

Philological Remarks on the Sealings from Empire Period of Karkemish

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Abstract: Over 500 clay sealings from the Hittite Empire Period were retrieved in a LB II stratum of Area C East in the Lower Palace area (excavations seasons 2017-2021). 301 clay sealings were sealed 493 times by over 50 different seals belonging to c. 35 officials. In this paper, philological comments will be made about the officials of the relevant archive whose names and/or titles/professions are legible and a new interpretation of the sign L254 will be suggested as an *Addendum*.

During the 2017-2021 seasons of excavations at Karkemish, over 500 clay sealings from the Hittite Empire Period were retrieved in a LB II stratum of Area C East in the Lower Palace area. So far, 301 clay sealings were sealed 493 times by over 50 different seals belonging to c. 35 officials. In this paper, philological comments will be made about the officials of the relevant archive whose names and/or titles/professions are legible (see Table 1, list of names in alphabetical order).

1. A...

There is a (L450) sign in front of a sinistroverse crouching spinx, on the impression originating from an oval ring seal. The sign L450 is here, probably the first syllable of the name as an *initial-a-final*. The right half of the sealing is broken.

2. Abarikisa (Fig. 1)

The reconstruction made from the impressions obtained from a cylinder seal on 5 sealings is as follows:

Storm-god: Mountain-gods (s)]-pari-ki-sà AULA

Great King: Eagle-man (d) Figure with bow (d) : Animal²

1. ^N[^{A4}KIŠIB]

2. ^mA-ba-r[^{i...} ^L] ^UD[UGUD²]

^LU DUGUD, ‘dignitary’ in cuneiform legend, could be the profession of the seal holder in military context (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 442-447; Beal 1992: 488-504), or it may be a title as ‘honored, important (person)’ (CHD LN: 367), equivalent of the hieroglyphic sign AULA (L254) (see *Addendum* below). The first part of the name must be Abari, a local Hurrian god. The name is comparable to Abari (NPN: 22), as well as to the Iron Age attestation Apari-Tiwata (TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, Peker 2020: 250).

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3. Anitta (Fig. 2)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed sinistroversely as follows: *á* (L19)-*ni* (L411)-*tá* (L29), and they can be read as Anitta. The name Anitta is attested in cuneiform sources (NH 75).

4. Aza...? (Fig. 3)

In the preserved part of the third seal impression on sealing KH.20.O.99 it can be suggested that the name of the owner of this cylinder seal begins with the signs *a* and *za*. The cuneiform legend consists of three or four lines within the frame and the first sign of the third line looks like HZL 8/7, followed by a sign starting with a vertical wedge which could be HZL 206/4-8, *ku*. Perhaps the name of the goddess Kubaba is mentioned here. The last line of the cuneiform legend possibly starts with the sign LÚ.

5. Bentešina (Fig. 4)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed top to bottom and run sinistroversely as follows: *pa* (L334)-*ti* (L90)-*si* (L174)-*na* (L35), which can be read as Bentešina, on the preserved right-hand side of the flat impression, possibly originating from a metal tripod seal. The name Bentešina is attested in cuneiform sources (NH 1006) and on BOĞAZ-KÖY 8 (Poetto 1987; Gonnet 1992: 268).

6. Eḫli-Šarruma I and II? (Fig. 5)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed as follows: *i(a)* (L209)-*HALA* (L292)-*SA*[*ARMA*] (L80) on an impression (KH.17.O.480) possibly originating from a button seal and on another impression (KH.21.O.711): [*i(a)* (L209)-*HA*]*LA* (L292)-*S*[*ARMA*] (L80), which can be read as Eḫli-Šarruma. Considering the possibility that two seal impressions belong to the same person, with the profession *VIR₂ URCEUS₂*, 'cupbearer,' Eḫli-Šarruma must be someone different from the attested namesakes outside of Karkemish. The name Eḫli-Šarruma is attested in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources (NH 229; *BoHa* 19: 252).

7. Ewri-Tešub I and II? (Figs 6a-b, 7)

Ewri-Tešub I is attested with Zinni I on the sealing KH.17.O.668 sealed with the same seal documented in Emar (Msk 73.1019, Arnaud 1986: 224 ff.; Beyer 2001: 56 ff.) and with Šunaili and Taya on another seal impression (KH.17.O.671). Ewri-Tešub, documented as AULA here (KH.20.O.115), is likely to be the same person as the *MAGNUS SACERDOS₂*, 'Great/Chief Priest.' The name Ewri-Tešub is attested in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources (*BoHa* 19: 256).

8. Kala (Fig. 8)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed as follows: a badly drawn *ka* (L434) or *sá* (L104)-*(a)la* (L172) run dextroversely and they can be read as Kal(l)a or Sal(l)a. This name is hitherto not attested but it can be compared with the names Kal(l)awiya (NH 487; *KUB* 52.46), *Šala*-DINGIR-LIM-*i* (*KUB* 57.1, van den Hout 1990: 424) and *Šalalur* (*NPN*: 123) in cuneiform sources.

9. Kana (Fig. 9)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed as follows: *ka* (L434)-*na* (L35) run dextroversely, which can be read as Kana, on the preserved left-hand side of the im-

pression. The broken sign on the right of the name is possibly the profession of the seal owner. The names Kana and Kanaya are attested in cuneiform sources (*NPN*: 79; *NH* 498).

10. Kilaya (Fig. 10)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed as follows: *ki* (L446)-*la* (L176)-*i(a)* (L209) run dextroverse on two sealings and they can be read as Kilaya. Kilaya's title is indicated as AULA (L254) on the right of the sign *i(a)* (L209). The name is documented as Kila'e in cuneiform sources (Emar 257, Arnaud 1986: 254). This Kilaya can be equated with the author of the letter RS 32.204 (*RSO* VII: 50-51, Singer 1999: 687).

11. Kuzi-Tešub? (Fig. 11)

The hieroglyphs of the name on two sealings impressed with a cylinder seal are placed as follows: ...-]*zi/a* (L376)-*TAS(U)*¹-(L318)-*pa* (L334). The profession of the seal owner is MAGNUS AURIGA₂³, 'Chief of Charioteers.' As for the name of the seal owner, Kuzi-Tešub can be suggested.

12. Paya (Fig. 12)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed on a simple button seal² as follows: *pa* (L334)-*i(a)* (L209) and they can be read Paya. His profession is written by a convex form of the L216 FINES (the right section of the sign is thorny but not wavy; Peker 2017), combined with VIR₂. The profession VIR₂.FINES₂ can be interpreted as the 'man of the border (area).' A more refined interpretation might be that he was a kind of controller/registrar/inspector of the goods received from *abroad* (as gift/tribute or merchandise) through his office. The simplicity of his seal and high percentage on the total of his sealings – sealed only by him – could be a clue about his hard and simple activity, which may also indicate his position as a low-ranked official.

