queens Henti and Tawananna particularly in relation to their titularies, and this was made available by Otten<sup>61</sup>. Henti as noted above, in addition to the Cun. title MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL, "Great Queen", is styled also DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL.GAL, "daughter of the Great King", or perhaps as suggested by Otten "Great Daughter of the King / Great Princess", if that were significantly

? not always consistent if I remember correctly.

It is indeed the case that Taduhepa is paired with Suppiluliuma here, now that she is displaced as queen of Tudhaliya III by Satanduhepa, it may be better to revert to the assumption that she was the first wife of Suppiluliuma.

<sup>58</sup> Carruba 2005, 190 f.  
<sup>59</sup> cf. Miller 2004, 7-9 with nn. 9, 12.  
<sup>60</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1995/96, 54.  
<sup>61</sup> Otten 1994, 253-261; Otten 1995, 11-16.

different. Houwink ten Cate put forward his theory of Suppiluliuma's adoption to avoid recognizing her as his sister or aunt. As an alternative one would have to suppose that "daughter" was not to be understood literally but as "descendant", perhaps granddaughter, which could make her his cousin. Imparati has shown that DUMU.LUGAL could be borne by a grandson as an inherited or "courtesy" title, and has raised the possibility that it might be a conferred title outside direct royal descent<sup>62</sup>. A comparison of Tawananna's titles may help in this enquiry.

On the Nišantepe seals of Suppiluliuma with Tawananna she is styled: Cun.

DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA, "daughter of the King of the land Babylon", or possibly "Princess of the land Babylon" (again if this were in practice different);

Hier. REX INFANS (+ FEMINA, = FILIA) MAGNUS, "Great Child / Daughter of the King" X

These then must be her titles before she assumed that of Great Queen, which must imply that she was married to Suppiluliuma while Henti still occupied that title<sup>63</sup>. What became of Henti, who was presumably the mother of Suppiluliuma's many sons, is not known, though a text fragment perhaps referring to her as been taken to show that she fell from favour and was exiled<sup>64</sup>. X

does one occupy a title?

Tawananna first appears as Great Queen on the Ugarit seal of Suppiluliuma, where the Cun. prefixes MUNUS.LUGAL GAL to DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA, and Hier. replaces REX INFANS/FILIA MAGNUS with MAGNUS.REGINA. These titles she retains on the seals which she shares with Arnuwanda II and Mursili II<sup>65</sup>. What is the significance of her Cun. and Hier. titles before she assumed the Great Queenship?

Cun. "Daughter of the King of the land Babylon" or "Princess of the land Babylon" is clear enough and there is probably no difference in significance between the two translations – could we envisage her as any other Babylonian than the daughter of the king? A translation of the Hier. title as "Great Princess" is probably indicated, as against "daughter of the Great King", by the placing of the MAGNUS behind the rest of the title rather than over the REX<sup>66</sup>. It must be taken as the only preserved example of the title borne by the King's wife while a preceding Great Queen still occupied the title. Mursili's wife Gassulawiya was in this position in relation to Tawananna, but her title is not preserved on her seals with Mursili (SBo I, no. 37

<sup>62</sup> Imparati 1976.

<sup>63</sup> cf. the study of Carruba 2000, but *contra* his observations p.72 and n.4.

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. Bryce 1998, 173 with nn.20, 21, referring to KBo XIV 2; an alternative identification of "my mother" as Urhi-Teššub speaking of Tanuhepa cannot be correct, see below.

<sup>65</sup> See the table in Otten 1995, 24, and note that for KÁ.DINGIR.RA Arnuwanda has *Karandunias*, also the addition by Suppiluliuma (Ugarit seal) and Mursili, but not Arnuwanda, of \*HAL-la to the name Tawananna – discussed below.

<sup>66</sup> So Otten 1995, 14, followed by Carruba 2000, 72.

Bryce 1998  
p. 173  
L. 3X

and Kat. 36). The unknown queens of Muwatalli II and Urhi-Teššub would also have stood in the same relationship to Tanuhepa but do not appear on seals.

It may be noted that Henti's Cun. title DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL GAL corresponds sign for sign with Tawananna's Hier. REX INFANS + FEMINA MAGNUS with the ambiguity noted as to whether "Great" applies to "King" or "King's-Daughter/Princess". But even if the latter were intended, it would hardly be argued that it would be given to a woman who was not a Great King's daughter. Henti would not have borne it as the Great King's wife since she already had the title Great Queen. We have seen above, following Imparati, that a DUMU.LUGAL might be a son of a DUMU.LUGAL, and not of a LUGAL, and we might expect the same of DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL. But the addition of GAL to the title must be significant, and we may compare the possible title DUMU.LUGAL [GA]L given to Urhi-Teššub on his *tuhkanti* seal<sup>67</sup>. It is thus hard to escape the conclusion that Henti was indeed the daughter of a Great King, so Suppiluliuma's relationship to her demands an explanation that avoids consanguinity. That he should be adopted looks to be one of the most plausible routes around the problem, and this must be acknowledged as a strong point in Houwink ten Cate's arguments. The weaknesses in his proposed scenario have also been pointed out.

In this context a word should be said about the problematic title DUMU.MUNUS.GAL, "Great Daughter", although Nişantepe throws no further light on this. The question has been recently reviewed by de Roos<sup>68</sup>. Even if this is not simply an elliptical version of DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL GAL, as has been suggested, it is again hard to argue that those who bore it were not daughters of the Hittite Great King, like Kilushepa and Gassul(iy)awiya daughters of Hattusili and Puduhepa. If so, the Gassul(iy)awiya of the prayer *KBo IV 6*<sup>69</sup> could hardly be the "Great-Daughter" and wife of Mursili II, as Singer has now changed to in his new translation, without raising the same problems of an incestuous marriage as would occur for the marriage of Suppiluliuma and Henti.

Finally two further points on Tawananna's Hieroglyphs should be noted, here, both discussed by Otten<sup>70</sup>. It is now clear that the signs L.271-*na* render the name *Tawananna* probably as a logogram with phonetic complement, thus *TAWANANNA-na* (rather than Otten's \**TAWANA-na*): compare the Cruciform Seal, reverse, upper wing<sup>71</sup>, and correct what was said there. To this name was added on Suppiluliuma's Ugarit seal the signs L.292-*la*

<sup>67</sup> Hawkins 2001, 174 with n.33.

<sup>68</sup> De Roos 2005, with earlier references.

<sup>69</sup> Singer 2002, no.15.

<sup>70</sup> Otten 1995, 13-16.

<sup>71</sup> Dinçol et al. 1993, 93.

which recurs among the Nišantepe seals on those of Mursili II with Tawananna (Kat. 29-33). Transcribing L.292 as \*HAL from its usage in writing the name *Ehli/Ehal-Šarruma* Otten suggested doubtless correctly that this represented “Babylon”, thus L.271-na L.292-la, “Tawananna (of) Babylon”. This of course deletes the identification of this group as the Hier. equivalent of Cun. *ma-al-ni-gal* on SBo I no. 84, which was in fact always dubious<sup>72</sup>. For this seal see below under URHI-TEŠŠUB/ MURSILI III (Kap. VI 5.5).

better  
negates

The use of the sign L.292 apparently as a logogram for “Babylon”, while at the same time it is used to write the syllable *hli/hal* in the onomastic element *ehli-lehal*-, remains unexplained. Carruba<sup>73</sup> addresses the problem, but I do not find his explanations convincing. Nor can I myself offer an explanation for the Hier. writing of the land *İšuwa* composed apparently of the signs L.19 (*ā*) + L.292, which I identified<sup>74</sup>. In the meantime however further evidence has accumulated both for the *hli/hal* reading and for the use as “Babylon”. The Nišantepe seals have produced further examples of *ehli*-writings<sup>75</sup>. For “Babylon”, a small sandstone mould found at Boğazköy has incised beside the matrix on either side the Hieroglyphs L.292-la, explained by the supposition that the moulded items were to be cast in the type of glass known as “Babylonian stone”, NA<sub>4</sub>.KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>76</sup>.

small c.

### VI 2.3. Summary

The above section is presented less with the hope of solving long-standing historical problems than with the wish to review these problems from a present stand-point and to point out how the new evidence from Nišantepe and the other recent seal finds affect the argument.

style

“Hattusili II” refuses to go away, particularly on the Aleppo Treaty and the fragment showing that a Hattusili was named for kingship. Houwink ten Cate’s scheme relies on these, and adds the important new fact that Henti was “daughter of the Great King” (though this would not necessarily point to a “Hattusili II” to the exclusion of the other options). But though he claims that “almost all the pieces of the puzzle would seem to have fallen into their proper place”<sup>77</sup>, his elaborate construct, a remarkable tour de force, runs up against two obstinate snags – where to fit Hattusili II into the sequence Tudhaliya I/II – Arnuwanda I – Tudhaliya III, and why Tudhaliya III should adopt Suppiluliuma, against his own sons – and

other styl  
solution

<sup>72</sup> cf. Laroche 1956, 100.

<sup>73</sup> Carruba 1998.

<sup>74</sup> Hawkins 1998.

<sup>75</sup> Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005, 252 f. 426; Kat. 97. 99-103. 104.

<sup>76</sup> See Seeher 2002, 77.

<sup>77</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1995/96, 72.

does it  
really?

here it is difficult to follow him. If it is still held that the Aleppo Treaty demands a Hattusili II, Forlanini's solution is less problematic.

The scheme of Carruba and Freu is much simpler, but suffers from a lack of hard supporting evidence (the separate existences of a Tudhaliya I and II) and skates over awkward facts (Satanduhepa, the Cruciform Seal).

Soysal's attempt to redistribute the Kantuzzili with Tudhaliya references erected on weak foundations a problematic adoption theory, and was unfortunate in the subsequent appearance of new evidence which was difficult to assimilate to his scheme. syntax?

word choice? In short we must conclude that definitive evidence to solve these interlocking problems is still awaited, but the access of new material in recent years may inspire the hope that it will in time be forthcoming.

Distinction of  and  in writing *Suppiluliuma*

For this question and the attribution of Kat. 12-13 and the similar seals, see below under SUPPILULIUMA II (Kap. VI 10).

### VI 3. MURSILI II

#### VI 3.1. The Seals: distinction of Mursili II and III

In the Hieroglyphic writing of the name *Mursili*, the first sign L.227 is still unexplained, so transcribed purely conventionally URBS+RA/I(-li)<sup>78</sup>. That this writing represented *Mursili* was not at first recognized because of confusion with the name *Urhi-Teššub*: the seal SBo I no. 13 B-C was seen by Güterbock from the genealogy given to belong to that king, though the Cuneiform equivalent of his name was not preserved on the impressions then available.

By the time that another impression appeared giving the equivalent Hier. URBS+RA/I(-li) = it's h  
already also Cun. <sup>1</sup>*mur-ši-li*<sup>79</sup>, the Ugarit digraphic seals of Mursili II were ~~also~~ known, which both established the attribution of his seals and showed that Urhi-Teššub ~~already~~ used the name Mursili (III)<sup>80</sup>. Nišantepe has now provided a ~~nearly~~ complete impression of the great seal of l. / almost  
 Mursili III/Urhi-Teššub: Kat. 55, and of the ~~nearly~~ identical no.56. ?

To distinguish between Mursili II and III, Beran<sup>81</sup> suggested, besides other no longer valid criteria, that Mursili II was always written with the *li* dextroverse and Mursili III with *li* sinistroverse. With the addition of the Nišantepe material, this criterion remains valid in all

<sup>78</sup> Hawkins 1995, 72.

<sup>79</sup> Otten 1955, 19-22; Beran 1957, 43; Taf. 30.

<sup>80</sup> Laroche 1956, 103-108; Güterbock 1956, 161-163.

<sup>81</sup> Beran 1967, 74 f.

cases where the identity is established by the presence of the genealogy in the Cuneiform legend: Mursili (II) DUMU Suppiluliuma, Kat. 23-25, 27; Mursili (III) DUMU Muwatalli, Kat. 55-56, also no. 53. These are all seals where the Mursili Hieroglyphs stand alone; Mursili with Tawananna and with Gassulawiya, clearly Mursili II, is also dextroverse, and the great Storm-God seal, Kat. 57, with sinistroverse Mursili could hardly be attributed to Mursili II. The only clear exception is on the Cruciform Seal where the central Mursili with Gassulawiya is sinistroverse, but here the king's name stands on the left, so would be expected to be sinistroverse.

The crucial question confronting us concerns the seals of Mursili with Tanuhepa as Great Queen where the dextroverse Mursilis stand to the right of the queen (Kat. 55-80), and the sinistroverse Mursilis to the left (Kat. 61-63). In the absence of identifying genealogies on these seals, can we establish that Beran's rule holds and the dextroverse is still Mursili II, the sinistroverse Mursili III? The answer, one way or the other, has important implications for our understanding of the history of the dynasty.

3 / The reconstruction of the outer ring of the Cuneiform legend on a pair of Mursili II seals, Kat. 29 and 25, <sup>supplemented by the similar Kat. 25</sup> gives a probable key. These can be seen to have borne parts of the same inscription as partial impressions from Ugarit RS 17.285 + 335<sup>82</sup>, adding also the fragment SBo I no. 12. Combining all these we may reconstruct the outer ring legend (supplementing Laroche):

NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠ[IB] mur-ši-i-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL [KUR URU ha-at-ti] NA-R[A-AM] DU N]IR.GÁL (see Abb. 23).

Please send illustration for Abb. 23

Turning to the seals of Mursili with Tanuhepa, we find that those with dextroverse Mursili (Kat. 55-60) permit a composite reconstruction of the outer Cuneiform ring:

NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB mur-ši-i-li LUGAL.GAL [LUGAL KUR URU ha-at-ti] NA-R[A-A]M DU NIR.GÁL

The sinistroverse Mursili with Tanuhepa, Kat. 63, has a reconstructed outer ring:

NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠI[B ... ] LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR URU ha-at-ti (inner

ring, Tanuhepa and titles). On this seal after NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB there is more space than could be filled by [Mursili] but not enough for [Mursili + titles DUMU URN]: for a suggested restoration, see below. Note also the absence of a *NARĀM* formula; on his other seals Mursili III/Urhi-Teššub has (Kat. 55, 56 and 53) *NARĀM* DU (*pihassassi*, Kat. 52) DUTU URU *arinna*.

<sup>82</sup> Schaeffer 1956, 11 figs. 11. 12; Laroche 1956, 103 f.



Comparing these legends we may consider that the identity of the outer ring legends of Mursili II alone and dextroverse Mursili with Tanuhepa, especially the shared <sup>DU</sup>NIR.GÁL, in contrast with Mursili III's *NARĀM* deities, renders the attribution of dextroverse Mursili with Tanuhepa to Mursili II virtually assured.

The attribution of sinistroverse Mursili with Tanuhepa (Kat. 61-63) to Mursili III is less assured, also historically less important since Tanuhepa's presence as Great Queen with Urhi-Teššub (Kat. 51-52) shows that she was alive and rehabilitated at the beginning of this reign. However D. Bawanypeck regards the presence of <sup>TI</sup>.SIG<sub>5</sub> and <sup>TI</sup> alone within the Cuneiform legends of Kat. 61 and 62 as evidence for a Mursili III attribution. (see above Kap. V Kommentar to 61-62). We may also consider for the restoration to the outer ring reconstruction of Kat. 63.1-4 ([<sup>1</sup>*mursili*] too little, [<sup>1</sup>*mursili* + titles DUMU <sup>1</sup> RN] too much, as noted above) a reading [(<sup>PUTU</sup>-ŠT) *tabarna* <sup>1</sup>*mursili*] to be a better space filler, the titles used in the other seal inscriptions of Urhi-Teššub/Mursili III.

### VI 3.2 *Historical implications: Tanuhepa*

Beran's identification of dextroverse Mursili with Tanuhepa as Mursili II fitted with one of Laroche's suggested options<sup>83</sup>, namely that of a single Tanuhepa as Great Queen with three consecutive Great Kings, namely Mursili II, Muwatalli II and Urhi-Teššub/ sinistroverse Mursili (III). This was generally accepted, bringing with it the assumption that she was the second and last wife of Mursili II and that her sons were his legitimate issue. It formed the basis for the understanding of relationships within the royal family, specifically a recognition that the name of Muwatalli's queen was not known, and on other evidence it was believed that she bore no sons to him.

Recently however, this understanding has been questioned. Van den Hout in his prosopography of Tanuhepa expressed reservations about the security of the evidence<sup>84</sup>, while Singer<sup>85</sup> explicitly rejected the view that Tanuhepa was paired with Mursili II and reverted to Güterbock's original view that she was Muwatalli's wife and queen.

