

Bridging the Gap: Disciplines, Times, and Spaces in Dialogue

Volume 3

Sessions 4 and 6 from the Conference
Broadening Horizons 6 Held at the Freie
Universität Berlin, 24–28 June 2019

Edited by
Costanza Coppini, Georg Cyrus,
and Hamaseh Golestaneh



BROADENING HORIZONS 6

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Foreword

These volumes represent the proceedings of the conference Broadening Horizons 6, hosted by the Institute for Ancient Near Eastern Studies and the Institute for Near Eastern Archaeology at the Freie Universität Berlin from 24–28 June 2019. Taking the long-standing partnership of the two institutes and the multidisciplinary tradition of Ancient Studies in Berlin as inspiration, the general theme of ‘Bridging the Gap’ was chosen to encourage approaches to the study of the Ancient Near East which transcend traditional disciplinary boundaries in bringing a range of evidence and methods into dialogue.

The Berlin conference was fortunate to include over 100 papers presented by participants from over 22 countries and 70 universities. These were divided into eight thematic sessions, each framed by an introductory keynote. Since its first incarnation at the University of Ghent in 2006, Broadening Horizons has developed into a regular venue for young scholars in the field. In many respects, it remains the only conference of its kind, taking both ‘ancient’ and ‘Near East’ in the broadest sense possible, from the prehistoric to the Islamic periods. It is a particular point of pride that the conference is not confined by field, but remains open to any philological, archaeological, and methodological approaches to the material. As a conference for and organized by young scholars, it thus provides a uniquely wide snapshot of current work.

Berlin was chosen as a venue for Broadening Horizons 6 by the members of the Organizing Committee of the previous conference that took place in Udine in 2017, and to whom we are grateful. In agreement between the two committees and in the spirit of international cooperation, the organization of the conference in Berlin also included members of the preceding one. We are happy to express our enormous thanks to the institutions and persons without whose support the conference, and these proceedings, would not have been possible. Funding for the conference was provided by the German Research Foundation (DFG), the Office of International Affairs of the Freie Universität Berlin, and the Ernst-Reuter Gesellschaft. The university’s administration and staff, the Department of History and Cultural Studies, Prof. Dominik Bonatz (Institute for Near Eastern Archaeology), and Prof. Jörg Klinger (Institute for Ancient Near Eastern Studies) all provided generous logistic and administrative support during the organization and the conference itself. Rana Zaher designed our brilliant logo, which contributed greatly both to conference identity and now the cover of these volumes. Members of our Scientific Committee, some of whom joined us during the conference, provided generous advice and encouragement.

The smooth and timely flow of the individual sessions was largely due to the tireless efforts of the numerous student assistants and session chairs. It is only fitting that we mention here explicitly the catering and hosting offered by Cosimo Dalessandro and the Ristorante Galileo, which has long since become an institution of its own within the Freie Universität Berlin, and which kept the breaks of the conference amply supplied with coffee and refreshments. The conference’s opening and closing events hosted at the Museum Europäischer Kulturen (MEK) by EßKultur provided the ideal setting for social interaction and exchange.

These volumes were only possible due to the perseverance of the participants who submitted their contributions despite the closure of libraries, difficulties in accessing resources, and the many hardships

the pandemic imposed on our lives in 2020 and 2021. Our thanks are due especially for their heroic efforts in the timely submission of their papers during a most difficult year. We also express our sympathy and understanding to those who decided to withdraw their papers as a result of the imposed limitations. Finally, we are especially grateful to the many referees who graciously agreed to donate their time and efforts to the reviews, even as their crucial contributions remain anonymous.

Costanza Coppini
Georg Cyrus
Hamaseh Golestaneh
Christian W. Hess
Nathalie Kallas
Federico Manuelli
Rocco Palermo

Berlin, 18 July 2021



Introduction

Costanza Coppini, Georg Cyrus, and Hamaseh Golestaneh

The third volume of the proceedings of the conference ‘Broadening Horizons 6 – Bridging the Gap’ gathers the papers presented in two sessions: ‘Session 4 – Crossing Boundaries: Connectivity and Interaction’ and ‘Session 6 – Landscape and Geography: Human Dynamics and Perceptions’. The contributions clearly represent the broad and very diverse geographic areas of the Near East, where despite the quite distinct landscapes the cultures seem to have been well-connected and to have widely interacted across this vast territory.

