

UGARITIC SEAL METAMORPHOSES AS A REFLECTION OF THE  
HITTITE ADMINISTRATION AND THE EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE  
IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE IN WESTERN SYRIA

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences  
of  
Bilkent University

by

B. R. KABATIAROVA

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF  
ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART  
BILKENT UNIVERSITY  
ANKARA

June 2006

*To my family and Özge*

I certify that I have read this thesis and that it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art.

-----  
Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates  
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and that it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art.

-----  
Dr. Jacques Morin  
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and that it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art.

-----  
Dr. Geoffrey Summers  
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences

-----  
Dr. Erdal Erel  
Director

## ABSTRACT

### UGARITIC SEAL METAMORPHOSES AS A REFLECTION OF THE HITTITE ADMINISTRATION AND THE EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE IN WESTERN SYRIA

Kabatiarova, B.R.

M.A., Department of Archaeology and History of Art

Supervisor: Doc. Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates

June 2006

This study explores the ways in which Hittite political control of Northern Syria in the LBA influenced and modified Ugaritic glyptic and methods of sealing documents. It analyzes the ring, stamp and cylinder seal impressions and seals found at Ugarit and compares them with parallels or similar finds from Hattusa, Emar and other sites within the Hittite realm. It argues that the differences in seal types and sealing practices resulted in the development of a new shape of ring seal. This new type served Hittite officials involved in administration of Syrian domains as well as the vassal kings and their personnel who concurrently used seals of different types as appropriate to their bureaucratic needs. In some cases, nonetheless, the utilization of various seal types by a single individual reflects subsequent periods in this person's life and career. The thesis discusses also changes in iconography stimulated by Ugarit's submission to the Hittite king. It focuses on identification and explanation of the presence of Anatolian and Egyptian elements in the Ugaritic and Hittite seal

designs in relation to the vassal state administration and international political situation.

Key Words: Seal Impression, Ring Seal, Stamp Seal, Cylinder Seal, Clay Tablet,  
Iconography, Cuneiform Script, Hieroglyphic Script.

## ÖZET

### BATI SURİYE'DE GEÇ TUNÇ ÇAĞI'NDAKİ HİTİT YÖNETİMİ VE MİSİR ETKİSİNİN YANSIMASINDA UGARİT MÜHÜR BAŞKALAŞIMLARI

Kabatiarova, B.R.

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates

Haziran 2006

Çalışma, hangi yollarla Geç Tunç Çağı'nda Kuzey Suriye'deki Hitit politik kontrolün Ugarit gliptiği ve mühürlenmiş dökümanların metodlarını etkilediği ve değiştirdiğini araştırır. Bu çalışma, başlıca Ugarit'te bulunan yüzük, damga ve silindirik mühür damgalarını analiz eder ve bunları Hattuşa, Emar ve Hitit Krallığı içindeki diğer yerleşmelerdeki benzer buluntular ve paralelleriyle karşılaştırır. Yüzük mühürün yeni bir şeklinin gelişimiyle sonuçlanan mühürleme alışkanlıkları ve mühür tiplerindeki farklılıkları tartışır. Bu farklılıklar ayrıca Hitit memurlarının Suriye topraklarının yönetimine karışmasına ve buna ilaveten derebeyi kralları ve onların adamlarının aynı zamanda farklı tiplerde mühürleri kullanmalarına sebep oldu. Bazı durumlarda bir bireyin çeşitli mühür tiplerini kullanılması bu insanın hayatı ve kariyerinde daha sonraki dönemlere yansır. Tez ayrıca Ugarit'in Hitit krallarına boyun eğmesiyle oluşan ikonografideki değişiklikleri tartışır. Ugarit ve Hitit mühür dizaynlarında

Anadolu ve Mısır elementlerinin varlığının, derebeyi yönetimleri ve uluslararası politik durumla bağlantı kurarak, belirlenmesi ve açıklanmasına odaklanır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mühür Baskisi, Halka Mühür, Baski Mühür, Silindir Mühür,  
Kil Tablet, İkonografi, Çivi Yazısı, Hiyeroglif Yazısı.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express special thanks to Doc. Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates, Dr. Geoffrey Summers, Dr. Jacques Morin, Ben Claasz-Cooockson, Dr. Thomas Zimmermann, Dr. Salima Ikram, Dr. Julian Bennett, Pr. Gary Beckman, Dr. Suzanne Herbordt, and Özge Demirci.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                  |      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| ABSTRACT .....                                                   | iii  |
| ÖZET .....                                                       | v    |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....                                           | vii  |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS .....                                          | viii |
| CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....                                    | 1    |
| CHAPTER 2: POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL SITUATION                    |      |
| IN WESTERN SYRIA IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE .....                    | 4    |
| 2.1 Political History .....                                      | 4    |
| 2.2 Foreign Administration .....                                 | 9    |
| 2.3 Ugarit between Millstones .....                              | 15   |
| CHAPTER 3: SEAL TYPES AND METHODS OF DOCUMENT                    |      |
| AUTHENTICATION .....                                             | 19   |
| 3.1 Seals and Sealing Practices .....                            | 19   |
| 3.2 Seals on Written Documents .....                             | 27   |
| CHAPTER 4: LATE BRONZE AGE SEALS FROM UGARIT:                    |      |
| PATTERN OF CHANGE, CREATION OR ADJUSTMENT .....                  | 34   |
| 4.1 Signet Rings .....                                           | 35   |
| 4.2 Hittite Royal Seals from Ugarit .....                        | 48   |
| 4.3 Stamp Seals of the Vassal Kings, Princes and Officials ..... | 57   |

|                                                                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.4 The Cylinder Seals from Ugarit .....                                               | 67  |
| CHAPTER 5: THROUGH ICONOGRAPHY TO ADMINISTRATION ....                                  | 75  |
| 5.1 Iconography of the Ring Seals .....                                                | 75  |
| 5.2 Iconography of the Hittite Royal Seals .....                                       | 85  |
| 5.3 Iconography of the Stamp Seals of the Vassal Kings,<br>Princes and Officials ..... | 96  |
| 5.4 Iconography of the Cylinder Seals .....                                            | 104 |
| CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION .....                                                            | 112 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY .....                                                                     | 115 |
| APPENDIX .....                                                                         | 126 |
| Sources of Figures .....                                                               | 127 |
| Figures .....                                                                          | 130 |

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The excavations of the Late Bronze Age strata at Ugarit yielded a number of seal impressions. Unlike at Hattusa, though similarly to Emar, these seals were found on clay tablets recording various kinds of documents. This combination of seal impressions and cuneiform texts provided excellent material not merely for the analysis of the glyptic art, but also for the study of the diversity in text recording and its authenticating methods. The purpose of this study is to explore the degree into which the Hittite dominance over the Northern Syrian region is visible on the glyptic of Ugarit when compared to finds from other Syrian sites and also the Hittite capital. Further, this paper attempts to identify any new developments in the seal type and sealing practices that have occurred during the last century and a half of the existence of the LBA kingdom of Ugarit and the Hittite Empire.

An important stimulus for this work was the realization that many of the scholars dealing with Near Eastern glyptic restricted their analysis to the questions of iconography and attempted basically to trace the origins, development and spread of particular motifs through different periods of time and regions. Within a limited time

span (ca.1340 – 1190/85 BC)<sup>1</sup> this paper focuses on the glyptic in relation to the type of tablets it appeared on as well as in relation to the diversity of sealing methods and scribal practice. Further, it analyses the spread, adoption, and modifications of particular seal types that were initiated by the changed political situation after Ugarit became the vassal of the Hittite king and which resulted from new administrative organization of the Northern Syrian region. In addition, it concentrates on the cultural influence that came to Ugarit through trade contacts with Egypt already during the Middle Bronze Age and on the way these imports persisted the Hittite impact in the Late Bronze Age.

This study is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides the historical background for the discussion and enlightens the political and economic position of Ugarit within the wider eastern Mediterranean area. It focuses on Ugarit's efforts to keep its independence from powerful kingdoms such as Egypt, Mittanni or Hatti without threatening its economical prosperity. It also explains the reasons that forced the kingdom into vassalage. The second chapter discusses the development of glyptic towards the Late Bronze Age in the region of Ugarit, Hatti and Egypt and it also compares various writing materials and recording techniques that were characteristic for each of these geographical and cultural localities. The first two chapters create a necessary basis for the analysis of the seal types and sealing styles that represents the content of chapter three. The different seal impressions are being examined on the basis of the seal type they come from and also on what type of clay tablet they were found. All discussed seal impressions from Ugarit are being compared to those from Hattusa and Emar in order to trace differences in style or new developments that could be ascribed to the Hittite influence on his vassal and

---

<sup>1</sup> According to chronology used by Singer 1999: 603-733, which corresponds to the LB II; it includes the era from the reign of Suppiluliuma I through the reign of Suppiluliuma II.

vice versa. The last chapter examines the iconography of the seal impressions within the Hittite sphere of influence with an emphasis on the possible exchange, import and adoption of patterns or scenes from the Anatolian repertoire into the Syrian realm. In addition it explores the ways through which the originally Syrian and Egyptian elements traveled into Hittite glyptic.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL SITUATION IN WESTERN SYRIA IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE**

#### **2.1 Political History**

At the beginning of the LBA the regions of Syria and Palestine lay seemingly beyond the scope of interest for the former great powers in the region such as the Hittites and Egypt. The former had withdrawn its troops from Syria after the reign of Hantili (Astour 1981:11, Giles 1997:14), because of preoccupation with home affairs and troublesome neighbors on its western and northern border as well. The latter was seeking its independence from the Hyksos rulers and attempting to unite the north and south of the country now split into several semi or fully independent entities. Once the reunification of the Nile valley was completed and the first pharaoh of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty secured his position on the throne, Egypt once again looked northeast towards its for some time neglected subjects. After the troubles of the Second Intermediate Period the pharaoh's interest was to renew treaties with former Egyptian territories and continue their exploitation. At the time, Syria was the main scene of the international commerce in which the eastern and Mediterranean world wanted to participate, Egypt not excluded. Taken from the historical point of view,

Syria with its long lasting system of small kingdoms and city-states represented in the eyes of the foreign powers lands with almost unlimited natural resources (agriculture) and raw materials the Bronze Age world depended on. It was also a source of wealth, which was a temptation and a reason for any ruler to earn his military glory there and then draw profit on the subjugated lands.

Already the Egyptian kings of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty conducted occasional military campaigns to the region of Palestine and kept under their control the coastal areas (of modern Lebanon) especially around Byblos (Fig.1a-b). Though many objects from Egypt were uncovered at Ugarit, Singer claims (1999:615) that there was no evidence for diplomatic or military presence of Egypt as far north as Ugarit during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> The first king of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Ahmose started re-establishing Egyptian control over Palestine and southern Syria, which had diminished during the Hyksos rule in Egypt. After taking the Hyksos capital Avaris (Tell el-Daba) he pursued them to Palestine as far as Sharuhin (Tel el Ajjul). His efforts were continued by the following rulers of this dynasty, notably Thutmose I who conducted a great campaign to Syria. He reached as far as the Euphrates River and crossed over into Naharin, which belonged to Mittanni. He won his battle with Mittanni and erected a stela near Carchemish (Astour 1981:9). His follower Thutmose II was occupied by putting down rebellions in Palestine and during the reign of Hatshepsut no campaign was conducted to the northeast.

Though Thutmosis III was not the only pharaoh of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty that campaigned in Syria and succeeded there, it is his name that is connected to many references and thus can offer the best overview of the military successes and subsequent arrangements. His first military act in Syria was fighting in the vicinity of

---

<sup>2</sup> From Ugarit comes the largest so far discovered group of Egyptian Middle Kingdom statues and objects including inscribed seals, beads, pearls and many other objects without inscriptions (Singer 1999:616).

Megiddo against a coalition of three hundred and thirty Syrian and Palestinian local rulers or tribal chiefs led by Qadesh and probably backed by Mittanni, which wished to stop the Egyptian advance to Syria. Tuthmosis won the battle, with heavy losses however. Though through this victory he opened the land route to Syria he started his new campaign traditionally from the Akkar plain. He conquered Ullaza and Ardata and strengthened the Egyptian position on the coast north of Byblos (Klengel 1992:92). He returned to this coastal area again. Ullaza became the stronghold of Egyptian power in Syria and a place from which the future military campaigns should start. The Egyptian advance in Syria was carefully watched but not appreciated by Mittanni since it collided with its interests and influence in the region. Ancient sources inform us that a battle between these two powers took place and the pharaoh added a new victory to his list of achievements. Afterwards he marched to the Euphrates, crossed it on boats and erected a victory stela next to that of Tuthmosis I (Klengel 1992:90). While staying at the Euphrates many local settlements submitted to him. He did not pursue the Mittannians, but turned to Emar and then to Niya where he, once again following the example of Tuthmosis I, hunted elephants. Before he returned home he conquered Qadesh, which was an important achievement (Klengel 1992:94). Though his campaigns were successful, his achievements did not last long and he had to return several times to re-establish order. During his tenth campaign he met and defeated Mittanni troops again and took booty and many prisoners. During his 17<sup>th</sup> and last campaign he destroyed Irqata and Tunip, which was the stronghold of Mittanni. Despite all these activities the Egyptian control in the area was reduced mostly to the coastal region and the inland parts remained under control of Mittanni.

During the reign of Amenophis II the operations in Syria were mostly restricted to maintaining the gains of Tuthmosis I and we know only of two campaigns of Amenophis II (Klengel 1992:95-96). His reign however, marked an important change in foreign policy for both countries. The hostilities between Egypt and Mittanni were not to last too long afterwards and Mittanni initiated friendly relations with Egypt, probably as a response to growing threat from the Hittites.<sup>3</sup> The new course between recent rivals was sealed when Tuthmosis IV married the daughter of Artatama I of Mittanni and later on, Amenophis III first accepted the Mittannian princess Giluhepa into his harem and later married Taduhepa, another Mittannian princess and the daughter of the king Tushratta. Under Amenhotep III Ugarit is mentioned for the first time in the geographical list of Asian places in the temple at Karnak and Soleb in Nubia (Singer 1999:622, Givón 1986: 839, Astour 1981:15).

The rule of Akhenaten is usually characterized by scholars as the time when Egypt showed minimal or loss of interest in its Syrian subjects. Taken from the military point of view this claim is justified, since Akhenaten had not conducted a campaign to the north. However, this can be viewed not as a loss of interest but rather a change in tactics, no matter what results it brought. It is possible that Akhenaten did not intervene into disputes among his vassals since, as long as they were busy with their quarrels, they had no time to think about an anti-Egyptian coalition (Giles 1997:157,195-6). The pharaoh intervened only when a vassal went too far and interfered with the interests of the overlord, as happened in the case of

---

<sup>3</sup> Astour proposed (1981:15) that the reconciliation between Egypt and Mittanni came after both rivals realized that neither of them was strong enough to dislodge the other from his position. The author also opposes the view that Egypt initiated the new course with Thutmose IV's request for a Mittannian princess. It was the king of Mittanni who made territorial concessions to Egypt through which Ugarit came under the influence of Egypt again, though it is not clear whether Ugarit became a proper vassal of the pharaoh.

Aziru, the king of Amurru. Though this policy had good points to it, it was also a hazard, which consequently led to weakening of Egypt's position in Syria and the loss of some of its subjects. It fell then on Horemheb and his successors such as Seti I and Ramesse II to try to reestablish former order in Syria.

As has already been mentioned the Hittites withdrew from Syria under Hantili and this act opened space for the Mittanni and Egypt as well (Astour 1981:11). However, the Hittite retreat was only temporary and during the reign of Tudhaliya III, the re-conquest of Syria began. The sources inform us that his son and future king Suppiluliuma actively contributed to these efforts. Once a sole ruler he decided to destroy Mittanni. Though his first attack failed (Klengel 1992:109, Bryce 1998:170), after securing his position in Anatolia, he returned to Syria. The situation was favorable to him, since both Mittanni and Egypt were occupied by home affairs. Before another clash with Mittanni, he isolated the enemy through diplomatic alliances such as with Ugarit (the so-called first treaty) and through establishing friendly relations with Egypt. During his first great campaign he conquered Mittanni except Carchemish and gained its subject territories Halab, Mukish, Niya, Arahtu, Qatna, and Nuhasse. Though he, according to sources, tried to avoid touching Qadesh, the Egyptian vassal, at the end he took it and replaced its ruler. As a response the Egyptians campaigned in the Qadesh region. Despite this success and newly subjugated territories the Hittite position in northern Syria was still weak and needed to be strengthened. Suppiluliuma himself concentrated on defeating Carchemish, while he sent his other troops to invade Amka, which belonged to the Egyptian realm. Carchemish fell and friendly relations with Egypt were disturbed, especially after the failure of proposed marriage alliance between the widow of Tutankhamun and Suppiluliuma's son Zanannza (Bryce 1998:196, Klengel

1992:111). Through these two great campaigns Suppiluliuma established firm control over northern and central Syria. However, the hostilities between Hatti and Egypt continued and finally culminated in the well known battle of Qadesh between Ramesse II and Muwatalli II in 1275 BC (Klengel 1992:117), in which Ugarit participated on the side of Hatti and the kingdom of Amurru on the Egyptian side. Though the battle finished indecisively, the Hittites were the ones who gained new lands, of which the acquisition of Amurru was the most important. The hostilities were definitely concluded by a peace treaty between Ramesse II and Hattushili III in 1259 BC (Klengel 1992:119), which set the border between the zones of influence and established diplomatic relations on an equal basis. Amurru as well as Ugarit remained in the Hittite realm, though the peace treaty allowed renewal of commercial and diplomatic contact between Egypt and Ugarit (Astour 1981:24, Singer 1999:673).<sup>4</sup>

## **2.2 Foreign Administration**

Although the relation between an overlord and his vassal could be organized in various ways the choice was not unlimited and thus it is possible to trace several similarities in administration by three different powers having their territories within Syria. It often included a treaty, yearly tribute, paying homage, providing troops and having no independent foreign policy. It is also necessary to underline that although the treaties between the overlord and the vassal were designed 'for ever' they were often subject to modification due to changing political situation and the international interests of the overlord. In numerous cases the status of a vassal kingdom was

---

<sup>4</sup> Singer gives 1258 BC as the year the treaty was concluded.

changed after its ruler or governor rebelled against the overlord or was overthrown by home conspiracy. However, the situation was never so unstable that one would not be able to characterize basic features of someone's administration in general.

Before the Hittites under Suppiluliuma I returned to northern Syria and firmly re-established their zones of influence there, the region with its multiple states came under the influence and control of the kingdom of Mittanni. If compared with the vassal systems of the other two powers the Mittannian gives the impression of being the most liberal one (though this impression can partially result from the limited amount of sources on the organization of Mittannian administration). The Syrian vassal was bound to the overlord by an oath. He was obliged to send gifts to his master, provide troops (military support) if the overlord asked for them and also feed the Mittannian troops (Klengel 1992:98). The last-mentioned duty raises a question whether there were Mittannian military garrisons installed throughout the subjugated territories or whether this obligation only refers to a period of campaign during which the Mittannian troops were crossing the land of the vassal who had to supply them while they were in his territory. Otherwise the system allowed the original local Syrian rulers to stay in position, have their own foreign contacts and keep their own autonomy as long as these did not interfere with the interests of the overlord (Ibid.). In cases in which people from other principalities were involved, the Mittannian king had the highest authority and he made the final decisions (Klengel 1992:98). Astour adds (1981:9) that in the contest for Syrian territories between Hatti, Egypt and Mittanni, it was the last mentioned which would be preferred by most of the local Syrian rulers.

The treatment and organization of Egypt's vassal states in Syria and Palestine as it functioned during the reign of Thutmose III and his successors provide clues to

the Egyptian objectives in the region and the way they followed them through the administration. On the one hand, the system of Egyptian administration was organized according to Egypt's demand, on the other hand, it was determined by the character of the subjugated regions and what they could offer to the pharaoh.

The system of Egyptian administration in Syria followed a long-standing pattern that was established before and continued during the Amarna period, thus the so-called Amarna letters are the most useful source documenting the situation towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Klengel 1992:98). Similarly to the system of Mittanni, the conquered local rulers in Syria had to make an oath to the pharaoh (some of them in exchange for their lives) and then they were given back the position they held prior to the conquest. This was, however, possible only as long as the Egyptian king trusted the local ruler and thus in several cases the pharaoh replaced the unreliable or disliked local ruler with someone from the local aristocracy. When the oath was not considered sufficient enough to ensure the vassals' loyalty, the victorious pharaoh left Egyptian troops in the lands of their vassals as is attested by garrisons in Gubla and Ullaza (Klengel 1992:99, Singer 1999:615). The garrison units were not large, 30 to 50 people were considered sufficient (Klengel 1992:99, Drower 1970:56).<sup>5</sup> Thus, their presence can be viewed rather as symbol or reminder of the mighty overlord's presence. In this sense could be understood the letters from the pharaoh demanding preparation of supplies for coming Egyptian troops, which were accompanied by the usual threat regarding the numbers and strength of the royal Egyptian army (Giles 1997:151). The Egyptian court already in earlier periods had developed an additional mean for keeping the vassal's loyalty. The heirs to the vassal thrones and sons of the vassal rulers were brought to Egypt 'for education' at

---

<sup>5</sup> Drower also claims that the Egyptian garrisons were surprisingly small, but she mentions that 'a token force of a few hundred Egyptian or Nubian troops and fifty chariots was considered enough to hold a city against hostile attack' (1970:56).

the royal court. Actually, the young princes were taken hostage in exchange for their fathers' good behavior and obedience. This practice had also one more important dimension. Once the young prince returned to his homeland and began ruling he would, thanks to his long stay in Egypt, remain a faithful and reliable subject to the country in which he grew up (Giles 1997:149, 198). The Egyptian presence in Syria was further strengthened through the office of Egyptian governors (official) who resided directly in the subordinated lands. In the Amarna letters and Kamid el-Loz texts two governors are attested. One of them resided in Sumur (Sumara = Tel Kazel) and the other in Kumidi (Kamid el-Loz).<sup>6</sup> Both places were probably not chosen accidentally since they were located in strategically important areas (Goetze 1965a:4). These two officials represented the pharaoh's and the Egyptian crown's interests in the region. Both carried the title of *rabisu*.<sup>7</sup> They controlled the local rules and took care of proper payment of the tribute to the overlord, however they did not work as mediator between the locals and the pharaoh. The locals could directly apply to the Egyptian king; he, however, addressed his subjects through his officials (Klengel 1992:99). The system applied in Syria was similar to that used by Egypt in Nubia. This system included royal domains and lands, which directly belonged to the members of the royal family. Klengel argued (1992:99) that this system was more integrative than that applied by Mittanni or Hatti.

The Hittite king Suppiluliuma I after gaining new and old territories in northern Syria and defeating Mittanni initiated a new political organization of the subject lands. This modified system of administration brought the Syrian subjects under direct control of the Hittite overlord(s). The basic information on this new

---

<sup>6</sup> Klengel 1992:99.

<sup>7</sup> The title *rabisu* meant 'commissioner' in Akkadian, 'head of the northern foreign countries' in hieroglyphic Egyptian, the Syrians called them *sakinu* or *sokinu* (Klengel 1992:99). Giles translates the term *rabisu* as meaning the 'great one' which points to an official holding both military and administrative power (1997:153).

arrangement comes from the archives uncovered at Emar, Ugarit and Amarna (Klengel 1992:111). The southern border of Hittite rule in Syria was the kingdom of Amurru inland, but in the coastal region the Egyptian sphere went further to the north. With each subjugated territory the Hittite king conducted a treaty, which was formulated as an edict of the king and confirmed by oath of the particular Syrian vassal. The treaties were usually recorded in two, not always completely identical, language versions – in Akkadian and in Hittite language. In the case of Ugarit, a third ‘Ugaritic’ version was created (Klengel 1992:112, Singer 1999:634). The vassal exchanged his loyalty for life and return of the previously held throne. However, the overlord could remove the vassal ruler at any time. The vassal king had many obligations towards the Hittite king, which included military support if the overlord was attacked by an enemy or had to put down a rebellion; he had to return fugitives and to denunciate or spy for the overlord. In addition, the subject had to send gifts and pay a regular tribute (e.g. tax or protection money). Unlike the case of Mittannian overlordship, the vassal ruler was not allowed to pursue an independent foreign policy. His lord’s friends were his friends and his lord’s enemies were also his enemies. Thus, one may conclude that the foreign policy of the Syrian states under Hittite control was dictated from Hattusa. In return for fulfilling his obligations the vassal was promised protection (which was of interest for the Great King since he profited on the vassal states).

Suppiluliuma I made treaties with the most important regions within Hittite Syria including Ugarit, Amurru, Nuḥase, Halab, and also Tunip. Very important was the relation with Amurru since it, though not officially, represented the buffer zone between the Hittite Empire and Egypt; first on the side of Egypt and after the battle of Qadesh on the side of the Hittites. Hatti managed to destroy the Kingdom of

Mittanni, but after a short break the kingdom was reinstalled again, this time as a buffer zone protecting the Hittite territories against the rising threat from Assyria (Klengel 1992:113). Due to the character of the Syrian region, the long distance from the Hittite capital and, quite evidently, weak stability of the vassal system, the Hittite king chose to strengthen his position and secure his gains through additional means of political and military control. He made his son Piyashili (Sharri-Kushuh) king of Carchemish, another son, Telipinu, king of Halab (Aleppo) and probably placed several other officials into Syrian principalities as governors (Astour 1981:23-24, Bryce 1998:190-1). The first mentioned held the strongest position in Hittite Syria, second after the Great King, and was responsible for contacts with the Hittite capital as well as for organization and administration of vassal states belonging to Hatti. The king of Aleppo had a predominantly religious (Telipinu was a priest by profession) and judicial function, whereas the political and military responsibilities (mainly after the Second Syrian War) were performed by the king of Carchemish (Bryce 1998:203-204, Klengel 1992:113). The religious duty was related to the fact that Halab was the cult center of the local version of the weather-god, which was popular in Syria and since the time of Hattushili I it became a part of the official cult in Hattusa. Though Halab was overshadowed by Carchemish it helped to keep control over Syrian territories.

Both locations were chosen because of their strategic importance though scholars emphasize different reasons for the choice of Carchemish as the headquarters of Hittite power in Syria. At the time of the accession of Suppiluliuma's sons to the throne in Halab and Carchemish none of the cities was the residence of a ruling dynasty, so the Hittite princes did not replace local rulers. Though Carchemish did not lie in the middle of the Hittite realm in Syria, like Halab,

Suppiluliuma I chose it as the seat of his viceroy with the vision of future expeditions beyond the Euphrates, for which Carchemish had a better location. Further, the city used to be the last stronghold of Mittanni and thus placing the Hittite administrative center there would help to reduce remaining Mittannian influence in the area (Klengel 1992:113). As a representative of the Hittite King and overlord of Hittite Syria Sharri-Kushuh had the right to intervene in disputes and conflicts among the Syrian vassals and make final decisions. This arrangement meant an advantage not merely for the administration of Syria, but also for the homeland of Hatti, since the vassals were not always reliable and the neighbors not always friendly. Each time the Great King would go to the southeast himself he would have to leave the capital open and vulnerable to attack from enemies that relied on the long distance between the homeland and territories in Syria. The institution of viceroys helped to solve this long-lasting problem.

### **2.3 Ugarit between the Millstones**

The kingdom of Ugarit was not represented merely by the port, capital, and its immediate vicinity, but covered a territory of a respectable size (Fig. 1a). During the years of independence and strong Egyptian influence (or control) it spread over 2200 km<sup>2</sup> of land (Astour 1981:4). It reached its greatest extent after it moved to the Hittite realm. Together with lands (formerly belonging to Mukish and Niya) added and granted by Suppiluliuma I the kingdom stretched over 5425 km<sup>2</sup> (Vita 1999:455, Astour 1965:253, Bryce 1998:179). Though the available evidence makes estimates about population difficult and often speculative, scholars assume that the population of this medium-size state amounted to 31 000 and 33 000 people, with approximately

6-8 000 living in the capital and about 25 000 inhabiting the rest of the kingdom (Ibid.).

The importance and attraction of Ugarit were closely connected with its geographical location, topography, climatic conditions favorable to agriculture, natural resources and for that time, sophisticated market economy. Its territory was covered with fertile soils producing grain, wine, olive oil, wool, flax and fruits. It also possessed densely wooded areas with trees suitable for lumber production and plains good for grazing. The kingdom was known for the manufacture of woolen goods and linen, much of it dyed in purple or less expensive madder (Astour 1965:253). It owned fifty kilometers of the coast, with several locations suitable for seaports (Bryce 1998:177). Except the harbor of Ugarit itself, it had at least three other big ports at Attalig, Gib'ala, and Himulli and a number of small ones (Astour 1965:253). It owned a large commercial fleet as well as facilities for extensive shipbuilding (Heltzer 1982:188-191). The seaports represented important connections between the lands towards and beyond the Euphrates and the Mediterranean world. Through the territory of Ugarit passed main land routes, east through Aleppo to Mesopotamia and north going through Mukish to Anatolia (Bryce 1998:177, Astour 1981:3). In addition the kingdom was credited for its metal work both in production of items like vessels, swords or statues (Astour 1965:253).