The principal attested event of Tanuhepa's life is a court case against her in the palace, as a result of which she was "ruined" (*har(a)kta*) along with her sons and all her entourage ("lords and subordinate folk"), also a specified but unnamed son who was independently ruined. This we know from the remarkable prayer of Hattusili and Puduhepa to the Sun-

<sup>83</sup> Laroche 1956, 105.

<sup>84</sup> Van den Hout 1995, with reference to previous discussions of the question.

<sup>85</sup> Singer 2002a.



Goddess of Arinna, which has been recently treated by Singer, including an important new join fragment<sup>86</sup>. This case of Tanuhepa is cited by Hattusili among a number of other such cases, each of which might have aroused the anger of the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, whose priestess (<sup>MUNUS</sup>AMA<sup>DINGIR-LIM</sup>) Tanuhepa was. Hattusili is at pains to exculpate himself from this proceeding and to place the blame squarely at the door of his late brother Muwatalli. For Singer the scenario is relatively simple: Tanuhepa was Muwatalli's wife and queen and her sons were his (legitimate) issue. Their "ruin" (*hargan-*) along with their mother apparently did not involve death, since Tanuhepa at least reappears under Urhi-Teššub, but only disgrace, probably according to Hittite usual practice exile. The specified ruined son is identified by Singer as Kuruntiya, the only other known son of Muwatalli (besides Urhi-Teššub), whose maternity is not attested but who was handed over by Muwatalli to his uncle Hattusili to bring up (Bronze Tablet treaty, i 12-13)<sup>87</sup>. In the prayer Hattusili says of this ruined son: "Indeed I sat in judgment on him, but he was (a matter) for mercy to me, by the word of my mouth and my decree no one was ruined"<sup>88</sup>. From this Singer understood that Muwatalli's legitimate sons, including the specified one, the heir apparent, were "ruined" along with their disgraced mother, thus excluded from the succession. The handing over of Kuruntiya to Hattusili to bring up is understood in terms of this exclusion.

At this point we should remember what Hattusili actually says of the succession to Muwatalli as ~~now~~ seen in a passage parallel to that in Hattusili's Apology, now elucidated by a recent join<sup>89</sup>:

"When my brother died, since to my brother there was not yet any *hwihwiswali* son of his wife, out of respect for my brother I took up Ur[hi-Teššub, the son of a concubine] and set him on [the throne of his father] in kingship".

The previously unknown word *hwihwiswali*-, presumably derived from the stem *hwis*-, "live", has to be interpreted to fit the context. How may we now understand this?

It must be said that <sup>the</sup> scenario arising from Singer's interpretation has the merits of simplicity and clarity: Tanuhepa as Muwatalli's wife/queen, disgraced and exiled along with the heir apparent Kuruntiya and her other sons, so that at his death Muwatalli did *not yet* have a *hwihwiswali* ("adult"?) son of his (second?) wife. Unfortunately as shown above, Tanuhepa already appears as Great Queen with Mursili II, and was thus his second and last wife, who had borne him (legitimate) sons. This makes for an altogether more complicated picture.

<sup>86</sup> Singer 2002a, 742 f.; Singer 2002b, no. 21; p. 98 f.

<sup>87</sup> Otten 1988, 10 f.

<sup>88</sup> Singer 2002a, 742 f., ii 6-9 and n. 10; the translation given here differs somewhat from Singer's.

<sup>89</sup> Košak 1996; both passages reviewed by Singer 2002a, 744.

Two possible though improbable ways around this might be considered. Muwatalli might have married Tanuhepa, the young widow of his father, though one would expect such a union to lie under strong taboo. Alternatively it might be that after the death of Mursili's wife Gassulawiya and the disappearance of Tawananna as Great Queen, Tanuhepa the wife of the heir apparent Muwatalli succeeded to the Great Queenship before the accession of her husband.

In the absence of any supporting evidence for such possibilities, we are left with Tanuhepa as last wife and Great Queen of Mursili II and mother to sons by him. In this context we should note Hattusili's statement:

"My father Mursili begot us four children, Halpasulupi, Muwatalli, Hattusili and a daughter Massanauzzi, and I was the youngest child of all" (*Hatt.* i 9-11). He passes over the sons of Tanuhepa though they might have had a claim to the succession – indeed in oriental courts younger sons of later wives have shown a tendency to be manoeuvred into the succession. These sons of Tanuhepa, including the one singled out for special mention were "ruined" with their mother; whether they shared her subsequent come-back is not known and they vanish from history. Why Tanuhepa was restored at the beginning of the reign of Urhi-Teššub remains a matter for speculation. We cannot see how it would be in his interest or in that of his supporter Hattusili. Perhaps they felt guilt about her treatment as later expressed by Hattusili in his prayer, perhaps she still enjoyed a body of support that was worth conciliating.

So Tanuhepa was put on trial by Muwatalli as his stepmother rather than his wife, repeating the pattern of Mursili's struggle with his stepmother Tawananna. The seals on which Tanuhepa appears as Great Queen, with Muwatalli are presumably among his earliest, though not necessarily earlier than those on which he appears alone. She was presumably removed from the seals after her ruin, and though we cannot identify a seal phase at which this occurred, it is certain that Muwatalli's *Umarmungssiegel* are among his latest (see below, Kap. VI 4.1).

We return to our former position of almost total ignorance of Muwatalli's wife/queen, not knowing her name as she does not appear on his seals and indeed may never have occupied the position of Great Queen. The only certain reference to her is Hattusili's statement that at Muwatalli's death she did not yet have a *hwihwiswali* son, which led to the succession of the son of a concubine. The only meaningful sense for *hwihwiswali*, especially if "not yet" (*nawi*) is taken into account, is thus "adult". The problem also returns to the position of Kuruntiya, Muwatalli's other attested son, whose mother is not known but was not Tanuhepa. Was he the son of Muwatalli's wife, thus legitimate but not *hwihwiswali* at the time of his father's death,

or was he another son of a concubine, a “bastard” (*pahhurzi*) like his (half-)brother Urhi-Teššub? If the former, his bastard brother would have been chosen over him as *tuhkanti* by his father<sup>90</sup> and for succession by his uncle because he was a minor (not yet *hwihwiswali*). But the reason behind his being handed over to Hattusili to bring up would remain unexplained.

### VI 3.3. Other observations

#### Seal Kat. 27

The appearance of this seal impressed on Boğazköy bullae and the reconstruction of its outer Cun. ring with the epithet *NARĀM*<sup>D</sup> IM *GI-NU* is important, authenticating as it does beyond doubt the seal stone of Mursili II excavated at Ras Shamra, RS 14.202<sup>91</sup>. Various aspects of this seal struck some specialists as curious if not suspicious, those voicing doubts being Otten, Beran, and more strongly Boehmer. Prominent among these doubts was this very epithet *GI-NU* (then read *zi*). In a more recent assessment of the piece Salvini<sup>92</sup> listed the problems, also the bibliography and proposed an explanation of the supposed *zi*.

The reconstruction of the present seal inscription, besides authenticating the Ras Shamra piece, corrects the reading of *zi* to *GI-NU*, identified by D. Bawanypeck (see above Kap. V) as representing Akk. *kīnu*, which she takes as “Liebling des *rechtschaffenen* Wettergottes”. Since this is not attested as an epithet of the Storm-God, also in view of its apparently nominative case, I would prefer to take it as qualifying *NARĀM*, thus “true darling of the Storm-God”.

Another doubt cast on the seal stone from Ugarit was the commencement of the seal legend with the *NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB* at the bottom of the outer ring. However Kat. 27 authenticates this by doing the same. Cf. also Kat. 70 (Hattusili III) and 116 (Tudhaliya IV). In fact the Nišantepe corpus shows that while seal legends most commonly begin at the top, there are other examples which may begin almost anywhere in the circle.

The other peculiar features of the seal tabulated by Salvini<sup>93</sup> as 1-2 and 5 still seem valid, as does Beran’s opinion that the seal was of local Ugarit manufacture. We may thus suppose that it was a copy made there in a rather unauthentic style from a seal like our Kat. 27.

The “Malnigal” seal: see below under URHI-TEŠŠUB (Kap VI 5.5.).

### VI.4. MUWATALLI II

<sup>90</sup> Hawkins 2001.

<sup>91</sup> Schaeffer 1956, 87-93.

<sup>92</sup> Salvini 1990.

<sup>93</sup> Salvini 1990, 424.

#### VI 4.1. The Seals: Šarri-Teššub

Before the excavation of the Nišantepe archive in 1990-1991, three types of seal of Muwatalli II were already known though sparsely attested and with Cuneiform legends preserved mainly on the inner ring, hardly at all on the outer: (1) *SBo* II no. 1, Muwatalli alone his name written with a complete bull (BOS<sub>2</sub>); (2) *SBo* I no. 42, with Tanuhepa as [Great Queen], his name on the left, written with the complete bull; (3) *SBo* I no. 38-41, at least four different variants of *Umarmungssiegel*.

Each of these types is now represented by multiple examples often with further variants, and more significantly the outer rings of the Cuneiform legends can be reconstructed, with some important results: (1) Kat. 37-38; (2) Kat. 46-49, also Kat. 50, a poorly preserved single example showing the positions of Muwatalli and Tanuhepa reversed (queen on left, king on right); (3) Kat. 39-42 corresponding to *SBo* I no. 35-41, and further variants Kat. 43-45.

It is the three best represented types of *Umarmungssiegel*, Kat. 39-41, which principally engage our attention. The basic scene is the same on all: the Storm-God in his usual attire holding the king dressed as the Sun-God in the protection of his arm. The king's name is written behind him with the bull's head, BOS-*MI*(= *mu*)-*tà-li* MAGNUS.REX, and the Storm-God holds his own name MAGNUS.TONITRUS.CAELUM, "Great Storm(-God) of Heaven". But the Hieroglyphs within the royal aedicula beneath the Storm-God's outstretched arm differ, Kat. 39 as against nos. 40-41, and the Cuneiform legends of all three are also different.

Kat. 40-41 have within the aedicula the signs L.270-L.318-L.334 (= *pa*), while Kat. 39 has L.199-L.363-L.17 (TONITRUS.MAGNUS.REX). After initial doubts about the nature of the first writing<sup>94</sup>, Ugarit digraphs confirmed the reading of L.318-*pa* as *TEŠUB*-*pa* and enabled Laroche to identify the group as a second name of Muwatalli ("Y-Tešub")<sup>95</sup>. Beran identified the Hieroglyphs in the aedicula of Kat. 39 as another writing of the same name<sup>96</sup>. Finally Nowicki identified L.270 as the Empire form of L.70 (SUPER) used as a rebus *sari* to write the name Šarri-Teššub, and TONITRUS (MAGNUS) REX as a sportive reverse writing Teššub-Šarri<sup>97</sup>. This was triumphantly confirmed by the reconstruction of the outer Cuneiform ring of Kat. 39 (= *SBo* I no. 38/B. 250) to read (see Abb. 24):

DUTU-ŠI<sup>1</sup> *šar-ri-te-eš-šu-up* LUGAL.GAL DUMU<sup>1</sup> *mu-ur-ši-li* LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG  
NA-RA-AM (inner ring) DIM etc.

<sup>94</sup> Güterbock 1940, 22 – Muwatalli's "persönliche Emblem".

<sup>95</sup> Laroche 1956, 117 f.

<sup>96</sup> Beran 1967, 79 n. 6.

<sup>97</sup> Nowicki 1983, 111-118.

Please  
send  
illustration  
for  
Abb. 24

The reconstructed outer ring of Kat. 40 (= *SBo I* no. 39/B. 251) reads:

PUTU-ŠI NIR.GÁL [LUGAL GAL] LUGAL KUR *ha-at-ti* UR.SAG [NA]-RA-AM DU  
TI (inner ring) ...

Together these seals provide the sequence of equations Cun.  $\overset{\circ}{\text{šar}}\text{-ri-te-eš-šu-up}$  = Hier. X  
TONITRUS (MAGNUS) REX = Hier. SUPER-TEŠŠUB-pa = Cun. NIR.GÁL, Hier. *mu(wa)-*  
*ti-li*.  $\hat{\text{š}}$  ?

We should note that both seals share the innovation unparalleled elsewhere of omitting NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB and commencing the legend with PUTU-ŠI.

For the equation of Hurrian and “Hittite” names and the reversing of nominal elements, cf. the seals of Urhi-Teššub /Mursili III (below Kap. VI 5.1.1.).

Another interesting point to note relating to the use of seals Kat. 39 and 40 is that on a number of occasions their impressions are found on two-sided, spool-shaped bullae, the other side of which bear impressions of the seal of Urhi-Teššub with Tanuhepa (Kat. 52), as listed below:

Kat. 39.7 + 52.4 (91/517)  
39.49 + 52.19 (91/1883)  
40.11 + 52.1 (90/169)  
40.12 + 52.8 (90/380)  
40.18 + 52.5 (90/287)  
40.23 + 52.9 (90/1162)  
40.48 + 52.18 (91/1797)

(Taf. A = Photographs of  
the ox-head shaped  
bulla that I  
have sent you)

Additionally Kat. 39.1 + 52.3 are found impressed on an ox-head shaped bulla, Bo 90/1029 (Taf. A)<sup>98</sup>. What could be the significance of this? It would seem most unlikely that the seal of Urhi-Teššub as Great King with Tanuhepa as Great Queen could have been cut and used in Muwatalli's lifetime, when Urhi-Teššub was *tuhkanti* and Tanuhepa was “ruined”. At the earliest this seal would have been made immediately after Muwatalli's death, when Urhi-Teššub would have succeeded and Tanuhepa would have been rehabilitated. So the two Muwatalli seals should have been applied posthumously, perhaps because the transactions which they were validating were begun in his lifetime and concluded under his successor. A further inference to be drawn is that these two seals of Muwatalli were his latest, and the seal of Urhi-Teššub with Tanuhepa his earliest, while he still used that name.

<sup>98</sup> see Neve 1991, 328 Abb. 28a. b; Neve 1992b, 57 Abb. 148. 149

#### VI 4.2. Historical implications: double names of the Kings

Interesting and important in itself, this confirmation of a Hurrian second name of Muwatalli has wider implications for our understanding of Hittite history. As far as concerns Muwatalli himself, we should note that on his *Umarmungssiegel* it is his Hurrian *Teššub-šarri/Šarri-Teššub* names which appear within the royal aedicula, while his *Muwatalli* name with a simple “Great King” stands behind the figures. Kat. 39 demonstrates quite unambiguously that *Muwatalli* had a second, Hurrian name read *Šarri-Teššub*. Furthermore, since the evidence suggests that this seal was used posthumously, it must have been in use at the end of his life, and thus *Šarri-Teššub* was not a “personal name” discarded in favour of a “throne name” *Muwatalli* but simply an alternative name in the system of double names recently defined by Beal<sup>99</sup>. The parallel with the double name of Muwatalli’s son Urhi-Teššub/Mursili III is striking, though in his case he does seem to have used *Urhi-Teššub* earlier and subsequently switched to *Mursili* (see further below, Kap. VI 5.2, 4). *does this mean VI 5.2 and VI 5.4? please specify*

Two further important cases of double names are clarified by these observations.

Muwatalli’s other known son Kuruntiya, King of Tarhuntassa, is identified by many scholars as the same person as Ulmi-Teššub, who otherwise remains a mysterious and problematic figure, but others have disputed this on various grounds, including the difficulty of the double

*This?* name<sup>100</sup>. *These difficulties are now removed.*

7. The great Ugarit seal of Tudhaliya IV (impressed on RS 17.159, new fragmentary impressions from Nišantepe, Kat. 110) shows below the name of Tudhaliya in the great aedicula the signs L.418-ŠARRUMA flanked by “Great King”, recognized by Laroche as a second name of Tudhaliya with a suggested reading Hišmi-Šarruma, to be identified with the prince of that name known from Cuneiform texts<sup>101</sup>. This was generally accepted until the discovery of the Bronze Tablet treaty of Tudhaliya IV, where Hišmi-Šarruma, prince, appears among the witnesses, thus is clearly not Tudhaliya. Nišantepe produced impressions of another seal of Tudhaliya, Kat. 111, where the signs L.418- ŠARRUMA appear within the great aedicula flanked by the Tudhaliya Hieroglyphs. Sedat Alp, rejecting an attempt by van den Hout to interpret L.418 ŠARRUMA as an epithet, “... -ed of Šarruma”, proposed to recognize Tudhaliya under his second name in the prince Tašmi-Šarruma, a witness on the Ulmi-Teššub treaty, but significantly absent from the witnesses of the Sahurunuwa donation

<sup>99</sup> Beal 2002.

<sup>100</sup> see Beal 2002, 57 n. 17, 70.