The topic of Session 4, ‘Crossing Boundaries: Connectivity and Interaction’, is clearly reflected in the papers dealing with interactions and connectivity patterns on different levels, for instance in long-distance relations. Two contributions present the contacts between the Arabian Peninsula on the one hand – specifically the Oman Peninsula – and the Indus Valley and the Persian Gulf on the other, respectively during the Iron Age (Fernández Rodríguez) and the Seleucid period (Pachón Barragán).

Further contributions address the topic of the session on a regional level, in which the interacting of local communities in delimited regions is discussed by Luca Forni with Roberto Arciero as well as by Dan Socaciu. In Forni and Arciero’s paper the region of Murghab (Southern Turkmenistan) sets the stage for the analysis of the remarkable material culture of Togolok 1: they propose an interesting interpretation about the interaction of the semi-mobile communities of Togolok with the neighbouring sedentary communities, thus showing how neat boundaries between these societies were probably non-existent. Another case study on the regional level is offered by Socaciu’s investigation of the interaction in political entities such as kingdoms, empires, and states by observing the distribution of the rock-carved inscriptions in the Urartian territories. The study highlights one specific aspect of connectivity and interaction on a state-level and points out the value of detailed investigations of the two topics of Session 4.

Besides landscapes and political systems, interaction and connectivity can also be traced in material culture, as Valentina Oselini shows in her contribution on 2nd millennium BC pottery in Mesopotamia. The author highlights the identification of two vast and very different pottery macro-regions, pinpointing distinctions between the Northern Mesopotamian ceramic tradition, characterised by an abundance of painted pottery, and the Southern Mesopotamian ceramic tradition, which is more complex and characterised by the presence of plain pottery. Nonetheless, points of contact can be detected, as the author shows in her paper.

Boundary-crossings and indications of connectivity and interactions are significantly mirrored in visual art, which plays an important role in the interpretation of underlying contexts and circumstances. In this regard, the multi-disciplinary approach of Sevil Çonka inspects female-figured statues (caryatids) that occur as architectural elements in Eastern Mediterranean and Greco-Roman buildings, evoking a possible precursor in Egyptian and Cypriot peers for these elements, namely Hathoric columns, and delving into potential socio-cultural settings for this motif. In the sphere of female figures, Mari Yamasaki focuses on the representations of sea goddesses. She highlights common traits of these

feminine deities, comparing their representations from the Levant and the Aegean in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, and pinpoints the cultural hybridisation resulting from the encounter between the individual traditions of various places of provenance.

When it comes to connectivity and interaction in the ancient world, it is almost inevitable to think of Egypt and its diplomatic relations to other contemporary political powers. Along these lines, Marco De Pietri analyses — by means of valuable textual sources such as the Amarna letters — the profile of messengers and envoys appointed for official communication between the Egyptian and Hittite empires.¹ As this research effectively demonstrates, the diverse and cosmopolitan environment surrounding these officials, who possess different titles and designations, is indeed significant, and the knowledge of it certainly broadens our horizons regarding the agents involved in the interactions between Egypt, Anatolia, and Northern Syria. Another topic relating to Late Bronze Age Egypt and its relationship with Levant and Mesopotamia is the role of deportation policies in internal and international affairs: this is the subject of Christian Langer's contribution. Deportees, who were gained through wars and through political treaties with Levantine vassal states, played a very significant role in the economy of the New Kingdom, and Langer's contribution provides crucial data about their position in the economy and the society of Egypt during the Late Bronze Age.

In Session 6 ('Landscape and Geography: Human Dynamics and Perceptions'), various aspects of human dynamics in landscapes are illustrated from different perspectives. Felix Levenson and Monica Pacheco offer an interesting comparison of two very different landscapes: starting from the analysis of high temples in Mesopotamia (Levenson) and Mesoamerica (Pacheco), they highlight the similar interpretations provided in the history of research, and thus enter the sphere of cross-cultural similarities. The understanding of interactions in a settlement area is the main focus of Maria Tamburrini's contribution investigating the Southern Levant shortly after the so-called Late Bronze Age collapse. She identifies how intensively the settlement patterns are connected to the river system in the Southern Levant, criticising models of site hierarchy previously used to explain the society in the Early Iron Age. This study combines different views on connectivity and interaction and underlines the importance of landscape in reconstructing a society.