Though scholars' opinions about the character of the relations between Ugarit and Egypt during the MBA vary significantly, it can be argued that it had a special status if compared with other principalities in the region. Recently it was proposed, on the basis of archaeological and written evidence, which is quite limited, that Ugarit was not a proper vassal of the pharaoh, but rather a partner fully aware of the strength and capabilities of Egypt. Singer defined the position of Ugarit as having 'an

autonomous status with strong Egyptian influence' (1999:627). Since Ugarit's interests were more related to commerce than military expansion of its territory, it adjusted its foreign policy towards securing benefit and income from the trade. Ugarit allowed Egypt free access to its ports and apparently both sides profited from this arrangement.

Once under Hittite rule Ugarit was supposed to obey the rules of vassalage. However, due to its non-aggressive character, wealth, and economical importance for the Hittites Ugarit was subject to different treatment and certain privileges.

The usual vassal's duties involved military assistance and in the case of Ugarit this meant having soldiers, chariots and also ships ready for the Hittite overlord. However, except for the last struggle against the Sea Peoples, Ugarit's troops were used only within Syria. In some cases the state contributed to the overlord only financially (Astour 1981:22-23).

The yearly tribute Ugarit had to pay to Hatti was 20 minas and 20 shekels of gold (together 500 shekels), then golden and silver vessels, cloth and lots of purple dyed wool (Astour 1981:20)<sup>8</sup>. The amount of imposed tribute did not depend only on the size of the state but also on its known wealth. Amurru, for example had to pay only 300 shekels of gold. After the separation of Siyannu from Ugarit, which reduced Ugarit's resources, the Hittite king Murshili II lowered the tribute by one third upon the request from Ugarit's ruler Niqmepa (Astour 1981:21). The kind treatment and privileged status of Ugarit among other Syrian vassal states was continued also in the reign of Hattushili III when he by a letter-decree (upon the complains from Niqmepa) prohibited the merchants from Ura on the Cilician coast to stay and buy immovable property at Ugarit during the winter months (Klengel 1992:138). The next Hittite

---

<sup>8</sup> Klengel informs (1992:133) that Ugarit had to pay only 12 minas and 20 shekels. He adds that Ugarit was not asked to send auxiliary troops if Hatti was attacked and that the Hittite ruler was satisfied with the gold Ugarit paid, which could be used for paying soldiers.

king Tudhaliya IV in his edict, which was issued by his viceroy Ini-Teshup of Carchemish, freed Ugarit from the obligation of sending troops to Tudhaliya who was fighting the Assyrians. Instead, Ugarit had to pay fifty minas of gold to the Hittite overlord (Klengel 1992:140), which was, however, to be paid immediately.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **SEAL TYPES AND METHODS OF DOCUMENT AUTHENTICATION**

#### **3.1 Seals and Sealing Practices**

The sigillary objects of the ancient Near East were subject to continual development and change in type and shape due to alteration of materials to be sealed, raw materials available for seal manufacture or innovations in technology. In a wider perspective the appearance and popularity of a certain type of seal often was related to international commercial and political relations, to preferences and demands of the ruling individual or a group, on the prevailing religious beliefs of a particular community or the position and occupation of its user. Current fashion trends, people's literacy or superstition also contributed to the changes.

The first part of this chapter focuses on seal shapes and kinds as they developed towards the LBA and explains what sealing object and technique predominated during this era. The scope of the chapter covers the Hittite Kingdom, Egypt's New Kingdom and the Kingdom of Ugarit (as representative of the northern Syrian realm). The second part of the chapter analyzes what writing materials were preferred by the three different states and how it determined the choice of sealing instrument. Since these three political entities came into close contact it is relevant to

clarify what particularities of administrative system and political organization, as reflected through seals and sealed documents, they brought in. All these factors were shaping the iconography of the seals, thus this chapter must be understood as a starting point for the following discussion on foreign elements within the Ugaritic seal iconography.

In the archaeological record from Egypt the seals create a significant group of objects. During the Pre-dynastic, Early Dynastic Period, the Old Kingdom and even the First Intermediate Period the seal types used extensively were mostly cylinder seals, which appeared first, then button or stamp seals. The occurrence of a cylinder seal in early Egyptian high administration is related to contacts and influence from the Near East, Mesopotamia in particular (Collon 1997:31, Smith 1998:15). Scholars claim to see one of the early examples on the neck of the royal sandal bearer on the King Narmer palette (Collon 1997:32). The cylinder seal was the primary sealing tool for central administration and for the king's purposes. Interesting is the fact that most of the surviving examples come from funerary contexts and point to a greater concern on issues of afterlife. Most of the seals from the earliest periods were small, stumpy, and bore inscriptions containing names. No impression of such a seal found so far suggests that they were probably not used during the life of the owner, but rather intended for the other world. Early Dynastic seals, mostly found in tombs again, were slightly larger than previously and carry wider variety of patterns including names and titles of high officials, names of kings, animal processions, depiction of ceremonies and ritual activities (Collon 1997:32). Scholars ascribed the fact that only few examples from this period were found to the perishable materials used for seal manufacture, such as wood in this case. The other material utilized for seal production was a wide variety of stone and exceptionally metals (for stamp

seals). Tombs dated to the Old Kingdom yielded seals (which were longer and thinner in diameter) that bore mostly names of kings, though only titles of officials (but not names anymore), cultic or funerary text. The iconographic decoration seems to decrease. It can be suggested that here the Egyptian sense for practicality showed up in restricting the design on the seal into a simple comprehensible legend. Collon proposed that the same reason probably led the Egyptians to abandon daily use of the cylinder seals for other sigillary devices after the 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty (1997:32). However, cylinder seals did not disappear completely and were used in contexts other than state administration. These later examples were small, mostly made of glazed steatite and carried cut inscriptions. They were intended for magic or cultic purposes and some of them served as amulets. The cylinder seals from the New Kingdom were produced for the same reason.

The oldest stamp seals discovered within the territory of ancient Egypt represent a range of various designs and patterns. They did not have the usual shapes of a proper stamp seal but were rather small objects, often pierced, sometimes worn as amulets and often inscribed, which could leave an identifiable impression if applied, however, no such impressions were found. Among these a large group was identified as button seals (or seal amulets) due to its specific shape, pierced protrusion and various patterns on the flattened part. However, some scholars refuse to accept these objects as possible sealing instruments (Collon 1997: 34, Ward 1978:46). The first scarabs, the most common type of a stamp seal, appeared at the very end of the First Intermediate Period and spread during the Middle Kingdom. The fact that this type of seal overshadowed other types must have been related to the religious meaning of the beetle. Originally, they were not inscribed with hieroglyphs that could be read as phrases, but with decorative, symbolic patterns or with

hieroglyphs that could be read only as a word. The patterns were cut or carved in intaglio into the flat bottom of the bug. At the very end of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty scarabs bearing the names and titles of kings, members of the royal family and also government officials came into use. Collon claims that the names on the scarab seals didn't have to be read, but it was enough to recognize them, which meant an advantage in comparison with other inscribed seals (1997:34). The last step before development of the standard stamp seal was the flat button, which had a ridged back and carried incision on the bottom. It was used for non-religious purposes throughout the Middle Kingdom and remained in use in later periods as well. Its shape ranges from circular through oval to rectangular. The seals carry names and titles of the officials using them. The inscription was usually carved enclosed in interlocking scrolls or spirals (Collon 1997:34). Wood was still popular material for their manufacture, but stone examples are also present. During the Middle Kingdom as a result of extensive foreign relations some unusual shapes of seal appeared, but these were only temporary.

Throughout the period in question (18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, New Kingdom) in Egypt several sealing techniques and objects were used. The material that provides information and evidence of employment of a particular type of a seal comes mostly from the tombs in the Valley of the Kings and is often checked against inscriptions or reliefs on other objects or buildings. According to the archaeological evidence the most favored among the pharaohs was the ring seal and stamp seal. The scarabs were not used as seals during the New Kingdom, though they were still manufactured in great numbers due to their popularity as decorative objects or amulets carrying a message (Collon 1997:39). The materials of which these types were produced range

from pottery, wood, faience, stones through several metals such as copper, bronze or gold. A few examples combining stone and metal are also known.

The ring seal was not invented in this period, but an older version appeared already in the Middle Kingdom when scarabs were attached to metal rings with rotating bezels. The New Kingdom development was the ring with fixed bezel, very comfortable to use as a stamp seal (Collon 1997:34). They were used by the pharaoh and became the common sign of senior officialdom. If used by the pharaoh they bore a cartouche with one of his names. Receipt of a seal was a sign of investiture of an official to a higher position (Collon 1997:37). Thus a ring signet became a powerful sign indicating high status of its owner. The rings were mostly used to seal documents, but sometimes also for jars or various boxes. For the latter purpose standard, usually oval, stamp seals were more generally employed. These seals, though simple in form, bore carefully carved legends in hieroglyphic script and some were attached to ring handles for easy use (Collon 1997:37, Hayes 1951:165-168).

Due to the fact that the ancient Egyptians did not know the door lock, they used a lump of clay, which they put on the closing mechanism and impressed a seal on it by which the door was considered 'locked'. Similarly, the storage containers were closed by massive mud jar stoppers of various shapes (domed, cap, cylindrical) into which a seal was impressed (Collon 1997:37, Hope 1993:92). The best preserved evidence on jar stoppers of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty comes from Amenophis III's palace at Malkata in Thebes, from Akhetaten and from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Hope 1993:87-138, Collon 1997:38). Small pieces of mud placed over string were used to seal canopic jars or small containers. Documents written on papyrus scrolls were sealed with a clay seal (testimony of Wallis Budge in Giles, Collon 1997:38). From the Tell el-Amarna, the short-lived capital created by Akhenaten, come

mudbricks bearing a stamp seal impression with hieroglyphs, which reads *pr anx* – ‘house of life’.<sup>9</sup> From the tomb of this period also come so-called funerary cones, which were originally inserted into the wall above the entrance to the tomb. Though their proper function is not clear, important is that some of them carry stamp seal impressions or are inscribed. Finally, in the necropolis of the pharaohs of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty in the Valley of the Kings entrances to several tombs were filled with stone blocks, which were plastered over. The officials responsible for the burial and tomb equipment impressed their seals into the wet plaster as many time as was needed to fill out the space (Kaper 1993:139-177).

Before the emergence of the Kingdom of the Hittites merchants from Ashur established colonies throughout Anatolia. The sealing instruments and practices they brought with themselves influenced the development of local types (Collon 1997:15). During this period both stamp and cylinder seals were used. Typical of the period was the effort to fill out all the space on a seal on the side to be impressed (Collon 1990:48). These seals indicate influence from Mesopotamia. Seal manufacture changed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC due to innovations in technology, which introduced the use of drill and cutting wheel (Collon 1990:49). At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC these types were replaced by hammer-handled stamp seals (or hammer-headed stamp-cylinders) and four-sided stamp seals. One such Hittite hammer seal was found in Tarsus in Cilicia and dates to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Collon 1990:48). The combined cylinder-stamps were employed by administrators (Hittite officials) in cases when both types were needed for sealing (Collon 1997:15). The carvings on these seals show cult scenes with deities often accompanied by decorative braids and guilloche patterns.

---

<sup>9</sup> Freed R.E., Y.J. Markowitz, and S.H. D’Auria (eds.) 1999:147.

Within the LBA Hittite Kingdom the seals and sealing practices were similar to those of Egypt and even more to those of Ugarit. Clay bullae were applied to seal access to various buildings and also as jar stoppers. Seals were used to sign or to seal a wide range of documents. The seal could be attached to a document made of clay (tablet) or other materials (which were often perishable, so we learn about existence of some documents or persons only thanks to surviving seals) or boxes as bullae either directly attached or hanging on a string. The mostly used seal type was a stamp seal. The oldest Hittite stamp seals known so far date to the late sixteenth and early fifteenth century BC. They bore a hieroglyphic inscription. Starting from c.1400 BC the royal stamp seals carried engravings both in hieroglyphic and cuneiform (Collon 1990:50). The seals of the officials and princes did not bear the cuneiform inscription (Herbordt 2004:7). A typical royal seal was round and left a circle impression. The inner circle was filled with a rosette or with hieroglyphic inscription, which contained the name of the king flanked by the signs for 'Great King'. Characteristic of the king's seal of the Empire period was also the winged sun-disc, which represented another king's title 'My Sun'. The outer circle (usually two rings) was inscribed in cuneiform and included the king's name(s), title and frequently also the genealogy of the ruler (Herbordt 2004:7). This type of seal is named 'digraphic' (Bryce 1998:423). In the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Hittites started to use two sided (also called bifacial) stamp seals, which bore inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphs (Collon 1997:15).

Until one and a half decades ago knowledge of the Hittite seals and sealing methods were deduced only from a limited number of seals and seal impressions discovered on sites with Hittite occupation levels. During the 1990 and 1991 excavation seasons on Nişantepe (within the Lower City of Hattusa) archaeologists

discovered 3535 different seal impressions in the basement of the 'Westbau' (Herbordt 2002:53)<sup>10</sup>. The significance of this find does not merely come from the number but from the fact that all items carry seal impressions with names and titles of their owners. The seal impressions date to the Hittite Empire period (14<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) from the immediate predecessors of Suppiluliuma I till the reign of the last known ruler of Hattusa Suppiluliuma II (Herbordt 1998:310). These deposits contained impressions of the royal seals and among the non-royal ones were identified seals of Hittite princes and officials as well as seals of vassal kings. The non-royal seals are nearly all inscribed in hieroglyphic Luwian and provide information on the owner and his position or occupation. It is interesting that in the seal impression designs there are very few figured scenes and a majority of the designs are filled with hieroglyphs only (Herbordt 2002:54). Though the majority of the impressions come from the stamp seals, rather surprising was the large group of signet rings impressions<sup>11</sup> and also the fact that no equivalent group of ring seal impressions was found in Anatolia. However, many ring seals have been used at this time at Syrian sites such as Emar or Ugarit (Herbordt 1998:311).

The evidence on seals and sealing methods in Ugarit is based on two groups of materials basically. The first group consists of the cylinder seals and the second consists of numerous cylinder seal impressions preserved on clay tablets and other sealing devices.

During the course of excavation at this site only one actual seal workshop was found, however the recovered seals point to probable existence of three more workshops. The excavated workshop specialized in the manufacture of seals in 'blue

---

<sup>10</sup> Bryce mentions that 28 land grants were found together with the bullae (1998:424).

<sup>11</sup> The ring seal impression represent 24% of the total and form the second largest group (Herbordt 1998:310). The largest amount – 58% - includes (stamp) seals identified as both hemispheroid and biconvex.

sintered quartz' (Collon considers this term appropriate instead of faience or frit or blue paste), copper and silver.<sup>12</sup>

The kings of Ugarit used mostly two types of seals – the cylinder seal and a ring seal. From the reign of Niqmaddu down to the last king 'Ammurapi' the king was using the same royal cylinder seal or its official replica to sign the documents.<sup>13</sup> This seal was known as the dynastic or state seal and originally belonged to the king Yaqarum.<sup>14</sup> The LBA kings of Ugarit sometimes used another type of royal seal, for example Niqmaddu II used a stamp ring-seal (Rowe 1999:396). The impression of the royal seal on a tablet was accompanied by corresponding seal identification formula.

### **3.2 Seals on Written Documents**

Writing material and sealing practice varied from state to state and from period to period. In general, the current sealing practice depended on the primary writing material. Actually, the character of the writing material (clay tablet, papyrus, wax-covered wooden board) determined the basic choice of the sealing device. The differences in sealing practice allow scholars today to identify origins of certain documents as well as sources of possible influences that might have led to innovations.

---

<sup>12</sup> Blue sintered quartz (faience or frit) appeared as an alternative material for seal production around the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. It spread quickly thanks to the physical characteristics and the attractive appearance of products made of this material. It allowed mass production of seals (Collon 1993:61-62).

<sup>13</sup> It was king Niqmadu II who started the tradition of use of the dynastic seal (Klengel 1992:131).

<sup>14</sup> King Yaqarum, son of Niqmadu, was probably the Amorite predecessor and founder of the royal dynasty of Ugarit who ruled during the Old Syrian period (Rowe 1999:396, Klengel 1992:130).

Though during the LBA the political control of Egypt did not reach as far north as Ugarit, nevertheless the Amarna archive<sup>15</sup> has much to offer to clarify some of the issues of Hittite-Ugarit relations. Then, Egypt continued diplomatic and commercial contacts both with Anatolia and northern Syria to which the clay letters from Akhetaten bore witness. Most importantly, these tablets proved to supplement the archives discovered at Hattusa, Ugarit, Carchemish, Emar and elsewhere.

For the purpose of our discussion it is necessary to bear in mind that Egypt held strong influence over Ugarit during the Middle Kingdom period and despite the fact that Ugarit was not its proper vassal it can be assumed that the Egyptian impact, as it was documented by numerous artifacts, covered all spheres of Ugarit's existence, communication and administration not excluded. This influence and exchange of experience continued into the New Kingdom period and through these media Egypt actively participated in the northern Syrian issues. However, any attempt to define what sort of influence and what information the Amarna tablets provide (not merely translations of the text) has to face the controversies surrounding them.

The ongoing dispute does not merely include discrepancies in translations of the texts, but several other aspects of the tablets. One such issue concerns the originality of the letters. Scholars disagree on how many were copies and how many were originals and more importantly why. Giles provides (1997:39) reasonable explanation for some cases claiming that a letter was copied when it reached the Egyptian capital while the pharaoh was not present. The original was then forwarded to the king's contemporary residence and the copy was kept in archive, maybe just in

---

<sup>15</sup> The Amarna tablets were discovered in 1887 at the site of Tell el-Amarna, ancient Akhetaten, which used to be the capital of Egypt during the reign of Amenhotep IV. The find included 350 or so tablets dating from the mid-fourteenth century BC. The tablets are actually letters exchanged between the Egyptian court and other states in Anatolia and Near East (Cohen and Westbrook 2000:1).

case the original would fail to reach the addressee (Giles 1997:46-47). The question remains why the letter was copied in cuneiform. Scholars have proposed that most probably the pharaohs did not know Akkadian and the correspondence was first translated into Egyptian hieratic and then given to the king.<sup>16</sup> Presumably it worked the same way when the pharaoh was sending a letter to a foreign ruler. The hieratic versions of the letters might have been recorded on papyrus scrolls, the Egyptian primary device to write on, which were not preserved due to the character of this organic material. This, however, does not explain the cuneiform copies. It has been also suggested that the letters are originals without their envelopes or any device used to wrap and sign them, presumably with a seal. Thus the letters do not bear the seal impressions or remains of attached bullae. The argument contradicts with the knowledge and evidence we have on writing and sealing customs in northern Syria and Hatti (see below) as well as from Amarna herself. The evidence includes many seals and seal impressions from the period and one of the Amarna letters written by Tushratta of Mittanni to Amenhotep III or Akhenaten bore 'a faint seal impression' (Collon 1993:61). The situation is further complicated by the presence of dockets, small writings in black ink in Hieratic, on the tablets, which probably served to identify the addressor and basic content (Giles 1997:43; letters EA 23 and EA 27 bore dockets).

Besides the information on Amarna glyptic for the purpose of this study it is relevant to ask whether there was an Egyptian tablet prototype and what were its basic characteristics. Further, since clay tablets were not the main writing material in Egypt, it makes one wonder whose clay tablet tradition the Egyptians would choose to follow and how they would alter it to fit the Egyptian customs. It can be claimed

---

<sup>16</sup> Millard 1995:122.

with certainty that the Egyptians did not borrow the custom from the Hittites since, as it will be shown below, the Hittites adopted this habit when it was brought to Anatolia from the east.

During the Assyrian colony period (first two centuries of the second millennium BC) the foreign merchants in Anatolia used to write on clay tablets, which were enclosed in clay envelopes and sealed by rolling a cylinder seal over its surface. In addition to the seal impression the envelopes were inscribed with the summary of the text written on the tablet. When a tablet recorded a transaction or a contract the envelope was sealed by witnesses of the parties included, thus the envelope bore several different cylinder seal impressions (Collon 1997:18, Collon 1987:41-4). The use of sealed clay envelopes decreased during the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC and the tablets themselves were being sealed, though the tradition of envelopes did not disappear completely.<sup>17</sup> Afterwards particular regions in Anatolia developed their specific ways of sealing and packing their documents and correspondence. Though the Hittites used also other writing materials than clay, the tablets remained in use in the kingdom throughout the LBA.

The shape of the Hittite prototype tablet was designed to accommodate the typical round seal impression (Fig.2a). The Hittite tablets were relatively large, rectangular, with average thickness of 40mm. The most characteristic was its ‘cushion’ shape with a highly raised surface in the center of the obverse. This raised area was the place intended to bear the deep round seal impression (Rowe 1999:404). Though this shape of tablet was typical of Hittites, it was not the only one in use. The other and less frequent type of Hittite tablet had a neck-like protrusion on the top designed to receive the round stamp impression (Fig.2b). In addition, among the

---

<sup>17</sup> Some Neo-Assyrian tablets were discovered still in its envelopes (Collon 1997:18).

tablets discovered throughout Hattusa, the Hittite capital, there were a number of items, which did not have a seal impression and the whole of their surface, both on obverse and reverse, was covered with cuneiform script. The text was on each side divided up to four columns, paragraphs or sections were divided by horizontal lines (Bryce 1998:417). The tablets were usually stored unbaked.<sup>18</sup>

The Hittite tablets vary in content and include annals (king's record of his achievements), decrees, edicts, correspondence, treaties with foreign powers and vassal kingdoms, texts related to administration, laws, land grants, ritual and mythological texts and others. Significant about the Hattusa texts is the fact that they are supplemented by various other texts found on sites in southeastern Turkey and Syria such as Alalakh, Ugarit and Emar.

At the site of ancient Ugarit more than 300 tablets and fragments were discovered throughout the course of excavations conducted by French team led by C.F.A Schaeffer, which began in 1929 (Curtis 1999:6). The majority of them come from the royal palace archives. Within the palace the tablets were stored at several places according to their genre. The royal domestic legal texts were kept mainly in the so-called 'Central Archive' whereas the texts related to international affairs were stored separately in the 'southern archive'. The first tablets discovered were written in cuneiform script but in unknown language, which was later identified as Ugaritic; others were written mostly in Akkadian and few in other languages. Characteristic of the legal texts was the fact that they were all (no exceptions) inscribed on single clay tablets without envelopes.<sup>19</sup> The scribes of Ugarit did not have the habit of dating the texts. Thus neither the legal records and the texts on home affairs nor the international documents bore any date. However, the scholars were able to ascribe

---

<sup>18</sup> The evidence on the first known kiln for baking tablets found at Ugarit proved to be misleading (Millard 1995:119).

<sup>19</sup> Rowe 1999: 391.

dates to these finds. The tablets contain letters from the reign of Niqmadu II till the reign of ‘Ammurapi’, the last known king of Ugarit. When turned into numbers they range from about 1330 BC till the destruction of the city (1180 BC?).<sup>20</sup> Careful observation and analysis of the tablets’ physical appearance led the scholars to the conclusion that it is possible to distinguish which tablets were produced in Ugarit and which came from outside on the basis of the shape of a tablet and the sealing practice (Rowe 1999:394-395). The typically Ugaritic tablet (Fig. 2c) was of a rectangular shape (usually about 90x70 mm, smaller than the Hittite type), though there were few exceptionally large tablets found. The thickness was various, usually 35 mm, but sometimes about 40 mm. The tablet bore a single seal impression, which was not placed haphazardly wherever free space allowed, but had its fixed place on the top of the obverse, which meant at the head of the text. (Rowe 1999:394-395). The seal was rolled (or stamped) before the cuneiform text was written. There was no significant difference observed in the shape or sealing practice between the tablets inscribed in Akkadian and those inscribed in Ugaritic language.

In the case of Ugarit the seal impression on a particular tablet helps to identify whether the text is a royal legal document or a non-royal (domestic, private) legal document. The former was characterized above. A tablet with the latter did not differ from the royal document in shape or thickness. The seal made the difference. Though the seals were still impressed at the head of the document, they were usually anepigraphic cylinder seals, which were owned by the people involved in the legal transactions (Rowe 1999:400). A small number of these private documents were without any seal impressions (all covered with script) and several other examples have the sealing spot left empty.

---

<sup>20</sup> Rowe 1999: 393.

Due to the fact that Ugarit was a proper Hittite vassal from the reign of Niqmadu it is not surprising that some of the tablets discovered there are actually vassal treaties, edicts and verdicts, through which the Hittite overlord established the foreign relations of its vassal, Ugarit. These tablets were quickly distinguished from the rest thanks to its specific shape, size, seal type and the sealing spot (see above). The same applies also to tablets, which came from the court of the Hittite viceroy in Carchemish. Most of the documents from Carchemish are written on oblong formatted tablets and the cylinder seal impression is placed in the middle of the reverse (Rowe 1999:406). These texts are mostly international arbitrations.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **LATE BRONZE AGE SEALS FROM UGARIT: PATTERN OF CHANGE, CREATION OR ADJUSTMENT**

Following the results of the analysis of the seal assemblage from Ras Shamra it can be argued that the coexistence of the Hittite Empire and its Syrian vassal of Ugarit did not bring a change of seal for the overlord himself; nevertheless, it significantly marked the seals of his closest subjects in the persons of officials, princes, vassal kings and ambassadors, their female partners not excluded. The ordinary inhabitants of this tiny kingdom, however, mostly remained faithful to cylinder seals, a fact underlined by a number of such seals recovered from the site.<sup>21</sup>

In this chapter all categories of seals recovered from the LBA strata at Ugarit will be discussed. According to type the seals are divided into three groups starting with the ring seals, following with the round stamp seals and concluding with the cylinder seals. The Hittite royal seals are discussed separately within the second category. The scarab seals are analyzed together with non-royal stamp seals. In addition to the different seal types the chapter focuses also on the differences in the sealing styles, variations in administrative practices, and further attempts to explain the political, cultural and practical reasons behind this diversity.

---

<sup>21</sup> For these cylinder seals see Amiet 1992.

## 4.1 Signet Rings

The homeland of Ugarit's LBA overlord, the Hittite king, continued and further developed the tradition of round stamp seals, which dominate the archaeological finds from the Hittite capital Hattusa from the LBA strata. This standard is evident also in the Hittite finds from Ugarit, Amurru and other northern Syrian vassal states. The cylinder seals so multiple and common at Ugarit, were also found in the Hittite Empire, though here they were applied but rarely and their use was understandingly limited to the southeast of the empire bordering with the areas where this type of seal was common.<sup>22</sup> The Ugaritic glyptic corpus contains several impressions of a specific kind of a signet ring to which, quite unexpectedly, outside the Syrian territory the Nişantepe and temple district assemblage (Hattusa) provide excellent parallels. Within the Syrian realm the site of ancient Emar also yielded a group of documents bearing signet ring impressions.

Ugarit's main trade partner and source of cultural influence, pharaonic Egypt, during the New Kingdom held firmly to the use of stamp seals of different shape and size, with a handle, string or without. Quite wide spread and popular, presumably due to its practicality and flexibility, was the signet ring (Fig.3a), of which I suppose there might be some examples among the early LBA Ugarit's glyptic.

From the Near East and Egypt of the LBA two types of ring seals are known, though in some areas only one type existed at a time. The signet ring impressions on tablets from Ugarit belong predominantly to the so-called later type (true ring type) of this seal (Fig.3c). It bears three basic characteristic features. The seal has a regular circular ring shape and was produced probably by casting. The strip of material

---

<sup>22</sup> Young 1997:129.

(metal), which creates the ring, is widened at one side and this part stands for a bezel that carries the engraving. The seal is applied on a document by a half-rotating movement and leaves a prolonged oval (elliptic) impression. The fact that the engravings on the signet rings often provide names of their owners, but no mention of their status or background, and the fact that the seals were cast from expensive materials, such as gold or silver, tell us that we have to do with a person of higher rank and income sufficient enough to afford such a seal. Additional information is also gained from the quality of the seal execution, which often allows determination of whether a seal is an imported item or a local imitation.

For the earlier type of ring seal, sometimes called the closed U-shaped, the evidence at Ugarit is less and not so straightforward as in the previous case, though the silver exemplar discovered in the house of Rapanu as well as the examples from Minet-el-Beida<sup>23</sup>, Ugarit's port, prove its presence and the fact this shape was known at Ugarit in the LBA (Kohlmeyer1985:281), even before Ugarit became Hittite vassal. This type could be produced in two ways. Either it could be cast and cut from one material, such as gold, faience or stone, or it consisted of a bezel attached to a metal mounting. In both cases the final product kept the U-shape. The basic difference with the later type lies in the way this seal was applied, since this earlier ring was a true stamp seal. In Egypt, for example, where such rings are known already from the Middle Kingdom, it facilitated the continuation of using the popular scarab seals, with the beetle serving as bezel, such as the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty example from Medinet Habu (Teeter 2003:89, no.136). In Egypt the signet ring added one more object to the repertoire of popular faience products so spread and requested even beyond the Egyptian borders. Among the New Kingdom pharaohs Amenhotep I or

---

<sup>23</sup> Schaeffer 1933:pl. IX.