<sup>101</sup> Laroche 1956, 117-119.

and the Bronze Tablet treaty, both documents issued by Tudhaliya IV<sup>102</sup>. S. Heinhold-Krahmer subjected this question to an exhaustive re-examination<sup>103</sup>, in which she inclined to van den Hout's explanation as an epithet against Alp's Tašmi-Šarruma, basing her argument principally on the fact that Tudhaliya (IV) was known by that name before he became king (thus it could not be his throne name). This argument, which was circumvented by Beal's dismissal of the personal vs. throne name distinction, has been undermined by the appearance of the Šarri-Teššub seal, and Alp's Tašmi-Šarruma identification remains convincing. Like his uncle Muwatalli, Tudhaliya would have included his second name on his seals, and before his accession to kingship is attested under both names, *Tudhaliya* on his GAL *MEŠEDI* seal and in the Apology of Hattusili, *Tašmi-Šarruma* as witness to the Ulmi-Teššub treaty. We are of course no closer to an explanation of the sign L.415, best analysed as  $X+mi$ : on general grounds X is more likely to be a logogram standing for *tašmi* than some kind of rebus representing *TAS (+MI)*. <sup>7</sup> *represented*

## VI 5. URHI-TEŠŠUB / MURSILI (III)

### The seals

#### VI 5.1. The *tuhkanti* seal

Impressions of two different but similar *Umarmungssiegel* from Nišantepe, which did not show the titulary of a Great King, permitted the reconstruction of their Cuneiform legends to read together (see Abb. 25): *I need this drawing (see also Listed, Abb.)*

NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB<sup>ur-h[i-DU]-up</sup> LÚ<sup>tu-hu-kán-ti</sup> DUMU.LUGAL [GA]L

“Seal of Urhi-Teššub, *tuh(u)kanti*, Great(?) Prince”<sup>104</sup>

The Hieroglyphic legend placed behind the *Umarmungsszene* consisted of the three signs L.199-L.419-L.\*525, of which the first two (now read TONITRUS.RHOMBUS) were further found on two impressions, here Kat. 51.1-2, as the name of a Great King paired with Tanuhepa as Great Queen. These sealings were characterized by Neve in his preliminary listing of the Nišantepe royal seals<sup>105</sup> as “Unbekannte Grosskönige – 6 (davon 2 mit Danuhepa)”, a description which has unfortunately caused some confusion to scholars seeking to clarify the relations within the royal family in the light of the information from Nišantepe.

*see Bibliography or 10F? / cite both: 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1998d, 1998e, 1998f, 1998g, 1998h, 1998i, 1998j, 1998k, 1998l, 1998m, 1998n, 1998o, 1998p, 1998q, 1998r, 1998s, 1998t, 1998u, 1998v, 1998w, 1998x, 1998y, 1998z, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999d, 1999e, 1999f, 1999g, 1999h, 1999i, 1999j, 1999k, 1999l, 1999m, 1999n, 1999o, 1999p, 1999q, 1999r, 1999s, 1999t, 1999u, 1999v, 1999w, 1999x, 1999y, 1999z, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d, 2000e, 2000f, 2000g, 2000h, 2000i, 2000j, 2000k, 2000l, 2000m, 2000n, 2000o, 2000p, 2000q, 2000r, 2000s, 2000t, 2000u, 2000v, 2000w, 2000x, 2000y, 2000z, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d, 2001e, 2001f, 2001g, 2001h, 2001i, 2001j, 2001k, 2001l, 2001m, 2001n, 2001o, 2001p, 2001q, 2001r, 2001s, 2001t, 2001u, 2001v, 2001w, 2001x, 2001y, 2001z, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d, 2002e, 2002f, 2002g, 2002h, 2002i, 2002j, 2002k, 2002l, 2002m, 2002n, 2002o, 2002p, 2002q, 2002r, 2002s, 2002t, 2002u, 2002v, 2002w, 2002x, 2002y, 2002z, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d, 2003e, 2003f, 2003g, 2003h, 2003i, 2003j, 2003k, 2003l, 2003m, 2003n, 2003o, 2003p, 2003q, 2003r, 2003s, 2003t, 2003u, 2003v, 2003w, 2003x, 2003y, 2003z, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2004d, 2004e, 2004f, 2004g, 2004h, 2004i, 2004j, 2004k, 2004l, 2004m, 2004n, 2004o, 2004p, 2004q, 2004r, 2004s, 2004t, 2004u, 2004v, 2004w, 2004x, 2004y, 2004z, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d, 2005e, 2005f, 2005g, 2005h, 2005i, 2005j, 2005k, 2005l, 2005m, 2005n, 2005o, 2005p, 2005q, 2005r, 2005s, 2005t, 2005u, 2005v, 2005w, 2005x, 2005y, 2005z, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2006e, 2006f, 2006g, 2006h, 2006i, 2006j, 2006k, 2006l, 2006m, 2006n, 2006o, 2006p, 2006q, 2006r, 2006s, 2006t, 2006u, 2006v, 2006w, 2006x, 2006y, 2006z, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e, 2007f, 2007g, 2007h, 2007i, 2007j, 2007k, 2007l, 2007m, 2007n, 2007o, 2007p, 2007q, 2007r, 2007s, 2007t, 2007u, 2007v, 2007w, 2007x, 2007y, 2007z, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d, 2008e, 2008f, 2008g, 2008h, 2008i, 2008j, 2008k, 2008l, 2008m, 2008n, 2008o, 2008p, 2008q, 2008r, 2008s, 2008t, 2008u, 2008v, 2008w, 2008x, 2008y, 2008z, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d, 2009e, 2009f, 2009g, 2009h, 2009i, 2009j, 2009k, 2009l, 2009m, 2009n, 2009o, 2009p, 2009q, 2009r, 2009s, 2009t, 2009u, 2009v, 2009w, 2009x, 2009y, 2009z, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2010d, 2010e, 2010f, 2010g, 2010h, 2010i, 2010j, 2010k, 2010l, 2010m, 2010n, 2010o, 2010p, 2010q, 2010r, 2010s, 2010t, 2010u, 2010v, 2010w, 2010x, 2010y, 2010z, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2011d, 2011e, 2011f, 2011g, 2011h, 2011i, 2011j, 2011k, 2011l, 2011m, 2011n, 2011o, 2011p, 2011q, 2011r, 2011s, 2011t, 2011u, 2011v, 2011w, 2011x, 2011y, 2011z, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d, 2012e, 2012f, 2012g, 2012h, 2012i, 2012j, 2012k, 2012l, 2012m, 2012n, 2012o, 2012p, 2012q, 2012r, 2012s, 2012t, 2012u, 2012v, 2012w, 2012x, 2012y, 2012z, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d, 2013e, 2013f, 2013g, 2013h, 2013i, 2013j, 2013k, 2013l, 2013m, 2013n, 2013o, 2013p, 2013q, 2013r, 2013s, 2013t, 2013u, 2013v, 2013w, 2013x, 2013y, 2013z, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d, 2014e, 2014f, 2014g, 2014h, 2014i, 2014j, 2014k, 2014l, 2014m, 2014n, 2014o, 2014p, 2014q, 2014r, 2014s, 2014t, 2014u, 2014v, 2014w, 2014x, 2014y, 2014z, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d, 2015e, 2015f, 2015g, 2015h, 2015i, 2015j, 2015k, 2015l, 2015m, 2015n, 2015o, 2015p, 2015q, 2015r, 2015s, 2015t, 2015u, 2015v, 2015w, 2015x, 2015y, 2015z, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2016d, 2016e, 2016f, 2016g, 2016h, 2016i, 2016j, 2016k, 2016l, 2016m, 2016n, 2016o, 2016p, 2016q, 2016r, 2016s, 2016t, 2016u, 2016v, 2016w, 2016x, 2016y, 2016z, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d, 2017e, 2017f, 2017g, 2017h, 2017i, 2017j, 2017k, 2017l, 2017m, 2017n, 2017o, 2017p, 2017q, 2017r, 2017s, 2017t, 2017u, 2017v, 2017w, 2017x, 2017y, 2017z, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d, 2018e, 2018f, 2018g, 2018h, 2018i, 2018j, 2018k, 2018l, 2018m, 2018n, 2018o, 2018p, 2018q, 2018r, 2018s, 2018t, 2018u, 2018v, 2018w, 2018x, 2018y, 2018z, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d, 2019e, 2019f, 2019g, 2019h, 2019i, 2019j, 2019k, 2019l, 2019m, 2019n, 2019o, 2019p, 2019q, 2019r, 2019s, 2019t, 2019u, 2019v, 2019w, 2019x, 2019y, 2019z, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2020d, 2020e, 2020f, 2020g, 2020h, 2020i, 2020j, 2020k, 2020l, 2020m, 2020n, 2020o, 2020p, 2020q, 2020r, 2020s, 2020t, 2020u, 2020v, 2020w, 2020x, 2020y, 2020z, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2021d, 2021e, 2021f, 2021g, 2021h, 2021i, 2021j, 2021k, 2021l, 2021m, 2021n, 2021o, 2021p, 2021q, 2021r, 2021s, 2021t, 2021u, 2021v, 2021w, 2021x, 2021y, 2021z, 2022a, 2022b, 2022c, 2022d, 2022e, 2022f, 2022g, 2022h, 2022i, 2022j, 2022k, 2022l, 2022m, 2022n, 2022o, 2022p, 2022q, 2022r, 2022s, 2022t, 2022u, 2022v, 2022w, 2022x, 2022y, 2022z, 2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2023d, 2023e, 2023f, 2023g, 2023h, 2023i, 2023j, 2023k, 2023l, 2023m, 2023n, 2023o, 2023p, 2023q, 2023r, 2023s, 2023t, 2023u, 2023v, 2023w, 2023x, 2023y, 2023z, 2024a, 2024b, 2024c, 2024d, 2024e, 2024f, 2024g, 2024h, 2024i, 2024j, 2024k, 2024l, 2024m, 2024n, 2024o, 2024p, 2024q, 2024r, 2024s, 2024t, 2024u, 2024v, 2024w, 2024x, 2024y, 2024z, 2025a, 2025b, 2025c, 2025d, 2025e, 2025f, 2025g, 2025h, 2025i, 2025j, 2025k, 2025l, 2025m, 2025n, 2025o, 2025p, 2025q, 2025r, 2025s, 2025t, 2025u, 2025v, 2025w, 2025x, 2025y, 2025z, 2026a, 2026b, 2026c, 2026d, 2026e, 2026f, 2026g, 2026h, 2026i, 2026j, 2026k, 2026l, 2026m, 2026n, 2026o, 2026p, 2026q, 2026r, 2026s, 2026t, 2026u, 2026v, 2026w, 2026x, 2026y, 2026z, 2027a, 2027b, 2027c, 2027d, 2027e, 2027f, 2027g, 2027h, 2027i, 2027j, 2027k, 2027l, 2027m, 2027n, 2027o, 2027p, 2027q, 2027r, 2027s, 2027t, 2027u, 2027v, 2027w, 2027x, 2027y, 2027z, 2028a, 2028b, 2028c, 2028d, 2028e, 2028f, 2028g, 2028h, 2028i, 2028j, 2028k, 2028l, 2028m, 2028n, 2028o, 2028p, 2028q, 2028r, 2028s, 2028t, 2028u, 2028v, 2028w, 2028x, 2028y, 2028z, 2029a, 2029b, 2029c, 2029d, 2029e, 2029f, 2029g, 2029h, 2029i, 2029j, 2029k, 2029l, 2029m, 2029n, 2029o, 2029p, 2029q, 2029r, 2029s, 2029t, 2029u, 2029v, 2029w, 2029x, 2029y, 2029z, 2030a, 2030b, 2030c, 2030d, 2030e, 2030f, 2030g, 2030h, 2030i, 2030j, 2030k, 2030l, 2030m, 2030n, 2030o, 2030p, 2030q, 2030r, 2030s, 2030t, 2030u, 2030v, 2030w, 2030x, 2030y, 2030z, 2031a, 2031b, 2031c, 2031d, 2031e, 2031f, 2031g, 2031h, 2031i, 2031j, 2031k, 2031l, 2031m, 2031n, 2031o, 2031p, 2031q, 2031r, 2031s, 2031t, 2031u, 2031v, 2031w, 2031x, 2031y, 2031z, 2032a, 2032b, 2032c, 2032d, 2032e, 2032f, 2032g, 2032h, 2032i, 2032j, 2032k, 2032l, 2032m, 2032n, 2032o, 2032p, 2032q, 2032r, 2032s, 2032t, 2032u, 2032v, 2032w, 2032x, 2032y, 2032z, 2033a, 2033b, 2033c, 2033d, 2033e, 2033f, 2033g, 2033h, 2033i, 2033j, 2033k, 2033l, 2033m, 2033n, 2033o, 2033p, 2033q, 2033r, 2033s, 2033t, 2033u, 2033v, 2033w, 2033x, 2033y, 2033z, 2034a, 2034b, 2034c, 2034d, 2034e, 2034f, 2034g, 2034h, 2034i, 2034j, 2034k, 2034l, 2034m, 2034n, 2034o, 2034p, 2034q, 2034r, 2034s, 2034t, 2034u, 2034v, 2034w, 2034x, 2034y, 2034z, 2035a, 2035b, 2035c, 2035d, 2035e, 2035f, 2035g, 2035h, 2035i, 2035j, 2035k, 2035l, 2035m, 2035n, 2035o, 2035p, 2035q, 2035r, 2035s, 2035t, 2035u, 2035v, 2035w, 2035x, 2035y, 2035z, 2036a, 2036b, 2036c, 2036d, 2036e, 2036f, 2036g, 2036h, 2036i, 2036j, 2036k, 2036l, 2036m, 2036n, 2036o, 2036p, 2036q, 2036r, 2036s, 2036t, 2036u, 2036v, 2036w, 2036x, 2036y, 2036z, 2037a, 2037b, 2037c, 2037d, 2037e, 2037f, 2037g, 2037h, 2037i, 2037j, 2037k, 2037l, 2037m, 2037n, 2037o, 2037p, 2037q, 2037r, 2037s, 2037t, 2037u, 2037v, 2037w, 2037x, 2037y, 2037z, 2038a, 2038b, 2038c, 2038d, 2038e, 2038f, 2038g, 2038h, 2038i, 2038j, 2038k, 2038l, 2038m, 2038n, 2038o, 2038p, 2038q, 2038r, 2038s, 2038t, 2038u, 2038v, 2038w, 2038x, 2038y, 2038z, 2039a, 2039b, 2039c, 2039d, 2039e, 2039f, 2039g, 2039h, 2039i, 2039j, 2039k, 2039l, 2039m, 2039n, 2039o, 2039p, 2039q, 2039r, 2039s, 2039t, 2039u, 2039v, 2039w, 2039x, 2039y, 2039z, 2040a, 2040b, 2040c, 2040d, 2040e, 2040f, 2040g, 2040h, 2040i, 2040j, 2040k, 2040l, 2040m, 2040n, 2040o, 2040p, 2040q, 2040r, 2040s, 2040t, 2040u, 2040v, 2040w, 2040x, 2040y, 2040z, 2041a, 2041b, 2041c, 2041d, 2041e, 2041f, 2041g, 2041h, 2041i, 2041j, 2041k, 2041l, 2041m, 2041n, 2041o, 2041p, 2041q, 2041r, 2041s, 2041t, 2041u, 2041v, 2041w, 2041x, 2041y, 2041z, 2042a, 2042b, 2042c, 2042d, 2042e, 2042f, 2042g, 2042h, 2042i, 2042j, 2042k, 2042l, 2042m, 2042n, 2042o, 2042p, 2042q, 2042r, 2042s, 2042t, 2042u, 2042v, 2042w, 2042x, 2042y, 2042z, 2043a, 2043b, 2043c, 2043d, 2043e, 2043f, 2043g, 2043h, 2043i, 2043j, 2043k, 2043l, 2043m, 2043n, 2043o, 2043p, 2043q, 2043r, 2043s, 2043t, 2043u, 2043v, 2043w, 2043x, 2043y, 2043z, 2044a, 2044b, 2044c, 2044d, 2044e, 2044f, 2044g, 2044h, 2044i, 2044j, 2044k, 2044l, 2044m, 2044n, 2044o, 2044p, 2044q, 2044r, 2044s, 2044t, 2044u, 2044v, 2044w, 2044x, 2044y, 2044z, 2045a, 2045b, 2045c, 2045d, 2045e, 2045f, 2045g, 2045h, 2045i, 2045j, 2045k, 2045l, 2045m, 2045n, 2045o, 2045p, 2045q, 2045r, 2045s, 2045t, 2045u, 2045v, 2045w, 2045x, 2045y, 2045z, 2046a, 2046b, 2046c, 2046d, 2046e, 2046f, 2046g, 2046h, 2046i, 2046j, 2046k, 2046l, 2046m, 2046n, 2046o, 2046p, 2046q, 2046r, 2046s, 2046t, 2046u, 2046v, 2046w, 2046x, 2046y, 2046z, 2047a, 2047b, 2047c, 2047d, 2047e, 2047f, 2047g, 2047h, 2047i, 2047j, 2047k, 2047l, 2047m, 2047n, 2047o, 2047p, 2047q, 2047r, 2047s, 2047t, 2047u, 2047v, 2047w, 2047x, 2047y, 2047z, 2048a, 2048b, 2048c, 2048d, 2048e, 2048f, 2048g, 2048h, 2048i, 2048j, 2048k, 2048l, 2048m, 2048n, 2048o, 2048p, 2048q, 2048r, 2048s, 2048t, 2048u, 2048v, 2048w, 2048x, 2048y, 2048z, 2049a, 2049b, 2049c, 2049d, 2049e, 2049f, 2049g, 2049h, 2049i, 2049j, 2049k, 2049l, 2049m, 2049n, 2049o, 2049p, 2049q, 2049r, 2049s, 2049t, 2049u, 2049v, 2049w, 2049x, 2049y, 2049z, 2050a, 2050b, 2050c, 2050d, 2050e, 2050f, 2050g, 2050h, 2050i, 2050j, 2050k, 2050l, 2050m, 2050n, 2050o, 2050p, 2050q, 2050r, 2050s, 2050t, 2050u, 2050v, 2050w, 2050x, 2050y, 2050z, 2051a, 2051b, 2051c, 2051d, 2051e, 2051f, 2051g, 2051h, 2051i, 2051j, 2051k, 2051l, 2051m, 2051n, 2051o, 2051p, 2051q, 2051r, 2051s, 2051t, 2051u, 2051v, 2051w, 2051x, 2051y, 2051z, 2052a, 2052b, 2052c, 2052d, 2052e, 2052f, 2052g, 2052h, 2052i, 2052j, 2052k, 2052l, 2052m, 2052n, 2052o, 2052p, 2052q, 2052r, 2052s, 2052t, 2052u, 2052v, 2052w, 2052x, 2052y, 2052z, 2053a, 2053b, 2053c, 2053d, 2053e, 2053f, 2053g, 2053h, 2053i, 2053j, 2053k, 2053l, 2053m, 2053n, 2053o, 2053p, 2053q, 2053r, 2053s, 2053t, 2053u, 2053v, 2053w, 2053x, 2053y, 2053z, 2054a, 2054b, 2054c, 2054d, 2054e, 2054f, 2054g, 2054h, 2054i, 2054j, 2054k, 2054l, 2054m, 2054n, 2054o, 2054p, 2054q, 2054r, 2054s, 2054t, 2054u, 2054v, 2054w, 2054x, 2054y, 2054z, 2055a, 2055b, 2055c, 2055d, 2055e, 2055f, 2055g, 2055h, 2055i, 2055j, 2055k, 2055l, 2055m, 2055n, 2055o, 2055p, 2055q, 2055r, 2055s, 2055t, 2055u, 2055v, 2055w, 2055x, 2055y, 2055z, 2056a, 2056b, 2056c, 2056d, 2056e, 2056f, 2056g, 2056h, 2056i, 2056j, 2056k, 2056l, 2056m, 2056n, 2056o, 2056p, 2056q, 2056r, 2056s, 2056t, 2056u, 2056v, 2056w, 2056x, 2056y, 2056z, 2057a, 2057b, 2057c, 2057d, 2057e, 2057f, 2057g, 2057h, 2057i, 2057j, 2057k, 2057l, 2057m, 2057n, 2057o, 2057p, 2057q, 2057r, 2057s, 2057t, 2057u, 2057v, 2057w, 2057x, 2057y, 2057z, 2058a, 2058b, 2058c, 2058d, 2058e, 2058f, 2058g, 2058h, 2058i, 2058j, 2058k, 2058l, 2058m, 2058n, 2058o, 2058p, 2058q, 2058r, 2058s, 2058t, 2058u, 2058v, 2058w, 2058x, 2058y, 2058z, 2059a, 2059b, 2059c, 2059d, 2059e, 2059f, 2059g, 2059h, 2059i, 2059j, 2059k, 2059l, 2059m, 2059n, 2059o, 2059p, 2059q, 2059r, 2059s, 2059t, 2059u, 2059v, 2059w, 2059x, 2059y, 2059z, 2060a, 2*