Another important aspect of the analysis of landscapes is their social construction. This concerns, for instance, their connection to religious practices, and was most famously emphasised by Tilly, although criticised in actual landscape studies for being not well-founded enough.² Francesca Giusto fills this gap in her paper about the Hellenistic and Parthian mountain sanctuary of Shami in Khuzestan, Iran, contextualising the religious site within a wider settlement area and describing methodological challenges in reconstructing such areas.

Southern Mesopotamia in ancient times, blistering with different activities between humans and their environment, is certainly a central point in this session. Indeed, the economic documents from this region in the 3rd millennium BC point toward the importance of fishery and how an intricate network of (human) bureaucratic interaction is implemented and managed to control and exploit the natural environment.³ In this line of investigation, Angela Greco utilises a wide range of sources belonging to Ur-III period Umma, and surveys different bureaucratic and economic material, such as taxes and work obligations, offering in addition a prosopographical analysis of different agents of the bureaucratic apparatus.

¹ Schniedewind and Cochavi-Rainey 2015; Edel 1994; Cordani 2017.

² Tilly 1994; Barrett and Ko 2009.

³ Englund 1990; 1998.

Another possible approach to the topic of this session is to investigate a cityscape in detail to understand diachronic changes in the human use of urban space. This line of research is pursued by Enrico Foietta in his contribution about the development of the city of Hatra in Northern Mesopotamia, in which he shows how a city slowly developed from a small settlement in post-imperial Assyria into an important 3rd century BC regional centre and capital of a small kingdom.⁴ The development of this urban space is depicted in a long-term perspective from its beginning until its abandonment, validating an often lacking perspective in contemporary urban sociology.⁵

This overview provides only a partial picture of the lively scientific exchanges and interactions of the Berlin conference. We are glad to have been able to transfer it into this volume, which would have not been possible without the invaluable support and patience of the papers' authors and of the anonymous peer-reviewers, to whom we are very grateful. We hope that this will be our little contribution in *bridging gaps* between periods, space, and disciplines.

Costanza Coppini
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Berlin and Prato, August 2021

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⁴ Lawrence *et al.* 2017.

⁵ Ortman *et al.* 2020.

**Session 4 —
Crossing Boundaries: Connectivity and Interaction**

Messengers and Envoys within Egyptian-Hittite Relationships*

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Abstract

Several documents from Egypt and Ḫatti (especially the Amarna letters and the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence) mention envoys and messengers in charge of diplomatic contacts between the two countries. Cuneiform and hieroglyphic transcriptions of Egyptian names at Ugarit hint at an actual presence (in Ugarit and Karkemish) of officials coming from Egypt or, at least, carrying Egyptian names. Furthermore, some Hittite envoys present clear Egyptian names, e.g. Amanmašu, Mizramuwa, and Wašmuarianaḫta. This paper aims at providing an overview of the documentation quoting names of messengers, pinpointing a brief prosopography of these officials, and offering an insight on these functionaries, investigating their role within the ‘Great Powers’ Club’ in connecting Egypt and Ḫatti during the Late Bronze Age.

Keywords

Egyptian-Hittite Relations, Messengers, Amarna Letters, Egyptian-Hittite Correspondence, Glyptic

Introduction

In the spirit of this conference (session ‘Crossing Boundaries: Connectivity and Interactions’), aiming at broadening the horizons of our research, I would like to bridge two rivers representing two distant countries:¹ the Nile and the Kızılırmak (ancient Maraššantiya/Halys), the latter geographically defining the core territory of Ḫattuša; these rivers symbolically stand for the Egyptian and the Hittite civilisations. The present contribution tackles the problems of the identification and the role of messengers appointed for official communications between these two lands, aiming at better investigating the identity and purposes of messengers attested in the Amarna letters,² the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence,³ and on glyptic, during a timespan covering c. 1260–1220 BC, defining the various dynamics involving messengers.