LÚ.ZAG.ḪA/*mākisu* 'customs official/tax collector' can be considered as the equivalent of Paya's profession in cuneiform sources (see ALT *387; cf. Lauinger 2008: 193, 209). *Mākisu*-officials are documented in Ugarit sources (Heltzer 1999: 444, n. 110) from the 14th century BCE onwards in the Middle Assyrian kingdom. The royal merchants (= *tamkars*) were paying the custom duties (= *miksu*) to the *sākinu*-officers and/or *mākisu*-officers according to the result of the 'inspection' (= *amāru*) of the *mākisu*-officers on trade goods (cf. Westbrook 2003: 526). The name Paya can be equated with the names Pae or Paya attested in the cuneiform sources from Nuzi (*NPN*: 109, 242).

13. Pasu ... (Fig. 13)

The hieroglyphs of the name attested in the one impression of four originating from a cylinder seal are placed as follows: *pa* (L334)-*su*⁷ (L370). Considering the missing part, one more sign forming the name can be expected. The sign MAGUS/MEDICUS (L135.2) 'physician' stands for the owner's profession. The name can be compared with the name Paspasu (*NPN*: 112).

¹ See Weeden 2013: 80.

² 98 seal impressions on 68 sealings, for multiple seal impressions see Table 2.

14. Piradu (Fig. 14)

In four impressions, obtained from the same ring seal on a drop-shaped bulla, we have the name of the owner of the seal, written in cuneiform [*pi/pi*]-*ra-du* and in Anatolian hieroglyphs as sinistroverse as *pi* (L66)+*ra/i* (L383)-*tu* (L88), to be read Piradu. The sign AULA (L254) is written as a title on the left of the name written in Anatolian hieroglyphs, and MAGNUS³.X² is written as a profession on the right. The name Piradu/i, probably of Hurrian origin (Wilhelm 2005; Richter 2012: 313), is frequently mentioned in Middle Assyrian cuneiform sources of the 13th century BCE (Dur-Katlimmu, Salah 2014: nos 2, 7, 10-12, 18, 20, 23-26, 42, 44-46, 49-51, 53-56, 60, 74-77; Röllig 2002: nos 7, 8, 9, and 11; Röllig 2004: 38; Šibanibe, Finkelstein 1953: text 4; Tabete, Shibata 2007: 70; Aššur, Freydank 1994: 10, 12). However, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that one of these individuals is the same person as Piradu from the Karkemish archive. The name is also attested at Mari (Ziegler 2007: 268-269) and Emar (Msk 7441, Arnaud 1986: 261). If Mutri-Tešub in Emar 212 (=Msk 73.1019) and Msk 7441 are the same person, it is highly likely that the Piradi documented in Emar is the same person as the owner of this seal.

15. Sapirazi/a (Fig. 15)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed as follows: *sa*₅ (L325)-*pi* (L66)+*ra/i* (L383)-*zi/a* (L376) and they can be read Sapirazi/a. This name is hitherto not attested elsewhere.

16. Sar(r)a/ikul(l)a (Fig. 16)

On two sealings³ with three impressions each, the hieroglyphs of the name are placed as follows: *sà* (L104 = CAPRA₂)+*ra/i* (L383) run sinistroverse and *la* (L175) runs dextroverse and they can be read Sar(r)a/ikul(l)a. The name may be analysed as a compound of *sarra* or *sarri* and *kula/kwalan* in Luwian. Similar names are attested as Kul(l)a (NH 608), Kulakula (NH 610), Sariya (NH 1117). Furthermore, the name can be compared with a female name Šarra-^dU (NH 1116). The first lexeme of the name can also be interpreted as *šarri* in Hurrian (Richter 2012: 356-357).

17. Šaušga-Runtiya (Fig. 17)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed as follows: *sà* (L104 = CAPRA₂)+US (L421)-*ka* (L434)-CERVUS₂ (L102.1)-*t[i?]* (L90) which can be read Šaušga-Runtiya. The impressions originating from a simple stamp seal are almost complete and no title or profession is denoted.

The name Šaušga-Runtiya is attested in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources (NH 1144; BoHa 19: 271). However, there is not enough evidence available to equate him with one of the individuals documented so far.

18. Šaušga-šena (Fig. 18)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed on the righthand of a figure in the centre as follows: (DEUS)¹*sà*+US-*ka-si-na* which can be read Šaušga-šena. The signs REX.FILUS, 'prince' as his title stands on lefthand of the figure. Only the sign DEUS (L360) is visible on the left part of the sealing and the name must have been repeated there. This may be the only example where the DEUS sign used as determinative of a deity name while the writing of a proper name in Anatolian hieroglyphs. It can be compared with

³ KH.21.O.410, KH.21.O.411.

the name on TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 in the Iron Age (Peker 2020: 250 *contra* Hawkins, Weeden 2021: 393). The name Šaušga-šena is attested (Peker 2018: 80).

19. Sunaili (Fig. 20)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed as follows: *su* (L370)-L392-*li* (L278) and the name written as ^mŠu-na-DINGIR-LÌ in cuneiform on his cylinder seal which can be read Sunaili. These spellings provide a further convincing proof about the reading of the strokes 5-9⁴ (Dinçol, Peker 2017: 75). The name Sunaili is attested in cuneiform sources (*NH* 1177; *CHDS* 3.80; Trémouille 2014) and on a metal tripod seal from Oylum Höyük (Peker 2017: 179; Dinçol, Dinçol 2011: 88). The profession of Sunaili is written by the sign MAGUS/MEDICUS (L135.2), ‘physician’ and it has been suggested earlier that this sign is a depiction of a snake (*BoHa* 22: 68). If one examined the MAGUS/MEDICUS (L135.2) sign intently on this perfectly preserved seal, the depiction supports the idea that it looks more like a snake than a bird with its blunt nose and horn like protrusions.⁵ Sunaili also bears the title AULA (L254).

20. Taki-Šarruma (Fig. 20)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed on the vertical axis in the oval middle area surrounded by a ladder band as follows: *tá* (L29)-*ki* (L446)-SARMA (L80) which can be read Taki-Šarruma. On the lefthand there is the sign SCRIBA (L326) ‘scribe’ and on the righthand signs BONUS₂ SCRIBA stands for owner’s profession. It is possible that the person here is the same person as the prince Taki-Šarruma attested in Hattusa and Ugarit (*NH* 1209; *BoHa* 22.228 and 176; *BoHa* 19: 272), if we assume that this seal belongs to a phase of his career before he became the ‘Chief Scribe.’

21. Ta(p)pi(ya)? (Fig. 21)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed in the middle area surrounded by a ladder band on two sealings as follows: *tá* (L29)-*pi* (L66)⁷ which can be read Ta(p)pi(ya)⁷. This name is hitherto not attested elsewhere.

22. Taya (Fig. 22a-n)

Taya the prince is the high official possessing most seals in the archive. The reconstructions made from impressions⁶ originating from three cylinder seals (C), four button seals (B) and four ring seals (S) are as follows:

(B1)

tá-i(a) (DEUS)ku+AQUILA AURIGA₂ (s) *Storm-god: Mountain-gods (s)*

tá-i(a) REX.FILIUS (s)

1. ^mTá⁷-a^b⁸-e 2. ^{LU}SUKKAL

(B2)

⁴ For the signs 5 (L392), 6 (L395*), 7 (L395**), 8 (L393) *na/u(wa/i)* and for the sign 9 (L395) *nu(wa/i)* readings were suggested. The possibility of reading the number 5 as *nawa/i-* or *nuwa/i-* in Luwian or Hittite may also be taken in consideration, although it is less likely (Peker 2017: 179).