5 ?

VI 5.2. Hier. writings  $ur-hi-TEŠUB-pa$  = TONITRUS.RHOMBUS

The reconstruction of the Cuneiform legend of Urhi-Teššub's *tuhkanti*-seal indicated as Hieroglyphic digraphs Cun. Urhi- Teššub = TONITRUS.RHOMBUS and *tuhkanti* = L.\*525 (now read PRINCEPS), which would fit well also with Kat. 51, Tanuhepa with TONITRUS RHOMBUS MAGNUS.REX (Cun. outer ring not preserved). Since TONITRUS can be read Hurrian *Teššub* as well as Hittite *Tarhun(d)a*, the writing must be taken as reversed, *Teššub-urhi*, exactly paralleling the writing TONITRUS (MAGNUS) REX = Cun. *Šarri-Teššub* on Kat. 39 (= *sari-TEŠUB-pa*, Kat. 40-41). Thus Kat. 51, Tanuhepa with TONITRUS.RHOMBUS is clearly simply a variant writing to that on Kat. 52, Tanuhepa with Urhi-Teššub, on which the reconstructed Cun. outer ring gives for the first time the unambiguously recognized Cun. digraph [<sup>1</sup>*u*]r-hi-<sup>D</sup>U-ub for the long since recognized Hier.

?  $ur-hi-TEŠUB-pa$ <sup>106</sup>.

It may be noted that Urhi-Teššub follows his father Muwatalli in using two different Hieroglyphic writings for his Hurrian name, one logographic (reverse writing), one semi-phonetic  $TEŠUB-pa$  writing. Note also his assumption of the title *tabarna* on Kat. 52, the first king who is seen to do so, also <sup>D</sup>UTU-ŠI *taparna* on Kat. 55-56, as Muwatalli had been the first to use <sup>D</sup>UTU-ŠI (Kat. 39-40).

### VI 5.3. Urhi-Teššub with Tanuhepa

These two seals of Urhi-Teššub with Tanuhepa are probably his earliest seals, Kat. 52, because as noted above it appears on two-sided bullae paired with impressions of Muwatalli's seals used posthumously, and Kat. 51 because it writes Urhi-Teššub in the same way as on his *tuhkanti* seal. It has also been argued above that the seals with sinistroverse Mursili with Tanuhepa (Kat. 61-63) are probably attributable to Urhi-Teššub/Mursili (III), partly on the grounds of TI.SIG<sub>5</sub> and TI at the end of the Tanuhepa titulary (Kat. 61, 62), also because on Kat. 63 [(<sup>D</sup>UTU- ŠI) *tabarna* <sup>1</sup>*mursili*] looks to be the most fitting restoration in the other Cuneiform ring between NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB [...] [LUGAL GAL]. If this is correct, we may suppose that Urhi-Teššub deliberately wrote his Mursili name sinistroverse to distinguish it from the dextroverse writings of his grandfather's name.

italics?

would be really?

### VI 5.4. The *Umarmungssiegel*

<sup>106</sup> Tentatively Güterbock 1940, 27 f.; confidently Beran 1967, 41 nos. 226. 227.



A novelty of the Nişantepe archive was impressions of a fine *Umarmungssiegel* of Urhi-Teššub/Mursili III, already included in Otten's preliminary publication of 1993<sup>107</sup>, where errors in the drawing of Bo 91/852 are noted<sup>108</sup>, which mistakenly indicate it to be an impression of a different seal. In fact my collation confirms that all impressions including those listed in n. 33 are from the same seal. The outer ring of the cuneiform legend is nowhere preserved except for a single trace on Kat. 53.1 at 12 o'clock, but significantly, as Otten<sup>109</sup> points out this gives the [D]U-up of the name Urhi-Teššub, paralleled in the centre by the Hieroglyphic URBS + RA/I-li, and this disposes of the unfortunate attempt of C. Mora to separate Mursili III from Urhi-Teššub<sup>110</sup>. To fill the space in the outer ring perhaps this reading should suffice:

*Hal.* [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB DUTU-ŠI la-ba-ar-na <sup>1</sup>ur-hi-D] U-up [LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR URUha-at-ti UR.SAG] (cf. Kat. 55-56). The inner ring would then continue:

NA-RA-AM DU u DUTU URUa-ri-na DUMU <sup>1</sup>NIR.GÁL etc.

This would avoid placing the *NARĀM* formula after the affiliation, as Otten supposed<sup>111</sup>, although in fact there are several examples of this order of clauses among the Nişantepe seal legends: see e.g. Kat. 39 (Šarri-Teššub), 52 (Urhi-Teššub), 66 (Hattusili III).

Otten also expresses doubts on the Storm-God epigraph over the hand of the deity<sup>112</sup> – justifiably so since the drawings of this group are actually incorrect. Careful examination and comparison of all examples show that apparent variations between the examples of the epigraph are due only to the character of each impression, whether well and deeply or only lightly stamped (Abb. 26). A curious fact emerges from this scrutiny when one compares this epigraph with that on Muwatalli's *Umarmungssiegel*, which reads:

MAGNUS.TONITRUS.CAELUM, "Great Storm(-God) of Heaven" (the omission of DEUS before TONITRUS is peculiar).

On the *Umarmungssiegel* of Mursili III on the other hand, the definitely recognizable signs read DEUS.TONITRUS MAGNUS.REX CAELUM, but the REX is flanked by an outward-curving stroke on each side (Abb. 26), giving it the appearance of the TONITRUS of Muwatalli's seal, perhaps deliberately, and it is this which has misled the artist into drawing TONITRUS<sup>113</sup>. I can only suggest that this is some kind of graphic play with the signs: it

Abb. 26:  
I have added Christians's drawing of the Storm-God epigraph here (see also list d. Abb.)

<sup>107</sup> Otten 1993, 22-27.

<sup>108</sup> Otten 1993, 25 Abb. 20.

<sup>109</sup> Otten 1993, 27.

<sup>110</sup> So Otten 1993, 27 with n. 38; cf. Beal 2002, 57 f. and n. 90.

<sup>111</sup> Otten 1993, 26.

<sup>112</sup> Otten 1993, 27 with n. 37.

<sup>113</sup> *apud* Otten 1993, 25 Abb. 20.

some times with,  
some times without space.

cannot be read other than as indicated, “Storm-God, Great King of Heaven” (ignoring the flanking strokes). Such a title without GAL, “great”, is attested for the Storm-God on the Muwatalli Prayer and the Ulmi-Teššub treaty<sup>114</sup> (cf. below, Kat. 101). We may also note, as perhaps relevant to a playful writing, that the epigraph does contain in its heart the writing of Urhi-Teššub’s father’s name TONITRUS MAGNUS REX (*Teššub-Šarri*), as seen on Kat. 39.

#### VI 5.5. Mursili III

The two <sup>?</sup>great seals of Urhi-Teššub as Mursili III (Kat. 55 and 56) are both now represented by almost completely preserved impressions and enormous numbers of others. The earliest known, incomplete example of Kat. 55 was already identifiable as a seal of Urhi-Teššub from the genealogy<sup>115</sup>, but additional impressions of the seal giving the king’s name in the Cun. outer ring only appeared in 1953<sup>116</sup>, which established that the central Hieroglyphs were indeed to be read *Mursili*, thus that Urhi-Teššub used the name Mursili (III). At almost exactly the same time the digraphic seals of Mursili II were found at Ras Shamra, also confirming the Cun. reading of the Hieroglyphs<sup>117</sup>. These two seals remain the only clear and unequivocal evidence for Urhi-Teššub’s use of the name Mursili, though they are supplemented by his *Umarmungssiegel* on which as noted above the central Mursili Hieroglyphs are matched by the trace in the Cun. ring [*urhi-D*]U-up. The magnificent Storm-God in chariot seal, the apogee of the Hittite seal-cutter’s art, with its sinistroverse *Mursili* Hier. epigraph, could on stylistic grounds hardly be attributed to Mursili II. Yet there is no unequivocal evidence in the texts for the name *Mursili* being used of Urhi-Teššub, although examples of this have been sought and proposed, e.g. in the difficult fragment *KUB XXXI 33*<sup>118</sup>. We thus have no evidence as to whether he could have borne the name Mursili before his accession, perhaps unlikely for a *pahhurzi* son of a concubine, or whether in fact he assumed it as king, in an effort to bolster the legitimacy of his succession, as has been supposed<sup>119</sup>.

#### VI 5.5. The “Malnigal” seal

The impression of this unique seal, of unrecorded provenance but presumably from the Winckler excavations since it was already known to Forrer before 1926 (BoTU 2, p.\*14),

<sup>114</sup> Van Gessel 1998, 783.

<sup>115</sup> Güterbock 1935, 64 f. and Taf. 26, 5.


<sup>116</sup> Otten 1955, 19-22..

<sup>117</sup> Güterbock 1956, pp.161-163.

<sup>118</sup> See Houwink ten Cate 1974, 127 f.; Houwink ten Cate 1994, 240-242.

<sup>119</sup> e.g. by Beran 1967, p.75.

raises problems still not fully resolved but certainly affected by data from Nişantepe. The central Cun. inscription was read *ma-al-ni-gal* MUNUS.LUGAL, and considered to be the Hurrian name of a queen of a Mursili read on the Cun. outer ring, followed by a queen whose name began *ʿta*-[...]. The discovery of the Ras Shamra seal of Suppiluliuma with Great Queen Tawananna gave in the centre Hier. inscription the queen's name written *X-na-Y-la*, for which the only comparandum seemed to be *Malnigal*. Laroche<sup>120</sup> recorded this without enthusiasm, though it has generally been accepted but occasionally doubted. (Laroche himself did not accept it)<sup>121</sup>. Beran<sup>122</sup> proposed to read the queen's name on the outer circle *ʿta*-[*wa-na-an-n*]a, and considered its relation to "Malnigal". More recently Salvini has studied the piece<sup>123</sup>: he accepted the outer ring *ʿta*-[*wanann*]a but rejected the centre read as a queen's name, with which we must agree, but after collating the piece<sup>124</sup> he read the outer ring: <sup>m</sup>*mur-*

7. *ši-li*  *ʿta-nu*? [*he*?-*pa*?] LUGAL G[AL MU]NUS LUGAL.

?  
└─┐ (x2)

This we must accept as the latest pronouncement on the piece, but it still leaves us with the problem of whether this is Mursili II or III with Tanuhepa. Salvini notes Mora's arguments<sup>125</sup> in favour of a late dating, but cautions that the late form of the *li* in *Mursili*, important to Mora's case, is also found on the Ugarit seal of Mursili II alongside the earlier form (used in the patronym Suppiluliuma). I would point out however that the *li* in the impression on RS 17.382 (not 17.237!) cannot be verified on the photographs<sup>126</sup> and appears to be somewhat damaged; further that in my observation the late *li* is not found elsewhere on Bo. royal seals until those of Tudhaliya IV. We may well accept then that this is a seal of Mursili (III) with Tanuhepa.

Although the central *ma-al-ni*(-GAL) remains unexplained (Salvini's proposal "*malni* to the Great Queen"<sup>127</sup> awaits corroboration), it is now clearly ruled out as being the personal name of Tawananna<sup>128</sup>.

## VI 6. HATTUSILI III and PUDUHEPA

<sup>120</sup> Laroche 1956, p.100.

<sup>121</sup> Laroche 1960, no.271.

<sup>122</sup> Beran 1967, 33. 69.

<sup>123</sup> Salvini 1990, 455-459.

<sup>124</sup> Salvini 1990, addendum 461 f.; Salvini 1992, 155 f.

<sup>125</sup> Mora 1989.

<sup>126</sup> Schaeffer 1956, 9 Fig.8 and Pl.II.

<sup>127</sup> Salvini 1990, 458 f.

<sup>128</sup> So Otten 1995, 24; Carruba 1998, 114 f.; Börker Klähn's forlorn attempt (Börker-Klähn 1995) to re-establish "Malnigal" cannot achieve this.

The seals of Hattusili alone (Kat. 66-69) and Hattusili with Puduhepa (Kat. 70-83) are mostly known from sufficient examples to permit more or less complete reconstructions of their Cuneiform legends, whether one<sup>9</sup> or two<sup>9</sup> rings (Kat. 66, 68, 69, 70, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82). These do not contribute any new information on the dynasty. Otten devoted two short articles to these seals<sup>129</sup>, in which he noted the salient points: (1) (Kat. 67) inner ring UR.SAG *NARĀM* DU URU *nirik* *NARĀM* DINANNA URU *samuha*; (2) (Kat. 66) inner ring DUMU *ḥmursili* LUGAL GAL UR.SAG *NARĀM* DU URU *nirik* ..., thus the *NARĀM*-clause following instead of preceding the affiliation; (3) (Kat. 70-73) appearance of Puduhepa Great Queen in the Hier. centre but not mentioned in the Cun. inner ring where the Kat. 67 formula is maintained. Even after the full reconstructions of the Cun. legends, there is nothing to add to or correct in his observations.