Akhenaten are known to have owned a golden signet ring and the latter also several faience rings. His successors Smenkhkare as well as Tutankhamun had also faience ring seals, though Hall claimed that these were used only in mortuary context since they were too soft and fragile to stand the impressing practice (1913:273). According to Young the older type of ring with a circular bezel was also known in Anatolia during the Old Hittite period (1997:129), as could be seen on the silver example in Chester collection (Hogarth 1920:22, fig.21;38). The continuing utilization of this shape in the Hittite Empire period is attested through few specimens such as the golden example (Fig.3b) from Alacahöyük (Akurgal 1976:52, Hogarth 1920:22, fig.22) or the bronze ring from Boğazköy (Beyer 2001:114). However, it seems that the Old Hittite ring seals were never as popular and widely used as the traditional round stamp seals, though sometimes it is hard to deduce the seal type from impressions. The origins of the ring seal, especially the later version, in northern Syria and even more in Hittite lands are puzzling. Where did the inspiration come from? Why would someone switch to a new type? What motivation or demand would lead the officials to adopt different sealing practices? Were both types of seal rings used simultaneously? When and why did the shift in ring shape appear? How did the Egyptian and Hittite presence in Syria influence the development and use of ring seals?

Can we talk about three independent places for the origin of the later type signet ring? That is improbable. According to Kohlmeyer the U-shaped seal rings appeared in Syria for the first time in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC (1985:281). In her earlier work on the Nişantepe corpus of sealed bullae Herbordt concluded that the apparent popularity of the later signet ring during the Hittite Empire period came from influence that could be traced back to Syria (2004:7).

However, the small Syrian kingdoms were not isolated political entities resistant to external influence. The Ugaritic MBA art and especially glyptic reveals dominating Egyptian influence and similar impact can be traced in neighboring kingdoms too. Though in the LBA the Egyptian influence diminished it does not exclude the possibility that the U-shaped ring seal inspiration, similarly to the scarab seals, might have come from the Nile valley. Though this hypothesis is possible, it is difficult to identify the evidence. However, the finds from the Levant region attest to the spread of the Egyptian ring seal northwards and to possible local production (Bianchi 1997:180). In addition, the later type of signet ring kept the oval shape, though altered, which was characteristic for the U-shaped ring known from Egypt and many Syrian and Palestinian sites under its influence, whereas the Old Hittite ring had circular face. This, however, does not explain the development of the later regular ring seal though it provides evidence that should be taken into consideration.

The later type of signet came into use and spread in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC after Ugarit became a proper Hittite vassal. Does this mean that the international correspondence and relations between the great powers and vassal states influence the creation of a hybrid seal, which carried the characteristics of both cylinder and stamp seal?

Herbordt proposed to look for the origin of the later ring somewhere between the Hittites and northern Syrian kingdoms (2005:43-44). According to the physical evidence both sides were familiar with the older ring seals. But, as Herbordt pointed out, northern Syrian states were characterized by the predominant use of cylinder seals whereas the Hittite kings held the tradition of stamp seals. Why would they switch approximately at the same time to a different type of seal while still holding to their previous sigillary traditions? Exactly this difference alone and the fact that

Ugarit became subordinated to the Hittite king could be the essential element and inspiration for such a change. It would be unthinkable and also unpractical to demand from their Syrian subjects to change their seal type completely. Since both countries were familiar with the use of clay tablets as writing materials it seemed sufficient to find a way how to combine the two styles and keep the records comprehensible. These conditions then brought to life a hybrid seal type, the regular signet ring, which was neither fully a stamp nor fitted the category of seals to be rolled over a tablet such as cylinders. This final product carried characteristics of both traditional seal types, though it seemed to stand one step forward in comparison (advantageous) with the previous prototypes since it was small, light, practical, always at hand disposal and easy to apply on any writing or locking material to be sealed.

This proposal follows Herbordt's finding that the oldest known examples of this signet ring come from Northern Syria, precisely Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani, and date to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> BC, i.e. the time after Ugarit became the vassal of Hatti (2005:43). Though this fact cannot be taken for granted as an answer to the question of the ring's origin, Herbordt thinks that the signet might have originated in Northern Syria (2005:44). This hypothesis of development of signet ring as a result of Hittite dominance in Northern Syria, not merely at Ugarit or Hattusa, is supported also by finds of such rings or their impressions also on documents that originated at Carchemish, the seat of Hittite viceroy, at Emar, the capital of Aštata, at the kingdom of Amurru, and elsewhere.

A related hypothesis is based on the premise that the regular signet rings appeared as a logical development and improvement of the older seal types known in Anatolia as well as Near East and Egypt, from which the idea might have come. The

particular development taking place somewhere in Northern Syria would then explain why such signet rings did not develop in Egypt since towards the end of the LBA, especially at the end of the New Kingdom, the Egyptian pharaohs seemed to be out of the political game in Syria.<sup>24</sup> (The originally Egyptian influence in Northern Syria remained limited to several iconographic features as it will be argued later in this paper.) Though the hypotheses offer interesting arguments the current results of the archeological investigations do not allow more definite conclusions.

The discussion of this peculiar seal form does not end with the proposal of its place of origin or possible reasons behind its development. The Ugarit's signet ring corpus supplied mostly by parallels from Hattusa, Emar and to a lesser extent by individual finds from other northern Syrian vassals of the Hittites, add another characteristic of this seal shape. It appears that it was predominantly as a personal seal owned by a member of royal family or an official. These people, however, often possessed additional seals of a different shape and each of them signified another aspect of the owner's authority or status. When taken from this perspective the signet ring supports the hypothesis according to which its creation was actually a result of the new political organization and adjustments in the vassal's territory administration. The signet ring then identifies a person engaged in legal procedures and international relations with and within the Hittite territories in Syria. The fact that finds of later type signet rings are not paralleled anywhere in Anatolia, the Aegean or Egypt further supports the geographically limited occurrence of this seal form as well as its proposed Syro-Hittite origin. The closest resemblance in shape

---

<sup>24</sup> However, at this point it is necessary to add that there was no need for the development of the later type ring seal at Egypt and its adoption would be a 'mistake' since the basic recording material were papyrus scrolls, which were usually sealed with a small clay lump attached to a string. For this purpose the U-shaped ring seal was far more suitable than the later type of ring seal.

and size<sup>25</sup> of impression to this later signet ring, except the U-shaped signets, represent the cowroid seals from Egypt, which appeared already during the Middle Kingdom and were still widely used during the New Kingdom's 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Occasionally they were attached to metal a mounting to form a ring-like shape. However, the possibility of any connection with the later type of ring seal is hard to think of.

Before engaging in a discussion of concrete examples it is necessary to point out that the available data on signet rings came mostly from seal impressions on clay tablets or bullae rather than from actual rings, of which only a limited number has survived. Though a signet ring leaves a characteristic impression, due to different state of preservation and frequent incompleteness of the finds (i.e. tablet or bulla) it is sometimes impossible to determine whether an impression comes from a signet ring or a different form of seal. In such cases both possibilities are discussed. Further, some of the imprints as well as rings cannot be ascribed to an individual as a result of too worn engraving, lack of seal identification formula at the end of the text surrounding the imprint or a parallel from another object or site. Few surviving signet rings, such as the golden one of Patili from Ugarit (Fig.3c), help us to better understand its use, shape and manufacture (Yon 1997:176-7, fig. 59).

Materials used for the manufacture of the ring seals can be determined to some degree. The few exemplars are of cast metal such as gold, silver, or bronze, though wider variety could exist, however, these metals or metal in general was the most suitable material for this type of ring seal. It is not known whether a certain metal was reserved only for a certain rank of people or was available to anyone who could afford to pay the manufacture and material, but the latter seems more probable.

---

<sup>25</sup> The size of the later type ring seal impressions from Ugarit is between 26 and 28 mm, the average size of the cowroids is about one inch (25.4 mm) (Hall 1913:174, 194).

According to the price of metals at Ugarit gold, silver, copper, and tin (?) were in ratio 1: 4: 800: 800 (Stieglitz 1979:15). Ratios calculated by Heltzer (1999:446) are almost identical (silver to gold 1: 3-4, silver to tin 1: 200, silver to copper 1: 200-235; the price of gold in relation to silver shekel, which was the currency standard, depended on purity of gold.) The relative cheapness of gold at Ugarit might explain the find of golden rings among non-royal persons such as officials or scribes.

The excavations at Ugarit brought no evidence that would prove that the Hittite Great Kings used the signet rings. Such a find, however, would be a great surprise and it is not expected to happen. Since the Hittite king was the overlord and Ugarit was just one, no matter how rich or important, among his many vassals, it is highly improbable that the king would adjust his tools of authority according to the practices of his subject. All of the examples of Hittite royal seals (preserved in impressions and one actual seal) from Ugarit are standard round stamp seals. The only opportunity one can think of as capable to bring change to the royal seals system would happen if the Great King would deal with his vassal in person and on a daily basis. This was not the case. What the finds of royal seals inform us about is the practice of entrusting the king's seals to high officials responsible for administration of the vassal state in the name of the Great King. The official was given the seal 'from above' having no influence on its shape or decoration. Any forgery or mutilation of the royal seals was severely punished (Vita 1999:461, n.37; 477, n.154), but still, the surviving tablets record cases when even the threat of capital punishment did not prevent some individuals from falsifying both seals and tablets.

Unlike their overlord the vassal kings, including those of Ugarit, Hittite viceroys, princes and high officials coming from various regions inside and outside the Hittite Empire, began to use ring seals. Except for the vassal kings, queens and

viceroys, who held the title of a king or a queen, the signet rings are common among the non-royal personnel involved in business or administration. The royal ring seals are used along with the dynastic cylinder seals and represent the king rather as an individual than the state power and authority, which is embodied in the dynastic cylinder. The signet rings of Ugaritic kings reflect the Syrian traditions. For example, a personal seal ring the king Niqmadu of Ugarit (Fig.4) bore a single scene of a man spearing a lion surrounded by an alphabetic cuneiform inscription providing the name and the title of the king (RS 16.191 and 272). Schaeffer ascribed (1956:77) this seal to the king Niqmadu II and several authors followed this identification, but based on the information of the recently discovered Urtenu archive and reinterpretation of previously known documents (RS 17.147, RS 16.191 + 272), Singer proposed Niqmadu III as the more probable owner of the seal (1999:693). In addition, considering the Ugaritic glyptic Singer claimed that it also favored Niqmadu III as the signet ring owner since all personal seals, no matter whether royal or not, date to a period later than the reign of Niqmadu II, which is to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (1999:693).

The later Ugarit's king Ammittamru (or Ammistamru) II also used a personal ring seal, which in style followed the one of Niqmadu. The tablet RS16.270 bears one impression of Ammittamru's ring seal (Fig.5) placed above the dynastic cylinder seal. His ring seal (is completely in Syrian style since it) contains only inscription in cuneiform and no decorative or figurative scenes. Other documents from his reign, on which he impressed his signet ring, reveal interesting government regulation. His mother queen Ahat-Milku applied her cylinder seal on the same tablets as her son, which implies that she acted as a regent during his youth (RS 16.197, Singer 1999:679). It also implies that, like in Hattusa, the reigning queen at Ugarit held her

position for life and actively participated in state affairs even when she survived her husband (Ibid.).

Following Schaeffer's interpretation Ammittamru II seems to have been the only Ugaritic king who inherited and utilized both the dynastic cylinder and the personal ring of his predecessors. Presumably he received the dynastic seal from his father Niqmepa, but the ring seal was originally a personal seal of his grandfather Niqmadu. A document concerning a royal land donation (RS 17.147) bears the impression of the dynastic cylinder seal below the impression of Niqmadu's personal seal and next to it the signature of Ammittamru, which led Schaeffer and Nougayrol to a conclusion about the inheritance of seals. However, Singer's proposal does not work for the inheritance hypothesis. Instead, one is offered a quite simple explanation of the document according to which, the original donation document of Ammittamru II, son of Niqmepa, was later signed (made official) by Niqmadu III (Singer 1999:693). However, none of these two hypotheses explains the problem sufficiently.

A number of documents from the reign of Ammittamru II concern his ill-fated marriage and divorce from the Amorite princess known as the 'daughter of Bentesina, king of Amurru', the 'sister of Shaushga-muwa', or as the 'daughter of the Great Lady'. This princess, whose name is not mentioned, was the daughter of Gaššuliyawiya, Great Princess of Hatti and wife of Bentesina. At first, she was accused of attempting to prejudice her husband somehow, then of committing a great sin and afterwards executed. The great crime included a number of offences among which figured counterfeiting a royal seal and tablets as well as sacrilege (Vita 1999: 477). However, it is not clear which of the royal seals she falsified (presumably her husband's) and what types of documents she attempted to fake.

Compared to other Hittite vassals in Syria the kings of Ugarit held more to the Syrian tradition in their ring seals than the kings of Amurru, its southern neighbor and former vassal of Egypt. From the excavation at Ugarit came out a round stamp seal of the last known LBA king of Amurru, Shaushga-muwa.<sup>26</sup> The seal bears only hieroglyphic inscription and the outer circular rim is filled with a decorative pattern. Schaeffer suggests that the impression from Ugarit proves existence of at least two such stamp seals of Shaushga-muwa (Schaeffer 1956:32). However, he owned signet rings too (Fig. 6a-c). A ring impression from the Nişantepe assemblage with the name Shaushga-muwa and the title Good Scribe (Herbordt 1998:312) belonged to the later king of Amurru.<sup>27</sup> Though on the stamp seal he is identified by hieroglyphs as ‘son of king’. These signs are not present on the ring impression, but it bears the ‘embracing scene’, which was typical only for the Hittite royal seals. Altogether the Nişantepe corpus yielded seven different seal impressions, three of which came from ring seals that belonged to Shaushga-muwa (Herbordt 2005:82)<sup>28</sup> and since there is known no other person of this name these were all attributed to the later king of Amurru. It is possible that young Shaushga-muwa grew up at the Hittite capital and perhaps worked there as an official before he returned to Amurru.<sup>29</sup>

From the corpus of seals from Ugarit comes one more peculiar royal ring seal impression, which according to Schaeffer belonged to Sharelli (or Šarelli), queen or/and queen-mother from Ugarit. Unlike all known later types of signet ring, which bear Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription or cuneiform inscription in combination with other decoration, this ring bore only Egyptian hieroglyphs in two lines. Vandier (in

---

<sup>26</sup> While a crown prince of Amurru he married a sister of the Hittite Great King Tudhaliya IV (Klengel 1991:172). A bulla with round stamp seal imprint from Hattusa provides her name Ga-su-la-wi and the title of the King’s Daughter (Young 1997:133, fig. 15).

<sup>27</sup> In this case Herbordt neither suggests nor provides this possible parallel with the stamp seal from Ugarit.

<sup>28</sup> See Herbordt 2005: Kat. 369, 370, 371.

<sup>29</sup> G. Beckman, pers. comm.

Schaeffer 1956:81-82) proposed that the awkward hieroglyphs were not engraved by an Egyptian. Schaeffer then concluded that Sharelli was actually a native of Egypt and a member of nobility who married the king of Ugarit and received a new name in the country of her husband (1956:82). The presence of this seal on at least three different documents<sup>30</sup>, (there were more, but she is not named explicitly) offered a field for endless speculations about the ring seal. The ring belongs to the group of later regular rings, but the decoration recalls U-shaped Egyptian rings and scarab seals. Scholars tried to match her with several among the kings of Ugarit hoping that identifying her husband can help to explain her role, position, activities and her seal as well. This queen's name appears in documents from the reign of Ammittamru II to the reign of Ammurapi (Singer 1999:690). She was thought to be a spouse of the last Ugaritic king Ammurapi since she was mentioned next to him in a document commemorating his coronation (Singer 1999:691). However, this hypothesis had to be abandoned since she was known as queen already before this king. This led the scholars to propose that she was married to Niqmadu III, but this idea contradicted with another document (RS 34.136) according to which this king married a Hittite princess.<sup>31</sup> Lately, she was matched with the king Ibiranu (Singer 1999:691), though this hypothesis needs further confirmation. However, what can be argued safely is that this lady, either as queen or later as queen-widow, had a prominent position in Ugarit and took part in many political and also commercial activities. This fact might help to explain her particular seal. Through her son-in-law and commercial agent in one person, Šipti-Ba'al, she actively participated in the trade with Egypt, the harbor cities of Phoenicia and the inland areas such as Emar (Singer 1999:658, 671).

---

<sup>30</sup> For the identification and discussion of these documents see Singer 1999:696-697.

<sup>31</sup> The Hittite princess in question is Ehli-Nikkalu, however it is difficult to decide whether she was the spouse of Niqmadu III or Ammurapi, or whether there were actually two Hittite princesses married to the king of Ugarit. Singer thinks that there was a single Hittite princess, 'daughter of the Sun', possibly a daughter of Tudhaliya IV and she was married to Niqmadu III (1999:701-704).

Recently, the identification of this seal as belonging to Sharelli has been found misleading. The reexamination of the legend on the documents showed that the name should be Šipti-Ba'al (Fig. 7), who actually acted as the queen's first witness and a person who sealed all the documents on her behalf (Singer 1999:696-697). Since Sharelli traded predominantly with Egypt and Phoenician coast, this can explain why her agent owned a seal in Egyptian hieroglyphs, which were more familiar to their business partners (Singer 1999:697).<sup>32</sup> Thus this seal, though used for a member of the royalty, should actually belong to the group of the seals of officials.

The remaining signet ring impression discovered at Ugarit safely belong to non-royal individuals who arrived at Ugarit from Hattusha or the vice-kingdom of Carchemish and participated in legal transactions. The prince Taki-Šarruma is known from several trade documents as a Hittite dignitary active at the court of Carchemish and a member of the royal family (son of the king). His origin and occupation are reflected in the seals he used. In business activities with the governor of Ugarit he used his signet ring (RS 17.251) and on a different (badly destroyed and partially illegible) document he applied his Hittite circular stamp seal (Fig.8 a-d). The shape of this tablet and the way it has been sealed may point to purely Hittite matters, maybe to communication between Taki-Sarruma and the Hittite capital or simply between two Hittite officials in Syria. In the former document he followed the Ugaritic sealing standard (top of the obverse, three times to fill the space), but in the latter he stamped the seal in Hittite manner in the center of the obverse (RS 17.403), which points to an adjustment to the circumstances in the Hittite Northern Syria when dealing with vassal state issues or officials. It also shows that the tablet sealed with the ring seal was manufactured and prepared for sealing in Ugaritic manner, not

---

<sup>32</sup> This new interpretation probably undermines also the idea of Sharelli being of an Egyptian origin.

Hittite. There were found more than ten impressions of his seals (including both ring and stamp seals) in the Hittite capital, on which he appears mostly with the title of REX.FILIUS (King's son) and MAGNUS.SCRIBA (Chief Scribe).<sup>33</sup>

Among the rings seals from Ugarit identical in size and similar in design is the seal of Kummija-Ziti (Fig. 9) impressed three times in a row on a document (RS 17.371 and 18.20) setting conditions of a transaction concerning merchants of the Hittite town of Ura (Schaeffer 1956:52-53). Due to the breakage it is hard to decide the placement of the seals, but it seems that it followed the Ugaritic standard (if the photo shows the obverse). Above the ring seal impressions the tablet is stamped with a round seal of another official called Zuzzuli. Kummija-Ziti was probably a Hittite merchant from Ura engaged in business at Ugarit (Singer 1999:692).

#### **4.2 Hittite Royal Seals from Ugarit**

The great kings who ruled during the Hittite Empire period starting with Suppiluliuma I, are not all documented at Ugarit through their seals. This fact is hardly a consequence of poor preservation only. The absence of certain kings from the evidence can be ascribed to the fact that some of them ruled briefly and also, especially towards the end of the Hittite kingdom, certain rulers began to lose control over their Syrian subjects, including Ugarit. Lastly, the archaeological finds reflect the fact that much of the administration of Ugarit was in the hands of the king or viceroy of Carchemish, who supplied the Great King in the southeast.

---

<sup>33</sup> Herbordt 2005:82.

Except the stone stamp seal of Murshili II all these are seal impressions on clay tablets or clay bullae. No other shape of seal of a Hittite king is known from Ugarit. These seals, strictly circular in impression, are basically of two formats, the large seals are between 45 and 55 mm in diameter whereas the so-called small format ranges between 23 and 26 mm<sup>34</sup> in diameter. The impressions follow the standard of Hittite royal seals. Despite occasional exceptions, their central field contains hieroglyphic Luwian (HL) writing surrounded by two rings filled with cuneiform inscription. In some cases due to poor preservation one of the rings is almost completely missing. In terms of numbers,<sup>35</sup> there were found impressions of at least 12 different royal seals at Ugarit and one true seal. Some of the Hittite kings are attested at Ugarit through more than one royal seal. Several authors have attempted to explain this multiple presence of seals. The personal visit of the Great King at Ugarit is just one among many, though less likely, other possibilities would include documents being sealed at Hattusa and delivered to the Syrian vassal. Schaeffer concluded that the presence of royal seal impressions was mainly a result of delegating the royal seals to the high officials working as ambassadors or governors at Ugarit and other Syrian provinces (1956:64-66). Though this explanation is reasonable following the conclusion of Otten one should specify that rather the right to manufacture an official royal seal (as a replica) was delegated. Recently Otten proposed that the seals used at Ugarit were probably produced at Carchemish, which would mean that the viceroy was given the right to multiply the seals for the officials involved in the vassal kingdoms' administration (Singer 1999:639, n.109).

The first Hittite king represented through his seals at Ugarit was Suppiluliuma I, the king responsible for turning Ugarit into a proper vassal. Though this king is

---

<sup>34</sup> Schaeffer 1956:12.

<sup>35</sup> This calculation is based on Schaeffer's conclusions.

known from Hattusa to have owned several types of seals, at Ugarit (in the Southern Archives) were found only three different large stamp seal impressions in the name of Suppiluliuma I and Tawananna<sup>36</sup> (Fig.10). There were found no seals in the name of the king alone or with his wife Henti, which probably reflects the fact that Ugarit did not become a Hittite vassal at the beginning of Suppiluliuma's reign. Thus these seals correspond to the later years of his rule (Schaeffer 1956:8). The Tawananna mentioned on these seals is the king's second or third wife, whose original name was Malnigal and who was the daughter of the Babylonian king Burnaburias II (Bryce 1998:172-174) as one can learn from the cuneiform inscription on the seal (Schaeffer 1956:3).<sup>37</sup> The legend in two cuneiform rings provides the information: 'The seal of Suppiluliuma, the Great King, king of the Hittite land, beloved of the storm god; the seal of Tawananna, Great Queen, daughter of the king of Babylon' (Schaeffer 1956:3). Compared to the seal impressions from Hattusa the basic difference is in the title of the queen. Except one case<sup>38</sup> on none of the impressions from the Hittite capital is the Tawananna entitled as the 'Great Queen', but merely as 'daughter of king of Babylon' or 'Babylonian Princess' or 'Great Princess (?)' (Otten 1995:13-16). This is obvious also from the hieroglyphic inscription in the central field where her name appears next to signs for 'daughter of king'. On all three seals from Ugarit she figures as the 'Great Queen'. The three seals from Ugarit differ among themselves in size and quality of execution of the writing.

---

<sup>36</sup> RS 17.227 (42 mm in diameter), RS 17.373 (46 mm), and 17.340 (37 mm).

All three seals come from documents which outline the preliminaries and conditions of the treaty between Suppiluliuma and the king of Ugarit, Niqmadu II (Schaeffer 1956:5); RS 17.227 and 17.373 deal with the treaty itself and RS 17.340 with the definition of the border between Ugarit and Mukish.

<sup>37</sup> Though Schaeffer (1956:3) as well as Akurgal (2001:77) claim that she was his third wife, Bryce identifies the first Tawananna with Daduhepa, whom he considers to be the wife of Tudhaliya III and thus his mother and not his first wife (Bryce 1998:172). If so, the Babylonian princess who after marriage received the name and title of Tawananna would be the king's second wife.

<sup>38</sup> It is the Bo 90/623 impression from Hattusa (Otten 1995:13).

No seals of Arnuwanda II, son and successor of Suppiluliuma I, have been found at Ugarit. This is most probably the consequence of his premature death from plague. Though several stamp seal impressions of this king and Tawananna were discovered at Hattusa, they probably refer to his stepmother (Bryce 1998:206, Otten 1995:17-19). On these examples the Tawananna possessed the title of the 'Great Queen'.

The next Hittite king Murshili II, also a son of Suppiluliuma, is documented in the Southern Archives at Ugarit (Fig.11). Schaeffer managed to identify two different large format seals<sup>39</sup>, while several other fragments of seal impressions ascribed to this king do not provide enough information to be closely analyzed. These seal impressions as well as the actual stamp seal all refer to the king alone. The seals referring to Murshili II and Tawananna, to Murshili II and his wife Gassulawiya or to him and his second wife Tanuhepa are not found at Ugarit though their existence is confirmed at Hattusa (e.g. Bo 90/597, SBo I no. 37, SBo I nos. 24-29).<sup>40</sup> The king Murshili II is known to have replaced the king of Ugarit Arhalba with Niqmepa and also to have changed the kingdom's southern border and tribute to be paid by Ugarit. The documents bearing his seals deal with these issues. As far as examination is possible, it can be observed that there is little difference between the three seals. Schaeffer basically argues for different engraving of the two impressions when compared with the actual stamp seal. A distinction is visible also in the inner field of the seals. While the seals from the Southern Archives contain cuneiform writings within the central field, the actual seal found in southeast corner of the court I of the palace, 45 meters away from the other (Schaeffer 1956:8), contains only hieroglyphs in the main field. In his analysis Otten has concluded that the seals of Murshili II

---

<sup>39</sup> RS 380+382 and RS 17.368, which are both 45 mm in diameter come from the same large seal. RS 17.235 points to the existence of a second large seal.

<sup>40</sup> Otten 1995:20, Bryce 1998:221-230, Güterbock 1967:64.

discovered at Hattusa did not match with the exemplars from Ugarit and thus come from different large seals.<sup>41</sup>

The actual stamp seal of Murshili II (Fig.12) is larger (50 mm in diameter and 13 mm thick)<sup>42</sup> than the two other seals. According to Schaeffer the seal was in excellent condition and did not show signs of extensive use. Since its discovery in 1950 this seal was a subject of many speculations starting with a hypothesis on Murshili's personal visit to Ugarit and ending with pronouncing the seal an ancient forgery. Though it is hard to confirm any of the proposals, it is likely that the seal was a locally (i.e. Northern Syrian) manufactured official replica intended for authorization of Hittite-Ugarit issues by a Hittite high-rank official in the name of his master, the Hittite king.

There are no known seal impressions from Ugarit that would belong to Muwatalli II or Urhi-Teshub (Murshili III), though the name of Urhi-Teshub appeared on several documents. From the Hattusa assemblage, both kings are known to have shared their royal seals with the queen Tanuhepa, the stepmother of Muwatalli. The former banished her from the city, the latter reinstalled her back to office (Bryce 1998:266). One such seal, which belonged to Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa (or Danuhepa), shows an unusual organization of the middle field (Mellink 1992:129, fig.18). The signs for the Great Queen are on the right side, which on the seals of previous kings was the place for the king's name and title.

From the Nişantepe archive came to light around 600 bullae with the name and seal of Urhi-Teshub (Bryce 1998:276, Neve 1993b:54). This king is known to have seals

---

<sup>41</sup> Otten is sure about the RS 17.380 and 382, but he is puzzled whether the RS 17.255 and 355 could come from the same seal as the SBo I no. 12 (1995:27). This is difficult to decide since the preserved impression is very fragmentary.

<sup>42</sup> Schaeffer 1956:87.

in both his names alone – as Urhi-Teshub as well as Murshili III (Güterbock 1956:121, Otten 1993:22-27).

The identification of the material from Ugarit concerning this king is difficult due to fragmentary state of the documents, absence of seal impressions as well as to the existence of at least one more Hittite man named Urhi-Teshub.<sup>43</sup> There are two legal documents ascribed to this king. The first, RS 17.346, is a decision about a financial matter between Ugarit and a (probably Hittite) merchant Mašanda, who accused the king of Ugarit of taking some of his property. In the document there is a reference to an older decision about the same matter given by Urhi-Teshub (Singer 1999:645-646). The second document, RS 17.406, also mentions an issue with the same merchant (Singer 1999:646), but more important is a fragment of the text, which says that ‘the Great King has written the tablet’, which can point to Urhi-Teshub. Since none of the authors mentioned any seal impression on these documents, most probably they do not bear an impression of any of Urhi-Teshub’s seals, which might help the identification.