⁵ Cf. Bilgin 2018: 320, n. 1179. Additional evidence supporting this was also found in the Kayalıpınar excavations, see Müller-Karpe 2020: 210-212.

⁶ 111 seal impressions on 73 sealings (see Table 3).

⁷ The name here on C2 and on B1 is written by the sign HZL 214, but on the C3 is written by the sign HZL 160.

⁸ The name here is written by the sign HZL 332, and in other cuneiform legends is written by the sign MEA 397.

Ruler (d): Hills *tá-i(a)* (s) Stag-god (s): Stag AURIGA₂ (DEUS)ku+AQUILA (s)
(B3)

[*tá*]-i(a) (s) REX.FILIUS (d)

(B4)

tá-i(a) (d) (DEUS)ku+AQUILA [AURIGA₂] (s)

(C1)

Storm-god:⁹ lion (s¹⁰) *tá-i(a)* (DEUS)ku+AQUILA AURIGA₂ (s)

REX.FILIUS (d¹¹) Ruler (d):¹² Eagle-man

1. ^{NA4}KIŠIB 2. ^mTá-'e-e 3. ^{LU}IŠ ŠA 4. ^dKu-ba-ba

(C2)

Storm-god (s) *tá-i(a)* AURIGA₂ (s)

(DEUS)ku+AQUILA [AURIGA₂] (d) Kubaba (d) *tá-i(a)* AURIGA₂ (d) Ruler (d)

1. ^{NA4}KIŠIB 2. ^mTá-'e-e 3. AŠ LUGAL

(C3)

Storm-god (s) *tá-i(a)* AURIGA₂ (s)

(DEUS)ku+AQUILA AURIGA₂ (d) Ruler (d) REX.FILIUS (d)

1. ^{NA4}KIŠIB 2. ^mTa-'e-e 3. ^{LU}IŠ ŠÁ ^dKu-ba-ba

(S1)

tá-i(a) REX.FILIUS (s) *tá-i(a)* REX.FILIUS (d)

(S2)

tá-i(a) (DEUS)ku+AQUILA AURIGA₂ (s) [... (d)]

(S3)

AURIGA₂ Ruler *tá-i(a)* (s) *tá-i(a)* [...] (d)

(S4)

Sphinx *tá-i(a)* (s) AURIGA₂ (DEUS)ku+AQUILA Sphinx (d)

The attestations of Taya's title, 'Kubaba's charioteer,' in cuneiform as ^{LU}IŠ ŠA/ŠÁ ^dKu-ba-ba and in Anatolian hieroglyphs as (DEUS)ku+AQUILA AURIGA₂ or AURIGA₂ (DEUS)ku+AQUILA proves that ^{LU}IŠ is the equivalent of AURIGA₂. Taya's relationship with the king (of Karkemish) is attested as AŠ (*apil*) LUGAL (*šarri*) instead of the usual DUMU.LUGAL on C2, suggesting the possibility that he was the 'king's (elder/firstborn) son' and it can be defined as the influence of Middle Assyrian cuneiform as well. A similar attestation can be observed on the seal of Tuthaliya IV (on *BoHa* 23.131 where the sign A is used instead of the sign DUMU). Taya is attested with the title of 'prince' in cuneiform and in Anatolian hieroglyphs, and with the title of 'Kubaba's charioteer,' as well as the professions of 'charioteer' (only in Anatolian hieroglyphs) and 'vizier' (only in cuneiform). Taya probably must have carried out also diplomatic/commercial missions as a 'charioteer' in addition to his profession/title as 'Kubaba's charioteer' in a cultic context. The name Taya can be equated with the names Taḥḥe/Tae/Tai/Taya (*NPN*: 141-143, 260), which are mentioned in the Nuzi sources and probably it means 'man' in Hurrian (Laroche 1980: 251; Richter 2012: 426-427). This name is also attested in Emar 215 (Arnaud 1986: 228-230; Beyer 2001: A102), Emar 5 (Arnaud 1986: 11-13), Emar ME 30 (Arnaud 1991: 122), Emar 336 (Arnaud 1986: 311), and Emar 276 (Arnaud 1986: 271). For other documents with this name,

⁹ italic underline = figures.

¹⁰ (s)=sinistroverse.

¹¹ (d)=dextroverse.

¹² x : y = x over y.

see Pruzsinszky 2003: 238, n. 133; Poetto 2020: 106; Marchetti, Peker 2018: 97. Taya must be someone different from the namesakes attested outside of Karkemish.

23. Tili-Šarruma (Fig. 23)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed in the middle area – surrounded by a frame with alternating stylised life symbols and triangles between two simple lines – as follows: *ti* (L90)-*li* (L278)-SARMA (L80) and they can be read Tili-Šarruma. This Tili-Šarruma, whose title or profession is not specified, must have been a different individual from those hitherto attested in cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources (NH 1326; *BoHa* 19: 275).

24. Tulpi(ya)? (Fig. 24)

The hieroglyphs of the name and the title are placed on two sealings as follows: *tu*² (L88)-[*la*]-DARE (L66), BONUS₂ VIR₂ and they can be read Tulpi(ya)³. The name Tulpi(ya) is attested in cuneiform sources (NH 1367; *NPN*: 157, 268).

25. Zi/a... (Fig. 25)

Only the sign *zi/a* (L376) is preserved as the first syllable of the name and the signs MAUSOLEUM.DOMINUS (L414.L390) as the profession of the seal owner in the impressions originating from two different button seals on five sealings.¹³ For the profession MAUSOLEUM.DOMINUS, ‘Lord of the rock sanctuary/shrine,’ see Dinçol 2001: 101 and Dinçol, Dinçol 2008: 70; cf. *BoHa* 19: 312.

26. Zinni I (Fig. 26a-f)

Zinni I only bears the title BONUS₂ VIR₂/VIR₂ as impressed on sealings by two button seals and three ring seals probably early in his career (because they were found in the lowermost layer in area C East). In his later career (i.e. on specimens from a higher layer), Zinni’s professions SIGILLUM.DOMINUS, ‘Seal’s Lord,’ LÚ KIŠIB ‘man of the seal’ and AGRIG¹⁴ ŠÁ LUGAL ‘Administrator of the king’s storehouse’ are written in addition to the title BONUS₂ VIR₂ on two cylinder seals impressed on sealings. The name Zinni, probably of Hurrian origin, is attested as Zenni/u and Zinni in cuneiform sources (*NPN*: 175, 277). The reconstructions made from 54 impressions on 35 sealings originating from seven seals are as follows:

(B1)

Figure with bow & spear (s) *zi/a-ni* (s): *Eagle-man* (d)

(B2³)

BONUS₂ VIR₂ (s) *Figure with mace* (s) [*zi/a-ni*]: *Eagle-man* (d)

(S1)

Sphinx (s) *Man in adoration* (s) *zi/a-ni* (s) *Sphinx* (d)

(S2)

Bird (s) VIR₂ *zi/a-ni* (s) BONUS₂ VIR₂ (d) *Bird* (d)

(S3)

VIR₂ (s) *Man in adoration* (s) *zi/a*-[...](s)

(S4³)

... *zi*]/*a-ni*

(C1)

¹³ B1: KH.17.O.524 with Taya C2, KH.19.O.366 with Taya S2; B2: KH.17.O.442 with Zinni I B1, KH.17.O.461 (see Tables 3 and 4).