It remains to note the seal of Hattusili with Puduhepa Kat. 83, the only well attested and clear seal on which Puduhepa's Hier. name is placed on the left and the Hattusili Hieroglyph is dextroverse. Impressions of the same seal were found at Ras Shamra on tablets RS 18.03, 17.229, 17.130. The seal is curious in its single ring Cun. legend where the NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB *ḥattusili* LUGAL.GAL is followed directly, without *NARĀM*, by DINANNA DIM written with somewhat peculiar sign-forms. Laroche in his edition misread the gods' names (from photographs and/or casts?) as the title QA-RA-[D]I-IM<sup>130</sup>. Again we note the absence of Puduhepa's name from the Cuneiform legend.

Puduhepa was already known from seals of herself alone (Tarsus and Ras Shamra), and is now represented at Nişantepe by four seals Kat. 85-88, the first three of which preserve Cuneiform inscriptions. Kat. 86 gives her her well known title "daughter of Kummanni", while Kat. 87 has the unparalleled X *Dša-la*, where the partially damaged sign x should stand either for "priestess" or "beloved", or some variant of these, but has not been positively identified. awkward

Kat. 85 shows the curious feature of two rings of Cuneiform legend, the outer of which, though partially reconstructed, appears to bear a legend identical with that of inner:  
 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB *ḥpu-du-ḥé-pa* MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL MUNUS LUGAL KUR *ha-at-ti* NA-RA-AM *Dhé-bat*. This repetition leads Otten to suggest that the seal was used by Puduhepa after the death of Hattusili III to assert a claim to sole rule (*Alleinvertretungsanspruch*). This seems rather a lot to infer from the evidence, and Otten's comparison of a supposedly similar seal of

<sup>129</sup> Otten 1993; Otten 1995.

<sup>130</sup> Laroche 1956, 108 f.

Tudhaliya IV is shown by the complete reconstruction of its Cuneiform legend to be unfounded (see below, Kap. VI 7 [seals type 2]).

## VI 7. TUDHALIYA IV

Tudhaliya's seals may be grouped as follows:

type 1. Name written "MONS<sub>2</sub> (mountain-god) + *TU*" (Kat. 89-100)

all with single ring Cuneiform legend

type 2. Name written MONS + *TU* (Kat. 112-127)

all with double ring Cuneiform legend

type 3. "Tašmi-Šarruma" seals (Kat. 110, 111)

one known from Ras Sharma, one new

double ring Cuneiform legend (outer ring poorly or not preserved)

type 4. *ŠAR KIŠŠATI* seal (Kat. 134)


already known

type 5. Tabloid seal (Kat. 102, 104 with 103; 129, 130 with 131)

reconstruction of originals proposed

type 6. Cylinder seal (Kat. 101)

Examples of types 1 and 2 were already known (*SBo* I no. 63/B. 160; *SBo* I no. 53-57/B. 190-196 – *SBo* I no. 52/B. 90 is type 5), but the Nišantepe impressions are the first to preserve substantial parts of the Cuneiform legends permitting more or less complete reconstructions. The single ring Cuneiform legends of type 1 and double ring of type 2 are noteworthy features.

It is also worth noting that Tudhaliya is the first king to introduce the late form of *li* () into his Cuneiform legends, using it always in his and his father's names except in Kat. 96, 97 and 115 inner ring.

Type 1 has at simplest (Kat. 89-91) the legend:

NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB *tabarna* <sup>1</sup>*tudhaliya* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR *hatti*

to which may be added

(Kat. 93) UR.SAG *NARĀM* <sup>DIM</sup> *ŠAMÉ*

or (Kat. 96-97) UR.SAG *NARĀM* <sup>DU</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *nerik*

or (Kat. 94) UR.SAG <sup>LÚ</sup> *SANGA*.GAL <sup>ŠA</sup> <sup>DUTU</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *arinna* GAŠAN-*IA*

Type 2 has only two examples with reconstructable legends:

(Kat. 116) (outer ring) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB *ta-ba-[ar-na 'tu-ud-ha-di-i]a* LUGAL.GAL [LUGAL KUR *hatti* UR.] SAG *NARĀM* (inner) <sup>1</sup>IM U[<sup>RU</sup>*neri*]k(?) DUMU *'ha-ad-du-ši-li* LUGAL. [GAL LUGA]L KUR *hatti* UR.SAG

(Kat. 115) (outer ring) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB *tabarna 'dudhali[ya]* LUGAL GAL [LUGAL KUR *hatti* (? – uncertain spacing) DUMU <sup>1</sup>ha-[*ad*]-*du-ši-li* LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG (inner) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB *tabarna 'dudhaliya* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR *hatti*

Noteworthy is that the affiliation clauses are found not in the single Cuneiform ring of type 1 but only in the double rings of type 2. There Kat. 116 has the relatively normally patterned NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB RN<sub>1</sub> + titles *NARĀM* DN DUMU RN<sub>2</sub> + titles. Kat. 115 on the other hand has (outer ring) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB RN<sub>1</sub> + titles DUMU RN<sub>2</sub> + titles, (inner) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB RN<sub>1</sub> + titles repeated. When only incomplete examples were known before the full reconstruction of the legend, this unusual patterning led to some inferences which may now be seen to be invalid. C. Mora from an earlier discovered impression of the seal Kat. 115 from Ras Shamra, RSL 2, proposed to restore in the outer ring the name, titles and affiliation of Hattusili, and inferred from this a coregency of Tudhaliya with his father<sup>131</sup>. Otten from a partial reading of the impressions of Kat. 115 noted the invalidity of Mora's proposal, but assumed that the outer and inner rings bore duplicate legends of Tudhaliya, parallel to the duplicate legends of Puduhepa on Kat. 85<sup>132</sup>. As noted above, he inferred from this a power struggle between Puduhepa and Tudhaliya after Hattusili's death<sup>133</sup>. As shown by the full reconstruction, the Tudhaliya leg of this theory is fallacious, but in any case it seemed a rather weighty inference for the slender evidence. The duplicate legend of Puduhepa and the repetition in Tudhaliya's legend do however remain unexplained. We may also note that van den Hout's theory of coregency of Tudhaliya with Hattusili<sup>134</sup> is now deprived of the support of Mora's restoration and depends solely on his reconstruction of the oracle evidence.

**Seals type 3** are named the "Tašmi-Šarruma" seals from the occurrence in the Hieroglyphic centre of an apparent second name of Tudhaliya for which Sedat Alp proposed the reading *Tašmi-Šarruma* and the identification with the homonymous prince attested in Cuneiform sources<sup>135</sup>. The writing first appeared on the impression of a great seal of Tudhaliya on the Ras Shamra tablet RS 17.159, and fragmentary Nišantepe impressions of the

<sup>131</sup> Mora 1987; Mora 1988.

<sup>132</sup> Otten 1993.

<sup>133</sup> Otten 1993, 112.

<sup>134</sup> Van den Hout 1991.

<sup>135</sup> Alp 1998.

Mora 1987? please add to bibliography

Corum Congr (Ankara 1998)?  
1998 and 1998?

same seal Kat. 10 are now joined by those of another seal Kat. 111, on which the L.418-*ŠARRUMA* occurs twice in a double writing of the great aedicula flanked by MONS + *TU* writings of Tudhaliya's name<sup>136</sup>. As noted above, the definitive establishment of the second (Hurrian) name of Muwatalli II as Šarri-Teššub by the seal Kat. 39 lends the strongest support for taking L.418-*ŠARRUMA* as a second name of Tudhaliya and against van den Hout's suggestion that it could be an epithet, and it leaves Alp's suggested reading and identification as the most probable. See above. the discussion of second names, under MUWATALLI II (Kap. VI 4.2).

The seal legends would both have been two-ringed. The Ras Shamra impression has the inner ring largely preserved and restorable, and a part of the outer at 10-1 o'clock<sup>137</sup>. Kat. 111 has part of the inner ring only at 12-3 o'clock, but enough to suggest that the two seals had the same legend: it reads *ṭpu-du-h[é-b]at MUNUS.LUGAL GAL MUNUS LUG[AL ...]*, as does the Ras Shamra impression in approximately the same position. For the reading of the remains of the outer ring of the latter Laroche<sup>138</sup> gives:

... LUG]AL GAL UR.SA[G] (then descending to inner *ṭpu-du-h[e-pa ...]*), though it must be said that the outer ring traces look much more like

... LUGAL KUR] *ha-at-ti* UR.SAG NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB [ ...

This is certainly what would be expected, though it is difficult to check from the photographs as published. In any case it is clear that the outer ring must have contained Tudhaliya's name + titles, son of Hattusili + titles.

Laroche's reading *QAR-RA-A-TI* as an Akkadographic writing for UR.SAG would be unparalleled (note the correction of his reading *QA-RA-[D]I-IM* on Kat. 82 and its Ras Shamra impression) either on seals or in texts and is also difficult to check on photographs. If correctly read, its use might have been dictated by the need to fill the space.

For the reading of the Sun-Deity's Hieroglyphic epigraph on the Ras Shamra seal DEUS.SOL.SOL as "Sun-goddess of Arinna", see Hawkins<sup>139</sup>.

**Seals type 5**, two pairs of closely similar seals of slightly different dimensions have been reconstructed from impressions Kat. 104 and 129, 102 and 130, with inscriptions Kat. 103 and 131 (see above, Kap. IV 3). Even if the suggestions that the second of each pair backed up the first as part of the same seal is not correct, the reconstructed Cuneiform legends call for comment here.

<sup>136</sup> Otten 1993, 35-40.

<sup>137</sup> Schaeffer 1956, 20 fig. 25, printed upside-down.

<sup>138</sup> Laroche 1956, 111.

<sup>139</sup> Hawkins 1995, 32.

(A) Kat. 129/130 with 131

1. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB DUTU-Š/

2. [la]-ba-a(r-na) ?

3. [ ... x x x ... ]

4. <sup>1</sup>l[u-u]d-ha-li-i[a]

5. LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR h[a-at-ti]

6. A <sup>1</sup>ha-at-tu-ši-[li]

“Seal of My Sun, Tabarna, [ ... ?] Tudhaliya, Great King, King of the land Hatti, son of Hattusili

(B) Kat. 104/102 with 103

1. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB DUTU-[Š/]

2. la-ba-ar-[na]

3. <sup>1</sup>tu-ud-ha-li-ia

4. LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR ha-at-ti

5. UZU(?) <sup>URU</sup>kum-ma<<-a-na>>-an[-ni]

“Seal of My Sun, Tabarna, Tudhaliya, Great King, King of the land Hatti, *flesh*(?) of the

(?) / city Kumma<<>>anni?

Comments

(A) 3. This apparent line is discussed, inconclusively, with the reconstruction (above, Kap. IV.3).

6. A <sup>1</sup>hattusili: A as alternative for DUMU, “son”, is as far as I am aware unparalleled in Boğazköy usage, but was presumably adopted by Tudhaliya as an Assyrianism like other of his seal practices (ŠAR KIŠŠATI seal, cylinder seal).

(B) 6. UZU(?) <sup>URU</sup>kum-ma<<-a-na>>-an[<sup>ni</sup>]: this line parallel to A <sup>1</sup>hattusili presumably refers to Tudhaliya’s descent, in which context <sup>URU</sup>kum-ma ... can surely only refer to

Kummanni, his mother’s Heimat. Yet something seems to have gone wrong with the cutting of the inscription: there is an oddly written and superfluous -a-na(?) before the expected -an[-<sup>ni</sup>]. Further, what is the sign before <sup>URU</sup>? The left ~~hand~~ edge of (B) 5 preserving this sign is visible only on the impression Kat. 103.6 Abdr. A, from which it is included in the

reconstruction. Clearly it must express as a logogram Tudhaliya’s relationship to Kummanni through his mother, thus “scion” or the like. The sign appears to begin with two horizontals followed by a broken vertical, for which only HZL nos. 201-203 (GÚ, DUR, UZU) offer a match. Of these only UZU, “flesh”, seems at all appropriate, though not to my knowledge

speed  
why not  
homeland?  
#/

?



used in such a context. Other more appropriate logograms such as NUMUN, “seed”, hardly fit the sign-form.

*Seal type 6*, Tudhaliya’s cylinder seal, is discussed in detail by S. Herbordt (see above, IV<sup>40</sup>), who sees the creation of a cylinder seal for Tudhaliya, unprecedented in Hatti, as resulting from Assyrian influence. She reports the suggestion of J. Hazenbos that the seal could represent a joint seal of the god and the king, paralleled by the Hittite seal on the silver tablet version of the Hittite-Egyptian treaty as described in the Hieroglyphic text. He would restore [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB DU/IM] URU<sup>40</sup>kum-m[a-an-ni] LUGAL AN-e [ ... ] NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB DUTU-ši etc. However it does not seem self-evident from the wording of the Hieroglyphic description of the seal that the god and the king actually share a seal, rather that the king sealed the treaty with the god’s seal.

However this may be, I would offer the following alternative suggestion: the signs in front of the god could represent the end of the inscription which encircled the entire cylinder, thus

reading

NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB DUTU-[Š]

ta-ba-ar-[na]

LUGAL [GAL] UR.[SAG]

tu-ud-ha-[li-ia]

[LUGAL KUR ha-at-ti]

[perhaps affiliation: DUMU hattusili etc.]

[NA-RA-AM DU/IM]

URU<sup>40</sup>kum-m[a-an-ni]

LUGAL AN-e x ... x ...

## VI 8. KURUNTIYA

For this reading of the name, as against the Akkadographic *Kurunta*, see Hawkins<sup>141</sup>.

The occurrence in the Nišantepe corpus of these two seals of Kuruntiya Kat. 136, 137, along with the earlier Bo 86(?) in all of which he takes the full great aedicula of the Great Kings of Hattusa, is certainly of considerable significance for the dynasty, as is also the subsequent discovery of his rock relief HATIP, where he styles himself “Great King, Hero,

<sup>140</sup> Also Herbordt 2006.

<sup>141</sup> Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005, 290.

add (unless you quote it)

140a

E. Edel, Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Hattusili III. von Hatti

son of Muwatalli Great King, Hero”<sup>142</sup>. Unfortunately in the absence of any textual evidence to explain these, the significance eludes us. Some have followed the suggestion of the excavator of the seal impressions, seeing them as evidence of a temporary but unsuccessful coup d’état on the part of Kuruntiya claiming his birthright as Great King of Hattusa, while others have sought a more pacific explanation<sup>143</sup>. The fact remains that at present we lack evidence in either direction.

#### VI 9. ARNUWANDA III

The large and pompous bullae of this little-known king with their inscriptions in weird or archaizing Cuneiform (Kat. 138, 139) contribute nothing to our perception of his obscure reign.

#### VI 10. SUPPILULIUMA II

In contrast to the overblown seals of his brother, those of Suppiluliuma II as far as known to us are as modest as those of his great predecessor Suppiluliuma I. In addition to impressions of seals already known (Kat. 146, 147, = B.165, 166), a previously unknown seal appears with Kat. 148, while B.167, an impression found in 1955, has not reappeared in a new example. The Cuneiform legends, one-ring in all known seals, are extremely terse, lacking even the NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB, reading only <sup>1</sup>*Suppiluliuma* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR *ha-ti* (Kat. 146, 147). The new seal Kat. 148 prefixes this with NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB *tabarna*.

In 1967 Otten (correcting Beran) pointed out the distinction between the seals of Suppiluliuma I and II, namely the different renderings of the *suppi* (PURUS, L.322): I showing four vertical “bars” in the central space, II lacking these<sup>144</sup>. All new Great King seals known since then from Nişantepe follow this distinction. In 1995 I had to re-examine this question in the light of a group of impressions, principally excavated by Neve in 1987 in Temple 2, also an earlier example<sup>145</sup> and two from Nişantepe, Kat. 12, 13, reading REX *Suppiluliuma* REX using the “barred *šuppi*; and also in the context of the SÜDBURG inscription, attributed to Suppiluliuma II, where the relief *suppi*-sign bore the surface markings of four vertical incisions, seemingly corresponding to the “bars” of the *suppi* on

<sup>142</sup> For the seal impression see Neve 1987, 401 f. Abb. 20; and for the rock relief, most recently Ehringhaus, 2005, 101-107 with bibliography.

<sup>143</sup> See Klengel 1999, 290; Singer 1996.

<sup>144</sup> Otten 1967, 226-228.