The Hittite king Hattushili III is known in the Ugarit assemblage from the seals he shared with his wife Queen Puduhepa (Fig. 13a-d). The excavators have been able to identify three different seals of the royal couple as well as one seal belonging to the queen alone. If compared with the seals of previous Hittite rulers, the seals from Ugarit are significantly smaller, with diameters not exceeding 23-26 mm (Schaeffer 1956:12). The legend mentions Hattushili with the title ‘tabarna’, which also appears on some seals from Hattusa, such as B 186 = SBo I 46 (Otten 1993:28). Though on

---

<sup>43</sup> This second Urhi-Teshub was a Hittite official residing at Carchemish and participating in the administration of Ugarit at the very end of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Singer 1999:645). He is considered the author of RS 88.2009, in which he promised sending rescue forces from Carchemish, and also of the letter RS 20.199 (Singer 1999:645).

two of the seals<sup>44</sup> the name and title of the Great Queen appears on the usual left side, on the third seal (RS 17.238)<sup>45</sup>, as in the case of Muwatalli II, the queen appears on the right side again and a closer look on the seal reveals that it is actually turned 180 degrees to the left, even the hieroglyphs giving the personal names of the couple becoming switched. The seals differ in quality of carving and treatment details. The impression with the switched names shows a big crack from the appearance of which Schaeffer concluded (1956:13) that the original stamp seal must have been cracked, but despite that still in use. However, a close look at the impression reveals that it was a crack in the tablet. Interestingly, another example with the twisted scene comes from the Nişantepe archive at Hattusa (Mellink 1992:129, fig.19). In this case the seal shows no signs of cracking. These two impressions come from two different seals, which is apparent from the carving of the hieroglyphs, especially of the winged sun disc and the personal name of the king. The same archive provided evidence that among the Hittite kings of the Empire period Hattushili III most frequently shared the royal seal with his wife Puduhepa. However, though not attested at Ugarit the king also used seals with his name only. Such seals are known so far only from Hattusa (Otten 1993:34). The impression published by Mellink (1992:128, fig.15) as well as the drawings and photographs of the seals analyzed by Otten (1993:28-23) all show the personal name of Hattushili III in the central field written in the same direction as on the ‘twisted’ seals mentioned above, with the point of the sword-like

---

<sup>44</sup> RS 17.130 is identical with 18.03 (the same seal) and RS 17.229 (second seal). The first two documents contain agreement between Hattushili III and king Niqmepa of Ugarit concerning the merchants of Ura. The third document orders a fine to be paid for a murder of (Hittite?) merchant, who was killed at Alsuna in the land of Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956:13-14). Singer (1999:660 n.174) says that the RS 17.130 bears an impression of the royal couple, but RS 18.003 carries the seal of Hattushili alone. This opinion contradicts Schaeffer’s conclusion that these seal impressions are identical and come from the same seal. If RS 18.003=RS 18.03 published in *Ugaritica III*, then Singer’s claim contradicts also with the photograph and drawing of the seal.

<sup>45</sup> This document concerns the extradition of Ugaritian refugees who would flee to the land of Habiru (which was under Hittite jurisdiction) and guarantees to bring them back to the king of Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956:14, Singer 1999:682).

sign to the left. If the seals of Hattushili III alone were earlier than those with Puduhepa, it would mean that her name was added on the right and the seals from Ugarit RS 17.130/18.03 and RS 17.229 were switched 180 degrees to the right. This makes one wonder if it was deliberate or just a mistake or misunderstanding by the seal-cutter in Syria. It seems as if these two seals from Ugarit were cut according to a mere impression of the royal seal rather than having an original seal to duplicate. If this was the case, then it inevitably resulted in switched sides on the impression. Equally to the last three mentioned stamp impressions from Ugarit, the bulla discovered at Tell Fray (Fig. 13d) bearing the impression of seal of Hattushili III and Puduhepa presents the same organization of the central field (Archi 1980:31-32). The name of the king appears on the right with the 'li' sign pointing to the right. The name of the queen appears on the left. The impression shows one outer ring with cuneiform legend 'seal of tabarna Hattushili, Great King, hero'. His wife bears the title of Great Queen in hieroglyphs (Archi 1980:31-32).

The seal of Puduhepa<sup>46</sup> from Ugarit (Fig. 14) imitates the spatial organization of the seals of the Great Kings of Hatti. It had originally two circles of cuneiform around the main field with her personal name written under the winged sun disc and flanked on both sides with the 'Great Queen' hieroglyphs (Schaeffer 1956: fig. 23 on p. 18). Fourteen impressions of the queen's seal were found at Nişantepe (Neve 1992:313, Bryce 1998:315-320). Another impression of Puduhepa's seal, very similar in appearance though coming from a different seal, was found at Gözlü Kule in Tarsus in 1936 (Goldman 1937:281, fig. 40). The excavator proposed that the queen survived her husband and later acted as a regent for her son Tudhaliya IV (Ibid.). This conclusion was confirmed by the finds from Hattusa, where the name

---

<sup>46</sup> The seal appears on document RS 17.133, which is a letter sent to Ammittamru II of Ugarit asking to deal with the boat, which sank out of the territorial waters of Ugarit and its cargo damage (Schaeffer 1956:14, Singer 1999:404, 661).

and titles of the queen appear in the cuneiform rings of the royal seal of Tudhaliya IV (Otten 1993:37-39, fig.33, Güterbock 1997:143-144). Though there were some doubts whether the queen was the true mother of Tudhaliya, the legend on Tudhaliya's seal from Ugarit (RS 17.159) confirms this family relation "Seal of Tudhaliya, Great King, King of Hatti, the Hero, Son of Hattushili, Great King, the Hero; and of Puduhepa, Great Queen of Hatti; Grandson of Murshili, Great King, the Hero" (Bryce 1998:301 n.32, Schaeffer 1956:16).

Tudhaliya IV is the last Hittite king of the Empire Period attested at Ugarit. The absence of any seals of the last Hittite kings Kurunta (?), Arnuwanda III and Suppiluliuma II can be ascribed to weakening of the Hittite control over Northern Syria. The documents from the reign of Tudhaliya IV as well as the fact that he was no longer receiving the annual tribute from Ugarit bore witness to this. However, the seal of Tudhaliya IV (Fig.15) from Ugarit (RS 17.159) is spectacular not merely due to its size (55 mm) and convex shape, which resulted in a 17-mm-deep impression, but also thanks to carving of the main field with three registers of hieroglyphs (Schaeffer 1956:19, fig.24 and p.21, fig.26).<sup>47</sup> The scale of the seal recalls the seals of previous Hittite kings such as Suppiluliuma I or Murshili II and thus can be viewed as an allusion to the power and achievements of those kings and as an effort to continue the tradition. Unusual also is the size and thickness of the tablet that bears the seal impression (140 by 93 mm)<sup>48</sup>. The document contains the verdict of divorce for the ill-fated marriage of Ammistamru II, king of Ugarit and the daughter of Bentesina, king of Amurru (Schaeffer 1956:18). Several parallels to this seal were found in the Hittite capital at Boğazköy together with a more 'classical' style seals showing a single register (though still topped by a double sun disc) with the name of

---

<sup>47</sup> The innovations in style and the use of several registers of hieroglyphs combined with figures will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>48</sup> Schaeffer 1956:17.

the king flanked by the 'Great King' hieroglyphs and surrounded with two circles with cuneiform inscription (Mellink 1992:128, fig. 16).

### **4.3 Stamp Seals of the Vassal Kings, Princes and Officials**

These seals appear impressed on texts of diplomatic, economic, and private character though the economic ones prevail. This element is often present even in private matters, such as the case of the divorced *bittu rabiti* or 'daughter of the Great Lady' whose life (and probably also her property confiscated from her at Ugarit) was found to be worth 1400 shekels of gold (Singer 1999:681). The various officials as owners of the seals participate in the transaction as lawyers or mediators, sellers or occasionally as customers. As the documents show these men though in power were not omnipotent and in case of breaking the law or conflict they were obliged to pay compensations as any other citizen, as happened to the Hittite prince Arma-ziti (RS17.316, Singer 1999:661).

Except the case of Ini-Teshub, the king of Carchemish, these seals are of medium or small format. The diameter measures range between 17 and 37 mm. If compared with the ring seal assemblage this group is nearly three times as large, but still small in comparison with the numbers of cylinder seals. Unlike in the assemblage of the ring seals or the Hittite royal seals where there was at least one actual seal preserved, the stamp seals discussed below are all known merely from impressions. So are their parallels from Hattusa or Emar unless otherwise stated. With three exceptions the tablets bearing these impression are of regular rectangular shape and are sealed either in Ugaritic or Hittite manner. Since the texts mostly

record transactions or business agreements, which involved several parties, the tablets are often sealed by several people using different seals.

Though this category contains mostly non-royal stamps there are two cases that involve a king's seal. The first case involves two almost identical seals of Ini-Teshub (Fig. 16a-b), which are typical Hittite royal seals though they lack two attributes (the signs for MAIESTAS and MAGNUS), which were reserved for the Great King at Hattusa. The legend in cuneiform also makes it clear that its owner is 'merely' a king: 'Seal of Ini-Teshub, king of Carchemish, son of Šahurunuwa, king of Carchemish' (Schaeffer 1956:20). The seals are royal also in their size of 46 mm in diameter and thus belong to the category of large format seals such as those of Suppiluliuma I or Tudhaliya IV. They were stamped on documents (RS17.146 and RS17.230) concerning the personal and product safety of the merchants of Ugarit and Carchemish and payment of fines for any loss. It established the compensation of three minas of silver for each merchant killed in the territory of Ugarit or Carchemish (Singer 1999:651).

The second case involves one of the two stamp seals of Shaushga-muwa (Fig.17a-b), the prince and later king of Amurru. Though his connections with the Hittite royal family at Hattusa seem as close as those of Ini-Teshub (Shaushga-muwa was half Hittite by blood<sup>49</sup> and married to a sister of Tudhaliya IV<sup>50</sup>), it can be argued that his seal reflects his position as a vassal king. Both his stamp seals, each 29 mm in diameter, are applied on three (cushion shaped) tablets<sup>51</sup> in the Hittite manner, i.e. in the center of the obverse.<sup>52</sup> All three deal with the '*bittu rabiti*' affair

---

<sup>49</sup> If it is accepted that he was biological son of Gassulawiya, the Hittite princess married to his father Bentesina, the king of Amurru (Bryce 1998:345, n. 69).

<sup>50</sup> Klengel 1991:172, Bryce 1998:345.

<sup>51</sup> Rowe 1999:409.

<sup>52</sup> In addition the tablet RS17.360A and RS17.372 bears the impression of the dynastic cylinder seal of Amurru impressed on the top of the obverse (Ugaritic manner) (Schaeffer 1956:34, fig. 44).

and its consequences. Though on the impressions of both seals Shaushga-muwa is identified only as 'king's son' and the foreword on the first tablet (RS 17.228) introduces him with 'Words of Shaushga-muwa, son of Bentesina, king of Amurru', the preamble on the second tablet (RS 17.372 and 17.360A) introduces him with a different title as 'Shaushga-muwa, king of Amurru, son of Bentesina, king of Amurru' (Schaeffer 1956:32-33). Here he signs the document as a sole ruler of Amurru. The tablets were most probably written just after his accession to the throne of Amurru and he sealed them with a seal he had at hand (i.e. the prince seal), an act that resulted in such discrepancy.

The Hittite prince Arma-ziti is documented at Ugarit through his two stamp seals (Fig.18a-b), one of small format (23 mm, RS17.316) and the other of medium format (37 mm, RS17.314).<sup>53</sup> The former was stamped twice sided by side at the head of the obverse of the tablet (Ugaritic manner). He is known well from texts dated to reigns of the Hittite kings Hattushili III and his successor Tudhaliya IV. Though the texts do not provide his official title, he is known as a scribe active in religious administration. He took part in bird oracles and probably also participated in outlining the borders between Siyannu and Ugarit (Singer 1999:685, Schaeffer 1956:35). In the RS17.314 text Arma-ziti acts as a judge and decides a dispute between Pušku, a merchant in the service of the queen of Ugarit and the custom-official Aballā<sup>54</sup> (Singer 1999:685). According to Schaeffer the latter lost the case (1956:35). In the second text Arma-ziti was being judged and condemned to pay 300 shekels of silver to the king of Ugarit and to the sons of Muṣrana. Four citizens of the Hittite city of Ura witnessed the case (Singer 1999:661, 685)<sup>55</sup>. In the case where Arma-ziti represents the state power he applies his nicely carved great seal bearing

---

<sup>53</sup> Schaeffer 1956:33-35, 37-38 fig. 48-51.

<sup>54</sup> Schaeffer identifies him as a Hittite treasurer (1956:35).

<sup>55</sup> Schaeffer's reading does not provide this specific information (1956:35).

his name and title, but in the case where he is accused he uses the small seal that bears nothing but his personal name. Thus the first seal should be understood as seal of the kingdom's authorized official whereas the second identifies him only as a citizen. In the same way can be understood the method and place the two tablets were sealed; the first one presumably in the Hittite manner (neither Schaeffer nor Singer specify this) and the second in the Ugaritic style (Schaeffer 1956:38, fig.51).

Involved in the issue of demarcation of the borderline between Ugarit and Siyannu were also the Hittite princes and officials Hešni and Taki-Sarruma. The stamp seal impression of the latter (Fig.8b) dominates the center of a badly damaged tablet RS17.403 found in the Southern Archives<sup>56</sup>. Though it is not known which king he was the son of, his seal is Hittite in style and the tablet is written and sealed in the Hittite manner. This previously illegible tablet revealed that the text recorded a donation deed of a border area to Ugarit. Further it mentions Murshili (II?) and partition of lands between the king of Ugarit and the king of another country (name not restored).<sup>57</sup> Taki-Sarruma appears on the tablet not merely as king's son but also Chief Scribe, which is an important function.

A number of Hittite princes and high officials in the Northern Syrian region also actively participated in slave trade, since it was an extra source of income. A single slave, female or male, could be bought for 14.3 up to 120 shekels of silver. The average price was about 33 shekels of silver (Heltzer 1999:445). Several stamp seals discussed here appear on tablets recording such transactions. For example, the already mentioned prince Taki-Sarruma together with another prince Tulpi-Sarruma sold a man for forty shekels of silver to Uzzinu, the governor of Ugarit (RS17.251, Singer 1999:657). In this case Taki-Sarruma confirmed the transaction record with

---

<sup>56</sup> Schaeffer (1956:37-39, 43, fig. 58-60) gives dimension 25 mm in diameter.

<sup>57</sup> Singer 1999:640, n.111.

his signet ring, which is in accord with what was concluded in the case of Arma-ziti. The stamp seal serves for the state issues, whereas the signet serves as personal signature in private business.

Officially related to religion, at least through his title, but dealing with more earthly matters such as slave trade, Kilija, the Hittite priest of Ishtar of Zinzara, acts as businessman in the documents from Ugarit. In the text (RS18.02) the king of Ugarit, probably Niqmadu III, purchases an entire family of servants (slaves) from the priest for one hundred shekels of silver (Schaeffer 1956:49, Singer 1999:692). This document combines several scribal traditions. The seal of Kilija (Fig.19) is of small format (18 mm in diameter) engraved in simple Hittite style. The seal was also impressed in the Hittite manner, but the tablet is of oblong shape that was characteristic of Carchemish documents. Since the scribe who wrote it was Ugaritian (the famous Nu'me-Rašap), the text of the tablet follows the style and form common at Ugarit (Rowe 1999:408).

Another high ranking Hittite official participating in the slave trade was Tabrammi, the governor of the royal palace and according to Schaeffer a very influential man at the court of the Hittite king (1956:50). His medium size<sup>58</sup> stamp (Fig.20) sealed the sale of a servant to the queen of Ugarit for seventy shekels of silver (RS17.231, Singer 1999:657). The sold man was identified as compatriot to the Ugaritic queen. Until this transaction the man was a subject of the Hittite king Urhi-Teshub and worked for Tabrammi (Schaeffer 1956:50).

The next two seals to be discussed here appeared, like in the case of the priest Kilija, on different recording material. The RS18.070 is not a tablet, but a clay bulla sealed by the governor Mashana-ura, who bears the title of CITY.LORD or

---

<sup>58</sup> The seal is 34 mm in diameter.

GREAT.GOD (Singer 1999:654, n.142). His small seal (26mm) is carved in crude widened hieroglyphs that almost entirely fill up the space in the seal face (Schaeffer 1956:62, fig.87).

The document RS17.109 is unique among the texts from Ugarit not due to the seal impression it bears but rather because of the textual information. It is the only legal document written in Hittite language in cuneiform found at Ugarit (Singer 1999:650), more precisely the text is composed in the classical script of Boğazköy (Rowe 1999:420-422). Though it has been proposed that the text originated in the Hittite capital, this does not have to be the case since many officials educated at Hattusa lived and worked in North Syria. It has been dated to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. The record is a deed of deposition. In it the witness Pallariya declares that the *sākinu* (high official)<sup>59</sup> of Ugarit paid 600 shekels of silver to the Hittite tax collector (Schaeffer 1956:54, Rowe 1999:422). The tablet was unusual in its shape and belonged to the second category of Hittite tablets.<sup>60</sup> It was characterized by an appendix protruding from its upper part (Rowe 1999:404, 421).<sup>61</sup> The flattened top of the appendix was the place to seal the document, as could be seen on RS17.109 (Fig.21). The round stamp seal impression with two outer rings with triangular and circular patterns and symmetrical organization of the central field recalls Hittite royal seals. Though the tablet records an inter-state transaction, it also offers an insight into Hittite private legal practice. According to Rowe (1999:404) both verdicts and edict-letters appear on this type of tablet, which points to a possible specification of tablets concerning the purpose of their use.

---

<sup>59</sup> Heltzer identifies the *sākinu* as the 'vizier' of the country (1999:444).

<sup>60</sup> For the transcription of the cuneiform text and photos of the tablet and seal impression see Salvini 1995:144-146 plus plates I and II.

<sup>61</sup> Schaeffer compared the unusually shaped tablet to a flat gourd with a seal impression on its 'neck' (1956:54).

The stamp impressions of two other high officials represent yet another variety of sealing method resulting from the co-existence of two different scribal traditions. The seal of Zuzzuli (RS 17.371 and 18.020) as well as the one of Tutti (RS17.135)<sup>62</sup> appeared in the upper right corner of the obverse of the tablets. The tablet with Tutti's impression (Fig.22) is incomplete and most likely bore impressions of other seals as well, but those were lost with the breakage (Schaeffer 1956:55). Similarly, the one of Zuzzuli is placed next to the ring seal impressions of Kummija-Ziti. Though in the case of Zuzzuli it is clear that he stamped his seal only once, in Tutti's this is not necessarily the same and he might have stamped the document twice, although this cannot be claimed with certainty since the left and lower part of the tablet is missing. Thus both officials followed the Hittite habit of sealing a document only once with a Hittite seal, however, they did so on an Ugaritic type of tablet, which leaves the top or upper half of the obverse blank for the seal impression. The text was written down by the well-known Ugaritic scribe Nu'me-Raşap (Rowe 1999:407).

In RS17.371 and 18.020 Zuzzuli, in the position of *kartappu*<sup>63</sup> of the king of Carchemish, decided a lawsuit between Niqmadu III, king of Ugarit, and Kummija-Ziti, probably a merchant from Ura, in the favor of the Ugaritic king (Schaeffer 1956:52-3, Singer 1999:661, Rowe 1999:407-8). This might be the reason why his seal appears above that of Kummija-Ziti. The incomplete seal of Zuzzuli shows no outer rings and has a simple symmetrically organized face. Though the title in hieroglyphs is that of a 'charioteer' it actually corresponds to the title of '*kartappu*' in cuneiform (Singer 1999:692, n.296).

---

<sup>62</sup> Schaeffer 1956:55. The seal with diameter of 25 mm belongs to the small format category.

<sup>63</sup> The *kartappu* is identified as the highest official of the Hittite foreign office (Singer 1999:686-688).

It had been proposed that some of the high officials shared the seals with their wives,<sup>64</sup> as the Hittite kings did, or even used their wives' seals to confirm transactions in which their wives were not involved at all. This was apparently true in the case of the seals of Alalimi or Piha-ziti.<sup>65</sup> The tablet RS17.319 bore the impression of an anepigraphic cylinder seal on the top of the obverse and below it biconvex seal impressions (Fig. 23) of the same size and design that differed in details. The problem occurred in the reading of the hieroglyphs, which gave on both stamp impressions the name Manina though the text of the tablet mentioned Alalimi and Piha-ziti as the seal owners. Schaeffer felt the temptation to ascribe the anepigraphic cylinder impression to one of the officials. The impressions did not match with any of the persons mentioned in the cuneiform text of the document. The person called Manina was the puzzle to deal with. Young examined (1997:135) the hieroglyphs in the impressions and proposed that Manina was a woman and wife of one of the two gentlemen, though he was not able to identify "whether Manina was Mrs. Pihaziti or Mrs. Alalimi" (Young 1997:135). This proposal is in accord with Herbordt's discussion, in which she specified the reading as Manina BONUS<sub>2</sub>FEMINA, and added that shared seals were common among royalty and also prince-couples<sup>66</sup> (2005:31).

Though the prince-couples used the stamp seals and officials often shared two-faced seals with their wives, such as biconvex or hemispheroid, it is hard to decide whether it is a mere coincidence, question of personal preference or a rule. The second option seems possible. The aspect of practicality and intention in use might be an important factor for choosing a particular type of seal.

---

<sup>64</sup> The shared seals of the officials could be two sided, e.g. lentoid or biconvex, with one side bearing the name of the man and the other the name of the woman (Young 1997:134, Herbordt 2005:31).

<sup>65</sup> Schaeffer writes the name of Piha-ziti as Piha-LU (1956:53).

<sup>66</sup> A possible case of such a couple, local king of Isuwa and his wife Kilushepa, sharing a stamp seal (not a biconvex) is discussed by Güterbock 1973:135-147. See also Bryce 1998:294-295.

The text RS17.319 states that the objects from an olive grove stolen by the Ugaritians should be returned to their owners, the merchants of Ura (Singer 1999:441, Schaeffer 1956:53). Schaeffer (Ibid.) explains that most probably the Ugaritians have stolen the equipment in expectation of the departure of merchants or seasonal workers. Thus this text belongs to the group of documents trying to settle the relations between the citizens of Ugarit and the Hittite merchants of Ura.

Though not identified by Schaeffer in *Ugaritica III*, the round stamp seal impression on RS17.112 belonged to Kila'e, a very important Hittite official dealing also with judicial affairs in Ugarit (Singer 1999:688). Singer identifies him as a *kartappu* "the topmost functionary in the Hittite 'foreign office'" (Ibid.). Kila'e decides the lawsuit between Iluwa and Amar-<sup>d</sup>U, both citizens of Ugarit.

The round stamp seal impressions of Hittite officials Tili-Teshub and Tihi-Teshub (RS17.137) point to active communication between Ugarit and Egypt as well as between Hattusha and Egypt. Both seals (Fig.24) have an outer ring with decorative pattern instead of cuneiform that would help to identify them. The tablet is also fragmentary though it provided the seal identification formula 'seal of Tihi-Teshub, messenger of My Sun; seal of Tili-Teshub, messenger in charge of mission in Egypt' (Schaeffer 1956:37). Tili-Teshub represented the Hittite court in the negotiations with Egypt starting from the reign of Hattushili III. These negotiations led to the peace treaty between Hatti and Egypt (Ibid.).

Further connections with Egypt were suggested through the seals of two other important officials, who possessed the Egyptian type stamp seal, the scarab, and one of whom was possibly also a native of that country. Seals of both officials were preserved only as impressions on clay tablets found at Ugarit. The first scarab impression (RS17.28/76) belongs to Amanmashu, the official and scribe (in Hittite

service). This functionary impressed on a single tablet his cylinder seal<sup>67</sup> as well as his scarab seal<sup>68</sup> below. The tablet is sealed in Ugaritic manner, though unusual in that it bears another cylinder impression, that of the official Lat-Kur, in the lower part of the reverse and upside down in relation to the text (Schaeffer 1956:42). Interestingly, the scarab sealing appears in the middle of the tablet, stamped only once, which recalls the Hittite style, though the tablet was flat and prepared according to Ugaritic custom. The document records servant (slave?) trade<sup>69</sup>. The king of Ugarit, probably Niqmepa, repurchased a servant with his family for 200 shekels of silver from Tili-Sarruma, the son of the king of Carchemish (Schaeffer 1956:44). Amanmashu and Lat-Kur could be the negotiators or witnesses to this transaction. On the basis of Amanmashu's name and seals, Schaeffer concluded that he was a native of Egypt, who deserted from the service of the pharaoh to that of the king of Carchemish. Though he still keeps his scarab seal, he uses also the cylinder on which is his Egyptian name meaning 'Amon is born' translated into hieroglyphs used by the Hittites. However, since the scarab impression contains no preserved script or decoration, it is of little help. This lack was compensated by the Amarna Letters, in which Amanmashu is a well-attested Egyptian official.<sup>70</sup>

The owner of the second scarab seal, Takuhlinu,<sup>71</sup> provides a different example. Though Schaeffer described him as a second example of an official being won over to the Hittite side, claiming that at first he appears in the service of the Ugaritic king Ammittamru II, but later becomes the *kartappu* of the king of Carchemish, the recent research brought different conclusions. According to Vita

---

<sup>67</sup> The total length of the impression is 70 mm, the length of the engraving is 45 mm, and the height is 31mm (Schaeffer 1956:42, n.1).

<sup>68</sup> The dimensions are 18x12 mm (Ibid, n.2).

<sup>69</sup> Heltzer lists this document among those dealing with slave trade (1999:445, n.119).

<sup>70</sup> For details see Albright 1946.

<sup>71</sup> Schaeffer writes his name as Takuhli (1956:39-40).

(1999:458) Takuhlinu was the *mudû* of the queen of Ugarit and *kartappu* of the king of Carchemish. Unlike Hittite traders Takuhlinu received a permission from Ammittamru II to buy land and villages in the territory of Ugarit under the condition that he and his descendants would remain loyal to the Ugaritic king (Vita 1999:458). Both Schaeffer and Vita agree that Ammittamru suspected Takuhlinu's allegiance. Vita further identifies Takuhlinu as the 'best known ambassador of Ugarit', who carried out his mission at the court at Carchemish (1999:463) and who after its completion returned back to Ugarit where he kept a top position in administration (Singer 1999:654-5). He was involved in horse trade as well as grain import from the Egyptian territories in Canaan (Singer 1999:655, 716).

Takuhlinu impressed his scarab or U-shaped ring seal (Fig.25) twice on the RS16.273, found in the Central Archives, below the impression of a cylinder seal as it was in the case of Amanmashu. The tablet was sealed in Ugaritic manner. However, due to damage caused by fire not much information could be gained from the seal impressions. It is impossible to determine whether the cylinder belonged to Takuhlinu or someone else. The signs in scarab impressions (18x16mm) are only partially preserved and contain the owner's name in Luwian hieroglyphs. Neither his high position nor his activities give a clear clue to his choice of scarab seal. Could the seal impression come from a U-shaped ring seal rather than the scarab? It might be so.

#### **4.4 The Cylinder Seals from Ugarit**

Concerning their numbers this type of seal represents the largest and so far best analyzed group of seals from Ugarit. Unlike in previous cases the group incorporates

a number of true seals as well as those preserved merely as impressions. The actual cylinder seals of ordinary citizens (not impressions) were extensively commented on and published by Amiet<sup>72</sup>. Thus this section will concentrate on the cylinder seal impressions found on tablets in the city archives including the royal, the dynastic and the seals of the high officials involved in diplomatic relations of the kingdom as well as trade and administration.

The individual best attested, through three different cylinder (and two round stamp) seals (Fig.26a-c), was Ini-Teshub, the king of Carchemish. This large number of seals is no surprise since the foreign relations, trade, and administration of Ugarit was under the jurisdiction of Carchemish. Unexpected though, is the great variety in seal face design, which resulted, it may be argued, from the necessity to adjust Hittite system to the Syrian environment. The cylinder impression on RS17.158 is bilingual and at the same time bears figured scenes. The owner is identified through the cuneiform legend 'seal of Ini-Teshub, king of the country of :: (four globes i.e. Carchemish (Schaeffer 1956:26)).<sup>73</sup> The sealed document records an international arbitration concerning the murder of a foreign merchant at Ugarit that was presided over by the viceroy. He held the citizens of Ugarit responsible for the killing of the servant of the king of Tarhundašši, and decided that they had to pay a compensation of 180 shekels of silver to Ari-Šimiga, the brother of the murdered merchant (Heltzer 1999:443, Singer 1999:651,661, Schaeffer 1956:26, fig.35). The two parties involved accepted that this was a final decision and agreed not to appeal it afterwards (Schaeffer 1956:29).

---

<sup>72</sup> See Amiet 1992 and 1995.

<sup>73</sup> The full length of the impression is 80 mm, the length of the engraving is 48 mm and the height 27 mm (Schaeffer 1956:26).