¹⁴ See Singer 1984.

Storm-god (s): *Bull* BONUS₂ VIR₂ (s) *zi/a-ni* (s) SIGILLUM.DOMINUS *Ruler*:
Lion (d) *Figure: Animal* (d)
 1. ^{NA4}KIŠIB 2. ^m *Zi-in-ni* 3. LÚ KIŠIB AGRIG ŠÁ LUGAL
 (C2)
 ...]-ni (s) SIGIL[LUM ... *Figure* (d)

27. Zinni II (fig. 27)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed in the middle area, on the right of a figure in the center, surrounded by a frame with alternating circles and triangles between two simple lines, as follows: *zi/a* (L376) – *ni* (L55) and they can be read Zinni as his namesake above. The sign AULA (L254) just below the name, stands for the owner's title and the sign URCEUS (L354), 'cupbearer', behind the figure, stands for his profession. Besides this button seal, he probably has two other seals (see Table 1)

28. ...mil/ti (Fig. 28)

The hieroglyphs of the name are placed in an impression possibly originating from a cylinder seal, after (a) broken sign(s), as follows: ...]-*mi* (L391)-traces of the sign *li* (L278) or *ti* (L90). There is also the sign BONUS₂ (L370) stands for the (part of the) title. The name here can be compared with the names Ḫuwamiti (NH 417), Asu/amuwatti¹⁵ (BoHa 19.386), Muwattalli (NH 837 and PUGNUS.MI-*li*, see Peker 2014: 191, n. 4), and Ḫasamili (NH 319).

29. ...patu (Fig. 29)

The hieroglyphs of the name and the profession are placed in an impression possibly originating from a cylinder seal, as follows: *x-pa* (L334)-*tu* (L88),¹⁶ AURIGA₂?, 'charioteer.'

30. VITA+RA/I (Fig. 30)

The hieroglyphs of the name, behind a figure, and the title, below the name, are placed in an impression originating from a cylinder seal, as follows: VITA[+RA/I], (L369[+L383]) BONUS₂ VIR₂. The reading of the name is uncertain. The name is attested in hieroglyphic sources (BoHa 19: 287), but there is not enough evidence to equate him with one of the individuals documented so far.

31. An Office Seal?: DOMUS+SIGILLUM (Fig. 31)

The hieroglyphs of the office's name are placed on the sealing's preserved right part, in the middle area surrounded by a ladder band, as follows: DOMUS (L247)+SIGILLUM (L327). It is possible that there is a name on the broken left part of the sealing. The signs DOMUS+SIGILLUM can be interpreted as 'house of seal' (as an office seal) or 'man of the seal-house' (as a seal of an official, cf. BoHa 19: 309¹⁷).

¹⁵ = *su/sa*²-BRACCHIUM.MI-*ti*-**a*. About the *muwatta/i*-reading of the signs BRACCHIUM.MI see Peker 2014: 191, n. 4.

¹⁶ This name is resembling ...]-*pa* (L334)-*tu* (L89), URBS.LEPUS, 'City's administrator' which is attested on a vessel with painted hieroglyphs (KH.21.O.735) from Karkemish. URBS.LEPUS can be equated with MAŠKIM.URU^{K1} attested in cuneiform sources (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 447-449).

¹⁷ The sign SIGILLUM alone and/or in combination with BONUS₂ or BONUS₂ VIR₂ can be interpreted as 'seal(-cutter)' rather than '(man) of the seal (house)' (BoHa 22: 42).

Addendum: L254 = AULA

The titles MAGNUS.REGINA = MUNUS.LUGAL ‘queen’ acquired through marriage, and REX.FILUS/FILIA = DUMU.LUGAL/DUMU.MUNUS.LUGAL ‘prince/princess’ (a title of the birthright of the children of the royal family) are encountered to define the relations of individuals with the palace in Hittite society. Unlike princes, the professions of princesses, like other women in Hittite society, are not mentioned in Anatolian hieroglyphic sources.¹⁸ Another definition of the person-palace relationship is given by the LÚ SAG Sumerogram in cuneiform. LÚ SAG, which is traditionally translated as ‘courtier, eunuch,’ is accepted as corresponding to sign L254 in Anatolian hieroglyphic script.¹⁹ However, L254 = LÚ SAG should be a social status, not a profession. The title L254 = LÚ SAG is probably derived from loyalty²⁰ to the palace,²¹ and the individuals who hold this title have a profession,²² although it is not always stated. The reason why *GAL LÚ SAG (= Chief LÚ SAG) is not attested in cuneiform and Anatolian hieroglyphic sources can be explained by the fact that people with this title are the member of a heterogeneous class practicing various professions. So a LÚ SAG = L254 can be promoted to the GAL position only in his profession. Also, besides the arguments that persons holding the title LÚ SAG do not necessarily have to be eunuchs,²³ the title LÚ SAG = L254 should denote the privilege of somebody’s relationship with the palace, not a duty performed by somebody physically residing in the palace and these privileges are described in detail in the text group CTH 255 (Miller 2013: 294 ff.). At this point, it would thus be appropriate to use ‘loyal man/loyal nobleman’ based on the meanings ‘(he) of the head²⁴ = loyal (noble)man (of the King)’ = ‘(he) of the palace²⁵ = [loyal (noble)man] of the palace’ instead of ‘courtier, eunuch’ when translating LÚ SAG = L254. For these reasons, the term AULA (by extension and metonymic meanings) has been proposed instead of EUNUCHUS₂ for L254.²⁶

¹⁸ In the publication of *BoHa* 19.203, which was persistently cited as evidence for the existence of a ‘female scribe’ in some publications, two question marks by D. Hawkins, and one question mark by S. Herbordt, were not taken into account. Aside from the fact that the name on the relevant seal impression is a male name (Lariya, *NH* 690), it is clear that the signs interpreted as SCRIBA FEMINA are in fact SCRIBA 2, if the photograph is examined carefully.

¹⁹ The equation L254 = LÚ SAG can also be observed in *BoHa* 19.162: L254 *ki-VIR-ti’/n^l* PITHOS’. VIR, SCRIBA in cuneiform 1. ^mKi-z[i... 2. x... 3. LÚ SA[G..., Kizit/ni, pithos-man, scribe, loyal-man (cf. Soysal 2019: 76).

²⁰ The title probably indicates that the person is ‘trusted’/‘accredited’.

²¹ Laroche (1960: 135) gave the meaning ‘palace’ to the sign L254 as a form of L257.