<sup>145</sup> Beran 1957, Taf. 29, 8.

seals<sup>146</sup>. Neve dated the Westbau example Kat. 12 to Suppiluliuma II on the grounds of its find-spot in room 3 with seal impressions of Kuruntiya, Arnuwanda III, Tudhaliya IV and Hattusili III (for a re-evaluation of the find-spot see above Herbordt, Kap. II 4.1)<sup>147</sup>, while D. Bawanyeck dates the group to Suppiluliuma I on the grounds of the appearance of the sign TI, "life", on the example published by Beran<sup>148</sup> (see above Bawanyeck, Kap. V Kommentar Kat. 12-13). Neither dating seems very secure for these unusual seals, though if they belonged to Suppiluliuma II his use of the "barred" *suppi* would call for comment as I assumed in 1985, but what I argued then remains the case for the SÜDBURG *suppis*. Suppiluliuma II might have been an ordinary king during the Great Kingship of his brother, as was Hattusili III, or Suppiluliuma I during the Great Kingship of his father, but we have no other evidence for either.

I have added cross-references

## Bibliography

Alp 1980

S. Alp, Die hethitischen Tontafelentdeckungen auf dem Maşat-höyük, *Belleten* 44, 1980, 26-

59  
S. Alp 1998a — I think you have also quoted Alp's contribution at the Hittite Congr. Forum 1996 (Ankara 1998) see footnote no. 102  
Alp 1998b

S. Alp, Zur Datierung des Ulmitešup-Vertrages, *AoF* 25, 1998, 54-60

so perhaps there should be a 1998a + 1998b

Beal 1983

R. H. Beal, Studies in Hittite History, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 35, 1983, 115-119

please check your text

Beal 1992

R. H. Beal, The Organisation of the Hittite Military, *THeth* 20 (Heidelberg 1992)

Beal 2002

R. H. Beal, The Hurrian Dynasty and the Double Names of Hittite Kings, in: S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (Hrsg.), *Anatolia Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, *Eothen* 11 (Florenz 2002) 55-70.

Beckman 1996

G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta 1996)

Beran 1957

T. Beran, Siegel und Siegelabdrücke, in: K. Bittel – R. Naumann – T. Beran – R. Hachmann – G. Kurth, *Boğazköy III. Funde aus den Grabungen 1952-1955* (Berlin 1957) 42-59

<sup>146</sup> Hawkins 1995, 31.

<sup>147</sup> Neve 1992a, 401-404, esp. 404.

<sup>148</sup> Beran 1957, Taf. 29, 8

Beran 1967

T. Beran, Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy, Boğazköy-Hattuša V (Berlin 1967)

Börker-Klähn 1995

J. Börker-Klähn, Malnigal, IstMitt 45, 1995, 169-173.

Bryce 1998

T. Bryce, xxx *The Kingdom of the Hittites (Oxford 1998)* ?

Carruba 1998a

O. Carruba, Hethitische Dynasten zwischen altem und neuem Reich, in: S. Alp – A. Stiel (Hrsg.), Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology Çorum, September 16-22, 1996 (Ankara 1998) 87-107

Carruba 1998b

O. Carruba, Tawananna I. Babilonia hieroglyphica, ZA 88, 1998, 114-126

Carruba 2000

O. Carruba, Tawananna II. De magnae filiae regis cognominis significatione atque usu, in: xxx

*title* (Hrsg.), Studi sul Vicino Oriente Antico, Gs. Cagni (Naples 2000) 71-83 *needed are the names of all editors and the full title of the GS*

Carruba 2005a

O. Carruba, Tuthaliya 00I (and Hattusili II), AoF 32, 2005, 246-271

Carruba 2005b

O. Carruba, Dokumente für die Zeit Tudhaliyas I. und Hattusilis II., in: A. Stiel (Hrsg.), Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum September 2-8, 2002 (Ankara 2005) 179-205

Dinçol et al. 1993

A. und B. Dinçol – J. D. Hawkins – G. Wilhelm, The 'Cruciform Seal' from Boğazköy-Hattusa, IstMitt 43, 1993, 87-106

Dinçol 2001

A. Dinçol, Ein interessanter Siegelabdruck aus Boğazköy und die damit verknüpften historischen Fragen, in: G. Wilhelm (Hrsg.), Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999, StBoT 45 (Wiesbaden 2001) 89-97

Ehringhaus 2005

H. Ehringhaus, Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt (Mainz 2005)

Freu 1995

J. Freu, De l'ancien royaume au nouvel empire: les temps obscur de la monarchie hittite, in:

O. Carruba – M. Giorgieri – C. Mora (Hrsg.), Atti del II congresso internazional di hittitologia, Studia Mediterranea 9 (Pavia 1995) 133-148

Freu 1996

J. Freu, La "Revolution dynastique" du Grand Roi de Hatti Tuthaliya I, *Hethitica* 13, 1996, 17-38.

Freu 2002

J. Freu, Deux princes-prêtres de Kizzuwatna, Kantuzzili et Telipinu, *Hethitica* 15, 2002, 66-80

Van Gessel 1998

B. H. L. van Gessel, Onomastikon des hethitischen Pantheons, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden 1998)

Güterbock 1935

H. G. Güterbock, Hieroglyphen, in: K. Bittel – H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy I* (Berlin 1935)

Güterbock 1940

H. G. Güterbock, Siegel aus Bogazköy I. Die Königssiegel der Grabungen bis 1938, *SBo I, AfO Beih.* 5 (Berlin 1940)

Güterbock 1956

H. G. Güterbock, L'inscription hiéroglyphique hittite sur la matrice du sceau de Mursili II provenant de Ras Shamra, in: C. F. A. Schaeffer (Hrsg.), *Ugaritica III, Mission de Ras Shamra* 8 (Paris 1956) 161-163

Hawkins 1995

J. D. Hawkins, The Hieroglyphic inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa, *StBoT Beih.* 3 (Wiesbaden 1995)

Hawkins 2001

J. D. Hawkins, Urhi Tešub *tuhkanti*, in: G. Wilhelm (Hrsg.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, *StBoT* 45 (Wiesbaden 2001) 167-179

Heinhold-Krahmer 2001

S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Zur Diskussion um einen zweiten Namen Tudhaliyas IV., in: G. Wilhelm (Hrsg.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, *StBoT* 45 (Wiesbaden 2001) 180-198

Herbordt 2003

S. Herbordt, Eine gesiegelte Tonbulle mit Hieroglypheninschrift des Kantuzzili des Prinzen von 'Groß Hatti', apud J. Seeher, *Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 2002*, *AA* 2003, 21-24

Herbordt 2005

S. Herbordt, Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullien aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa, Boğazköy-Hattuša XIX (Mainz 2005)

Herbordt 2006

S. Herbordt, The Hittite Royal Cylinder Seal of Tuthaliya IV, in: P. Taylor (Hrsg.), The Iconography of Cylinder Seals, Warburg Institute Colloquia 9 (London 2006) 207-211

Herbordt – Alkan 2000

S. Herbordt – M. Alkan, Ein scheibenförmiges Hieroglyphensiegel im Sivas Museum,

Archivum Anatolicum 4, 2000, 89-98

van den Hout 1998

van den Hout 1991 = ?? see p. 31

T. van den Hout, The Purity of Kingship (Leiden 1998)

Houwink ten Cate 1974

P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, The Early and Late Phases of Urhi-Tesub's Career, in: K. Bittel –

P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate – E. Reiner (Hrsg.), Studies Presented to H. G. Güterbock,

PIHANS 31 (Istanbul 1974) 123-150

Houwink ten Cate 1994

P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, Urhi-Tessub Revisited, BiOr 51, 1994, 233-259

Houwink ten Cate 1995/96

P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, The Geneology of Mursilis II, Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux 34, 1995/96, 51-72

Houwink ten Cate 1998

P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, An Alternative Date for the Sunassuras Treaty, AoF 25, 1998, 34-53

Klengel 1999

H. Klengel, Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches, Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden 1999)

Košak 1996

S. Košak, Ein hethitisches *ghost word* entgeistert, AoF 23, 1996, 95-97

Laroche 1956

E. Laroche, Documents hiéroglyphiques hittites provenant du palais d'Ugarit, in: C. F. A. Schaeffer (Hrsg.), Ugaritica III, Mission de Ras Shamra 8 (Paris 1956) 97-160

Laroche 1960

E. Laroche, Les hiéroglyphes hittites (Paris 1960)

de Martino 1991

S. de Martino, Himuili, Kantuzili e la presa del potere di Tudhaliya, in: F. Imparati (Hrsg.), Quattro studi ittiti, Eothen 4 (Florenz 1991) 5-21

Miller 2004

J. Miller, Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals, StBoT 46 (Wiesbaden 2004)

Mora 1987

C. Mora, xxx

7. 2004. 21

Mora 1988

C. Mora, Ipotesi sull'ultimo periodo dell'impero ittita, Athenaeum 66, 1988, 553-576

Mora 1989

C. Mora, La datazione di "Malnigal", OrAnt 28, 1989, 183-191

Neve 1987

P. Neve, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1986, AA 1987, 381-412

Neve 1991

P. Neve, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1990, AA 1991, 299-348

Neve 1992a

P. Neve, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1991, AA 1992, 307-338

Neve 1992b

P. Neve, Hattusa – Stadt der Götter und Tempel, Antike Welt 23 Sondernummer (Mainz 1992)

Nowicki 1983

H. Nowicki, Der hurritische Name des Muwatalli, Hethitica 5, 1983, 111-118

Otten 1955

H. Otten, Die inschriftlichen Funde, MDOG 87, 1955, 19-22

Otten 1967

H. Otten, Zur Datierung und Bedeutung des Felsheiligtums von Yazılıkaya, ZA 58, 1967, 222-240

Otten 1988

H. Otten, Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV, StBoT Beih. 1 (Wiesbaden 1988)

Otten 1993a

H. Otten, Zu einigen Neufunden hethitischer Königssiegel, AbhMainz 13 (Stuttgart 1993)

Otten 1993b

H. Otten, Ein Siegel Tudhaliyas IV. und sein dynastischer Hintergrund, IstMitt 43, 1993, 107-112

Otten 1994

- H. Otten, Die hethitische Großkönigin Henti in ihren Siegeln, ZA 84, 1994, 253-261  
 Otten 1995
- H. Otten, Die hethitischen Königssiegel der frühen Großreichszeit, AbhMainz 7 (Stuttgart 1995)  
 Otten 2000
- H. Otten, Ein Siegelabdruck Duthaliyas I.(?), AA 2000, 375 f.  
 de Roos 2005
- J. de Roos, DUMU.MUNUS GAL Reconsidered, Anatolica 31, 2005, 211-215  
 Salvini 1990
- M. Salvini, Considerazioni su alcuni sigilli reali ittiti, Sefarad 50, 1990, 455-464  
 Salvini 1992
- M. Salvini, Collazioni di sigilli reali ittiti, SMEA 29, 1992, 149-158  
 Schaeffer 1956
- C. F. A. Schaeffer (Hrsg.), Ugaritica III, Mission de Ras Shamra 8 (Paris 1956)  
 Seeher 2002
- J. Seeher, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 2001, AA 2002, 60-76  
 Singer 1996
- I. Singer, Great Kings of Tarhuntašša, SMEA 38, 1996, 63-71  
 Singer 2002a
- I. Singer, Hittite Prayers (Atlanta 2002)  
 Singer 2002b
- I. Singer, Danuhepa and Kurunta, in: S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (Hrsg.), Anatolia Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati, Eothen 11 (Florenz 2002) 739-751  
 Soysal 2003
- O. Soysal, Kantuzzili in Siegelinschriften, BiOr 60, 2003, 41-56  
 Szabó 1971
- G. Szabó, Ein hethitisches Entsühnungsritual für das Königspaar Tuthaliya und Nikalmati, THeth 1 (Heidelberg 1971)

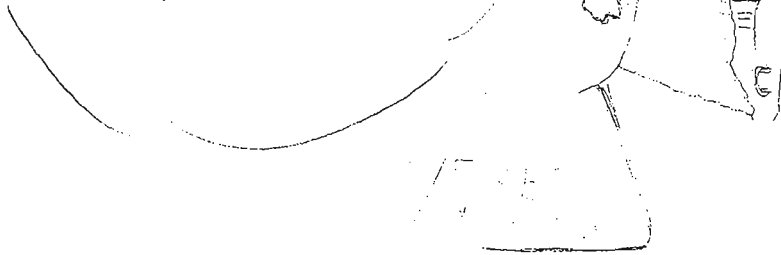


Cruciform seal

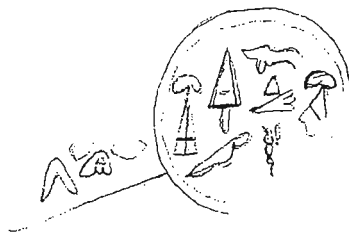
itly  
uk

photo copy of my  
original pencil sketches

Abb. 22

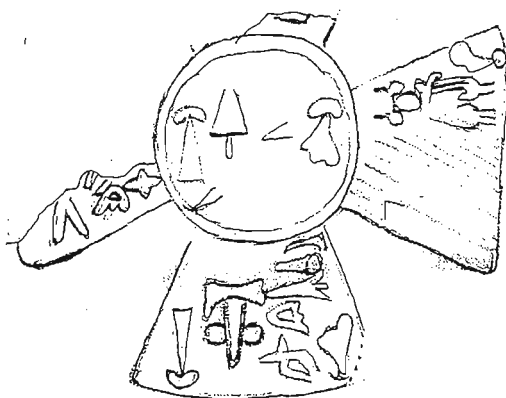


B<sub>0</sub> 87/1a



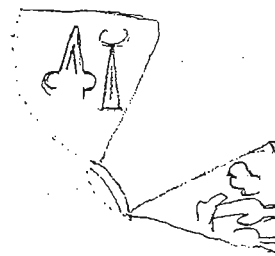
B<sub>0</sub> 86/614

(3)



B<sub>0</sub> 86/622

(2)



David, could

you send a better  
copy of these sketches,  
either tracing them  
darker onto tracing  
paper or making the  
lines clearer on the  
photocopy. Christiane  
cannot recognize all

obverse  
side i

B<sub>0</sub> 86/614  
86/622

B<sub>0</sub> 86/627

B<sub>0</sub> 87/1a

side ii

B<sub>0</sub> 86/611

B<sub>0</sub> 86/618

B<sub>0</sub> 86/622

B<sub>0</sub> 86/624

B<sub>0</sub> 86/627

B<sub>0</sub> 87/92

B<sub>0</sub> 87/93

B<sub>0</sub> 87/96

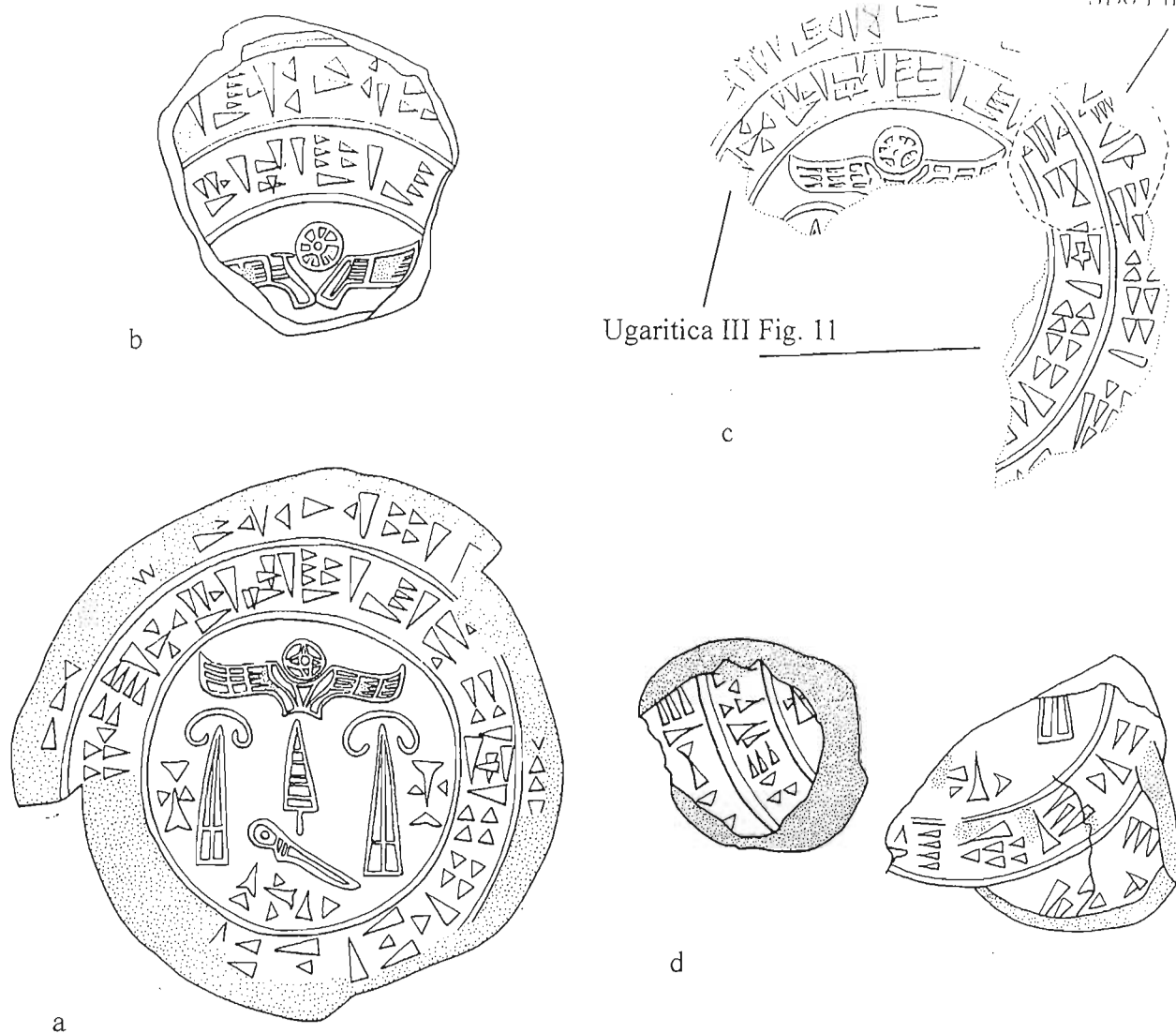


Abb. 23 a-d Reconstruction of the outer ring legend of Mursili seals Kat. 23 and 25. - a. Kat. 23.1-5 reconstruction drawing; b Kat. 25.2; c. composite drawing of seal impressions from Ugarit and Hattusa; d. left Kat. 23-25.3; right Kat. 23-25.1-2 (composite). - M. 3:2