‘Messengers’ and ‘diplomats’ as *ante-litteram* bureaucrats

The very definition and concept of ‘diplomats’ are slippery, as in the case of any interpretation of ancient words. ‘Diplomats are the primary [...] practitioners of diplomacy. They are specialists in carrying messages and negotiating adjustments in relations and the resolution of quarrels between states and peoples. Their weapons are words, backed by the power of the state or organization they represent’.⁴ These concepts can be fairly superimposed on the Ancient Near Eastern mindset;⁵ with regard to messengers, F. Breyer advanced the possibility of dividing them into three categories, describing their proper functions:

* I acknowledge Jonah Lynch for his proofreading.

¹ According to Singer† 2013, 165, the distance between Piramesse and Ḫattuša was c. 1300 km.

² Schniedewind and Cochavi-Rainey 2015.

³ Edel 1994; Cordani 2017.

⁴ Marks and Freeman 2020. Similarly Breyer 2010, 272, with a reference to the 1815 ‘Wiener Reglement’ and the 1818 ‘Aachener Protokoll’.

⁵ Liverani 2001a; on messengers and ‘ambassadors’: Liverani 2001a, 71–78.

‘messenger’ (‘Botschafter’), ‘envoy’ (‘Gesandte’), and ‘merchants’ (‘Geschäftsträger’).⁶ A first important step in the analysis of diplomacy during the Amarna Age can be retrieved in a paper of Y. Lynn Holmes, describing the different terminology used in various Near Eastern languages and in Egyptian to define messengers.⁷ Remarkable contributions on the topic have been presented by J. Mynářová,⁸ and further considerations on messengers and diplomats can be found in some works of S. Roth, who specifically focuses on the period of the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence.⁹ The specific topic of the Egyptian-Hittite diplomatic contacts has been dealt with by S. de Martino and M. Pallavidini, both describing the basic features of Hittite diplomacy and its ‘specialists’ responsible for the relations with Egypt.¹⁰

Designations

Messengers and diplomats are defined with various designations/‘titles’, mainly describing and characterising their specific role:¹¹

messengers: ^{LÚ}ḫalugatalla, DUMU.KIN = MĀR ŠIPRI;

ambassadors: ^{LÚ}ṬEMU;

knights: ^{LÚ}PITHALLU;

lords: išḫa-/EN/BĒLU;

superintendent: ^{LÚ}MAḤRU/ŠAKIN;

physicians: ^{LÚ}A.ZU(-Ū) = ^{LÚ}ASŪ(M);

heralds: ^{LÚ}GIŠPA.

On some instances, officials’ names can also occur without a specific designation of a determined function.

Messengers

Messengers are defined by different Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite terms: ^{LÚ}ḫalugatalla (Hittite, ‘messenger’);¹² pišena- (Hittite, lit. ‘man, male person’, ‘messenger?’), not used for Egyptian envoys;¹³ DUMU.KIN (Sumerian) = MĀR ŠIPRI (Akkadian), lit. ‘son of the message’, i.e. ‘messenger, envoy, agent, deputy’.¹⁴ The equivalent Egyptian term can be recognised in the words *jn.w/wpw.ty*, and *ḫww.ty*.¹⁵ **Table 1** briefly lists in alphabetical order the names of the main Hittite and Egyptian messengers attested in the aforementioned sources:¹⁶

⁶ Breyer 2010, 272.

⁷ Lynn Holmes 1975.

⁸ Cohen and Westbrook 2000; Mynářová 2009; Mynářová 2011.

⁹ Roth 2005; Roth 2006.

¹⁰ De Martino 2016; Pallavidini 2016; Cordani 2017.

¹¹ On Egyptian-Hittite relations: Breyer 2010, 262–277; De Pietri 2016 (specifically on Karkemish); De Pietri 2019. About diplomats: De Vos 2008; Freu 2004; Hoffner 2009, 53–55; Lynn Holmes 1975; De Martino 2016; Roth 2005; Singer[†] 2013. For a further analysis on these (and other) designations: Tarawneh 2011.