Like in the first exemplar the second cylinder of Ini-Teshub, RS17.059, is also bilingual and decorated with scenes with anthropomorphic figures and animals<sup>74</sup>. Though, unlike the previous impression with cuneiform scattered in left half of the scene, in the second example the cuneiform inscription appears in two separated columns and in the left corner of the main scene. The seal identification formula is the same ‘seal of Ini-Teshub, king of Carchemish’ (Schaeffer 1956:23). This cylinder seal appears on one very important document concerning the obligation of the vassal state towards its overlord. The document is again an international arbitration presided over by Ini-Teshub. In the text Tudhaliya IV (through his viceroy) released Ugarit from the obligation of military support. Ammittamru II thus did not have to send chariots and infantry to war against Assyria, but pay a compensation of 50 mina of gold instead (Rowe 1999:407, Singer 1999:683, Schaeffer 1956:28-29, 25, fig. 33).

The third cylinder seal of Ini-Teshub<sup>75</sup> is very different from the previous two in terms of design and the information it contained. It was also the largest of the three seals. The cylinder is inscribed only in cuneiform script, which is engraved in nine vertical registers and also around a single figure that appears in the design. The legend in registers provides a genealogy of the family of Ini-Teshub as well as its blood link with the royal family at Hattusa. It reads ‘seal of Ini-Teshub, king of Carchemish, servant of Kubaba, son of Šahurunuwa, grandson of Sharri-Kushuh, great-grandson of Suppiluliuma, Great King, king of Hatti, Hero’ (Schaeffer 1956:21). This legend (which is actually Hittite genealogical formula) in its content resembles the information that appeared on some dynastic seals of the Syrian vassals. Impressions of this cylinder have been found on nine tablets or fragments in the

---

<sup>74</sup> The full length of the impression is 105 mm, the length of the engraving is 47 mm and the height 26 mm (Schaeffer 1956:23).

<sup>75</sup> The length of the impression is 90 mm, the length of the engraving is 52 mm, and the height 28 mm (Schaeffer 1956:26).

Southern Archives of the city of Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956:27). Some of the documents deal with compensations for robbery or murder of merchants in the territory of Ugarit committed by locals or foreigners (RS17.128, RS17.145, RS17.346)<sup>76</sup>. One tablet deals with the divorce of Ammittamru II (RS17.396).<sup>77</sup> The tablet RS17.334 bearing the impression of Ini-Teshub is a copy of an original document that was broken. In the record Sharri-Kushuh suggests military alliance to Niqmadu II against the king of Nuhasse (Rowe 1999:406). This document confirms the archival practice of rewriting the old, important but damaged documents and their authorization by the current head of the state. In the RS17.352 Ahat-Milku<sup>78</sup>, sends her two sons Hišmi-Sarruma and Abdi-Sarruma (îR- Sarruma) to exile to Alasiya because they were accused of committing a serious offence (conspiracy) against Ammittamru II. They received their part of the inheritance and also they had to promise they would not challenge this agreement, i.e. return to Ugarit and claim the throne for themselves (Singer 1999:679-680, Rowe 1999:407, Vita 1999:461, Schaeffer 1956:28). The last document bearing the impression of the third cylinder of the viceroy is RS17.337, which was already mentioned in relation to the Hittite high official Tabrammi and his request for households of three of his servants (slaves?) from the king of Ugarit. Schaeffer adds that the Ugaritic king paid ten men and four women in exchange for the three properties (1956:27-8), which made this case another example of slave trade. The excavations at Emar/Meskene on the Euphrates yielded duplicate impressions of the second and third cylinder seals of Ini-Teshub (Laroche 1982:55-56).<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Rowe 1999:407.

<sup>77</sup> Rowe 1999:407, Vita 1999:477, n.153, Schaeffer 1956:28.

<sup>78</sup> She was the princess from Amurru that married Niqmepa, the king of Ugarit and survived him. She was also the mother of Ammittamru II, the successor of Niqmepa, and his two brothers.

<sup>79</sup> The RS 17.59 has duplicate in Msk. 73.1025 and the RS17.128 and others have duplicate in Msk. 73.58 (Laroche 1982:55-56).

Talmi-Teshub, the son and successor of Ini-Teshub, is attested at Ugarit through his cylinder seal impression<sup>80</sup> on two documents (Fig.27). The bilingual seal design consists of two unequal parts. The left side is filled with three columns of cuneiform script, which provide the seal identification information ‘seal of Talmi-Teshub, king of Carchemish, son of Ini-Teshub’ (Schaeffer 1956:29). The right part contains one more column of cuneiform signs, a figure and king’s name and titles in the hieroglyphic Luwian script. The two documents RS 17.226 and RS 17.355 deal with the division of property between Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit and a Hittite princess Ehli-Nikkalu. Schaeffer speculated that she could be married to Ammurapi or the Hittite envoy or even a princess exiled to Ugarit (1956:29-30). Recently Singer proposed that she was probably the spouse of Niqmadu III who outlived her husband and then left Ugarit to marry again (1999:702-704, 706-707). She was allowed to take with her from Ugarit all her moveable property but her manor remained to the king Ammurapi (Singer 1999:702-704, 706-707).

The owners of other cylinder seal impressions found at Ugarit are also related to the court at Carchemish. The fragmentary cylinder impression of the high official Piha-ziti<sup>81</sup> (RS17.248) was discovered in the Eastern Archives of the city (Fig.28). It appeared on a juridical text styled as a private contract (van Soldt 1999:30). In the document two natives of Ugarit have to compensate the damage of property of Maššana-ura, most likely a Hittite official (Singer 1999:653-654).<sup>82</sup> Singer thought that this Piha-ziti could be the official of the king of Carchemish (1999:653, n.142). Due to the fragmentary state of the tablet it is hard to decide the position of the seal impression as well as original shape and size of the tablet, though it seems the

---

<sup>80</sup> The length of the impression is 90 mm, the length of the engraving is 41 mm and the height 24 mm (Schaeffer 1956:29).

<sup>81</sup> The full length of the impression is 58 mm (Schaeffer 1956:47, fig. 65).

<sup>82</sup> Schaeffer writes his name ‘Mashunura’ (1956:41).

sealing followed the Ugaritic custom. The cylinder is bilingual (hieroglyphic Luwian and alphabetic cuneiform), as in the case of two cylinders of Ini-Teshub, and also bears a similar figurative scene. Due to poor preservation Schaeffer does not provide the reading of the cuneiform legend.

The other officials owning a cylinder seal are the already mentioned Lat Kur<sup>83</sup> and Amanmashu<sup>84</sup> (Fig.29, 30), who also possessed a stamp scarab stamp seal (RS17.28/76). Both cylinders are digraphic and their design resembles the one known from the cylinder seals of Ini-Teshub and Piha-ziti as well.<sup>85</sup> The former is identified by the cuneiform legend 'seal of Lat-Kur scribe' whereas the seal of the latter identifies the owner only with 'seal of Amanmashu' without providing any title (Schaeffer 1956:44). Schaeffer identifies Lat-Kur as a Hittite scribe from Carchemish (1956:51-52, fig. 71-72).

Except the cylinder seal impressions of the kings or members of the royal family of Carchemish the excavations revealed a cylinder impression that belonged to Ahat-Milku, the queen of Ugarit and mother of Ammittamru II. Her seal appeared on a document (RS17.197) dealing with land exchange during the reign of her son. The seal is identified at the end of the text of the tablet since the impression is poorly preserved (Schaeffer 1956:83). On the basis of this find Singer proposed that she acted as regent to her son before he reached adulthood (1999: 679).

Another hardly identifiable due to lack of inscription is the cylinder impression on the tablet sealed by Alalimi and Piha-LU<sup>86</sup> (Piha-ziti), who may have borrowed the seal from Manina, as was mentioned in the section on the stamp seals. It seems impossible to ascribe this seal to any of the two men with certainty since the

---

<sup>83</sup> The length of the engraving is 45 mm and the height is 26 mm (Schaeffer 1956:51, fig. 70).

<sup>84</sup> The length of the engraving is 45 mm and the height is 31 mm (Schaeffer 1956:50, fig. 68).

<sup>85</sup> Schaeffer 1956:43-44.

<sup>86</sup> Schaeffer 1956:53-54, 57-59, fig. 80-83.

impression is anepigraphic and the text of the tablet (RS 17.319) also does not specify the cylinder owner (Fig.23).

A further example of an anepigraphic cylinder seal appears on a document of the queen Sharelli sealed with the ring seal of her agent Šipti-Ba'al. The impression of the cylinder appears below the signet impression on the top of the obverse (Ugaritic manner). The text records the purchase of a rural estate by the queen from Yamuna (Fig.31), son of Bazute (Singer 1999:697, n.309) as well as receipt for the silver paid for it (Schaeffer 1956:82). The anepigraphic cylinder seal might have belonged to one of the witnesses of the transaction or to Yamuna.<sup>87</sup> Schaeffer opted for the latter (1956:82).

Though different in status to this category belong also the dynastic cylinder seals. Ras Shamra yielded the dynastic seal impressions of three vassal states: Ugarit, Amurru and Siyannu. The cylinder seal of Sassi is considered the 'dynastic seal' of Siyannu, since his successor Padiya applied this seal on his documents. The fact that Siyannu was originally part of the kingdom of Ugarit is clearly visible on its tablets, which are hardly different from those of Ugarit. The seal appeared at the head of the document that concerns real estate property (RS18.01).<sup>88</sup>

The dynastic cylinder seal of Amurru (Fig.32) comes from Aziru, the second ruler of Amurru and surprisingly not from the founder of the dynasty and his father Abdi-Asirta. This cylinder seal was found impressed on the top of the obverse of a tablet from the reign of his great-great-grandson Saushga-muwa, the king of Amurru. The tablet (RS17.360 and 17.372) shows very strong Hittite influence since it is cushion shaped and sealed in Hittite manner with a Hittite stamp seal of Shaushga-

---

<sup>87</sup> Singer 1999:697, n.309.

<sup>88</sup> Rowe 1999:410-411.

muwa (Schaeffer 1956:34, fig. 44; Rowe 1999:409). The seal is anepigraphic and bears a figurative scene.<sup>89</sup>

The kings of Ugarit used as a dynastic seal the cylinder of Yaqarum, the founder of the Ugaritic dynasty. There were two exemplars of this cylinder seal (Fig.33). The first dates to the MBA and represents high quality of carving whereas the second piece, which is younger, shows inferior quality of execution (Singer 1999:611-612). This cylinder appears also on a tablet from the reign of Ammittamru II RS16.270, which concerns his divorce from the princess of Amurru and her consequent extradition from Amurru to Ugarit for punishment. Unlike previous dynastic seals these cylinders each bore three columns of cuneiform script as well as figured scenes. The second dynastic seal, inferior in carving, is younger and comes probably from the early LBA, but the design and style is exactly the same as the MBA original. It seems that both were in use during the period of Ugarit vassalage, though they were produced centuries before Ugarit became a part of the Hittite Empire. The compositions they bear provide vivid information about the previous glyptic styles of the region though concerning the changes in iconography of the last one hundred and fifty years of the LBA existence of Ugarit, which is the topic of the following chapter, these have little to contribute.

---

<sup>89</sup> See Schaeffer 1956:34-36.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THROUGH ICONOGRAPHY TO ADMINISTRATION**

Like the shape of the seals their designs were not resistant to outside influences. The import of the Hittite style into the Northern Syrian region resulted in an interesting and successful combination termed Syro-Hittite style. The Syrian part in this style, however, is not homogeneous as was not the land with its many petty political entities. Some features that during the LBA were considered part of the style date to previous periods and different regions of the Near East and Egypt. This chapter through the discussion of the iconography of the impressions from Ugarit seeks to define to what degree the Hittite impact is distinguishable in the seal faces. The sections in this chapter are organized according to the seal types as in preceding chapter.

#### **5.1 Iconography of the Ring Seals**

The design of the engravings on the ring seals from this site involves a variety of patterns and their combinations. Though the ring seal assemblage is not extensive the available examples allow us to distinguish several categories of decoration. The first category involves signets that bear inscription in cuneiform combined with a

figured scene. Rings that contain only a single script characterize the second category. For the last category is typical the combination of hieroglyphic Luwian script with figured scenes and various fillers.

When compared to the groups established by Herbordt for the Nişantepe corpus of ring seals and by Beyer for the Emar signets, one can determine some features, which were specific to particular geographic localities or trace a possible route for the spread of some motives or fashion. Since at Ugarit there were no Hittite royal signets, and the designs of both royal and non-royal ring seals have many features in common, these will be discussed together. This analysis focuses only on the later type, the so-called true ring seal type that dates to the period of Ugarit's vassalage (i.e. after 1340 BC). Similarly to the stamp seals, the composition on the ring seals is symmetrical. The name of the owner, usually written in hieroglyphs, is placed in the middle of the scene. Often the name appears twice like a reflection in a mirror. This personal name is flanked by the titles the owner held, or by signs which indicate his occupation, for example 'scribe' (Herbordt 2005:51-52). Typical for the ring seal design was the habit of filling the blank spaces in the scene with additional hieroglyphs or fillers such as circles, rosettes, or palm-tree leaves. When dealing with such overfilled seal designs scholars talk about 'horror vacui' or 'fear of empty space' (Herbordt 2005:51-52). These additions sometimes disturb the balance of the scene or make it less easily comprehensible. Since the occurrence of densely engraved seals is not exceptional, it makes one consider the intended purpose. It is well possible that this was an attempt to prevent falsification of seals or seal impressions by carving additional signs or misleading information. As on the non-royal stamp seals (and with the exception of Muwatalli II among the kings) in some

cases a full animal figure appears in the middle of the composition and stands for a name of the seal owner or at least its part as will be discussed below.

From the iconographic point of view, the signets from Ugarit can be ascribed to at least three different stylistic groups. For the first type, the ring seal impressions of Niqmadu II/III (RS16.191 and 272) from Ugarit belong to the group of seals combining cuneiform inscription with figured scene (Fig.4). However, in this case it is not a traditional scene with deities and worshipers, but rather a scene from life or rather royal iconography depicting perhaps the king hunting a lion. If the figure on the seal is the king himself then the scene might have ritual implications. The hunter is shown approaching from the left with one knee on the ground. He has an egyptianizing hair-style, as if he were wearing a wig. He is armed with a single spear. His dress consists merely of a loincloth, which can be an intention to emphasize the bravery of the man facing (practically unprotected) the ferocious animal. Probably, the scene was also intended to underline the skills of the hunter, and if he is the king it could also hint to his ability as a warrior. In addition, the lion hunt was an activity restricted for the king or the nobility. The lion, or rather lioness with a raised right paw and wide opened mouth, is depicted realistically. The hunter and the attacking animal represent the central scene, in which the long body of the feline is balanced on the other side through the kneeling position of the hunter, just as the raised paw of the animal is on the other side equaled by the spear, which is about to cut the animal's throat. The alphabetic cuneiform writings have a double function on this seal impression. On the one hand they provide information about the seal owner and on the other hand they are used as space fillers. Though this seal impression bears features that are common for the ring seal, the theme is unusual and thus one would not expect to find many LBA parallels to it.

A typical feature of a different type of ring seal decoration is the presence of a single script that completely fills the sealing space. There are two subtypes of this design. The first one is represented on the seal of Ammittamru II, the king of Ugarit (Fig. 5). The impression bears only alphabetic cuneiform script and no figures or other decorative motives. This, in style purely a Syrian impression, appears on the tablet RS 16.270 and the inscription it bears identifies the signet as ‘seal of Ammittamru, king of the land of Ugarit’.<sup>90</sup> This subtype is attested at Hattusa only by a single example (Herbordt 2005:54, fig. 37b). This fact is not that surprising since it bears a purely Syrian design that did not spread in Anatolia. Far more parallels were found at Meskene, the site of ancient Emar. There were two different rings of Takuti-ili (on Msk. 74.739 and Msk. 74.749+759) and one of Zū-Aštarti (on tablet n° 72)<sup>91</sup> that fit this category (Fig. 34a-b), though in all three cases the sides of the impressions are missing, which does not allow us to determine whether there were originally also some filling motifs. This is plausible if these impressions are compared to those of Kili-Sarruma. This scribe is attested at Emar through two different ring seal impressions (Msk. 73.128 and Msk. 73.1024).<sup>92</sup> However, these impressions do not bear purely cuneiform inscription. The first example contains the owner’s name in three hieroglyphs whereas the inscription in the second is decorated with three rosette-like fillers. Though these additions take up only a minimum of the seal’s face.<sup>93</sup> Such is also the case with the ring impressions of Ibni-Dagan and

---

<sup>90</sup> The impression is 30 mm long and 11mm in height (Schaeffer 1956:81, fig. 103). The sealed document contains the agreement between Ammittamru II and Shaushga-muwa, king of Amurru, concerning the ‘daughter of the rabitu’ (Schaeffer 1956:83, fig. 104).

<sup>91</sup> Beyer 2001:145, nos. B69, B70.

<sup>92</sup> Beyer 2001:143, nos. B63, B64.

<sup>93</sup> Beyer 2001:143, nos. B63, B64.

Imitti-Dagan, which are inscribed with cuneiform, but the edges are symmetrically decorated with a seated winged griffin, a rosette and the three- or four-leaf pattern.<sup>94</sup>

The second subtype is characterized by containing purely hieroglyphic (Luwian) script or this script combined with various filling motives. Two of the three signet ring impressions from Hattusa ascribed to the last known king of Amurru, Shaushga-muwa (or Šauška-muwa) belong to this subgroup. The signet impression (Herbordt 2005:54, fig. 37g or Kat. 370) is framed on both left and right sides with a figure of seated winged griffin (Fig. 6b). The creatures face towards the center of the scene, which contains the seal owner's name written three times in hieroglyphs. The two goats facing each other stand for the first syllable of his name 'sà'. Below their horns appear the signs for 'US' and 'ka'. The ox head below stands for 'muwa'. In between the goats the name appears the third time, though "abbreviated" since instead of a whole goat there is only its head engraved (Herbordt 2005:53). Above and to the side of the abbreviated (which was intended to be read as if it were placed below) are placed the signs that identify the owner as a scribe. This sign appears also above the backs of the caprids. This impression presents a classical example of symmetrical arrangement around the central point. From this perspective the abbreviated name is flanked by the long version of the name (with goats) and by the griffins. The second ring impression (Herbordt 2005: Kat.369) is symmetrical and contains the abbreviated version of the name written 'face-to-face' in the center and flanked by superimposed signs for 'scribe' and a double-headed eagle (Fig. 6a). These two scribe seals actually support the hypothesis that young Shaushga-muwa might have

---

<sup>94</sup> The impression of Ibni-Dagan appears on tablet no ME 69 and the impressions of the ring of Imitti-Dagan were found on Msk. 73.1085 and 73.1052 (Beyer 2001:143-144).

lived in the Hittite capital and worked in the administration before he succeeded his father on the throne of Amurru.<sup>95</sup>

A different signet impression from the second subtype found at Hattusa may have belonged to Arma-Ziti, a Hittite prince known from several documents from Ugarit.<sup>96</sup> Another parallel from Hattusa belongs to prince Huzziya<sup>97</sup>, son of Hattushili III (Fig. 35). The ring impression carries his name written as *HWI-zi/a-i(a)* and the title of King's son (Herbordt 2002:55-57), which flanks the personal name on both sides. The design is symmetric and arranged according to the central point. On the left and right ends the inscription is framed with double-headed eagles turned at 90° with the heads towards the center of the scene (Herbordt 2005:54, fig. 37h). The spaces in between the hieroglyphs are filled with encircled rosettes. To this group belongs also the golden signet ring of Patili found at Ugarit (Yon 1997:176-177, fig.59 {RS 24.145}). Quite unusually the antithetic three-leaf (trefoil) patterns that frame the inscription are divided from the center of the design by vertical ladder like motives, a feature not seen on any other signet (Fig. 3c).<sup>98</sup> To this subgroup can be added at least 48 different parallels found at Emar, which make this subtype the most frequent among the signets of Emar.<sup>99</sup>

If there were more examples like the impression of the ring of Šipti-Ba'al, it would be possible to talk about the third subtype of design bearing Egyptian hieroglyphs only (Fig. 7). Since this example has two lines of hieroglyphs it is also an exception to the symmetry and the focal point of design organization on other

---

<sup>95</sup> Herbordt 2005:82; Beckman, pers. comm.

<sup>96</sup> At Ugarit he is also attested by his stamp seal impressions on RS 17.314 and RS 17.316 (Schaeffer 1956:34-35, fig. 48-51).

<sup>97</sup> Bo 90/560; dimensions 27x 9 mm (Herbordt 2002:55, fig. 1.9).

<sup>98</sup> Though some of the officials' stamp seal impressions from Nişantepe have an outer rim with similar ladder-like pattern (see Herbordt 2005:53, fig. 36d-h).

<sup>99</sup> Beyer 2001:121-137, B1-48.

seals. In this sense the signet impression of Šipti-Ba'al seems closer in style to that of Ammittamru II, which bears only cuneiform script.

The third category of design is characterized by scenes with anthropomorphic figures combined with animals, hieroglyphic inscriptions and decorative fillers. To this category belong the signet impressions of Taki-Sarruma (Fig.8a) and Kummija-Ziti (Fig.9) discovered at Ugarit. The prince Taki-Sarruma is attested at Ugarit by two seal impressions – the already mentioned signet and a small format stamp seal, which will be discussed together with other non-royal stamp seals. The signet impression is perfectly symmetrical. His personal name is engraved in the center with three hieroglyphs to be read from top to bottom Ta-ki-Sarruma.<sup>100</sup> The name is flanked by two divine figures. On the right is a figure wearing probably a skullcap with a small horn at the front (which resembles the Egyptian uraeus) and a short tunic. The person is armed with a bow, similarly to the figure on the seal of Murshili III. Schaeffer proposed that this figure represents the hunter-god rather than the king himself (1956:38). It could be as well the protective god of the countryside. Flanking the prince's name from the left is probably the Hurrian goddess Shaushka (Ishtar in Babylon) recognizable from the long robe split at the front, conical horned cap and a pair of wings, who appeared also in the rock-cut sanctuary at Yazilikaya (Akurgal 2001:130, fig. 56). Behind each of the deities appears the prince's name in the same hieroglyphs again. The scene is framed by the signs for REX FILIUS. The distal ends of the impressions are filled with a star on the left and two three-leaf patterns on the left. The three-leaf pattern, similarly to the double-headed eagle, was a popular filling motive suitable especially for the borders of the scene. Though the double-

---

<sup>100</sup> The name is sometimes read also as Tagi-Sarruma (Singer 1999:690).

headed eagle sometimes appears in the center of the scene<sup>101</sup>, the three-leaf (or palm-tree leaf) seems to have been designed to fit the narrowing edges of the engraving.

Similarly to Taki-Sarruma the signet impression of Kummija-Ziti<sup>102</sup> follows almost the same theme, though its modeling is less successful regarding the symmetry. This seal is an example of what scholars named ‘horror vacui’, since there is no space left free in the seal’s scene (Herbordt 2005:52). Due to imperfect preservation (or sealing) it is impossible to reconstruct the upper half of the focal point. The lower part contains a drawing of what looks like a portable altar (typical for the Hittite relief art). As in the previous case this is flanked by figures on both sides, though only the figure of the hunter-god can be identified on the left. Behind the deities is written the name of the seal owner in three hieroglyphs. The remaining space on both sides is asymmetrically filled with other hieroglyphs and decorative motives. The winged female deity and the hunter-god with a bow appear on several signet impressions found at Hattusa. One among them belongs to the already mentioned prince Shaushga-muwa (Bo 91/2149). His two signets are very similar. The main difference is the presence of a winged deity with a bird in her hand (probably Shaushka) embracing a man with a bow in the center of the seal on the later example.<sup>103</sup> Herbordt proposed that although the person with a bow might represent the seal owner, in this case she would opt for the protective deity (1998:312). It may well be the hunter-god. Further small differences appear in his title since on the first example (discussed above) he was identified only as a scribe, whereas on the second he appears as a scribe of a different (presumably higher) rank, which is shown by an the L-shaped sign above the scribe hieroglyph.<sup>104</sup> The

---

<sup>101</sup> See Güterbock 1967:78, No. 225 and 226.

<sup>102</sup> The two signets impressions are even identical in size 27x 12 mm (Schaeffer 1956:52).

<sup>103</sup> Herbordt 2005:Kat. 371.

<sup>104</sup> Herbordt 1998:312.

difference in title thus might reflect two different, earlier and later, stages in the carrier of this official. The free space on the later example is filled with circles or rosettes (Ibid. 1998:317, fig. 3.7). To this category one may add impressions of two different signet rings of a 'good scribe' named Talmi-Teshub, who worked at Hattusa (Herbordt 2004:7, fig.4).

The Nişantepe archive yielded four exemplars of digraphic signet impressions, to which no parallel is known from Ugarit. As the term suggests, these seals bore inscriptions in two different scripts. The four preserved impressions bear inscriptions in two registers with the upper written in cuneiform and the lower in hieroglyphic Luwian script as can be seen on the seal impression of an official (scribe) Mahhuzzi from Hattusa (Fig.36a); or vice versa (cuneiform in lower and hieroglyphs in the upper register) as can be seen on the seal impression (Fig.36b) which in addition has a male figure in the center and upright standing double-headed eagle flanking the scene (Herbordt 2005:54, fig. 37a or Kat. 3b). There is no digraphic parallel with two horizontal registers known from Emar.

Though the assemblage of the later type ring seals or their impressions from Ugarit is very limited one can trace some features that are typical for this site or on the other hand, are lacking in its iconography and are known from other contemporary places. The impressions bore three different scripts, but these appear always separately. None of the impressions has a surrounding rim filled with the repeated 'scribe' sign as the parallels from Hattusa do. Also neither the double-headed eagle nor the griffin is to be seen on signet impressions from Ugarit. In contrast, no ring seal inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs is known from Hattusa or Emar, however this impression is rather an exception also at Ugarit. Though the MBA Ugaritic glyptic iconography shows significant Egyptian influence, the LBA

ring seals show it minimally (only the hairstyle and dress of the hunter on Niqmadu II/III impression). In contrast the signet impressions from Hattusa bear several originally Egyptian motives such as the life sign ankh. On the other hand the signets from Ugarit reflect their Syrian background not only through the cuneiform script on some of the impressions but also through Babylonian deities or scene topics. The ring seal impressions from Ugarit and Nişantepe at Hattusa share several features with the ring seals of Emar. The parallel is obvious in the use of the hieroglyphic Luwian script as well as in the symmetric arrangement of the composition. Typical for Emar ring seals is the effort to fill out the available space completely (*horror vacui*), which is more common among the seals from Hattusa than for Ugarit (Herbordt 2005:54). A further common pattern includes the three-leaf motive, which closes the scene on the sides, though there are exceptions with four leaves or with the three leaves standing upright. Similarly to Ugarit, the impressions from Emar lack the encircling rim with ‘scribe’ signs. There are two cases at Emar that have the ladder-like rim all around the seal’s face impression.<sup>105</sup> Unlike at Ugarit, the examples from Emar have in their scenes griffins<sup>106</sup> and double-headed eagles<sup>107</sup>. Though the griffin is used in similar way, this cannot be said for the double-headed eagle. At Emar the double-headed eagle is rarely shown turned at 90° as an antithetic bordering pattern and placed on the sides of the scene as it is typical for Hattusa, but more often it is shown single, standing straight, in the center of the scene (Herbordt 2005:54-55, Beyer 2001:122, 131).<sup>108</sup> Quite a popular motive at Emar was the

---

<sup>105</sup> Beyer 2001:136-137, B46 and B47.

<sup>106</sup> Beyer 2001:121-144, B1-B66.

<sup>107</sup> Beyer 2001: 121 B2, 122B4-5, 123 B7-8, B11, 127 B18, 131 B30-31, 140 B57, 141 B59, 142 B60 and B62, 144 B67-68.

<sup>108</sup> For examples see Gonnet 1991:pl. I – 21a, 21c, 21d.

sphinx<sup>109</sup>, which is surprisingly not known from any signet impression from Hattusa<sup>110</sup> (only the golden ring from Konya shows one) or Ugarit.

## 5.2 Iconography of the Hittite Royal Seals

Beginning with the Hittite Empire period the iconography of the royal seals received new elements and spatial organization, which as it will be argued later in this chapter, were to a certain degree influenced and inspired by the royal Egyptian iconography. The new features combined with previously used attributes of the Hittite kings were embodied in the seals of Suppiluliuma I and all his successors on the Hittite throne as well as in seals of some vassal kings. The king's seal had two rings of legend in cuneiform. The central field, named the cartouche or aedicule, contained the, originally Egyptian, title 'My Sun' or 'My Majesty' in the shape of a winged sun disc. Below in the center was engraved the king's personal name in hieroglyphic Luwian script, flanked by the 'Great King' symbols (Werner 1991:41, fig.1, Boehmer & Güterbock 1987:80)<sup>111</sup>. In addition, some of the seals had cuneiform writings also within the central field placed either on the side of the cartouche or below the personal name of the king (Neve 1993b: 57, fig. 147). The cuneiform signs flanking the titles on the sides are read 'TI', i.e. 'life' or 'prosperity'; and the second group of signs, written only once below the name, is read 'SIG<sub>5</sub>' and

---

<sup>109</sup> Beyer 2001:119; for example B1, B37, B46, B52.