²² For professions attested with L254 see *BoHa* 19: 303; Bilgin 2018: 333-339.

²³ Bilgin 2019; Bilgin 2018: 340-345; Miller 2013: 294 ff. and bibliography; Mora 2010.

²⁴ ‘Head’ must be pointing to the king, who is the head of the administration, and indirectly to the palace.

²⁵ It means accredited person by the palace, loyal person of the palace.

²⁶ L254 ‘loyal man/loyal men’ in the L490 = L254.MAGNUS sign may correspond to the concept of ‘troops’ in military context. ‘Commander of the loyal troops of the palace’ can be suggested by equating the L490 with GAL UKU.UŠ. The seal impressions from Alaca Höyük (AL.G.95, Koşay 1965: pl. 18.53 and AL.C.307, Koşay 1951: pl. 76.2b – the image is upside down), which have not been read until now, should be read as L492 BRACCHIUM, and should be equated with the GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG, ‘Commander of the right of the loyal troops of the palace’ in cuneiform sources (cf. Beal 1992: 380-391).

Table 1. LB II names of the Archive

Name	Transliteration	Title	Profession	NoSI	Type	Inv. no.
1 A...	...]-*a			1	S	KH.19.O.391
2 Abarikisa	[i(a)-] <i>pari-ki-sà</i> ¹ <u>cuneiform</u> [1. ^{NA} ₄ KIŠIB] [2. ^m A-ba-ri-... ^L] ^U D[UGUD ²]	^L U DUGUD ²		1	C	KH.20.O.96
	[i(a)-] <i>pari-ki-sà</i> <u>cuneiform</u> 1. ^{NA} ₄ [KIŠIB] 2. ^m A-ba-r[i-...	AULA (L254)		3ab	C	KH.20.O.99 & Aza- ²
3 Anitta	<i>á-ni-tá</i>			1	B	KH.19.O.341
4 Aza... ²	<u>cuneiform</u> ^m A ² -za ² -[...			3c	C	KH.20.O.99 & Abarikisa
5 Bentešina	<i>pa-ti-si-na</i> [...]-na ²			1	B	KH.19.O.351 KH.19.O.462
6 Ehli-Šarruma I	<i>i(a)-HALA-SA</i> [RMA]			1	B	KH.17.O.480
Ehli-Šarruma II ²	[i(a)-HA]LA-S[ARMA]		VIR ₂ URCEUS ²	1	C	KH.21.O.711
7 Ewri-Tešub I	<i>i(a)-pari-TA</i> [S(U)-pa] <i>i(a)-pari-TA</i> [S(U)-pa] <u>cuneiform</u> 1. ^{NA} ₄ KIŠIB 2. [mEN ^d U] 3. [^L U HAL]			2	S	KH.17.O.423 KH.17.O.436
	<i>i(a)-pari-TAS(U)-p</i> [a] <u>cuneiform</u> 1. [^{NA} ₄ KIŠIB] 2. [m]EN ^d [U] 3. ^L U HAL		BONUS ₂ SACERDOS ₂ MAGNUS SACERDOS ₂	3a	C	KH.17.O.668 & Zinni I (S2)
	[i(a)]- <i>pari-TAS(U)-pa</i>	AULA (L254)		1	C	KH.17.O.671 & Sunaili (C) & Taya (C3)
Ewri-Tešub II ²	[i(a)]- <i>pari-TAS(U)-pa</i>	AULA (L254)		1	C	KH.20.O.115
Ewri-...	<i>i(a)-pari</i> ² [...			1	B ²	KH.20.O.89
8 Kala	<i>ka²-(a)la</i>			1	S	KH.17.O.526
9 Kana	<i>ka-na</i>			2	B	KH.17.O.463
10 Kilaya	<i>ki-la-i(a)</i> <i>ki-la-i(a)</i>	AULA (L254)		1	S	KH.17.O.726 KH.17.O.727
11 Kuzi-Tešub ²	...]-zi/a-TAS(U)-pa ...]-TAS(U)-pa		MAGNUS AU[RIGA ₂ ²]	1	C	KH.21.O.700 KH.21.O.713
12 Paya	see Table 2					
13 Pasu...	<i>pa-su</i> [(-)...		MAGUS/ MEDICUS	4	C	KH.19.O.356

¹ CAPRA₂

Name	Transliteration	Title	Profession	NoSI	Type	Inv. no.
14 Piradu	<i>pi+ra/i-tu</i> <u>cuneiform</u> <i>[pí]-ra-du</i>	AULA (L254)	MAGNUS ² .X ²	4	SR	KH.21.O.460
15 Sapirazi/a	<i>sa₅-pi+ra/i-zi/a</i>			2	B	KH.20.O.74
16 Sar(r)a/ikula	<i>sà+ra/i-ku-la</i>			3	B	KH.21.O.410
	<i>sà+ra/i-ku-la</i>			3	B	KH.21.O.411
17 Šaušga-Runtiya	<i>sà+US-ka-CERVUS₂-t^[i]</i>			4	B	KH.19.O.304
18 Šaušga-šena	(DEUS) ¹ <i>sà+US-ka-si-na</i>	REX.FILIUS		1	SR	KH.19.O.461
19 Sunaili	<i>su-QUINQUE-li</i> <u>cuneiform</u> 1. ^{NA₄} KIŠIB 2. ^m Šu-na-DINGIR-LÌ	AULA (L254)	MAGUS/ MEDICUS	Seal	C	KH.17.O.448
				3c	C	KH.17.O.671 & Taya (C3) & Ewri-Tešub I (C)
20 Taki-Šarruma	<i>tá-ki-SARMA</i>		BONUS ₂ SCRIBA SCRIBA	8	S	KH.20.O.98
21 Ta(p)pi(ya) ²	<i>tá-[...]</i> <i>...-]pi²</i>			4	B	KH.21.O.414
				1	B	KH.21.O.417
22 Taya	see Table 3					
23 Tili-Šarruma	<i>ti-li-SA[RMA]</i>			3	B	KH.20.O.90
	<i>ti-[li-SARMA]</i>			1	B	KH.20.O.106
	<i>ti-li-SARMA</i>			7	B	KH.20.O.195
24 Tulpi(ya)	<i>tu²-la²-DARE</i>	BONUS ₂ VIR ₂		2	B	KH.17.O.731
				1	B	KH.17.O.590
25 Zi/a...	<i>zi/a-[...]</i>		MAUSO- LEUM. DOMINUS	3ab	B1	KH.17.O.524 & Taya (C2)
			MAUSO- LEUM. DOMINUS	2a	B1	KH.19.O.366 & Taya (S2)
			MAUSO- LEUM. DOMINUS	2a	B2	KH.17.O.442 & Zinni I (B1)
			MAUSO- LEUM. DOMINUS	1	B2	KH.17.O.461
26 Zinni I	see Table 4					