¹² Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 110–111; HED III (H) 46; HEG I (A–H) 136–137; HH 37; HW² III (H) 83; Kloekhorst 2008, 275–276; Otten 1969, 18 (n. 4), 30 discussing a possible equation with the term ^{LÚ}ṬEMU.

¹³ Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 115; CHD (P) 323–328; Güterbock 1957, 355 (‘messenger?’); HEG II (P) 622–623; HH 130, 132; HW 170 (‘Bote?’); Kloekhorst 2008, 670, 677.

¹⁴ Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 120–122; ePSD2: <<http://oracc.org/epsd2/o0032058>> (Sumerian: kingia); AHw II (M–S) 616; CAD X (M1) 260–265 (Akkadian); HZL no. 237.

¹⁵ Wb I 91, 304 and Wb III 44, respectively. On ‘messengers’ in Akkadian and Egyptian: Freu 2004, 118–122. It is noteworthy to remark (as already noticed in Brinker 2011, 91) that this equivalence is confirmed by the hieratic colophon of EA 27, where the two messengers of the Mittanian king Tušratta, Pirissi and Tulubri (defined as DUMU.KIN.MEŠ = māri šiprim in the cuneiform Akkadian text), are both here referred to as *j/wpw.ty* (see Schniedewind and Cochavi-Rainey 2015, 294–295, 1366).

¹⁶ Documents ordered according to CTH as in HPM; I mention here only names attested in Amarna letters and Egyptian-Hittite correspondence: a more complete list can be found in Hagenbuchner 1989, 21–23 and Hoffner 2009, 54–55.

Names*	NH, NH-S†	Documents‡	Attestations§
...]-pitta	/	KUB III 24 + KUB III 59	1
[Anija]	[70] [¶]	KUB III 62	1
Beḥašdu	969	KBo VIII 16	1
Ḥattušaziti	347	KBo XXVIII 51	1
Iršappa	[468]	VBoT 1 = EA 31	1
Kulazita/i	611	KUB III 34	1
[Manamasu]	[45]	RS 17.28; sealing Mora 1987, IX 2.1 (= SHS ² UG4)	1
[Māni/lí-...] ^{**}	[744]	KUB III 22	1
Mairia	/	NBC 3934	1
[Maniya]	[744]	KBo XXVIII 21 and 22; KBo XXVIII 8; KBo XXVIII 23; KBo XXVIII 14; KBo XXVIII 2; KBo I 21	6
<i>Mašnijalli</i>	781	KBo XXVIII 5 (+) 6	1
[Naḥḥa]	[842]	KUB III 34; KBo VIII 16	2
[Pariamaḥu]	[938]	KUB III 67	1
[Pa/iriḥnawa]	[1011]	KBo XXVIII 21 and 22; KBo XXVIII 23; KBo I 29 + 335/o; KBo XXVIII 46 = Bo 77/17; 762/b + 1647/c = KUB XXXIV 2; 17/f = KBo XXVIII 47; KUB III 51	8
[P]āpu	/	KBo XXVIII 51	1
Piḥašdu	/	KUB XXI 38 ('ambassador'); maybe the same as Piqašta/i?	1
Piqašta/i	969	KUB III 37 + KBo I 17; KUB III 66 + W. 24; maybe the same as Piḥašdu?	2
[Ri/eamašiya]	[1067]	KBo XXVIII 21 and 22; KBo XXVIII 23; KBo XXVIII 14; KBo I 21	4
[Ri/eamašši] ^{††}	[1066]	KBo XXVIII 8; KBo VIII 13	2
Tilitešub	1327	KBo XXVIII 21 and 22; KBo XXVIII 8; KBo XXVIII 23; KBo XXVIII 13 + ABoT 59; KBo XXVIII 14	5
[Tuttu]	[1391]	NBC 3934	1
[Zinapa]	[1545]	KBo XXVIII 21 and 22; KBo XXVIII 23; KBo XXVIII 14	3
Zitwalla/i	1563	KUB III 34	1
Zūwā	1577	KBo VII 11; KUB III 61	2

* Edell 1994. Most-quoted names are **bolded**. Names for whom the identification with precise messengers is still not so well recognizable are in *italic*. Here and in the following tables, names in [...] are Egyptian.