<sup>110</sup> Herboldt 2005:55.

<sup>111</sup> The seals of Tudhaliya I/III and Arnuwanda I had only a single 'Great King' sign in the central field (Boehmer & Güterbock 1987:80, fig 56).

translated as ‘favorable’, ‘beauty’, ‘health’ or ‘good’.<sup>112</sup> Taken together these signs can be understood as a wish of well-being to the seal owner.

The new royal standard was kept also on the seals shared with the Tawananna as can be observed on the seal impressions from Ugarit, on which the king’s name is on the right side of the seal impression. This seemed to be a rule applied already during the reign of Suppiluliuma I’s father Tudhaliya III<sup>113</sup> or perhaps even earlier. However, the rule was not always obeyed. Another rule concerned the rings containing the cuneiform legend according to which the name and titles of the queen were written in the inner ring whereas the attributes of the king were always in the outer ring of the seal as could be observed on the seal impression from Ugarit as well as on other from Hattusa (Otten 1995:13-16, Schaeffer 1956:3).

The stamp seal as well as the seal impressions of the king Murshili II both from Ugarit and Hattusa are quite simple and stable in design. The variations occur mainly in details in the central field and in the cuneiform legend information. For the impressions from Ugarit is typical a highly elaborated winged sun disc with a four- or six- (or more) pointed star within the disc. Below, in the center of the middle field is written the king’s name in two hieroglyphs: *urbs+li*, which Otten transcribed as *URBS+RA/I-li* meaning Murshili (1995:25). On all impressions of this king the sword-shape sign for ‘li’ always points to the right.<sup>114</sup> This detail distinguishes his seal impressions from those of his later namesake Murshili III, on whose seal impressions the same sign always points to the left (see Otten 1993:22-27). The name of Murshili II is flanked on both sides with the ‘Great King’ hieroglyphs and also with the cuneiform ‘TI’ signs. Another group of cuneiform signs appears below the ‘li’ sign (Fig.11). The cuneiforms in the central field are to be read TI – SIG<sub>5</sub> – TI, which Otten

---

<sup>112</sup> Labat 1976:69, 203.

<sup>113</sup> As can be seen on the impressions from Maşat Höyük 75/10 and 75/39 (Otten 1995:11, 33, fig. 9).

<sup>114</sup> Schaeffer 1956:8-11.

interpreted as Life-Health-Life (1995:25). The presence of these cuneiforms on the seals is not a new element, but a continuation of an older tradition since such groups of signs were observed already on seals of Tudhaliya III and also Suppiluliuma I.<sup>115</sup>

The seal impressions of Murshili II alone from Hattusa<sup>116</sup> are characterized by a four-pointed star in the sun disc and the cuneiform TI – SIG<sub>5</sub> – TI in the main field. The ‘li’ sign in shape of a sword always points to the right. The seals show the same general design; the variations appear rather in details, and also in size but this cannot be established because the impressions are too fragmentary. Despite the rather poor preservation it was possible to reconstruct the cuneiform legend ‘seal of Murshili, King of ... mighty, son of Suppiluliuma, Great King, King of the Land of Hatti, Hero’ (Otten 1995:26). This legend differs from the impression from Ugarit where Murshili is identified as ‘beloved of the god Muwatallu’ (Otten 1995:27).

With the rule of Hittite king Muwatalli II is associated a significant change in the royal glyptic. Though the shape and general design is preserved, in the central field of the seal the hieroglyphs were reduced in size and gave space to a figured scene, more specifically to an embracing scene, which dominates the seal impression (Neve 1993b:57, fig. 149; Güterbock 1967:19-25, 65, No. 38-40; Herbordt 2004:8, fig. 7). Though no such seal of Muwatalli was recovered at Ugarit, the seals of his successors found there show that the new arrangement has become a standard part of the royal Hittite seal iconography and thus its analysis creates a necessary basis for the discussion on the Tudhaliya IV’s and high officials’ seals later in this chapter. The impression of the seal of Muwatalli II found in the Nişantepe archive (SBo I

---

<sup>115</sup> See for example the impression of the seal of Tudhaliya III SBo I 58 from Hattusa and for Suppiluliuma I see Bo 91/1314, Bo 91/1816 or other impressions (Otten 1995:31-33, fig. 8, 1, 2, etc.). See also Neve 1993b:57-58, fig. 147, 154).

<sup>116</sup> Otten 1995:40-41; these are Bo 91/460, Bo 90/1135, Bo 91/1124, etc.

38)<sup>117</sup> is dominated by a large figure of a bearded deity in conical horned cap and short tunic armed with a mace, to represent the storm god (Fig.37). Under the right arm of the god is a smaller figure, representing the king, dressed in long tunic, skin cap and equipped with a lituus. Both figures in pointed shoes with upturned tips are depicted with heads in profile facing right, frontal upper torso and legs in profile again, though in unrealistic stand. Both figures advance one leg forward though it is difficult to decide whether the left or the right one. The personal name of the king is unusually placed behind the backs of the figures and accompanied with a single ‘Great King’ title. Above the outstretched left arm of the god is placed his identification formula (title) in hieroglyphs, which reads ‘the great storm god of the sky’.<sup>118</sup> Below the arm appears the winged sun disc and under it the sign for storm placed above three times repeated ‘Great King’ signs. According to Werner (1991:44) this last group of signs has to be read from bottom to top and in Hurrian it stands for Sarriteshub, with the ‘Great King’ signs meaning ‘sarri’ and the W-like sign (=TONITRUS) meaning ‘Teshub’. The same author proposed that the name Muwatalli was the king’s throne name whereas Sarriteshub stood for the personal name of this king (Werner 1991:45). The Nişantepe archive yielded another seal impression of Muwatalli, which is almost identical with the new prototype. Except for a few stylistic details the second exemplar (SBo I 39) differs basically in the writing of the king’s personal name, where there are hieroglyphs flanked on both sides with ‘Great King’ title. Though the two writings of the name differ, Werner concluded that they both are to be interpreted as Sarriteshub (1991:45).

The following Hittite king Urhi-Teshub, also known by his throne name Murshili III and also not attested at Ugarit, used the embracing scene on his seals

---

<sup>117</sup> Akurgal 2001:91, fig. 42, Werner 1991:44, fig. 9.

<sup>118</sup> Werner (1991:44) uses the Latin equivalent Magnus Tonitrus Caelum.

with some modifications, which were later followed for example by Tudhaliya IV. Compared to the seals of Muwatalli II, the seals of Murshili III introduce a new element in design and also seem better in rendering of detail (or just a chance of preservation?). The main deity on the seal from Hattusa<sup>119</sup> is armed with a spear instead of the previous mace. The god or king in embrace wears a pointed hat with horns like the main god does; he has either a long or short tunic and no weapon. Below the left arm of the god are the signs 'DEUS Sarruma' identifying the god. The name of Urhi-Teshub appears behind the figures (Herbordt 2004:8). The signs for 'Great King' and winged sun disc are missing, which points that these were while he was a crown prince with the title of *tuhkanti* before he became the king of the Hittite Empire. It has been argued that Urhi-Teshub's seals bearing the embracing scene should be actually understood as his effort to justify his staying on the throne and also the fact that he was legitimate and the chosen successor of his father, though he was neither a firstborn son nor from a first rank woman. In the same light can be viewed an unusual royal seal of Murshili III, which bears the throne name in the central cartouche below a double sun disc with a single pair of wings. Unusual is the presence of three rings with cuneiforms as opposed to the traditional two rings. The reason might be Urhi-Teshub's intention to provide an entire genealogy to show his direct blood link with the great kings such as Suppiluliuma I or Murshili II<sup>120</sup> (Güterbock 1967:9-10, 63, fig. 13 B and C; Herbordt 2004:8, fig. 6; Neve 1993b:57, fig.151).

---

<sup>119</sup> For the illustration see Herbordt 2004:8, fig. 8.

<sup>120</sup> The legend in the cuneiform rings is: 'The Seal of his Majesty, the Labarna Murshili, the Great King, King of the Land of Hatti, the Hero, beloved of the weather god and sun goddess of Arinna; son of Muwatalli, the Great King, King of the Land of Hatti, the Hero; grandson of Murshili, the Great King, the Hero; great-grandson of Suppiluliuma, the King of the Land of Hatti, the Hero (Herbordt 2004:8, fig. 6; similar reading of the legend can be found in Güterbock 1967:10, in Akurgal 2001:95, and also in Otten 1993:26-27).

A seal probably later than the *tuhkanti* ones is a seal from Hattusa again (Fig.38); it shows Urhi-Teshub with all attributes of a Great King (Akurgal 2001:94, fig. 43, Neve 1993b:cover page) and introduces multiple registers of writings or figured scenes or combinations of both in the central field of the stamp seal design; a composition to be observed also on the large seal of Tudhaliya IV from Ugarit. The seal of Urhi-Teshub as the Great King recovered from Hattusa shows two horizontal registers each of them topped with the winged sun disc. In the upper register, which covers three quarters of the central field, one observes the storm god driving a (bird-shaped) chariot pulled by the sacred bulls. The bearded god wears a conical horned hat and he is armed with a mace (or club) and a sword. Behind him is a smaller figure dressed in same way and equipped with a sword, bow and a lance (or spear), which could represent the king himself though it is more likely representation of the protective god of the countryside. In the upper right part of this register is depicted the throne name of the king ‘Murshili’ flanked on both sides by ‘Great King’ hieroglyphs. The throne name also fills the lower register.

Despite the appearance of the new figured style on seals, the traditional royal seals bearing only the king’s throne name topped by the ‘My Sun’ title in the shape of winged sun disc<sup>121</sup> remained in use and actually seem to have outnumbered the new style seals (Güterbock 1967:63, Boehmer & Güterbock 1987:80). In the case of Urhi-Teshub this might be related to the way of his accession to throne and his effort to link himself with the previous Great Kings; the same intention could be seen also in his preference of the throne name on the seals.

---

<sup>121</sup> Some of the seals bearing the throne name have in the main field also cuneiform writings placed either below the cartouche or they flank the Great King signs on the outer side (Güterbock 1967: 9-11, 63, fig. 21-23). The same cuneiform groups appeared already on the seals of previous Hittite kings such as Suppiluliuma I.

Just as Urhi-Teshub tried to justify on his seals that he was a legitimate successor to Muwatalli II, the next Hittite king Hattushili III tried hard to put a distance between himself, and the one who, in his eyes, was the ‘illegitimate’ predecessor. Not only did he refuse to address his predecessor by his throne name, but he made the distance clear also on his seals, on which he did not continue the newly established style with the embracing or figured scene.

Very interesting from the point of Hittite royal iconography is the seal of the queen Puduhepa found at Ugarit (Fig.14). The seal of Puduhepa (RS 17.133), in terms of organization of the central field, follows the style of the royal seals. Just as the king’s name is flanked on sides with the title ‘Great King’, so she has her title of ‘Great Queen’ also written twice on sides of her personal name. Her cartouche, identically to that of a king, is placed below a nicely carved winged sun disc, which implies that she actually also used the title ‘MAIESTAS’ or ‘My Sun’, at least theoretically. However, the presence of this attribute can be understood also as decorative or traditional concerning the royal seals, in her case and concerning the power she exercised the use of this attribute could have different implications. Today, only one incomplete circle of the legend in cuneiform is visible on the impression<sup>122</sup>, but presumably originally there were two, like on the standard royal seal. This detail is striking since not even the Hittite princes possessed such privilege and the presence of the cuneiform legend was the element that distinguished the royalty from the nobility, i.e. the royal seals from the non-royal ones. Puduhepa, indeed, was a member of royalty, still she used attribute reserved only for the Great King. The cuneiform legend then can be understood as a reflection of her highly prestigious and important position and/or of the fact that she acted as a regent of the

---

<sup>122</sup> The legend reads ‘(seal) of Puduhepa, the Great Queen,...’ (Schaeffer 1956:13).

young king after her husband's death (Goldman 1937:281). The cuneiform legend on her seal from Tarsus is not better preserved, but thanks to other impressions of her seals from Hattusa and Ugarit Güterbock recently reconstructed the probable version of the cuneiform legend on the Tarsus seal impression. The legend then could be read: 'Seal of Puduhepa, Great Queen, Queen of the Land of Hatti, Daughter of the Land of Kizzuwatna, Beloved of Hebat' (1997:143-144). It is probable that the cuneiform legend on the RS 17.133 was identical or at least very similar to that from the Tarsus impression.

The seals of Hattushili III found at Ugarit follow the standard established by kings preceding Muwatalli. The royal seal bears the throne name in the main field below a single winged sun disc and flanked by the 'Great King' signs or in the case of shared seal the 'Great Queen' sign (Fig.13a-d). Exceptional however is the sealing spot on which the seals were impressed. Though normally the seal would be impressed in the middle of the obverse of a tablet, in this case the seal impressions of Hattushili III and Puduhepa (RS 18.03 and RS 17.229) were found on the edges of clay tablets.<sup>123</sup> The sealed documents, which deal with the merchants of Ura, provide no clue for these strange sealings. Deviation from the standard was found also on a bulla from Hattusa bearing an impression of seal of Hattushili III. According to Otten the seal had originally a single cuneiform ring. Though in the main cartouche the king has the title 'Great' and 'My Sun', in the cuneiform ring he is mentioned merely as 'Tabarna Hattushili' (Otten 1993:33). In contrast, on the seals from Ugarit the king is identified in the cuneiform legend as 'Seal of the Tabarna Hattushili, Great King, Hero' (Schaeffer 1956:12).

---

<sup>123</sup> Schaeffer 1956:16, fig. 21. Singer (1999:660, n.174) informs that the strangely sealed tablets are RS 17.130 and its large duplicate RS 18.003, which contradicts with the information provided by Schaeffer in fig. 21. Singer also proposed that there might have been one more strangely sealed tablet (RS 34.179) since it has a missing edge and no seal impression on the preserved body.

The seals SBo I 45 and SBo I 46 of Hattushili III represent two different artistic styles. This is evident mainly in the execution of the winged sun disc<sup>124</sup>, the representation of king's MAIESTAS. On the latter impression (SBo I 46) this motive is simple, flat and internally undivided. On the other hand, the winged disc on the former impression (SBo I 45), which was also used on the seals from Ugarit<sup>125</sup>, represents a much higher quality of execution and rendering of detail. The pattern consists of three elements – two symmetrical wings, each with three segments with carved feathers and down turned pendant feathers; in between lies the sun disc in the shape of a flower with multiple pellets around the central circle.

The sun disc pattern is even more elaborated on the impression of a large seal of Tudhaliya IV (Fig.15) from Ugarit (RS 17.159). Though the wings miss the pendant feathers they are even longer with five segments with carved feathers. In between is a double disc (which could be seen already on the seal impression of Murshili III), each part of it with an eight-point star inside. Below this pattern are three registers with Hieroglyphic Luwian signs flanked by figure(s) on each side. Unlike on the seals of Muwatalli and Murshili III on this seal impression the embracing scene appears on the right with the figures facing left, where is the figure of the 'Sun goddess of the city of Arinna' identifiable thanks to her attributes she holds in her left hand and also thanks to the cuneiform inscription in the rings. The figures on the right, the storm god and the king are portrayed as warriors in short tunics, horned conical hats, and holding weapons. Both of them have a sword behind waist belts. In addition the god holds a mace and the king is armed with a lance. Unlike in the previous impressions the name of the god does not appear above his raised arm, but behind him with an additional arm sign, which Werner translated as

---

<sup>124</sup> Otten 1993:28-29.

<sup>125</sup> Schaeffer 1956:12, fig. 13-15; Werner 1991:44, no. 8.

<sup>d</sup>Tonitrus Fortis or the ‘mighty weather god’ (1991:45). The upper and lower registers are identical and contain the throne name Tudhaliya in the middle flanked on each side with ‘Labarna’ and ‘Great King’ signs. The lower register, in addition, is flanked on both sides with the ‘vita’ sign, an altered version of the Egyptian ankh. Peculiar is that the sign appears exactly in the same place where, in cases of other royal seals, there were cuneiform signs ‘TI’ with the same meaning ‘life’. Thus it may be argued that the cuneiform version ‘TI’ can be viewed actually as a translation or an equivalent of what the ankh hieroglyph meant. The middle register contains two superimposed hieroglyphic signs flanked by the Great King signs. The upper hieroglyph is read Hišmi and the lower Sarruma, which taken together give the personal name of the king, which is Hišmi-Sarruma (Werner 1991:45, fig. 11).

Though no other sealings of Tudhaliya IV came out of the Ugarit assemblage, there were found several, though very fragmentary, impressions of a seal or seals<sup>126</sup> with identical decoration at Hattusa, which could be safely ascribed to this king thanks to the well-preserved impression from Ugarit. Perhaps the closest parallels in style to the impression from Ugarit were identified in the Nišantepe corpus. Though the impressions of large seals do not bear any figure, they do carry a well-executed double sun disc with wings and below they contain two nearly identical registers of hieroglyphs, each of them in two lines.<sup>127</sup> The first line contains the name Hišmi in the center flanked on sides with the name Tudhaliya, the Labarna and the Great King signs. The second line contains the hieroglyph for Sarruma in the middle flanked on

---

<sup>126</sup> These are for example Bo 91/2304, Bo 91/900 (Otten 1993:36, fig. 30) and Bo 91/1065.

<sup>127</sup> The examples are Bo 91/560 (height 5.15 cm, diameter 4.8 cm), Bo 91/1781 (height 6.37 cm, diameter 5.3 cm) and probably also Bo 90/487 (Otten 1993:38-39, fig. 32-34). The impression Bo 91/1781 is the one that mentions Puduhepa in the inner ring of the cuneiform inscription (Otten 1993:37, Güterbock 1997:143). Quite surprisingly and unlike majority of his predecessors we know of no seal, which Tudhaliya IV would share with the Great Queen (Neve 1993b:55) though most probably he was married already before he became the king. His spouse is supposed to be a Babylonian princess, however nothing more detailed is known about this lady (Bryce 1998:328-329).

both sides with two ankhs; in the lower register only with a single ankh on each side (Otten 1993:37-38).

Also from Hattusa are known seal impressions bearing only a single register with the king's throne name.<sup>128</sup> The main field is topped by the elaborated winged sun with two discs and below is the name 'Tudhaliya' flanked by Labarna and Great King signs. On some of the impressions are cuneiform inscriptions in the central field: the already mentioned 'TI' meaning life and 'SIG<sub>5</sub>' translated as 'well being' or 'prosperity' or their combination<sup>129</sup>. A further variation of the royal seal of Tudhaliya names him only as the 'Great King' without the title of Tabarna in the main cartouche.<sup>130</sup>

Probably to the seals of Tudhaliya IV can be ascribed the introduction of new stylistic features, which appeared on his seal impression on a bulla from the so-called Westbau at Hattusa (Neve 1993b:55, 59, fig. 159, Boehmer & Güterbock 1987:80), and was later to be seen on the seals of his successor Arnuwanda III<sup>131</sup>. The new element is the mountain-god figure in the center of the cartouche (Fig.39), who wears a high horned hat, long scalloped skirt and holds a mace. The figure stands on the 'tu' sign, which taken together as (sacred?) 'mountain+tu' actually reads 'Tudhaliya', the throne name of the king (Boehmer & Güterbock 1987:82, Akurgal 2001:106). The 'throne name' is flanked on both sides with the Labarna and the Great King hieroglyphs. This main cartouche is placed below a single winged sun disc and seems to be mounted on one double-headed eagle and two griffins. Though this creature often appears on the later type of the ring seals and also on Hittite non-royal stamp seals, this is probably the first time it appeared on a royal seal.

---

<sup>128</sup> Güterbock 1967:30-31, 67, Nr. 52-59.

<sup>129</sup> Güterbock 1967:30-31, 67 Nr. 52 and 58.

<sup>130</sup> Güterbock 1967:30, 67, Nr. 58.

<sup>131</sup> Neve 1993b:55, 59, fig. 160.

### 5.3 Iconography of the Stamp Seals of the Vassal Kings, Princes, and Officials

It has been argued earlier in this paper that the Hittite royal stamp seals differed from the non-royal ones mainly in the presence of the two outer rings inscribed in cuneiform. Though the same applies to the comparison between the Hittite royal seals and the Northern Syrian stamp seals (including both royal and non-royal) there is an exception to this rule. The stamp seals of Ini-Teshub (Fig.16a-b), the king of Carchemish, found at Ugarit bear two outer rings with legible cuneiform legend, the content of which follows exactly the Hittite royal standard. It reads: “Seal of Ini-Teshub, king of Carchemish, son of Šahurunuwa, king of Carchemish” (Schaeffer 1956:20). Though the seals follow the late Hittite standard including the figures in scene, they lack the title ‘Great’, which was reserved merely for the Hittite king and, as was shown previously, for the reigning queen.<sup>132</sup> The two impressions, RS 17.146 and RS 17.230, differ minimally. The first has better preserved outer rings with cuneiform and the distinction lies in graphical details. The central scene is bordered by the signs for ‘King’ and dominated by a large figure of a bearded man with a conical high horned hat. He wears a short unembroidered tunic and holds what Schaeffer identified as a double-stemmed scepter with a finial-like feature at the top (could it be a ceremonial mace?).<sup>133</sup> According to this author the figure could be the protective god of the king, but he did not specify him further. The deity can be probably identified as the storm god. With his left hand the god seizes the front legs of a creature with feline body, wings and human head in conical horned cap. Schaeffer (1956:20) describes it as a genius though it could well represent a sphinx.

---

<sup>132</sup> The other symbol that does not appear on this seal impression or any other non-royal seal is the winged sun disc representing the king’s ‘MAIESTAS’ and being translated as ‘My Sun’.

<sup>133</sup> Schaeffer 1956:20.

The personal name of the king appears below the god's left arm written in three hieroglyphs to be read from top to bottom. Unlike on the Hittite royal seals there are no cuneiform signs or the ankh symbol in the central field. The right to use the cuneiform in the outer rings of his stamp seal can be understood as a reflection of his position of a vice-king as opposed to that of the Syrian vassal kings. Though he was subordinated to the Great King at Hattusa, within the Hittite Syrian territories he represented the highest authority with the right to decide independently many issues concerning the vassal states. Since the Ugarit excavations did not bring to light a royal stamp seal impression of his successor Talmi-Teshub (only a cylinder seal impression), it was not easy to decide whether he continued the Hittite tradition. However, a half preserved large stamp seal impression (about 55 mm in diameter) on a fragmentary bulla (Fig.40a)<sup>134</sup> showed an interesting and surprising development.<sup>135</sup> It presents the same information and spatial organization as the stamp impression of his son Kuzi-Teshub found at Lidar Höyük (on the east bank of the Euphrates).<sup>136</sup> The Lidar impression (Fig.40b) bears the outer ring with cuneiform legend 'Kuzi-Teshub, King of the Land of Carchemish, servant of Kubaba, son of Talmi-Teshub, King of the Land of Carchemish, Hero' (Beyer 2001:153). The impression depicts the figure of the storm god with the same type of scepter as in the case of Ini-Teshub (Hawkins 1988:38)<sup>137</sup>. This impression actually combines the scenes from both the stamp and cylinder seals of Ini-Teshub and the cylinder of Talmi-Teshub, a fact that points to the continuation of the old tradition after the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Unlike on the seals of Ini-Teshub, on the

---

<sup>134</sup> The bulla does not come from archeological excavations, but it was recognized at antiquities market by Mr. Hawkins and its interpretations is based merely on a photograph of the object (Beyer 2001:153).

<sup>135</sup> Beyer 2001:153, C2.

<sup>136</sup> Beyer 2001:153, Addendum.

<sup>137</sup> For the photo and drawing of the seal impression from Lidar see *Archäologie in Deutschland*, Heft 1, (1993:14) or Beyer 2001:153.

Lidar seal the storm god has instead of the feline on his arm the signs DEUS TONITRUS and he is armed with sword with curved point. The storm god is standing on two mountain deities in front of which appears a figure of a bull. Below the god's arm appears the name of Kuzi-Teshub in four hieroglyphs flanked by the 'King' signs and further to the left is a group of hieroglyphs for 'Ka + r-ga-mi-sà' to be read 'of Carchemish' (Beyer 2001:152). This put together would mean 'Kuzi-Teshub, King of the Land of Carchemish'.<sup>138</sup> Behind the god's figure appears the name of Talmi-Teshub flanked by the 'King' signs and again the name of the country, which taken together would provide the legend 'Talmi-Teshub, King of the Land of Carchemish'.<sup>139</sup> The fragmentary impression from Emar does not have the outer ring with cuneiform legend preserved in a degree that would allow reading. The central field is preserved down to the feet of the storm god, so the lower half is completely missing. This impression makes one wonder whether Kuzi-Teshub ascended to the throne of Carchemish before the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Beyer dates the impression around 1180 BC (2001:153).

Other seal impressions from this group from Ugarit have one or two outer rings filled with various decorative patterns, but no cuneiform signs. The presence of the outer rings and in some cases triangular patterns in it that recall the true cuneiform and can be viewed as an attempt to imitate the royal seals. On the other hand, the engraved outer ring can also be understood as a purely decorative element that marks the border of the seal impression and helps to distinguish it from the text on a tablet or other seal impression. The former interpretation does not exclude the latter and vice versa. Perhaps exceptional in this sense is the stamp seal impression of the

---

<sup>138</sup> Hawkins 1988:38.

<sup>139</sup> Hawkins 1988:38.

prince Taki-Sarruma<sup>140</sup>, which has an outer ring filled with alternating star pattern and hieroglyphic sign for a scribe (Fig. 8b).<sup>141</sup> In this case the choice of outer ring fill does not seem accidental since in the central scene the owner is identified as ‘Great Scribe’, a title that flanks his name the same way as the signs for king usually do. Similar outer ring decoration, though only with the scribe sign could be seen on a stamp seal impression and on several signet impressions from Hattusa (Herbordt 2005:50, fig.33). This seal impression of Taki-Sarruma shows more distinctive features that characterize the non-royal seal iconography and in addition it reflects the Hittite administrative practice. His personal name appears in the middle of the seal’s central field written with three hieroglyphs to be read from top to bottom. On the both sides the name is flanked with the ‘king’s son’ attribute and the already mentioned ‘Great Scribe’ title. This impression reflects the practice of ascribing important functions in state administration, trade and politics to the members of the royal family. The prince was often the Chief Scribe (=Great Scribe) or the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard. For the latter the evidence comes from Hattusa, where the scholars found a seal impression of Tudhaliya with the title of MAGNUS HASTARIUS, which Herbordt ascribed to Tudhaliya IV who while a prince held this position at his father’s court (1998:313). Other princes attested through seal impressions at Ugarit were Shaushga-muwa (later the king of Amurru), Arma-Ziti, Tihi-Teshub and perhaps others. Since some of the seal impressions were poorly preserved, less well carved or incomplete, it is impossible to establish an accurate list.

The two stamp seal impressions of Shaushga-muwa (Fig. 17a-b) are quite simple in design. Each has one outer ring filled with incompletely preserved

---

<sup>140</sup> This prince is the same person as the owner of the ring seal impressions from Ugarit and twelve different stamp seal impressions from Hattusa, on which he figures as REX.FILIUS and/or MAGNUS.SCRIBA (Herbordt 2005:82).

<sup>141</sup> Schaeffer 1956:43, fig. 58-60. In the illustration the outer ring with the two alternating signs is not drawn, though it is clearly visible in the photograph.

triangular pattern. The central field bears his name in four hieroglyphic signs. Unlike on his ring seal the first part of his name 'sà' is written in 'abbreviated' version only with the head of a goat. The name is flanked on both sides with the REX FILIUS signs. Except these the central field contains no other writing or decorative fillers. The two seals differ only in one hieroglyph, which appears in the central field of the RS 17.372.<sup>142</sup> Young speculated whether Shaushga-muwa could have been sharing one of his seals with his wife, though without conclusion (1997:133). In the assemblage from Nişantepe<sup>143</sup> Shaushga-muwa is attested through the impressions of three different ring seals as well as impressions from four different round stamp seals (Herbordt 2005:82, Kat.365-371). Similarly to the impressions from Ugarit these stamp impressions are also very simple in design, which consists basically of the name in hieroglyphs written once or twice 'face-to-face' in the center of the seal's face. In all four cases the first syllable of the name 'sà' appears in abbreviated form (goat head). Shaushga-muwa appears on these impressions with the title of a scribe and/or the title of a prince. All four impressions are quite poorly preserved, especially concerning the edges, which do not provide much information about the outer ring rim. One of the impressions (Kat.368) shows an outer ring filled with the 'scribe' sign and maybe other motive, which recalls the stamp seal of the prince Taki-Sarruma from Ugarit.

From the iconographical point of view the seals of Arma-ziti (Fig. 18a-b) represent a striking contrast. The first one (RS 17.316) is an example of extreme simplicity in design since it bears only the owner's name in hieroglyphs in the center

---

<sup>142</sup> On other impressions this sign constitutes a part of the 'Tawananna' title – see the section on seals of Hittite kings found at Ugarit.