Abb. 24 Reconstruction of outer ring legend of Kat. 39. - M. 3:2

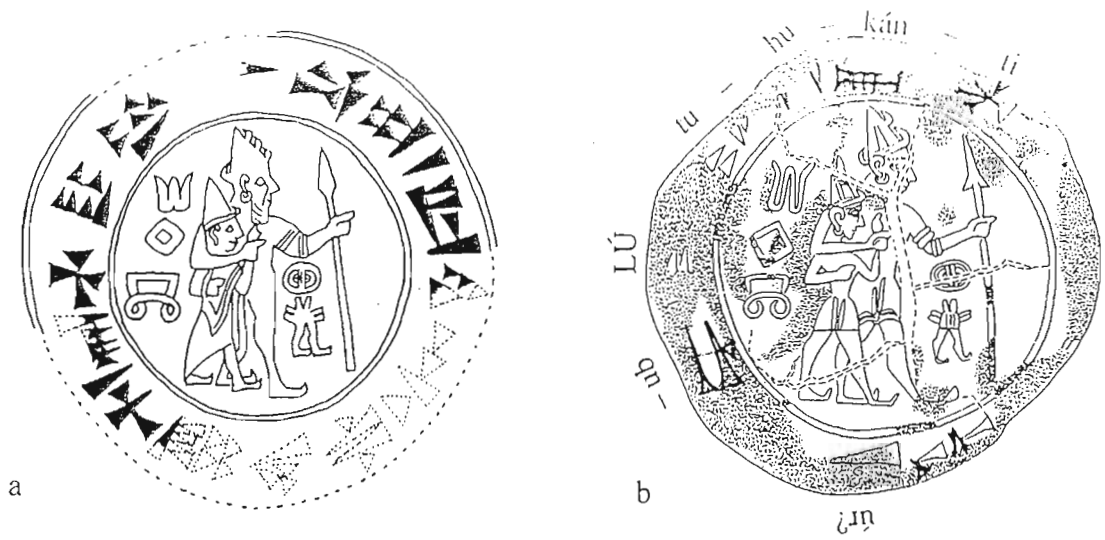


Abb. 25 a. b. Reconstruction of Cuneiform legends of *tuhkanti* seals of Urhi-Teššub from the Nišantepe archive in Hattusa. - M. 3.2

M.3.2

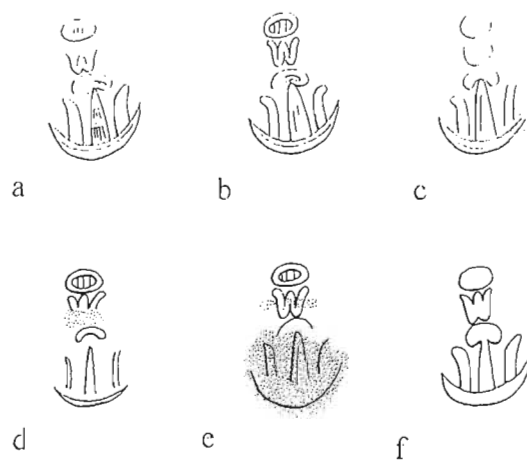


Abb. 26 a-f Storm-God epithet on seal of Mursili III. - a. Kat. 53.4; b. Kat. 53.1; c. Kat. 53.7; d. Kat. 53.3; e. Kat. 53.2; f. Kat. 53.9. - M. 3:2

mehreren Siegeln Arnuwandas III., der ebenfalls den Namen eines heiligen Berges trägt, eine zentrale Stellung ein (Kat. 139-40). Im Falle Kuruntiyas besteht die Namensschreibung aus der Darstellung des Schutzgottes der Wildflur, dessen Namen er trägt, sowohl in anthropomorpher als auch theriomorpher Form (Kat. 136. 137). Mit den Botschaften der Schrift und des Schriftbildes bei den digraphischen Königssiegeln hat sich zuletzt ausführlich I. Klock-Fontanille beschäftigt<sup>167</sup>.

#### IV 3. Two Unusual Seals of Tuthaliya IV: Proposed Reconstructions (J. D. Hawkins; Abb. 8-14)

Kat. 102 with 104 and Kat. 129 with 130 are impressions of two pairs of closely similar seals differing only slightly in dimensions (Abb. 8, 9). These were mostly impressed on the circular bases of usual conical bullae, but examination shows that the original seals were rectangular (occasional portions of the seal edge, upper, lower or lateral, may be visible on some impressions), and the impressing surfaces were flat, in contrast to the convex surfaces of the circular seals. Note that impressions of Kat. 104 and 129 appear together on the *Tonverschluss* Bo. 91/1618 (Abb. 12).

Each pair shows the <sup>?</sup>great aedicula enclosing "MONS<sub>2</sub> (mountain-man) + TU" (Kat. 102, 104), and "MONS + TU" (Kat. 129, 130), nos. 104 and 129 being the larger of each pair, 102 and 130 the smaller (Abb. 8-9). This central scene on each pair is demarcated on all four sides by straight engraved lines (relief in impression), and above and below each is a single line of Cuneiform, themselves demarcated by a further engraved line, above and below respectively. It is shortly above and below the latter lines and on either side of the lateral lines that traces of the seal edges may appear. The Cuneiform legends may be reconstructed to read (top) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB DUTU-ši, (bottom) ta-ba-ar-na. It is striking that the name of the king, Tudhaliya (IV) in Hieroglyphic, does not appear in Cuneiform.

The bullae on the bases of which these impressions are found may show on their mantles numerous partial impressions of small Cuneiform inscriptions, Kat. 103 and 131 (Abb. 11, 10) which must be connected with the paired seals Kat. 102 + 104 and 129 + 130 respectively.

Impressions of Kat. 103 and 131 also appear on the *Tonverschluss* Bo. 91/1618 (Abb. 12). Portions of the upper and lower edge of the inscription Kat. 103 are sharply marked in the impressions, as is the bottom edge but not the top edge of inscription Kat. 131. Reconstructed these show one 3-line

and one 4-line inscription of Tudhaliya of approximately similar dimensions. They read

Kat. 103: <sup>align</sup>  
 { tu-ud-ha-li-ia  
 LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR ha-at-ti

<sup>167</sup> I. Klock-Fontanille, Écritures et langages visuels sur les sceaux royaux digraphes de l'empire hittite, in: G. Wilhelm (Hrsg.), Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999, StBoT 45 (Wiesbaden 2001) 292-307.

<sup>alien</sup> UZU? URU *kum-ma* <<-a-na>>-an-[ni]  
 Kat. 131: [ ...  
     <sup>I</sup>*tu-ud-ha-li-ia*  
     LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR *h[a-at-ti]*  
     A <sup>I</sup>*ha-at-tu-si-[li]*

For comments on the texts, see chapter VI “The Seals and the Dynasty”, under TUDHALIYA IV (VI 7).

It will be observed that these mantle inscriptions giving Tudhaliya’s name, titulary and descent provide what is missing from the Cuneiform inscriptions of the seals on the bases of the bullae, in fact they run directly on from the latter in the manner of for example the titulary and name of Tudhaliya on his cylinder seal Kat. 101. Logically the *Tudhaliya* of mantle should follow directly from the *Tabarna* of the base, yet it is clear that it was not just the next line of the seal inscription which failed to appear on the base impression, but that the mantle inscriptions were separate elements. This can be seen clearly in the case of the inscription Kat. 103 (all examples of which come from bullae bearing impressions of Kat. 102 on the base, except Kat. 103.2 from bulla Kat. 104.2): the upper and lower edges of this 3-line inscription are strongly marked by the depth of the impression. Since this separate element is mostly likely to have formed a part of the seal, where on the seal stone itself would it have stood in relation to the main face of the seal? Put like this the answer should be obvious: round the corner on the lower edge of the seal, thus continuing the inscription of the main face directly. The same should apply to Kat. 104, the larger of the pair of seals, though the only mantle impression found with this example is Kat. 103.2 on Kat. 104.2 preserving only a fragment of the inscription.

<sup>space</sup> In the case of the bullae Kat. 129 and 130 and their mantle impressions Kat. 131.1 (with 129.3 on *Tonverschluss* Bo. 91/1618), 131.2 on 130.14, the matter is not so clear cut, but indeed problematic. While the bottom edge of the inscription is clearly discernible as for Kat. 103, the upper is not; the <sup>I</sup>*tudhaliya* line seems not to be the top, rather there seems to be a line above with traces of Cuneiform on Kat. 131.1 Abdr. b and c. An upper edge above this line as the upper edge of the inscription is not visible in either example, but may be postulated, giving a 4-line inscription the same reconstructed height as the 3-line Kat. 103. We are then left with the problem, if we try to restore Kat. 131 inscription as the lower edge and continuation of the inscription on Kat. 129/130, as to what this barely preserved first line might have read, standing <sup>a</sup>it would between the *tabarna* of Kat. 129/130 and <sup>I</sup>*tudhaliya* of Kat. 131. In this position Tudhaliya’s cylinder seal Kat. 101 has the line LUGAL[GAL] UR.[SAG], but this does not agree with the traces, and in any case LUGAL GAL appears in the line after <sup>I</sup>*tudhaliya*. The traces could just about agree with the restoration [*ta-b*]a-a[r-na], but since we are trying to place this inscription immediately after the inscription on
 s/

the face of the seal ending *tabarna* we would have this title written twice. We should also note that these traces, if they were to represent *[tab]ar[na]* would in no way correspond in measurement to the *[ta]barn[a]* visible on the bottom line of Kat. 129.1-3; that is, the inscription Kat. 131 could not simply be a continuation of the inscription of Kat. 129 in the flat, its top line *[tab]ar[na]* being the same as the *[ta]barn[a]* of the face.

In spite of the problem of its first line, it is most likely that the Cun. inscription Kat. 131, reconstructed from mantle impressions associated with seals Kat. 129 and 130, formed the continuation of their inscriptions in the same way as Kat. 103 for Kat. 102, also 104. If we put together reconstructions of the seal faces and the mantle inscriptions as suggested, we obtain seal faces with inscriptions continuing on lower edges as shown in Abb. 13. We must remember that each represents two almost identical seals of slightly different dimensions. Numbering the two Cun. lines of the seal face as ll. 1-2, we continue on the lower edges with ll. 3-5 (Kat. 102 + 104, 103), and ll. 3-6 (Kat. 129 + 130, 131).

With the reconstructions so presented, it occurs to us to take the further step of suggesting that the larger and smaller of each pair placed back to back actually each represents a single seal, tabloid in form, as indicated in Abb. 14. Obviously a first necessity is to demonstrate that the measurements correspond in such a way as to render the suggestion feasible. Below we endeavour to establish the dimensions, and, to anticipate, this seems to show the suggestion to be plausible.

In what follows we refer to the seal faces with "MONS<sub>2</sub> + TU" as the "obverse" (Kat. 102, 104), those with "MONS + TU" as the "reverse" (Kat. 130, 129).

*smaller type to the end*

The measurements: obverse and reverse

Ideally one would wish to demonstrate that the full dimensions of the postulated "obverses" and "reverses" up to the seal edges were identical, but this is only very partially possible, more particularly for the heights. Since traces of the actual seal edges are only seldom visible, most measurements can only be made between the top and bottom or the lateral lines framing the scenes, and then allowance may be made for the extra distance to the seal edge estimated according to the few preserved examples, usually about 1-2 mm. Particular difficulty is encountered in measuring the widths. This is partly because no example shows traces of both lateral edges of the seals, so measurements must be made between the lateral lines as preserved with estimated extra distance to the edge; but as an additional difficulty it can be seen that these bullae were frequently, if not regularly, pinched from the side, thus significantly reducing the width measure. Thus for impressions of the same seal Kat. 102.2 measures 25.5 mm. from lateral line to lateral line, while Kat. 102.10 which is markedly pinched measures only 21 mm. between the same points. (What significance, if any, this pinching may have had would be interesting to know. I have only noted it



for the present series of bullae. For further examples of pinched bullae bearing the impressions of other royal seals see below Kap. 9.2 under column "Kommentar zur Bulle"). For this reason lateral measurements must be regarded as minimums.

The *heights* of the obverses and reverses can be more easily estimated in the absence of any obvious pinching or distortion. Kat. 129.3, being one of the slightly larger pair of seals, preserves parts of the upper edge and upper line and extends all the way to the lower line, 34 mm.; allow 2 mm. further to the lower edge, total 36 mm. Kat. 129.1 and 2, though not preserving the full height, seem to agree adequately.

Kat. 130.2 preserves the upper edge and upper and lower top lines, 6 mm., and Kat. 130.1 traces of lower top line down to upper bottom line, 23 mm.; add a further 5 mm. estimated to lower edge, total about 34 mm.

Kat. 104.2, the slightly larger of the two seals, upper line to lower line, 33 mm.; add 1-2 mm. top and bottom up to the seal edge, total about 36 mm. Kat. 102.2, the smaller seal, upper line to approximate lower line 31 mm; add 1-2 mm. above and below up to the seal edge, total 34 mm.

The *widths* as noted are much more difficult to estimate because of the widely observed phenomenon of the pinching of the sides of the bullae together. The following observations may be offered.

Kat. 104.2, seemingly not or hardly pinched, approximate lateral line to lateral line 26 mm.; add 2-2.5 mm. on either side up to the edges of the seal, total 30-31 mm.

Kat. 102.2, the smaller seal, slightly pinched, lateral line to lateral line 25.5 mm.; add about 2 mm. either side up to the edges of the seal, total about 30 mm. Compare from the same seal Kat. 102.5, somewhat pinched, lateral line to lateral line 24 mm.; Kat. 102.10, considerably pinched, lateral line to approximate lateral line 21 mm.

Kat. 129.1-2, the larger of the pair of seals, slightly pinched; measure from and to the outer sides of MAGNUS.REX, 25 mm.; allow 2.5 mm. on either side for lateral lines up to the edges, total 30 mm.

Kat. 130.2, the smaller of the seals, somewhat pinched; measure from trace of right lateral line to centre of MONS, 12.5 mm. Kat. 130.7 (not drawn), somewhat pinched; measure from trace of left lateral line to centre of MONS, 12.5 mm.; add 2 mm. either side to the edges of the seal, total 29 mm. Compare Kat. 130.1, considerably pinched, right lateral line to centre of MONS, 12 mm.

#### The measurements: the Cuneiform inscriptions

It has been proposed that the Cuneiform inscriptions on the mantles belonged with the seals impressed on the bases of the bullae, both because this was the usual sealing practice and because they complete the texts of the inscriptions. Since however they can be seen to be separate elements,

it was proposed that they continued the inscriptions on adjoining planes, which, if the proposal that the two pairs of impressions represented opposite sides of the same tabloid seals is correct, would be the lower and upper edges of the resulting figures. Their measurements as reconstructed must also be considered for their fit with the obverses and reverses.