† Cf. RO and HPN.

‡ For the content of these texts, see HPM-K.


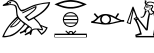

§ The no. of attestations refers to the actual number of documents in which the name is mentioned: documents where the name is reported more than once are considered as one entry.

¶ Nos in [...] stand for names of non-Hittite origin.

** = Maniya.

†† On this name: Breyer 2010, 242, referring to a passage in the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence mentioning him as a 'second rank' messenger, *wpw.ty-sn[nw]*, a term compared to the Akkadian *šanû* (AHw III (S-Z) 1165).

Table 1: List of the Egyptian and Hittite messengers mentioned in this paper (alphabetical order).

The most quoted messenger is Pa/iriḥnawa cited in eight documents. Possibly, he was one of the envoys in charge for the dispatchment of the treaty between Egypt and Ḫatti (the ‘Silver Tablet’);¹⁷ unfortunately, the *lacunae* occurring in the passage mentioning the names does not support this hypothesis. Moreover, he is mentioned as a ^{LÚ}ŠU.GI, ‘the oldest’, in a letter sent by Ramses II to Ḫattušili III, regarding the rescue of Urḫi-Tešub (KBo I 19, Vs. 16’ = KBo I 15, Rs. 16’).¹⁸ The name of this messenger has an Egyptian origin and archaeologists have proposed to identify his actual tomb in Egypt, at Saqqara (Bub. I.16), with the grave of  *Ntr.wy-ms* (Netjerwymes), treasurer and great steward at Memphis during the reign of Ramses II; he also bears the additional name of  *P3-rḫ-n* (Pareḫan = Pa/iriḥnawa), and is defined on a relief as  *wpw.ty-[nswt]*¹⁹ *r ḫ3s.t nb.t*, ‘(royal) messenger in every foreign land’.²⁰ Another person is said to have been sent by the Hittite king to the pharaoh: W[ašmuar]ianaḫta, ‘palace official of the king’, quoted together with the messenger Piqašti in KUB III 66 Vs. 14–15:²¹

Vs.


14 *um-ma-a a-nu-ma* ^{LÚ}**U[a-aš-mu-a-r]i-a-na-aḫ-ta** ^{LÚ}SUKKAL LUGAL

15 *qà-du* ^{LÚ}DUMU šip-ri [ša KUR Ḫa-at-]ti ^{LÚ}Pi-qa-aš-ti it-tal-ku-ni

Vs.

14 Thus (speak): ‘Now, **W[ašmuar]ianaḫta, the palace official of the king**

15 together with the messenger [of the land of Ḫat]ti, Piqašti, came to me’.²²

Despite Wašmuarianaḫta is here not qualified as a ‘messenger’, with the specific term ^{LÚ}*ḫalugatalla/pišena-/DUMU.KIN(-ri)*, we can suppose that his role and function could be assimilated to that of a messenger (but maybe with a higher degree of authority, due to the presence of the ‘title’ ^{LÚ}SUKKAL LUGAL), also because he is mentioned together with the ^{LÚ}DUMU ŠIP-RI [ŠA KUR Ḫa-at-]ti ^{LÚ}Pi-qa-aš-ti, clearly a messenger. The name of this official is of surely Egyptian origin, as already noted by Ranke,²³ as suggested by Edel,²⁴ the original name could be reconstructed as  *Wsr-m3^c.t-r-nḫt* (Wesermaatreneḫet, ‘Ramses II is strong’).²⁵ Sometimes, messengers are mentioned without reporting their proper names (**Table 2**):

¹⁷ Mentions of Pariḥnawa in the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence: Edel 1994, II, 364; about the possible mention of this messenger in the text of the ‘Silver Treaty’: Zivie 2006, 71 and fig. 8 (*contra* Edel 1997).

¹⁸ Edel 1994, I, 58–65, no. 24.

¹⁹ For *wpw.ty-[nswt]*, probably to be read here even if in *lacuna*: Wb. I 304.9; cf. Gardiner 1968, vol. 1, 91.