Name	Transliteration	Title	Profession	NoSI	Type	Inv. no.
27 Zinni II	<i>zi/a-ni</i>	AULA (L254)	URCEUS	2	B	KH.21.O.409
				2	B	KH.21.O.416
				1	B	KH.21.O.415
				2	B	KH.21.O.688
	2	B	KH.21.O.689			
	<i>zi/a-[...]</i>	AULA (L254)	2	S1	KH.21.O.695	
<i>zi/a-[...]</i>		2	S2 ²	KH.21.O.699		
28 ...mil/ṛi	<i>...]-mi-li/ti²</i>	BONUS ₂ [VIR ₂]		1	C ²	KH.21.O.693
29 ...patu	<i>...]-pa-tu</i>		AURIGA ₂	1	C	KH.21.O.702
30 VITA+RA/I	VITA[+RA/I]	BONUS ₂ VIR ₂		1	S	KH.19.O.507
31 Office Seal ²	DOMUS+SIGI[LLUM		DOMUS+SI-GILLUM	1	B	KH.17.O.903

Table 2. Sealings of Paya

Inv. no.	NoSI	Inv. no.	NoSI	Inv. no.	NoSI	Inv. no.	NoSI
KH.17.O.424	1	KH.17.O.513	1	KH.17.O.641	1	KH.17.O.734	2
KH.17.O.467	2	KH.17.O.514	2	KH.17.O.650	3	KH.17.O.737	1
KH.17.O.471	2	KH.17.O.517	1	KH.17.O.651	2	KH.19.O.193	2
KH.17.O.472	2	KH.17.O.520	1	KH.17.O.653	1	KH.19.O.201	1
KH.17.O.473	2	KH.17.O.532	1	KH.17.O.667	3	KH.19.O.230	1
KH.17.O.474	2	KH.17.O.535	2	KH.17.O.676	1	KH.19.O.234	2
KH.17.O.475	1	KH.17.O.541	1	KH.17.O.679	1	KH.19.O.270	1
KH.17.O.476	1	KH.17.O.543	1	KH.17.O.686	3	KH.19.O.306	2
KH.17.O.477	1	KH.17.O.545	1	KH.17.O.687	1	KH.19.O.307	1
KH.17.O.478	1	KH.17.O.553	1	KH.17.O.689	1	KH.19.O.308	1
KH.17.O.479	1	KH.17.O.560	2	KH.17.O.690	1	KH.19.O.312	1
KH.17.O.482	3	KH.17.O.583	2	KH.17.O.691	1	KH.19.O.315	1
KH.17.O.487	1	KH.17.O.584	2	KH.17.O.692	2	KH.19.O.324	1
KH.17.O.494	1	KH.17.O.588	2	KH.17.O.693	2	KH.19.O.348	1

KH.17.O.499	3	KH.17.O.604	2	KH.17.O.728	1	KH.19.O.352	1
KH.17.O.511	1	KH.17.O.617	1	KH.17.O.730	2	KH.19.O.354	1
KH.17.O.512	1	KH.17.O.630	1	KH.17.O.733	1	KH.19.O.377	1

Table 3. Sealings of Taya

Inv. no.	NoSI	Type & association	Inv. no.	NoSI	Type & association	Inv. no.	NoSI	Type & association
KH.17.O.433	5abcd	B1 & Zinni I (S2)	KH.17.O.540	1	C1	KH.17.O.680	1	C3
KH.17.O.469	2	B1	KH.17.O.552	1	C1	KH.17.O.732	1	C3
KH.17.O.577	2a	B1 & C2	KH.17.O.741	1	C1	KH.17.O.735	1	C3
KH.19.O.231	1	B1	KH.19.O.259	1	C1	KH.19.O.369	1	C3
KH.19.O.488	1	B1	KH.19.O.385	1	C1	KH.19.O.388	1	C3
KH.20.O.77	1	B1	KH.21.O.719	1	C1	KH.19.O.451	2	C3
KH.20.O.97	3ab	B1 & C2	KH.20.O.427	1	C1	KH.17.O.671	3b	C3 & Ewri-Tešub I (C) & Sunaili (C)
KH.20.O.112	4	B1	KH.17.O.529	2a	C1 & Zinni I (S1)	KH.19.O.325	4cd	C3 & Zinni I ^f (C2)
KH.17.O.431	1	B2	KH.17.O.561	2a	C1 & Zinni I (S1)	KH.17.O.581	2	S1
KH.17.O.557	1	B2	KH.17.O.531	2a	C2 & S2	KH.17.O.587	3	S1
KH.19.O.189	1	B2	KH.17.O.533	1	C2	KH.17.O.616	1	S1
KH.19.O.463	1	B2	KH.17.O.577	2b	C2 & B1	KH.17.O.531	2b	S2 & C2
KH.20.O.17	6	B2	KH.19.O.256	1	C2	KH.19.O.238	4	S2
KH.20.O.78	2	B2	KH.20.O.18	3ab	C2 & S4	KH.19.O.380	2	S2
KH.20.O.79	1	B2	KH.20.O.95	2	C2	KH.19.O.366	2b	S2 & Zi/a... (B1)
KH.20.O.80	1	B2	KH.20.O.97	3c	C2 & B1	KH.19.O.232	1	S3
KH.20.O.94	1	B2	KH.20.O.103	1	C2	KH.19.O.235	1	S3
KH.20.O.134	4a	B2 & S4	KH.20.O.432	3c	C2 & B2	KH.19.O.236	2	S3
KH.20.O.421	2	B2	KH.17.O.573	1	C2	KH.20.O.18	3c	S4 & C2
KH.20.O.432	3ab	B2 & C2	KH.17.O.524	3c	C2 & Zi/a... (B2)	KH.20.O.134	4bcd	S4 & B2
KH.20.O.438	2	B2	KH.17.O.443	2	C3			
KH.17.O.672	2b	B2 & Zinni I (S2)	KH.17.O.555	1	C3			
KH.20.O.419	5	B3	KH.17.O.578	1	C3			
KH.20.O.420	1	B3	KH.17.O.586	2	C3			
KH.20.O.88	1	B4	KH.17.O.603	2	C3			
KH.17.O.501	1	C1	KH.17.O.678	2	C3			

Table 4. Sealings of Zinni I

Inv. no.	NoSI	Type & association	Inv. no.	NoSI	Type & association	Inv. no.	NoSI	Type & association
KH.17.O.437	1	B1	KH.20.O.433	1	C1 ²	KH.19.O.316	2	S1 ²
KH.17.O.442	2b	B1 & Zi/a... (B2)	KH.21.O.728	1	C2	KH.17.O.433	5e	S2 & Taya (B1)
KH.19.O.241	1	B1	KH.19.O.386	1	C2 ²	KH.17.O.668	3ab	S2 & Ewri-Tešub I (C)
KH.19.O.364	3	B1	KH.17.O.525	1	S1	KH.17.O.672	2a	S2 & Taya (B2)
KH.19.O.367	2	B1	KH.17.O.561	2b	S1 & Taya (C1)	KH.19.O.313	1	S2
KH.17.O.421	1	B2 ²	KH.17.O.567	1	S1	KH.19.O.381	1	S2
KH.20.O.91	1	C1	KH.17.O.579	1	S1	KH.17.O.685	1	S3
KH.20.O.92	2	C1	KH.17.O.619	3	S1	KH.17.O.688	2	S3
KH.20.O.160	5	C1	KH.19.O.314	1	S1	KH.19.O.350	2	S3
KH.20.O.185	1	C1	KH.19.O.318	3	S1	KH.17.O.527	1	S3 ²
KH.21.O.412	2	C1	KH.19.O.335	2	S1	KH.19.O.376	2a	S3 ² & X27 (B)
KH.21.O.694	1	C1	KH.21.O.701	1	S1	KH.19.O.325	4ab	C2 ² & Taya (C3)