<sup>143</sup> From the earlier excavations of the royal city at Hattusa came up another stamp impression with the name of Shaushga-muwa, SBo II 79 (Werner 1991:46; Güterbock 1967:69). It bears the same simple design, though the name is flanked with the title URBS DOMINUS (Town Master or Mayor of the City). However, it is not clear whether this impression belongs to the future king of Amurru.

and no other pattern or writing that would determine his background or occupation. The design is carved shallowly, which makes the name hardly legible on the impressions. The second one (RS 17.314), however, is characterized by significantly higher standard of execution and variety of decorative motives as well. The owner is identified as son of a king through the hieroglyphs flanking his name. Though the impression is incomplete it is possible to see that the central field contains some purely decorative elements. Some of them appear also in the two outer rings which are densely carved with four different patterns, three alternating in the outer ring and two in the inner ring (Schaeffer 1956:34-35, 37-38, fig. 48-51).

The last among the seal impressions that belonged to a prince is that of Tihi-Tesub (or Tili-Teshub?) found on RS17.137 (Fig. 24). Unlike previous examples this impression is not symmetrical in organization of the design. The title of the king's son is engraved on the left and the name of the owner on the right with several further, probably decorative signs. It had an outer ring filled with decorative patterns but its incomplete impression does not allow reconstruction.

Similarly asymmetrical in design and even lacking the outer decorative rim is the seal impression of Kilija, the priest of Ishtar of Zinzara (Fig.19). The personal name appears in the center written from top to bottom *Ki-li-i(a)* and on the right is the sign for SACERDOS (=priest), which identifies his position and occupation (Werner 1991:48, Schaeffer 1956:47,49,52). Also asymmetrical and with unusual fill of the outer rim is a stamp impression of the official Tutti from Ugarit (RS 17.135). The rim is filled with alternating groups of three to four parallel strokes, which are placed at right angles to each other (Fig. 22). There seem to be no parallels at Ugarit or Hattusa to this rim decoration.

Though still asymmetrical in the central field the seal of the official Tabrammi (Fig. 20) presents evidently advanced quality of carving and richness of decorative motives among the non-royal seals. Further, except the seals of Ini-Teshub, this is the only other seal having a figure in the main field. The figure is dressed in a long tunic and seems to be wearing a skullcap with a small horn at the front. From the impression it is hard to determine whether the figure has just the tunic split at the front or rather holds a stick, perhaps a lituus. In any case, this depiction recalls the relief of Tudhaliya IV from Yazılıkaya or the seal of Muwatalli II with the embracing scene from Hattusa. The personal name of this high official appears on the right side written in hieroglyphs. The arrangement of motives within the surrounding rings recalls the patterns from Near Eastern cylinder seals as well as the scenes known from the later type signet seals. The inner ring shows, repeated twice, the scene with sacred tree flanked on both sides by a winged griffin and a rabbit. The scenes are separated by two different groups of hieroglyphs, one of which can perhaps be read as 'scribe of higher rank'. The outer ring, though incomplete, shows probably originally a three times repeated scene with a double-headed eagle flanked by rabbits and separated by a group of hieroglyphs or decorative patterns. Schaeffer suggested that the high quality of the seal execution points to the importance and high position of its owner (1956:50). A similar decoration of the outer ring is not attested on officials' seals at Ugarit, though it seemed quite common among the officials' seals from Hattusa.<sup>144</sup> It is likely that this seal was actually manufactured at Hattusa. It is also highly unlikely that such a high-standing functionary would use only a single seal.

---

<sup>144</sup> See Herbordt 2005:48, fig.31.

The seal impressions of both at Ugarit and at Hattusa attested officials Zuzuli and Alalimi or Piha-ziti present symmetrical arrangements again with a simple design with minimum or no fillers surrounding the owner's name in the center flanked by different titles.

This brief discussion revealed many similarities between the stamp seal impressions from Ugarit and Hattusa. The similarities are to a certain degree the consequence of the fact that many of the individuals known from Ugarit were attested also at Hattusa and through more than a single seal. The seals of officials from Ugarit are first of all 'script' seals, which means that they were mainly inscribed with hieroglyphic signs. Except the seals of Ini-Teshub and the stamp of Tabrammi, there was no other seal bearing a figured scene. Concerning the central field the use of filling motives was modest and there was also no true case of 'horror vacui'. The decoration of the outer ring represents a great variety and quality of elaboration, the best of which could be observed on the seal of Tabrammi. Except the seal of Ini-Teshub, no other bears a legend in cuneiform script. The absence of the cuneiform script on the seals can look surprising, but if one takes into consideration that the officials were often coming from Hatti or Carchemish, which was also ruled by a king of Hittite origin, the hieroglyphic and 'Hittite' character of the seals looks more understandable. There seem to be no examples of anepigraphic stamp seals, though as it will be shown in the following subchapter the anepigraphic cylinder seals were quite common at Ugarit.

## 5.4 Iconography of the Cylinder Seals

Compared to stamp and ring seals the design and carving of cylinder seals shows most significantly the impact of the Syrian environment, its past, former foreign influence as well as the political situation towards the end of the LBA. The very fact that the kings of Carchemish accepted the use of cylinder seals, though the ruling family was Hittite speaks for this argument. Interestingly the viceroys from Carchemish did not adopt the signet ring, as it happened in the case of kings of Ugarit or Amurru. Though among the cylinders there are some examples of seals covered mostly with cuneiform script, in general the majority of the cylinders were engraved with rich figured scenes with or without some script.

As in the case of Hittite royal stamp seals, which set the standard for the seals of their officials, the same can be claimed for the royal and non-royal cylinder seals of Carchemish. This will be apparent from the analysis and comparison of the royal and non-royal cylinder seals found on tablets at Ugarit and other sites that were under the jurisdiction of the Hittite viceroy at Carchemish.

The design of the cylinder seal impression of Ini-Teshub that appeared on RS17.158 (Fig. 26a) at Ugarit consists of one central scene with two lateral scenes that are separated from the central by script, on one side cuneiform and on the other hieroglyphic. The central field shows the figure of the god Teshub<sup>145</sup> mounted on a bull and identified through his attributes and the hieroglyphic sign 'W' meaning TONITRUS. Like on the stamp seals of this king the god wears high conical cap with horns, long beard and short tunic. Different is the position of the god since on the cylinder impression he appears in the smiting pose holding up a mace. Facing the

---

<sup>145</sup> Schaeffer identifies the deity as Muwatallu-Teshub (1956:26).

deity on the right is a male figure mounted on the ankh sign in order to be at the same level as the god. The ankh can be perhaps understood as representing the wish of well being to the person mounted on its arms. The person also wears a short tunic, though it is difficult to identify the staff or weapon he holds. He seems to wear a skull cap with a single horn or an uraeus at the front. Though Schaeffer does not suggest any identification of this person, it may well be the king himself, since his personal name is written in four hieroglyphs and a single sign for 'king' just in front of him. The figure of the king is balanced on the left side of the scene by a deity mounted on a bull with human hands (genius). This deity wears no cap, but a long tunic split at the front and holds a lituus. The depiction recalls the relief of the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV in Yazılıkaya (Akurgal 2001:127-8, fig. 54a-b) though this figure alone appears in relief in this rock cut sanctuary. The figure has the winged sun disc above its head, but on other seals the disc appears attached on the head like a hat. Though the identity of this figure is a subject of discussion among the scholars, it has been proposed that it could be read as 'My Sun' and thus representation of the Great King and his majesty or the sun cult (Beyer 1982:71-72).

The other cylinder of Ini-Teshub known from RS17.59 (Fig.26b) bears a similar scene though there are several differences. Unlike the first one this impression is bordered at the top and bottom by a double spiral (guilloche). The cuneiform inscription is separated from the figurative scene and organized in two vertical registers on the left side. The organization of the scene is nearly the same, with two figures in the center and two additional scenes flanking the main one. This time Teshub stands on two mountain gods and the mace rests on his shoulder. Above and below his arm are not signs that would identify him (like the 'W'), but the hieroglyphs providing the name of the king Ini-Teshub. The depiction of the storm

god Teshub on this seal is like the one at Yazılıkaya relief at Hattusa (Akurgal 2001:126, fig.53b) Facing the god on the right is a figure mounted on a griffin and wearing a high hat with a single horn and a mace in the same way Teshub does. To the right appears a hunt scene, in which a person (possibly the personification of the king) standing on a bull attempts to spear a lion standing on its hind legs. After the ring seal of Niqmadu, the king of Ugarit, this is the second scene showing a lion hunt, though in quite a different way. Behind Teshub is a bull standing also on its hind legs mounted on a mountain and a column of cuneiform signs. If the person facing Teshub represents the king it might be understood as a scene of worship or as a scene of king asking protection from the god or even paying homage to his tutelary deity as suggested by Schaeffer (1956:24). Unlike the first seal this one contains some fillers such as rosettes in the scene. Nearly the same impression was found on a tablet at Emar (Beyer 2001:48).

The third cylinder seal of Ini-Teshub (RS17.128) that was found on several tablets is very Syrian in style since it is mostly a cuneiform script seal rather than figured one (Fig. 26c). The single figure of a male in the engraving differs from those present in the scenes of the first two seals though he holds the same mace. Unlike the other figures this one has no shoes. He wears the lebadde crown with a single pair of horns and unusual pleated skirt. He is armed with a Hittite type hand-shaped axe, which has on one side three spikes instead of a blade. A weapon of this type, though with four spikes, could be seen in the relief on the King's Gate at Hattusa (Akurgal 2001:169 170, fig. 84-5). The seal scene is framed on the top and bottom by a double spiral pattern. Both Schaeffer and Beyer agree that the depicted god is Sarruma<sup>146</sup>, who appears also in the rock cut relief at Yazılıkaya, though there he is armed with

---

<sup>146</sup> Schaeffer 1956:21, Beyer 2001:335.

slightly different axe. Two parallels to this cylinder seal of Ini-Teshub were found also at Emar (Beyer 2001:47-48).

The fourth royal cylinder seal impression found at Ugarit belonged to Talmi-Teshub, the king of Carchemish (Fig. 27). This seal is digraphic like the first two seals of his father. The focal point of the engraving is the figure of the storm god with a mace. The figure of the god also serves as a divider between the left side of the seal inscribed with four columns of cuneiforms and the right side with hieroglyphs. The right side shows the name of the king flanked by the 'king' title on each side as it was typical for the Hittite stamp seals. The left side provides the name and titles of the king in cuneiform. The seal has no decorative borders.

Concerning the family line of the viceroys from Carchemish only the seal impression of Ini-Teshub's son and successor Talmi-Teshub was found in Ugarit's archives. Impressions of two of Ini-Teshub's cylinders were found on documents from Emar, but none of his third cylinder or that of his son. However, this lack was richly compensated for through the discovery at Emar of three cylinder seal impressions of Šahurunuwa, the son of Sharri-Kushuh, two of Hešmi-Teshub, the brother of Ini-Teshub (Beyer 1992:67) and also of Piha-<sup>d</sup>IM, the grandson of Ini-Teshub (Laroche 1982:56).

The cylinder seal of Šahurunuwa represents (Fig.41) an interesting and unusual combination of styles and patterns typical for the Anatolian and Syrian<sup>147</sup> glyptic and thus can be, similarly to the previously discussed cylinders ascribed to the Syro-Hittite style. The impression is framed on the top and bottom by a rim filled with cuneiform script, which actually recalls the two outer rings on the royal Hittite seals and was intended to be viewed like this since it provides the same kind of

---

<sup>147</sup> In this case Beyer argues (2001:46) for the Mittannian origin of some of the elements like the griffin, but towards the end of the LBA many of the motives that appeared on the seal were rather international.

information. The legend on the top reads ‘seal of Šahurunuwa, king of Carchemish’ and on the bottom ‘son of Sharri-Kushuh’ (Beyer 2001:45). Unusual seems the division of the design into two unequal registers that was achieved by inserting a band with double spiral. This division into two horizontal registers does not appear on any other royal cylinders or stamps, though there were a few cases among the signet rings. However, the double spiral as a divider was quite common among the MBA cylinders at Ugarit<sup>148</sup> and thus it can mean that Šahurunuwa utilized an ‘archaic’ element on his seal. The lower and narrower register is filled with figures of griffins, double headed eagles and a bush-like (sacred tree?) motive. The upper register is twice as wide as the lower and contains several groups of figures, animals as well as hieroglyphs. The register shows a sacred tree flanked by goats and griffin. To the right from the tree appears the deity or ‘My Sun’ representation mounted on a feline. The deity holds a double-headed axe and there is a bird (a raptor typical for the Hittite art) sitting at the end of the lituus, which the deity holds in the right hand. The deity is flanked on each side by a bull standing upright on a genius. Further to the right appears the figure of the protective god of the countryside or hunter god armed with a bow and a lance and mounted on the ankh sign. In the left part of the scene appears a deity sitting on a chair mounted on two reclining felines and opposite of him stands another human figure mounted on a single feline. In between the two figures are engraved the hieroglyphs of Šahurunuwa’s name. The scene probably represents the king as a worshipper paying homage to the deity.

The design of the cylinders of Hešmi-Teshub (Fig.42a-b) found at Emar resembles the cylinders of his brother Ini-Teshub (RS17.59 and RS17.158) as well as the scene of the upper register of the cylinder of Šahurunuwa, though they contain no

---

<sup>148</sup> See Teissier 1996.

rim band, no cuneiform script and no double spiral decoration. The seals of Hešmi-Teshub are actually very Hittite in style though they were carved on a Syrian type of seal. The central scene shows the ‘My Sun’ figure mounted on a bull genius and holding up the ankh sign. Facing this figure is the storm god in a smiting position mounted on a single mountain god. To the right appears a bull standing on two mountains. Further to the right appears another god mounted also on a mountain god. The smiting position and the mace recalls the storm god, but the long skirt refers to Sarruma. Behind the solar figure appears a man standing on the ankh. This figure can represent the king himself since just in front of him appear the hieroglyphs that provide his name and title ‘son of the king, brother of the king’ (Beyer 2001:49-50).

The cylinder of Amanmashu found on RS17.28/76 bears the same figures as the two cylinders of Ini-Teshub (RS17.59 and RS17.158) though in a different arrangement. The seal of Amanmashu (Fig. 30) has also double spiral borders and two columns of cuneiform on the left edge. The main scene encompasses the smiting Teshub TONITRUS mounted on two mountain deities like on the relief at Yazılıkaya at Hattusa. He faces the representation of ‘My Sun’ standing on a feline, which recalls the seal of Šahurunuwa from Emar. In between is written the seal owner’s name in hieroglyphs. Behind the solar personality stands the protective god of the countryside mounted on a genius and armed with a lance and a bow. The cylinder impression of Lat-Kur (Fig. 29), which was rolled on the same tablet is nearly identical in idea though different in spatial organization and choice of symbols. The seal has differently carved double spiral borders and three vertical registers of cuneiforms, one placed on the left and two on the right. The actors in the main scene stand firmly on the ground. On the left appears the figure with a winged sun disc on head this time holding the ankh in one hand. At the end of the lituus appears the bird

as on the seal of Šahurunuwa. The central point of the scene is filled with hieroglyphs providing Lat-Kur's name. Behind and also in front of the solar figure are signs for 'good scribe of higher rank' (?), which determine Lat-Kur's status and occupation. Facing the solar figure is a man armed with a bow. It could represent either the hunter god again or personification of the seal owner. The central scene is very Hittite in its decoration though the cuneiform sides and the fact that the impression comes from a cylinder point to the Syrian environment. The ankh is the originally Egyptian symbol in an altered form and the pose of the smiting has probably also originated in the Nile valley. Both signs though were integrated into Syrian iconography from the later MBA onwards.

The fragmentary cylinder impression of Piha-ziti (Fig. 28) on RS17.248 (Schaeffer 1956:40-41) is very close in design to the seal of Amanmashu. It shows the smiting storm god facing the solar personality holding up the ankh sign like on the cylinders of Hešmi-Teshub from Emar, though this time the solar figure stands on the right and the storm god approaches from the left. The name of the owner appears below the arm of the storm god. Though there seems to be enough space below the god it is impossible to determine whether or not he was mounted on something.

The anepigraphic cylinder of Piha-LU (Piha-ziti) or Alalimi (Fig. 23 top) is Middle Assyrian in style and shows also some features of the Old Syrian style (M.-H. Gates, pers. comm.). The cylinder impression of Yamuna (that appeared on the contract with the queen Sharelli) is Mittannian in style and does not represent the highest quality of cutting (Fig. 31). It shows a corpulent figure in the center that Schaeffer identified as deity (1956:82). In front of the deity are carved a gazelle and a winged griffin. The deity faces a female worshipper in an unusual hat. Behind the

deity stands a genius or a priest in mask with a bird's beak (Schaeffer 1956:82). Like the previous cylinder this one also does not bear any script. It seems probable that the anepigraphic seals were intended to be recognized and memorized rather than to be read. The absent inscription that identified the seal owner was provided within the text of the sealed document or through the seal identification formula next to the impression. However, there were cases when the seal owner was not mentioned explicitly in the text and at this point the recognition of the seal could help.

The excavations at Ugarit yielded also impressions of three different dynastic seals, two of Ugarit and one of Amurru. The dynastic seals of Amurru and Ugarit show very different iconography from that of the LBA basically because they were manufactured in an older period. The one of Amurru is anepigraphic (Fig. 32) whereas the one of Ugarit bears an inscription in cuneiform (Fig. 33). The dynastic seal of Ugarit is Neo-Sumerian/Old Babylonian in style whereas the one of Amurru bears a design typical for the Old Syrian style.<sup>149</sup>

The LBA cylinder seals of officials found at Ugarit and Emar were extensively influenced and inspired by the cylinder seals of the viceroys and royal family members from Carchemish. The iconography represents a domination of Hittite elements and schemes combined with Syrian, Mittannian and Egyptian motives.

---

<sup>149</sup> M-H. Gates, pers. comm.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

The discussion of the seal types and sealing methods showed a natural tendency of the parties involved to keep their long established customs also in a foreign environment as it could be seen on the Hittite royal seals from Hattusa. However, concerning the administration this was sometimes technically impossible and also unpractical due to differences in recording methods between Hattusa, Carchemish, Ugarit and other foreign entities such as Egypt. The use of several different seal types by one person resulted from several reasons. It was initiated by the use of different writing materials such as clay, wood or a variety of other perishable materials such as papyrus. Then, it was influenced by the type of document to be sealed, whether it was a private transaction or an international arbitration. As it has been shown, the officials had a different seal for private business while they used the seal of their office to authenticate formal documents. The third reason for multiple use of seals were the regional differences in sealing methods, which forced the officials to obtain a type of seal more appropriate for a particular region in the same sense as the use of different measure standards by the merchants conducting their business in other regions of the Near East. In addition, to a certain degree the possession of multiple seals could be viewed as sign of prestige

and importance of the owner and maybe even a fashion for which the royal house set the style.

The diversity of scribal practices between Hatti, Ugarit, and Carchemish initiated a number of modifications though more importantly it led, probably in Northern Syria, to a development of a new type of seal, the true signet ring, which could be easily applied on any writing material or surface. In certain cases the choice of seal type and even of the script depended on the intended use of the seal such as in the case of Šipti-Ba'al, whose signet inscribed with hieroglyphs was more familiar to his trading partners from Egypt. Similar motivations could be behind the choice of a cylinder seal inscribed with cuneiform script by the Hittite kings of Carchemish.

Though the possible Egyptian inspiration for the spread and development of the use of signet rings is difficult to prove, Egyptian influence is visible on both the Hittite as well as Syrian seals. In the case of the Hittite royal seals it seems acceptable to argue for a primary influence that stemmed from direct contacts between the two powers. The winged sun disc and the title 'My Sun' associated with it were adopted by the Hittite kings probably in order to demonstrate that they were equal to the powerful pharaohs. The same can be claimed for the appearance of the cuneiform TI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-TI formula flanking the king's name as a direct translation of the meaning of the ankh sign into cuneiform script. The appearance of the god in smiting position and of the ankh in its original or altered shape could be viewed as secondary or intermediate influence since they both appeared already in the MBA Syrian and Palestinian glyptic as it could be observed on the MBA seal examples from Ugarit. During the LBA these elements acquired a rather international character, though they still reflect the place of their origin.

The iconography of the seals from Ugarit reflects basically three styles, though all of them contain a number of borrowed and internationally widespread elements. The so-called Hittite style, characteristic for the royal seals is prevailing also on the non-royal stamp seals found at Ugarit. The combined Syro-Hittite style, which developed as a consequence of the Hittite dominance over Northern Syria, is typical for the newly invented ring seal as well as for the cylinder seals of the kings and officials. Seals with purely Syrian design appeared in the category of the ring seals and cylinders. In addition, the cylinder seals of the functionaries have embodied in their scenes patterns borrowed from a number of other Near Eastern styles more than any other seal type attested at Ugarit. The LBA seal types from Ugarit as well as their iconography reflect multicultural and multiethnic symbiosis into which were imbedded elements characteristic of the Hittite Anatolia without disturbing its balance.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akurgal, E. 2001 *The Hattian and Hittite Civilizations*. Ankara: Publications of the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture.
- Albright, W.F. 1946 "Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography 1500-1200 B.C.," *JNES* 5: 7-25.
- Alexander, R.L. 1975 "A Hittite Cylinder Seal in the Fitzwilliam Museum," *Anatolian Studies* 25: 111-117.
- , 1993 "The Storm-God at Yazılıkaya: Sources and Influences." In M.J.Mellink, E.Porada, and T. Özgüç, eds., *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1-13.
- Alp, S. 1950 *Zur Lesung von Manchen Personennamen auf den hieroglyphen-hethitischen Siegeln und Inschriften*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- , 1973 "Eine weitere Hieroglyphenschrift aus Emirgazi und ein Rollsiegel mit Hieroglyphenlegenden aus dem Gebiet von Adıyaman, südöstlich von Malatya." In E. Neu and C. Rüster, eds., *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 11-15.
- Amiet, P. 1992 *Sceaux-cylindres en hématite et pierres diverses*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- , 1995 "Les sceaux-cylindres de Ras Shamra au IIe millénaire." In M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil, eds., *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. : histoire et archéologie: actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin-1er juillet 1993*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 239-244.
- Archi, A. 1980 "Materiale Epigrafico Ittita de Tell Fray," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 22:31-32.
- , 1993 "A Seal Impression from El-Qitār/Til Abnu (Syria)," *Anatolian Studies* 43: 203-206.
- Astour, M.C. 1965 "New Evidence on the Last Days of Ugarit," *AJA* 69: 253-258.
- , 1981 "Ugarit and the Great Powers." In G.D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 3-29.

- Beckman, G.M. 1981 "A Hittite Cylinder Seal in the Yale Babylonian Collection." *Anatolian Studies* 31: 129-135.
- , 1986 "Inheritance and Royal Succession among the Hittites." In H.A. Hoffner, Jr. and G.M. Beckman, eds., *Kaniššuwat. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, May 27, 1983*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 13-32.
- , 2000 "Hittite Chronology," *Akkadica* 119/120: 19-32.
- Ben-Tor, D. 1995 "The Origin and Function of Officials' Scarabs from Middle Bronze Age Canaan." In J.G. Westenholz, ed., *Seals and Sealings in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the Symposium held on September 2, 1993, Jerusalem, Israel*. Jerusalem: Bible Lands Museum, 81-92.
- Beran, T. 1967 *Boğazköy – Hattuša 5: Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy 1*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Beyer, D. 1982a "Le sceau-cylindre de Shahurunuwa, roi de Karkémish." In *La Syrie au Bronze Récent : recueil publié à l'occasion du cinquantième de la découverte d'Ougarit-Ras Shamra (Extraits de la XXVIIe Rencontre assyriologique internationale, Paris, juillet 1980)*. Paris : Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1982, 66-78.
- , 1982b "Du Moyen-Euphrate au Luristan: bagues-cachets de la fin du deuxième millénaire," *M.A.R.I.* 1:169-189
- , 1997 "Émar et Ougarit: réflexions sur la glyptique de deux villes de Syrie du nord vers la fin de l'Âge du Bronze." In A. Caubet, ed., *De Chypre à la Bactriane, Les sceaux du Proche-Orient ancien*. Paris: La Documentation Française, 169-183.
- , 2001 *Emar IV: Les sceaux. Mission archéologique de Meskéné-Emar. Recherches au pays d'Aštata*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Beyer, D. (ed.) 1982 "Les empreintes des sceaux." In *Meskéné-Emar: Dix ans de travaux 1972-1982*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 61-68.
- Bittel, K. et al 1975 *Boğazköy V. Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Bittel, K. 1976 *Die Hethiter : die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* München: Beck.
- Boehmer, R.M. 1988 "Früheste Abbildungen von Lautenspielern in der althethitischen Glyptik." In E. Neu and C. Rüster, eds., *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae, Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 51-58.

- Boehmer, R.M., and H.G. Güterbock. 1986 *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy. Grabungskampagnen 1931-1939, 1952-1978*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Bryce, T.R. 1988 "Tette and the Rebellions in Nuhassi," *Anatolian Studies* 38: 21-28.
- , 1998 *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- , 2002 *Life and Society in the Hittite World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Buchanan, B. 1966 *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Calvet, Y., and B. Geyer. 1995 "Environnement et ressources en eau dans la region d'Ougarit." In M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil, eds., *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. : histoire et archéologie : actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin-1er juillet 1993*. Paris : Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 169-182.
- Carruba, O. 1973 "Die Annalen Tuthalijas und Arnuwandas." In E. Neu and C. Rüster, eds., *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 37-46.
- Cochavi-Rainey, Z. 1999 *Royal Gifts in the Late Bronze Age, Fourteenth to Thirteenth Centuries B.C.E.: Selected Texts Recording Gifts to Royal Personages*. Beersheba: Ben-Guryon University of the Negev Press.
- Cohen, R., and Westbrook, R. (eds.) 2000 *Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginnings of International Relations*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Colbow, G. 2000 "Middle, Low or Ultra-Low? The State of Research into 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC Chronology, with Special Reference to Syrian Glyptic Evidence," *Akkadica* 119/120: 117-135.
- Collon, D. 1990 *Near Eastern Seals*. London: British Museum Publications.
- , 1993 *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*. London: British Museum Press.
- Collon, D. (ed.) 1997 "Ancient Near Eastern Seals." Pp.11-30 in *7000 Years of Seals*, London: British Museum Press.
- Cornelius, I. 1999 "The Iconography of Ugarit." In W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 586-602.

- , 2004 *The Many Faces of the Goddess : the Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeset, and Asherah, c. 1500-1000 BCE*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Cunchillos, J.-L. 1999 "The Ugaritic Letters." In W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 359-374.
- Curtis, A. 1999 "Ras Shamra, Minet el-Beida and Ras Ibn Hani: The Material Sources." In W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 5-27.
- Darga, A.M. 1992 *Hitit sanatı* (Hittite Art). Istanbul: Akbank.
- Dinçol, A.M. 1992 "A Hieroglyphic Seal Impression from Samsat," *Belleten* 56: 3-5.
- Dinçol, A.M., and B. Dinçol. 1988 "Hieroglyphische Siegel und Siegelabdrücke aus Eskiyaşar." In E. Neu and C. Rüster, eds., *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae, Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 87-98.
- Drower, M.S. 1970 "Syria c. 1550-1400 B.C." In I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, and N.G.L. Hammond, eds., *CAH II, 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-65.
- Fleming, D.E. 1995 "More Help from Syria: Introducing Emar to Biblical Study," *Biblical Archaeologist* 58: 139-147.
- Freed, R.E., Y. J. Markowitz, and D'Auria, S.H. (eds.) 1999 *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts,
- Giles, F.J. 1997 *The Amarna Age: Western Asia*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Giveon, R. 1981 "Some Egyptological Considerations Concerning Ugarit." In G.D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect : Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 55-58.
- Goetze, A. 1965a "The Struggle for the Domination of Syria (1400-1300 B.C.)." In I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, and N.G.L. Hammond, eds., *CAH II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-24.
- , 1965b "Anatolia from Shuppiluliumash to the Egyptian War of Muwatallish." In I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, and N.G.L. Hammond, eds., *CAH II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 25-39.
- , 1965 "The Hittites and Syria (1300- 1200 B.C.)." In I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, and N.G.L. Hammond, eds., *CAH II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 40-64.
- Goldman, H. 1937 "Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, 1936," *AJA* 41:262-286.