The height of Kat. 103 is easily determined since as noted above, its upper and lower edges are strongly marked in many impressions: it is 13 mm., which thus represents the thickness of the postulated seal. Also as noted, all examples of the Cuneiform inscriptions belong with Kat. 102 (the smaller of the two seals), except no. 103.2, which preserves traces only of the two bottom lines, but these do not show a measureable difference from the other impressions.

Kat. 131 impressions show a clear lower edge but not an upper edge, the position of which can however be estimated with fair certainty above the traces of the top line, and this too comes to about 13 mm. thus agreeing adequately with Kat. 103. The impressions Kat. 131.1 belong with Kat. 129 (the larger of the two seals) and 131.2 and 3 with Kat. 130, but again any difference in size is hardly quantifiable.

The thickness of both postulated tabloid seals should thus be approximately 13 mm.

To establish that the Cuneiform inscriptions could be parts of their respective seals it remains to show that their widths correspond. As with the obverse and reverse this is less easy to establish than the heights, because the inscriptions are composite reconstructions put together from many examples and traces of their left and right edges are hardly ever visible. For Kat. 103, assembled as noted from examples belonging with Kat. 102 (the smaller seal) except Kat. 103.2, no traces of either edge are anywhere visible, but the initial signs of all three lines are largely preserved, signalling the proximity of the left edge: while on the right, parts of the final *-ia* (*ʾtudhaliya*) and *-ti* (*hatti*) are visible; and for Kat. 103.2 (from the larger seal) the *-ti* of *hatti* with part of the right edge can be seen. Adding this last piece into the reconstruction, we measure an estimated maximum width of about 32 mm. for the larger seal, and further estimate 1-2 mm. less for the smaller.

For the other Cuneiform inscription Kat. 131, Kat. 131.1 belongs with the larger seal (Kat. 129.3 on the *Tonverschluss*), and Kat. 131.2 with the smaller (bulla Kat. 130.14), while Kat. 131.3 is an isolated fragment. Though Kat. 131.2 impressions clearly preserve the left edge, no example extends nearly as far as the right edge. All that can be said is that as with the height it is probable that the two versions did have the same dimensions as Kat. 103, and that if we estimate that in the reconstruction we see that it has ample but not excessive space to accommodate the missing signs.

**Summary.** We note that the larger of the two pairs of seals, Kat. 104 and 129, show a total height of about 36 mm. and a total width estimated at a minimum of 30-31 mm.; while the smaller of the two pairs, Kat. 102 and 130, show a total height of about 34 mm. and a total width estimated at a minimum of 29-30 mm. It thus looks feasible to identify each pair as the obverse and reverse of

the same seal, allowing for difficulties of measuring and distortion caused by pinching.

The Cuneiform inscriptions, Kat. 103 and 131, show a height of about 13 mm., and Kat. 103 a total reconstructed width estimated at a maximum of 32 mm. for the larger seal, proportionately less for the smaller. The same width thought not fully measurable, seems probable for Kat. 131. These reconstructed and estimated figures for the widths correspond adequately to those calculated for the width of the faces of the two pairs of seals, again allowing for difficulties, inaccuracies and distortions. We may thus conclude that it is feasible to place the Cuneiform inscriptions Kat. 103 and 131 as the lower and upper edges respectively of the seal faces Kat. 102/104 and 129/130. The height of these Cuneiform inscriptions then would as noted represent the thickness of the seals, about 13 mm.

One final observation may be offered in support of the view that Kat. 104 and 129 together with 103 and 131 formed parts of the same seal: impressions of all four appear together on the *Tonverschluss* Bo. 91/1618. This shows at least that the two impressions were closely connected, and this would be best understood if they were all made by different parts of the same seal.

#### IV 4. Ikonographie (S. Herbordt)

K. Bittel<sup>168</sup> hat darauf hingewiesen, daß der Großkönig im Bilde zum ersten Male auf dem Siegel Muwatallis II. bezeugt ist. In der Monumentalkunst ist es ebenfalls Muwatalli II., der uns als erster König in figürlicher Darstellung auf dem Felsrelief in Sirkeli begegnet. Bittel betrachtete dieses Zusammentreffen von Felsbild und Siegelbild unter Muwatalli II. als nicht zufällig, sondern als Ausdruck einer neuen Idee, die mit dem Willen nach Verewigung des Dargestellten verbunden war<sup>169</sup>. Die Siegelungen aus dem Nişantepe-Corpus bestätigen dieses Phänomen insofern, als keine figürlichen Darstellungen auf den Königssiegeln der Vorgänger Muwatallis bezeugt sind; sie sind reine Schriftsiegel. Diese Tatsache ist hervorzuheben in Anbetracht der zahlreichen neuen, bislang unbekannten Siegel, die für die Herrscher der Großreichszeit erstmalig durch den Befund von Nişantepe ans Licht gekommen sind.

#### IV 4.1. 'Umarmungssiegel' (Abb. 15-17)

##### IV 4.1.1. Muwatalli II. (Abb. 15 a-f)

Es bleibt festzuhalten, daß der Typ des Umarmungssiegels, das den König in der Umarmung einer schützenden Gottheit zeigt, unter Muwatalli II. eingeführt wurde<sup>170</sup>. Insgesamt sind uns durch

<sup>168</sup> K. Bittel, Einige Kapitel zur hethitischen Archäologie, in: M. Walser (Hrsg.), *Neuere Hethiterforschung* (Wiesbaden 1964) 131.

<sup>169</sup> Bittel a.O.

<sup>170</sup> Zu den Umarmungsszenen hethitischer Könige allgemein s. Beran, *Hethitische Glyptik* 79 f.; S. Herbordt, *The Hittite Royal Cylinder Seal of Tuthaliya IV with Umarmungsszene*, in: P. Taylor (Hrsg.), *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals*, *Warburg Institute Colloquia* 9 (London 2006) 82-91. Zu ihren wahrscheinlichen Vorbildern aus

Abb. 9.



102.1



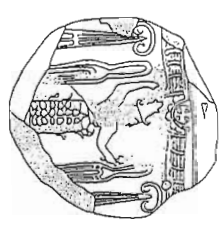
102.2



102.3



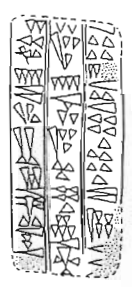
102.4



102.5



102.6



103 (Rekonstruktion)



104.1



104.2



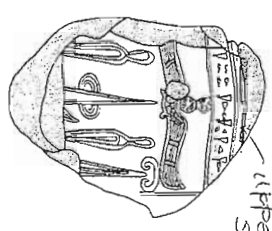
129.1



129.2



130.1



130.2



131 (Rekonstruktion)



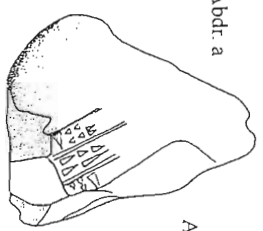
Abdr. a



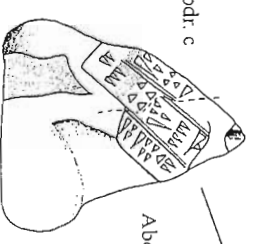
Abdr. b



Abdr. c



Abdr. a



Abdr. b



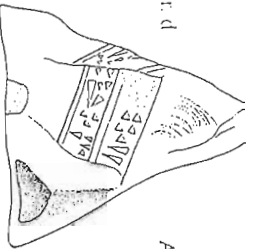
Abdr. c



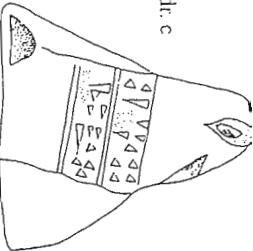
131.2

131.3

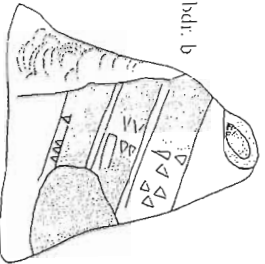
Abdr. d



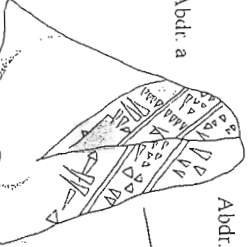
Abdr. c



Abdr. b



Abdr. a



Abdr. e



Abdr. c

103.1

= 103.1

27

Abdr. a



Abdr. b

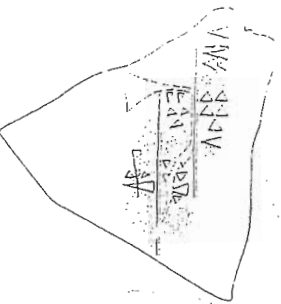


103.2

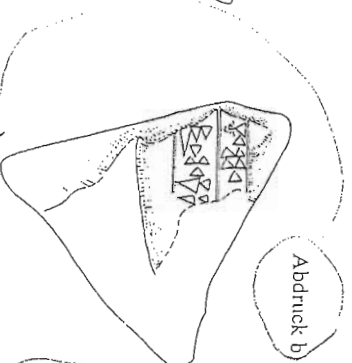
103 (Rekonstruktion)



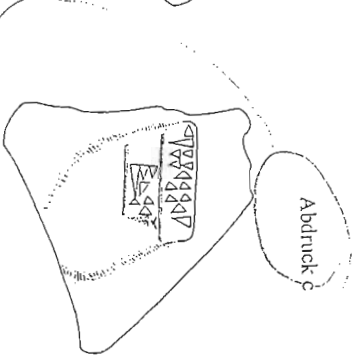
Abdruck a



Abdruck b

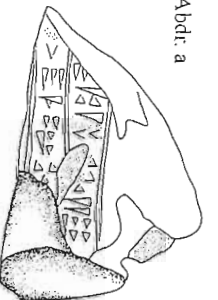


Abdruck c

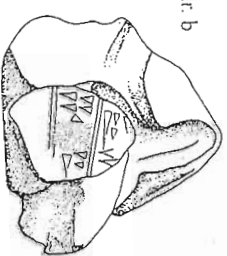


103.3

Abdr. a



Abdr. b

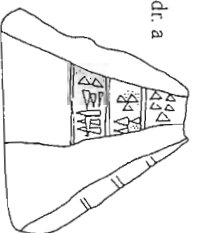


Abdr. c

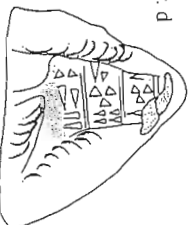


103.4

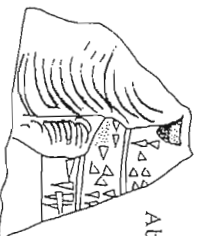
Abdr. a



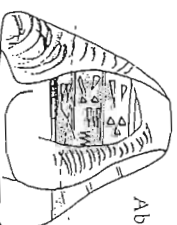
Abdr. d



Abdr. c



Abdr. b



103.5

Abdr. a



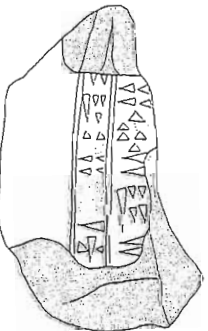
Abdr. a



Abdr. b



103.7



Abdr. b

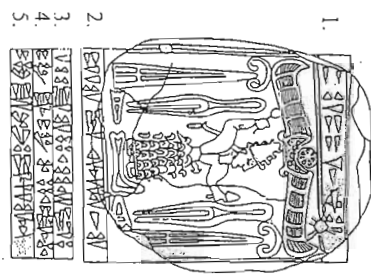


103.8

Abdr. c

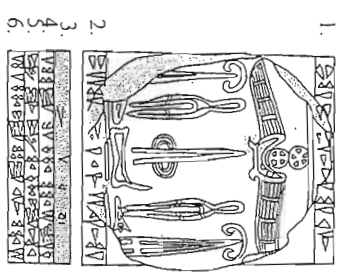
Abdr. d

Seite i



Unterer Rand

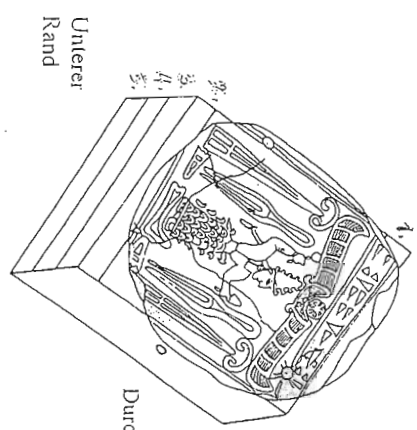
Seite ii



Oberer Rand

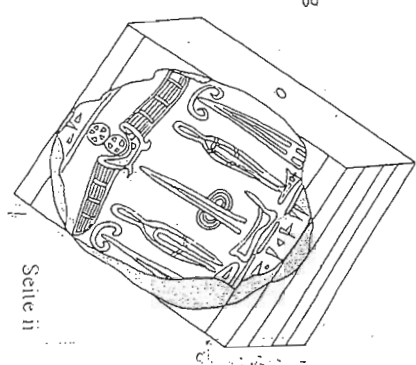
Kat. 129-131 (Rekonstruktionsvorschlag)

Seite i



Unterer Rand

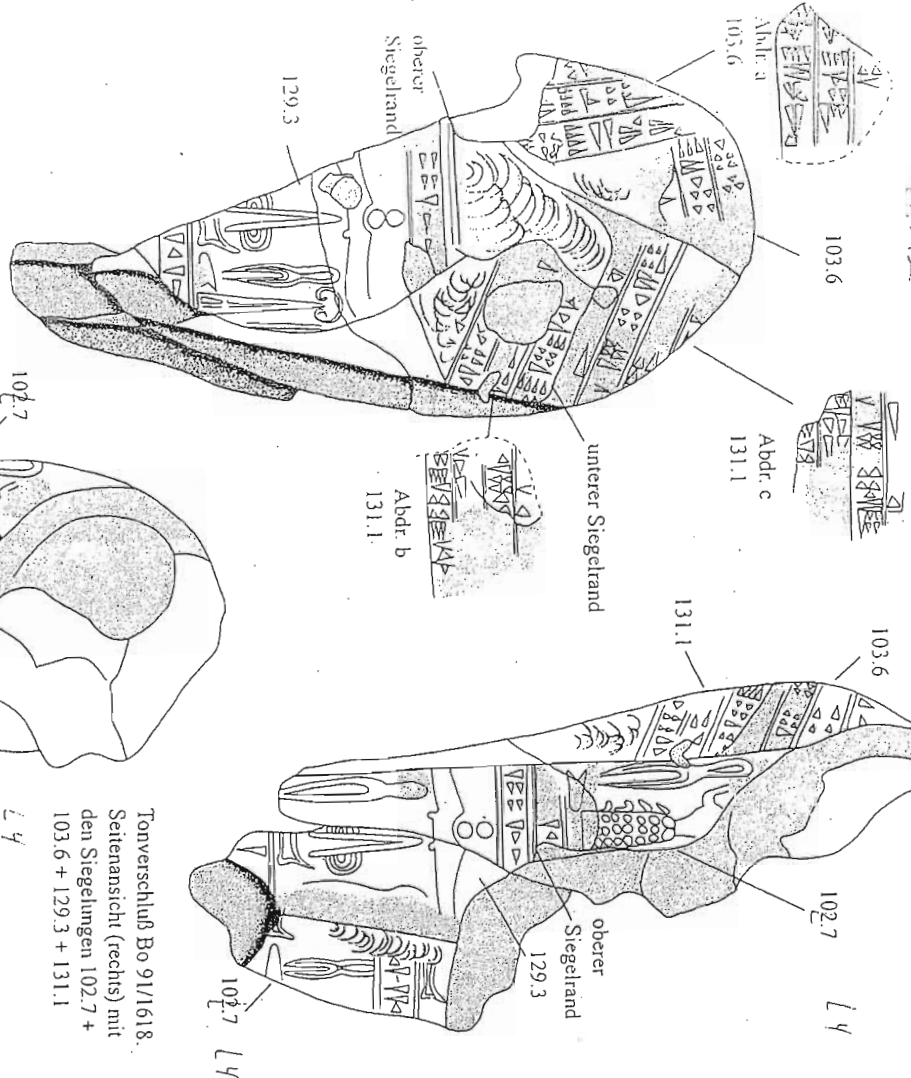
Durchbohrung



Oberer Rand

Seite ii

Abb. 12



103.6

103.6

Abdr. a  
103.6

Abdr. c  
131.1

131.1

unterer Siegelrand

Abdr. b  
131.1

129.3

oberer Siegelrand

102.7

L 4

oberer Siegelrand

102.7 L 4

Tonverschluß Bo 91/1618.

Seitenansicht (rechts) mit den Siegelungen 102.7 + 103.6 + 129.3 + 131.1

L 4

Tonverschluß Bo 91/1618.

Vorderansicht mit den Siegelungen 103.6 + 129.3 + 131.1

102.7

129.3

102.7

L 4

Tonverschluß Bo 91/1618.  
Rückansicht mit den Siegelungen 102.7 + 129.3