Abbreviations

- BoHa 19 = Herbordt S. 2005, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbulln aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa mit Kommentaren zu den Siegelinschriften und Hieroglyphen* von J. David Hawkins, Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 19, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern.
- BoHa 22 = Dinçol A., Dinçol B. 2008, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel aus der Oberstadt von Boğazköy-Ḫattuša vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende der Grossreichszeit*, Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 22, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern.
- BoHa 23 = Herbordt S., Bawanypeck D., Hawkins J.D. 2011, *Die Siegel der Großkönige und Großköniginnen auf Tonbulln aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*, Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 23, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern.
- HZL = Rüster, Chr., Neu, E. 1989, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten*, Wiesbaden.
- MEA = Labat R., Malbran-Labat F. 2002, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne. Signes, syllabaire, idéogrammes, 6^e édition*, Paris, Geuthner Manuels.
- NH = Laroche E. 1966, *Les noms des Hittites*, Etudes linguistiques 4, Paris, Klincksieck.
- NPN = Gelb I.J., Purves P.M., MacRae A.A. 1943, *Nuzi Personal Names*, The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 57, Chicago (Illinois), The University of Chicago Press.
- RSO VII = Bordreuil P. (ed.) 1991, *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville : les textes de la 34^e campagne (1973)*, Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

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Fig. 1. Hieroglyphic and cuneiform legends on KH.20.O.99 (top); KH.20.O.96 (bottom).



Fig. 2. KH.19.O.341.



Fig. 3. KH.20.O.99.



Fig. 4. KH.19.O.351, KH.19.O.462.



Fig. 5. KH.17.O.480 (left); KH.21.O.711 (middle and right).



Fig. 6a. KH.17.O.423A, KH.17.O.423B (top left); KH.17.O.436A, KH.17.O.436B (top right); KH.20.O.89 (bottom).

Fig. 6b. KH.17.O.668; KH.17.O.671.



Fig. 7. KH.20.O.115.



Fig. 8. KH.17.O.526.



Fig. 9. KH.17.O.463.



Fig. 10. KH.17.O.726 (left); KH.17.O.727A (middle),
KH.17.O.727B (right).



Fig. 11. KH.21.O.700, KH.21.O.713.

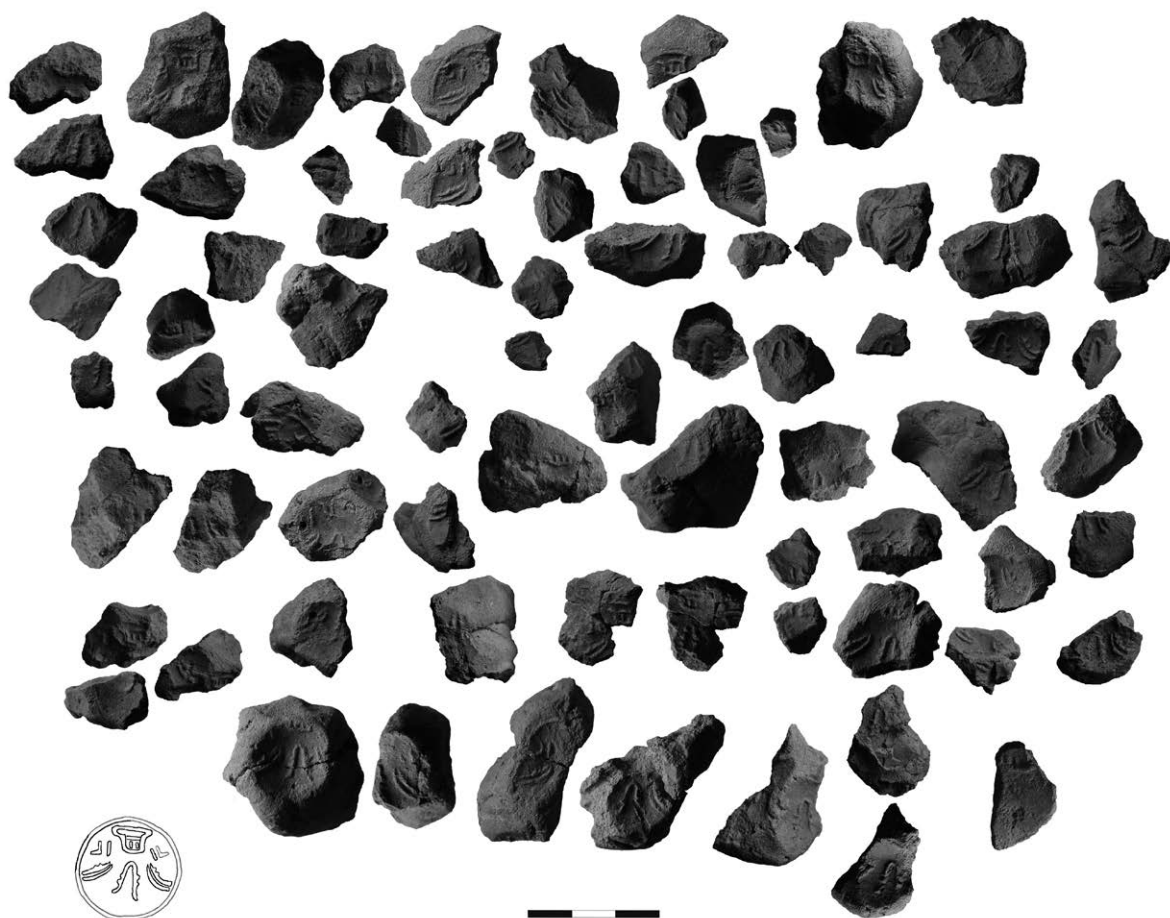


Fig. 12. See Table 2.



Fig. 13. KH.19.O.356.



Fig. 14. KH.21.O.460.



Fig. 15. KH.20.O.74.



Fig. 16. KH.21.O.410, KH.21.O.411.



Fig. 17. KH.19.O.304.



Fig. 18. Hieroglyphic legend on KH.19.O.461.



Fig. 19. Hieroglyphic and cuneiform legends on the modern impression of the seal KH.17.O.448.



Fig. 20. KH.20.O.98.



Fig. 21. KH.21.O.414, KH.21.O.417.



Fig. 22a. Sealings with Taya B1 impression(s).



Fig. 22b. Cuneiform legend on the sealings with Taya B1 impression(s).



Fig. 22c. Sealings with Taya B2 impression(s).