- Gonnet, H. 1991 "Les légendes des empreintes hiéroglyphiques anatoliennes." In D. Arnaud, ed., *Textes syriens de l'Âge du Bronze Récent*. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 198-208.
- Gorny, R.L. 1993 "The Biconvex Seals of Alişar Höyük," *Anatolian Studies* 43: 163-191.
- Gurney, O.R. 1966 "Anatolia c. 1600-1380 B.C." In I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, and N.G.L. Hammond, eds., *CAH II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-29.
- Güterbock, H.G. 1956 "L'inscription hiéroglyphique hittite sur la matrice du sceau de Mursili II de Ras Shamra." In C.F.A. Schaeffer, ed., *Ugaritica III*. Paris: Lib. Orientaliste, 161-163.
- 1957 "Narration in Anatolian, Syrian and Assyrian Art," *AJA* 61: 62-71.
- 1967 *Siegel aus Boğazköy, Erster Teil: Die Königssiegel der Grabungen bis 1938*. Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag.
- 1967 *Siegel aus Boğazköy, Zweiter Teil: Die Königssiegel von 1939 und die übrigen Hieroglyphensiegel*. Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag.
- 1970 "The Predecessors of Suppiluliuma Again," *JNES* 29: 73-77.
- 1973 "Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impressions from Korucutepe," *JNES* 32:135-147.
- 1997 "Observations on the Tarsus Seal of Puduhepa, Queen of Hatti," *JAOS* 117: 143-144.
- Hall, H.R. 1913 *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum*. London: Harrison & Sons.
- Hasel, M.G. 1998 *Domination and Resistance : Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300-1185 B.C.* Leiden & Boston: E.J. Brill.
- Hayes, W.C. 1951 "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10: 35-56, 82-111, 156-183, 231-242.
- Hawkins, J.D. 1988 "Kuzi-Teshub and the 'Great Kings' of Karkamiš," *Anatolian Studies* 38: 99-108.
- 1993 "A Bowl Epigraph of the Official Taprammi." In M.J. Mellink, E. Porada, and T. Özgüç, eds., *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 715-717.

- Heltzer, M. 1982 *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit (Royal Service-System, Taxes, Royal Economy, Army and Administration)*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- , 1999 "The Economy of Ugarit." In W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 423-454.
- Herbordt, S. 1998 "Seals and Sealings of Hittite Officials from the Nişantepe Archive, Boğazköy." In *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, September 16-22, 1996*. Ankara, 309-318.
- , 2002 "Hittite Seals and Sealings from the Nişantepe Archive, Boğazköy: A Prosopographical Study." In K.A. Yener and H.A. Hoffner, Jr., eds., *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History. Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 53-58.
- , 2004 "Die Tonbullen vom Nişantepe: Ein Archiv aus der hethitischen Hauptstadt Hattuša," *Alter Orient* 5: 6-9.
- , 2005 *Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nisantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Herbordt, S., and M. Alkan. 2000 "Ein Scheibenförmiges Hieroglyphensiegel im Sivas Museum," *Archivum Anatolicum* 4: 89-98.
- Hoffner, H.A., Jr. 1983 "A Prayer of Mursili II about His Stepmother," *JAOS* 103:187-192.
- Hogarth, D.G. 1920 *Hittite Seals with Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hope, C.A. 1993 "The Jar Sealings." In J. Baines, ed., *Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute & Ashmolean Museum, 87-138.
- Horowitz, W. 1997 "The Amarna Age Inscribed Clay Cylinder from Beth-Shean," *Biblical Archaeologist* 60: 97-100.
- Huber, P.J. 2001 "The Solar Omen of Mursili II," *JAOS* 121: 640-644.
- Huehnergard, J. 1999 "The Akkadian Letters." In W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 375-389.
- James, T.G.H. 1997 "Ancient Egyptian Seals." In D. Collon, ed., *7000 Years of Seals*. London: British Museum Press, 31-46.
- Kaper, O.E. 1993 "The Door Sealings and Object Sealings." In J. Baines, ed., *Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute & Ashmolean Museum, 139-177.

- Keel, O. 1995 "Stamp Seals – Local Problem of Palestinian Workshops in the Second Millennium and Some Remarks on the Preceding and Succeeding Periods." In J.G. Westenholz, ed., *Seals and Sealings in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the Symposium held on September 2, 1993, Jerusalem, Israel*. Jerusalem: Bible Lands Museum, 93-142.
- , 1995 *Corpus der Stempensiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Kemp, B. 1991 *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge.
- Klengel, H. 1992 *Syria 3000 – 300 B.C.: A Handbook of Political History*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Krieger, P. 1956 "Le scarabée du mariage d'Aménophis III avec la reine Tij trouvé dans le palais d'Ugarit." In C.F.A Schaeffer, ed., *Ugaritica III*. Paris: Lib. Orientaliste, 221-226.
- Labat, R. 1976 *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne (signes, syllabaire, idéogrammes)*. (5<sup>th</sup> ed.) F. Malbran-Labat, rev., Paris: Geuthner.
- Laroche, E. 1982 "Documents hittites et hourrites." In D.Beyer, ed., *Meskéné-Emar: Dix ans de travaux 1972-1982*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 53-60.
- Margueron, J.-C. 1995 "Emar, Capital of Aštata in the Fourteenth Century BCE," *Biblical Archaeologist* 58: 126-138.
- Matthews, D.M. 1990 *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium B.C.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Mellink, M.J. 1992 "Archaeology in Anatolia," *AJA* 96: 119-150.
- Millard, A.R. 1991 "Archaeology and Ancient Syria." In H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa, ed., *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium B.C.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 195- 202.
- Millard, A. 1995 "The Last Tablets of Ugarit." In M. Yon, M. Sznycer and P. Bordreuil eds., *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.: histoire et archéologie: actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin-1er juillet 1993*. Paris : Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 119-124.
- Mora, C. 1974 "A Hittite Seal of the British Museum," *Anatolian Studies* 24: 163-167.
- , 1992 "Artistes, artisans et scribes entre Kargamiš et Hatti au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle." In D. Charpin and F. Joannès, eds., *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-orient ancien. Actes de la XXXVIII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre assyriologique internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 241-249.

- Moran, W.L. 1992 *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Muntingh, L.M. 1991 "Syro-Palestinian Problems in the Light of Amarna Letters." In H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa, ed., *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium B.C.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 155-194.
- Mysliwiec, K. 1985 *The Eighteenth Dynasty Before the Amarna Period*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Neve, P. 1992 "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1991," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 3: 307-338.
- 1993a "Hattusha, City of the Gods and Temples: Results of the Excavations in the Upper City," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 80: 105-132.
- 1993b *Hattuša – Stadt der Götter und Tempel. Neue Ausgrabungen in der Hauptstadt der Hethiter*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Otten, H. 1975 "Puduhepa. Eine hethitische Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen," *Abhandlungen der geistes-und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1975 Nr.1. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- 1993 "Zu einigen Neufunden hethitischer Königssiegel." *Abhandlungen der geistes-und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1993 Nr.13. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- 1995 "Die hethitischen Königssiegel der frühen Großreichszeit." *Abhandlungen der geistes-und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1995 Nr.7. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Owen, D.I. 1981 "Ugarit, Canaan and Egypt: Some New Epigraphic Evidence from Tel Aphek in Israel." In G.D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect : Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 49-53.
- Payton, R. 1991 "The Ulu Burun Writing-Board Set," *Anatolian Studies* 41: 99-106.
- Redford, D.B. 1984 *Akhenaten, the Heretic King*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1992 *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rowe, I.M. 1999 "The Legal Texts from Ugarit." In W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt,

- eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 390-422.
- Ruffle, J. 1977 *Heritage of the Pharaohs: An Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology*. Oxford : Phaidon.
- Salvini, M. 1990a "Un sceau original de la reine hittite Asmunikal," *Syria* 67: 257-268.
- 1990b "Autour du sceau de Mursili II (RS 14.202)," *Syria* 67:424-426.
- 1995 "La tablette hittite RS 17.109," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 36: 144-146.
- Schaeffer, C.F.A. 1937 "Les fouilles a Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Huitième campagne (Printemps 1936). Rapport sommaire," *Syria* 18: 125-154.
- 1955 *Reprise des fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Campagnes XII à XVII (1948-1953). Rapports préliminaires*. Paris: Geuthner.
- 1956 "Recueil des sceaux hittites imprimés sur les tablettes des Archives Sud du palais de Ras Shamra, suivi de considerations sur les pratiques sigillographiques des rois d'Ugarit." In C.F.A. Schaeffer, ed., *Ugaritica III*. Paris: Geuthner, 1-86.
- 1956 "La matrice d'un sceau du roi Mursil II retirée des cendres du palais royal d'Ugarit." In C.F.A. Schaeffer, ed., *Ugaritica III*. Paris: Geuthner, 87-93.
- 1956 "Un cylindre hittite du Musée d'Alep (pièce de comparaison)." In C.F.A. Schaeffer, ed., *Ugaritica III*. Paris: Geuthner, 96.
- 1983 *Corpus des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Schaeffer, C.F.A., C. Virolleaud, and F. Thureau-Dangin 1933 *La troisième campagne de fouilles à Ras-Shamra (Printemps 1931). Rapport et études préliminaires*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Schaeffer, C.F.A., C. Virolleaud, R. Dussaud, F. Thureau-Dangin, and E. Dhorme 1935 *La sixième campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra (Ugarit)(Printemps 1934). Rapport sommaire*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Simpson, W.K. (ed.) 1978 *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Singer, I. 1992 "Hittite Cultural Influence in the Kingdom of Amurru." In D. Charpin and F. Joannès, eds., *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-orient ancien. Actes de la XXXVIII<sup>e</sup> rencontre assyriologique internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 231-234.

- , 1995 "A Hittite Seal from Megiddo," *Biblical Archaeologist* 58: 91-93.
- , 1995 "Borrowing Seals at Emar." In J.G. Westenholz, ed., *Seals and Sealings in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the Symposium held on September 2, 1993, Jerusalem, Israel*. Jerusalem: Bible Lands Museum, 57-64.
- , 1999 "A Political History of Ugarit." In W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 603-733
- Smith, W.S. 1998 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. (4<sup>th</sup> ed.) W.K. Simpson, rev., New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Stieglitz, R.R. 1979 "Commodity Prices at Ugarit," *JAOS* 99: 15-23.
- Symington, D. 1991 "Late Bronze Age Writing-Boards and their Uses: Textual Evidence from Anatolia and Syria," *Anatolian Studies* 41: 111-123.
- Teeter, E. 2003 *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*. Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications.
- Teissier, B. 1984 *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- , 1996 *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age*. Fribourg: University Press.
- , 1997 "Seals and Communication in Middle Bronze Age Palestine." In A. Caubet, ed., *De Chypre à la Bactriane, Les sceaux du Proche-orient ancien*. Paris: La Documentation Française, 229-245.
- Tufnell, O. 1956 "'Hyksos' Scarabs from Canaan," *Anatolian Studies* 6: 67-74.
- van Soldt, W. 1999 "The Syllabic Akkadian Texts." In W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 28-45.
- Vita, J.-P. 1999 "The Society of Ugarit." In Watson W.G.E. and N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 455-498.
- Warburton, D. 2000 "Synchronizing the Chronology of Bronze Age Western Asia with Egypt," *Akkadica* 119/120: 33-76.
- Ward, W.A. 1994 "Beetles in Stone: The Egyptian Scarab," *Biblical Archaeologist* 57: 186-202.
- Warnock, P., and M. Pendleton. 1991 "The Wood of the Ulu Burun Diptych," *Anatolian Studies* 41: 107-110.

- Weiss, H. (ed.) 1985 *Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Wenzel, J. et al 2002 *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich: Das Volk der 1000 Götter*. Bonn: Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.
- Werner, R. 1991 *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Yon, M. 1997 *La cité d'Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Young, R.S. 1997 "Seals and Sealings in Hittite Lands." In H.A. Hoffner and I.L. Diamond, eds., *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 127-136.

## **APPENDIX**

## SOURCES OF FIGURES

### Figure Number and Source

- 1a: Wenzel et al (2002) pp. 304-305.
- 1b: Klengel 1992.
- 2a: *Near Eastern Archaeology* (2000) Vol. 63, p.182.
- 2b: Salvini (1995) pl. I, pl. IIc.
- 2c: Schaeffer (1956) p. 75, fig. 98.
- 3a: <http://nefertiti.iwebland.com>
- 3b: Darga (1992) p. 74, fig. 60.
- 3c: Yon (1997) p. 177, fig. 59.
- 4: Schaeffer (1956) p. 78, fig. 100.
- 5: Schaeffer (1956) p. 81, fig. 103.
- 6a: Herbordt (2005) Kat. 369b.
- 6b: Herbordt (2005) Kat. 370b.
- 6c: Herbordt (2005) Kat. 371d.
- 7: Schaeffer (1956) p. 85, fig. 106.
- 8a: Schaeffer (1956) p. 41, fig. 54.
- 8b: Schaeffer (1956) p. 43, fig. 59.
- 8c: Schaeffer (1956) p. 41, fig. 55.
- 8d: Schaeffer (1956) p. 43, fig. 60.
- 9: Schaeffer (1956) p. 56, fig. 78.
- 10: Schaeffer (1956) p. 3, fig. 2.
- 11: Schaeffer (1956) p. 8, fig. 7.
- 12: Schaeffer (1956) p. 89, fig. 109.
- 13a: Schaeffer (1956) p. 12, fig. 13.

- 13b: Schaeffer (1956) p. 12, fig. 15.  
13c: Schaeffer (1956) p. 12, fig. 14.  
13d: Archi (1980) pl. I, fig. 1, 2.  
14: Schaeffer (1956) p. 18, fig. 23.  
15: Schaeffer (1956) p. 19, fig. 24.  
16a: Schaeffer (1956) p. 22, fig. 27.  
16b: Schaeffer (1956) p. 23, fig. 29.  
17a: Schaeffer (1956) p. 31, fig. 38.  
17b: Schaeffer (1956) p. 33, fig. 41.  
18a: Schaeffer (1956) p. 37, fig. 48.  
18b: Schaeffer (1956) p. 37, fig. 48  
19: Schaeffer (1956) p. 52, fig. 73.  
20: Schaeffer (1956) p. 55, fig. 76.  
21: Schaeffer (1956) p. 60, fig. 84.  
22: Schaeffer (1956) p. 60, fig. 85.  
23: Schaeffer (1956) p. 59, fig. 82.  
24: Schaeffer (1956) p. 39, fig. 52.  
25: Schaeffer (1956) p. 44, fig. 61.  
26a: Schaeffer (1956) p. 26, fig. 34.  
26b: Schaeffer (1956) p. 24, fig. 32.  
26c: Schaeffer (1956) p. 23, fig. 30.  
27: Schaeffer (1956) p. 29, fig. 36.  
28: Schaeffer (1956) p. 46, fig. 63.  
29: Schaeffer (1956) p. 51, fig. 70.  
30: Schaeffer (1956) p. 50, fig. 68.  
31: Schaeffer (1956) p. 86, fig. 108.  
32: Schaeffer (1956) p. 35, fig. 46.  
33: Schaeffer (1956) p. 73, fig. 96.  
34a: Beyer (2001) p. 145, B69.  
34b: Beyer (2001) p. 145, B70.  
35: Herbordt (2002) p. 55, fig. 1:9.  
36a: Herbordt (2005) p. 54, fig. 37a.  
36b: Herbordt (2005) Kat. 3b.  
37: Akurgal (2001) p. 91, fig. 42.

- 38: Akurgal (2001) p. 94, fig. 43.
- 39: Boehmer & Güterbock (1987) p. 80.
- 40a: Beyer (2001) p. 152, C2.
- 40b: Beyer (2001) p. 153.
- 41: Beyer (2001) p. 45, A1.
- 42a: Beyer (2001) p. 49, A4a.
- 42b: Beyer (2001) p. 50, A4b.



**Fig. 1a: The Eastern Mediterranean and its northern neighbors in the Late Bronze Age**

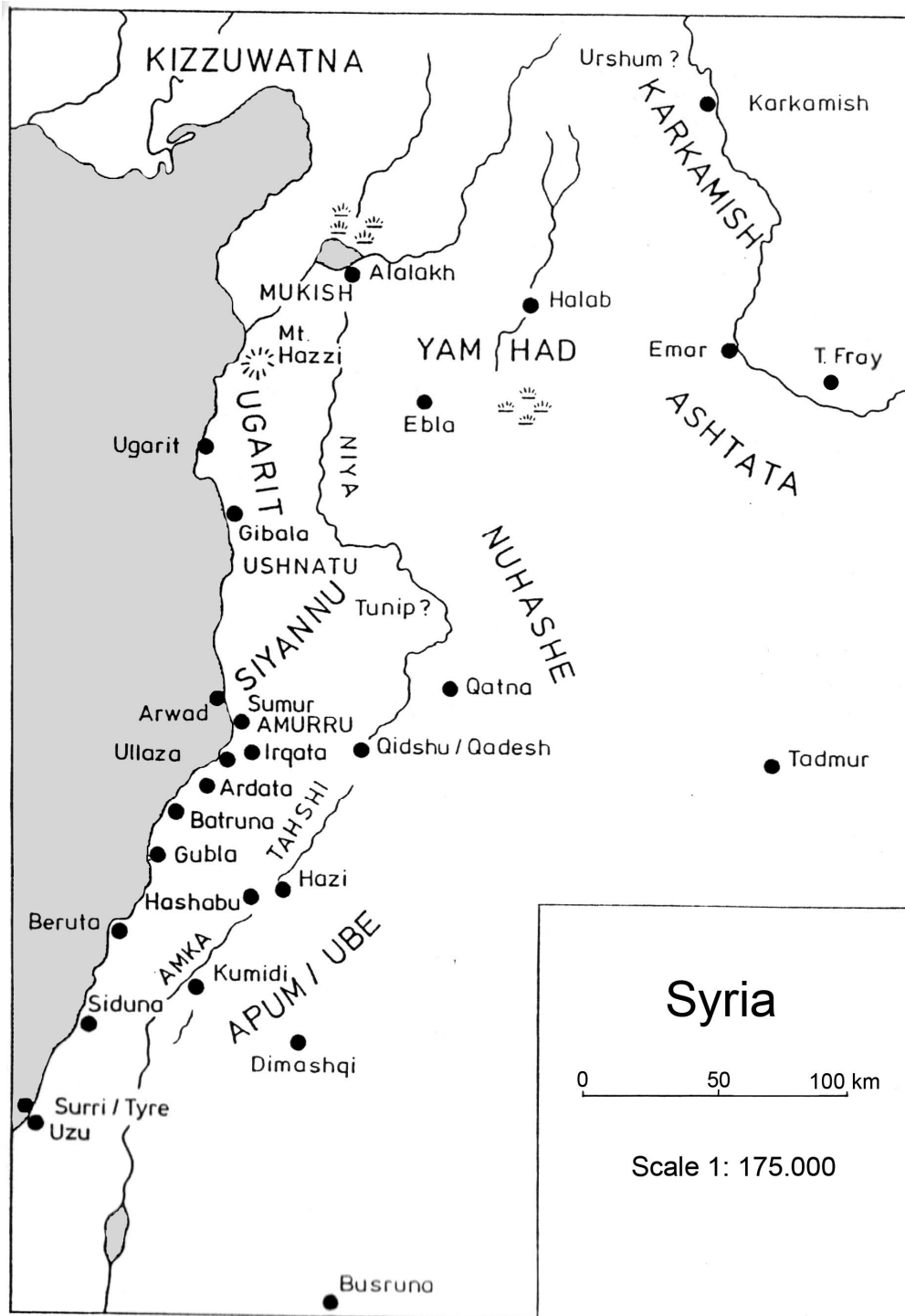


Fig. 1b: The Northern Levant in the LBA



**Fig. 2a: Hittite Tablet – Type 1 – from Ugarit  
RS 17.159**



**Fig. 2b: Hittite Tablet – Type 2 – from Ugarit  
RS 17.109**



**Fig. 2c: Ugaritic Tablet  
RS 15.86**



**Fig. 3a: Egyptian New Kingdom U-shaped ring seal (gold)  
Ring seal of Djeserkare (Amenhotep I) UC 11881**



**Fig. 3b: Hittite Empire period U-shaped ring seal (gold)  
(Alacahöyük)**



**Fig. 3c: Syro-Hittite (true) ring seal from Ugarit (gold)**  
**Ring seal of Patili**



**Fig. 4: Ring seal impression of Niqmadu II/III (Ugarit)**  
**RS 16.191 + 272**



**Fig. 5: Ring seal impression of Ammittamru II (Ugarit)**  
**RS 16.270**



**Fig. 6a: Ring seal impression of Shaushga-muwa (Hattusa)**



**Fig. 6b: Ring seal impression of Shaushga-muwa (Hattusa)**

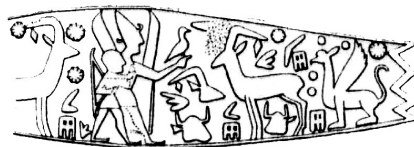


**Fig. 6c: Ring seal impression of Shaushga-muwa (Hattusa)**

Bo91/2149



**Fig. 7: Ring seal impression of Šipti-Ba'al (Ugarit)**  
RS 17.325



**Fig. 8a: Ring seal impression of Taki-Sarruma (Ugarit)**  
RS 17.251



**Fig. 8b: Stamp seal impression of Taki-Sarruma (Ugarit)**  
RS 17.403



**Fig. 8c: Ugaritic type tablet with impressions of the ring seal of Taki-Sarruma**

(Ugarit) RS 17.251



**Fig. 8d: Hittite type tablet with impression of the stamp seal of Taki-Sarruma (Ugarit) RS 17.403**



**Fig. 9: Ring seal impression of Kummija-Ziti (Ugarit) RS 17.371 & 18.020**



**Fig. 10: Stamp seal impression of Suppiluliuma I & Tawananna (Ugarit) RS 17.227**



**Fig. 11: Stamp seal impression of Murshili II (Ugarit)  
RS 17.380 & 382**



**Fig. 12: Stamp seal of Murshili II (Ugarit)  
RS 14.202**



**Fig. 13a: Stamp seal impression of Hattushili III & Puduhepa (Ugarit)  
RS 17.130 & 18.003**



**Fig. 13b: Stamp seal impression of Hattushili III & Puduhepa (Ugarit)  
RS 17.229**



**Fig. 13c: Stamp seal impression of Hattushili III & Puduhepa (Ugarit)  
RS 17.238**



**Fig. 13d: Clay bulla with stamp seal impressions of Hattushili III & Puduhepa  
(Tell Fray)**



**Fig. 14: Stamp seal impression of Puduhepa (Ugarit)  
RS 17.133**



**Fig. 15: Stamp seal impression of Tudhaliya IV (Ugarit)  
RS 17.159**



**Fig. 16a: Stamp seal impression of Ini-Teshub (Ugarit)  
RS 17.146**



**Fig. 16b: Stamp seal impression of Ini-Teshub (Ugarit)**  
**RS 17.230**



**Fig. 17a: Stamp seal impression of Shaushga-muwa (Ugarit)**  
**RS 17.228**



**Fig. 17b: Stamp seal impression of Shaushga-muwa (Ugarit)**  
**RS 17.372**



**Fig. 18a: Stamp seal impression of Arma-ziti (Ugarit)**  
**RS 17.314**

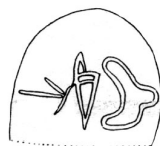


**Fig. 18b: Stamp seal impression of Arma-ziti (Ugarit)**  
**RS 17.316**



**Fig. 19: Stamp seal impression of Kiliya (Ugarit)**  
**RS 18.002**



**Fig. 20: Stamp seal impression of Tabrammi (Ugarit)**  
**RS 17.231**



**Fig. 21: Stamp seal impression (Ugarit)**  
**RS 17.109**



**Fig. 22: Stamp seal impression of Tutti (Ugarit)  
RS 17.135**

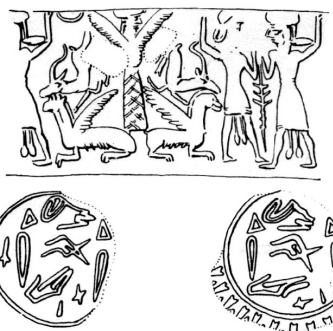


**Fig. 23: Cylinder seal impression of Piha-LU or Alalimi (top)  
Biconvex stamp seal impressions of Manina (bottom)  
(Ugarit) RS 17.319**



**Fig. 24: Impressions of the stamp seals of Tihi-Teshub and Tili-Teshub (Ugarit)  
RS 17.137**



**Fig. 25: Seal impression of Takuhlinu (Ugarit)  
RS 16.273**



**Fig. 26a: Cylinder seal impression of Ini-Teshub (Ugarit)  
RS 17.158**

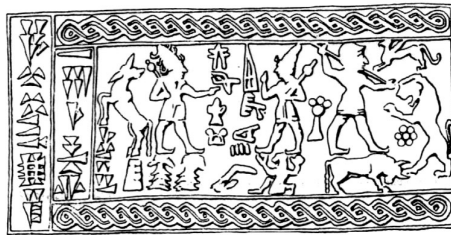


**Fig. 26b: Cylinder seal impression of Ini-Teshub (Ugarit)  
RS 17.59**

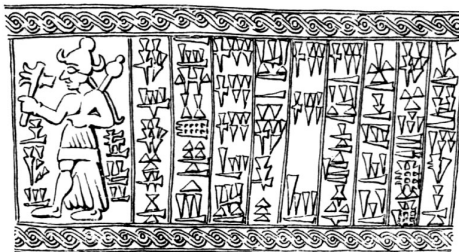


**Fig. 26c: Cylinder seal impression of Ini-Teshub (Ugarit)  
RS 17.128**



**Fig. 27: Cylinder seal impression of Talmi-Teshub (Ugarit)**  
RS 17.226

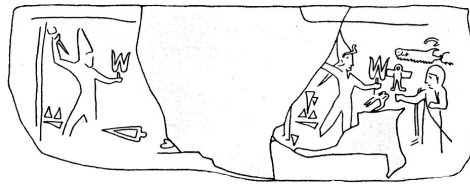


**Fig. 28: Cylinder seal impression of Piha-ziti (Ugarit)**  
RS 17.248



**Fig. 29: Cylinder seal impression of Lat-Kur (Ugarit)**  
RS 17.28/76



**Fig. 30: Cylinder seal impression of Amanmashu (Ugarit)**  
RS 17.28/76



**Fig. 31: Cylinder seal impression of Yamuna (Ugarit)  
RS 17.325**



**Fig. 32: Impression of the dynastic cylinder seal of the kingdom of Amurru  
(Ugarit)  
RS 17.360 & 17.372**



**Fig. 33: Impressions of the dynastic cylinder seals of the kingdom of Ugarit  
(Ugarit)  
Original (top) and replica (bottom)  
RS 16.393**



**Fig. 34a: Ring seal impression of Tukuti-ili (Emar)**  
**Msk. 74.739 & Msk. 74.749 + 759**

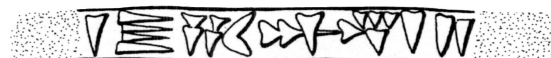


**Fig. 34b: Ring seal impression of Zū-Aštarti (Emar)**  
**Tablet no. 72**



**Fig. 35: Ring seal impression of Huzziya (Hattusa)**  
**Bo90/560**



**Fig. 36a: Ring seal impression of Mahuzzi (Hattusa)**



**Fig. 36b: Ring seal impression of a Hittite official (Hattusa)**



**Fig. 37: Stamp seal impression of Muwatalli II (Hattusa)**



**Fig. 38: Stamp seal impression of Urhi-Teshub/ Murshili III (Hattusa)**

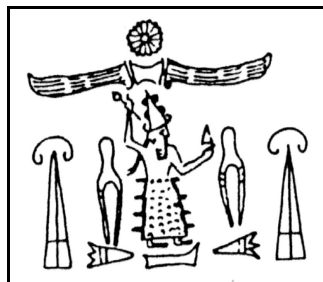


**Fig. 39: Stamp seal impression of Tudhaliya IV (Hattusa)**



**Fig. 40a: Stamp seal impression of Talmi-Teshub and Kuzi-Teshub**



**Fig. 40b: Stamp seal impression of Kuzi-Teshub (Lidar Höyük)**

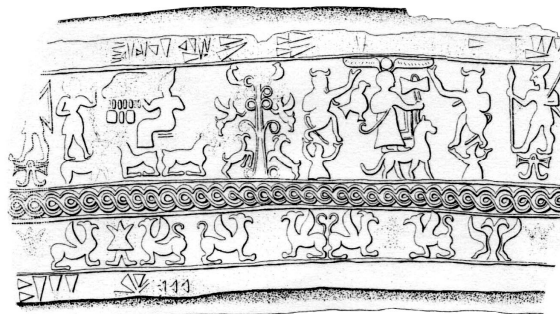


**Fig. 41: Cylinder seal impression of Šahurunuwa (Emar)**

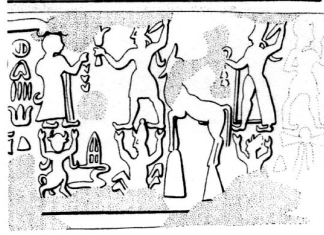


**Fig. 42a: Cylinder seal impression of Hešmi-Teshub (Emar)**

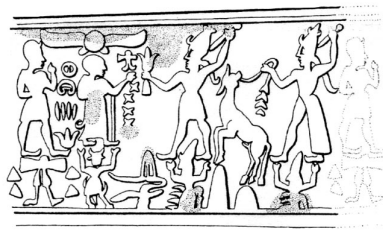


**Fig. 42b: Cylinder seal impression of Hešmi-Teshub (Emar)**