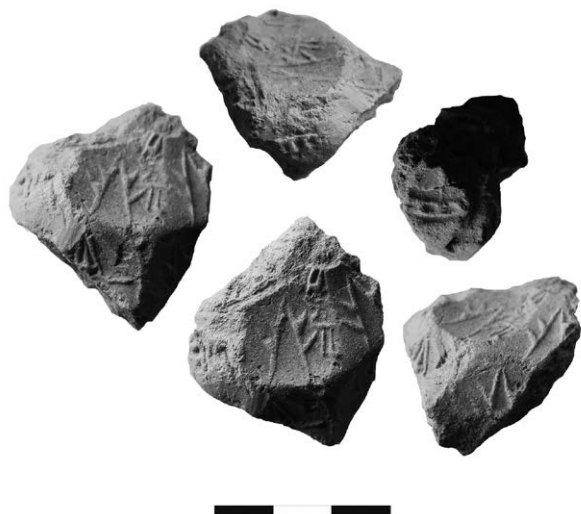


Fig. 22d. Sealings with Taya B3 impression(s).



Fig. 22e. Taya B4 on KH.20.O.88.



Fig. 22f. Sealings with Taya C1 impression(s).

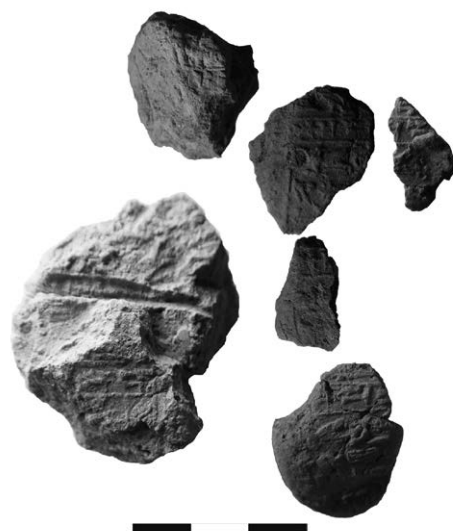


Fig. 22g. Cuneiform legend on the sealings with Taya C1 impression(s).



Fig. 22h. Sealings with Taya C2 impression(s).

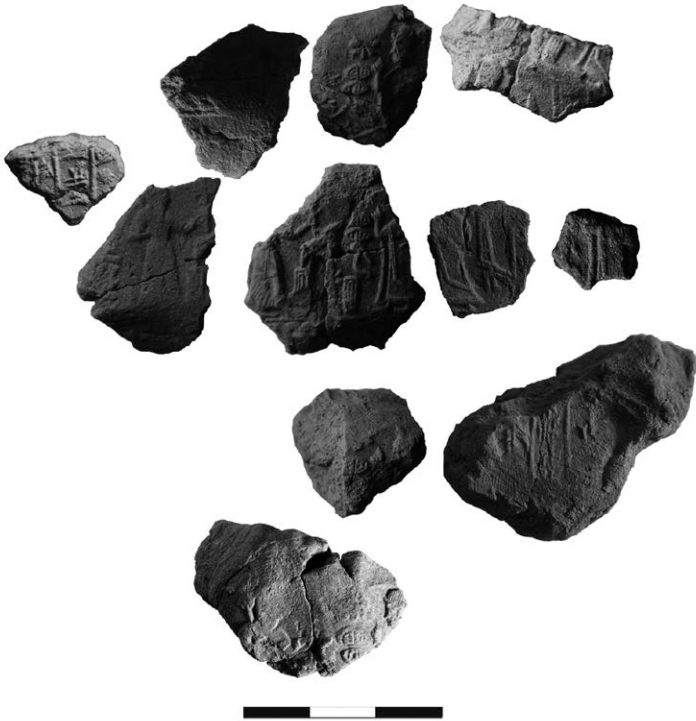


Fig. 22i. Sealings with Taya C3 impression(s).

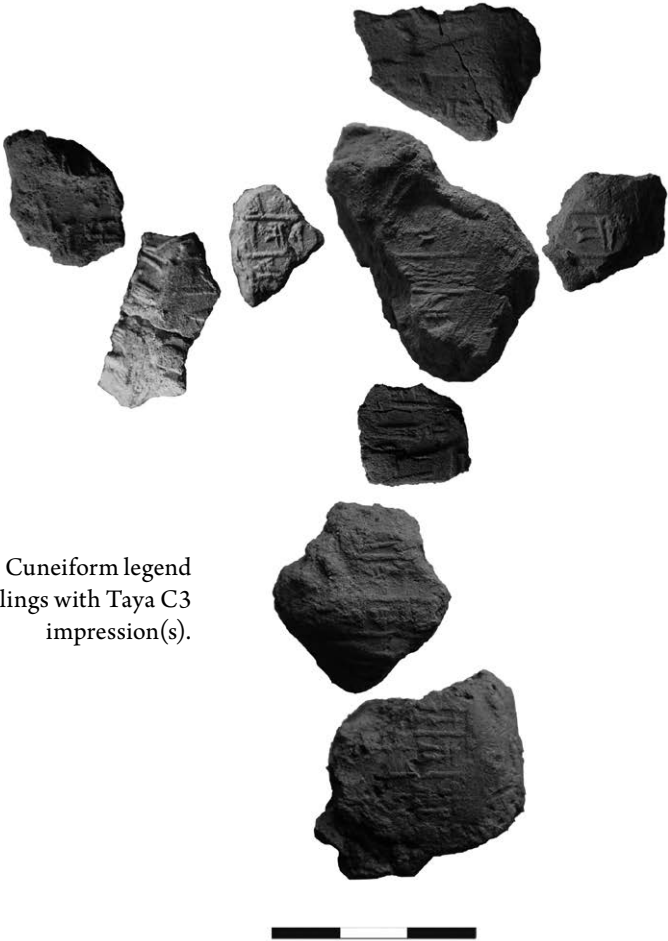


Fig. 22j. Cuneiform legend on the sealings with Taya C3 impression(s).



Fig. 22k. Sealings with Taya S1 KH.17.O.616,
KH.17.O.587, KH.17.O.581.



Fig. 22l. Taya S2 impressions on KH.17.O.531,
KH.19.O.238.



Fig. 22m. Sealings with Taya S3.



Fig. 22n. Taya S4 impressions on KH.20.O.134.



Fig. 23. KH.20.O.90, KH.20.O.19.



Fig. 24. KH.17.O.731.



Fig. 25. KH.17.O.524, KH.19.O.366; KH.17.O.461, KH.17.O.442.



Fig. 26a. KH.17.O.442, KH.19.O.367, KH.19.O.364ab; KH.17.O.421.



Fig. 26b. Hieroglyphic legend on KH.20.O.160.



Fig. 26c. KH.21.O.728.



Fig. 26d. KH.17.O.579; KH.17.O.561, KH.17.O.525.



Fig. 26e. KH.17.O.668, KH.17.O.672.



Fig. 26f. KH.17.O.685; KH.17.O.688, KH.19.O.376.



Fig. 27. KH.21.O.409, KH.21.O.695; KH.21.O.699ab.



Fig. 28. KH.21.O.693.



Fig. 29. KH.21.O.702.



Fig. 30. KH.19.O.507.



Fig. 31. KH.17.O.903.