²⁰ Zivie 2002; Zivie 2006, 72, figs 1–2; 74, fig. 3; 75, figs 4A–B; cf. Zivie 2007. The same name, spelled *P3-rḫ-nw(3)*, is also mentioned on a stela at the British Museum (BM EA 555: stela of Khabeḫnet, from Deir el-Medineh, TT 2; see Zivie 2006, 76, fig. 6). About Pariḥnawa: Edel 1976, 79; Singer 1999, 674. For the reading of the name: Ranke 1923, 133–134.

²¹ Edel 1994, I, 170–173, no. 72, F4. Relevant words or passages are **bolded**. This and all the following translations are mine: original translations are referenced to in notes.

²² Edel 1994, I, 170–173, no. 72, F4.

²³ Ranke 1923, 137–138.

²⁴ Edel 1976, 95.

²⁵ PN 85, no. 16.

Document	Passages
KBo I 10	Rs. 55, 71: DUMU(MĀR) ŠIP-RI ŠA LUGAL(ŠAR) KUR(MĀT) MI-IŠ-RI-I 'Messenger of the king of the land of Egypt'.
KUB III 63	Rs. 7: DUMU.M[EŠ.KIN-IA] [...] DUMU.MEŠ.KIN ŠA NIN-IA 'My messengers [...], the messengers of my sister'.
KUB III 69	Vs. 9: DUMU.KIN-RI 'The messenger'.

Table 2: Passages reporting messengers quoted without a proper name.

Ambassadors

In the Hittite texts it is also attested the Akkadian term ^{LÚ}ṬEMU, usually translated as 'envoy, ambassador'.²⁶ The 'title' is used once to qualify the Egyptian ambassador Ḫani (KBo V 6 III 44: ŠA ^{URU}mi-iz-ri-wa-aš-ši ^{LÚ}ṬE₄-MU ^mḫa-a-ni-is),²⁷ who accompanied the chamberlain Ḫattusaziti, in his coming back from Egypt after having met the Egyptian queen Ankhesenamun who asked for a Hittite husband (the 'dahamunzu affaire').²⁸ There are two more texts (KBo V 6 III 9 and KUB XXI 38 Rs. 20'-24')²⁹ quoting Egyptian ambassadors, ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ṬE₄-ME (unfortunately without mentioning their proper names).

Knights

The Akkadian term ^{LÚ}PITHALLU,³⁰ translated as 'knight' (or maybe, more properly, 'report rider')³¹ is used to qualify only one (unnamed) Egyptian envoy, in a passage (KUB XXI 38 Rs. 18', 21')³² where he is quoted together with other ambassadors:

18' [ḫal-]ki-iš NU.GÀL nu-ua-ta ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḫu-ni ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ṬE₄-ME an-da ú-e-mi-ia<-an>-zi
nu-ua-mu-kán ŠEŠ-IA ^{LÚ}PÍṬ-ḪAL-LI pa-ra-a [na-a-ú]

'At the time when (my) messengers meet you, my brother should send me a **(report) rider**'.³³

[...]

21' (Erasing) EGIR-pa-ma nu-un-tar-aš ^{LÚ}PÍṬ-ḪA[L-LI-KA Ú-UL] u-it ^{LÚ}ṬE₄-MU-ia Ú-UL
ú-it

'But [your] **(report) rid[er did not]** return immediately, and no messenger came'.³⁴

Lords

In at least one attestation, another word is used to define a specific envoy: the Hittite term *i/ešḫa*- (Sumerian EN and Akkadian BĒLU) could refer to a particular high-ranked messenger, in this case an

²⁶ Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 142–144; Otten 1969, 18.

²⁷ Del Monte 2008, 89.

²⁸ Del Monte 2008, 119.

²⁹ CTH 40: Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (Del Monte 2008, 112–113). CTH 176: Letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II (Edel 1994, I, 216–223, no. 105, L2).

³⁰ Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 141–142; AHW II (M–S) 858; CAD XII (P) 335–337 (PĒṬHALLU).

³¹ This peculiar messenger could be maybe assimilated to the 'rapid courier' (*kallū*) in Liverani 2001b; cf. AHW I (A–L), 426 ('Eil-, Schnellbote') and CAD VIII (K), 83–84 ('messenger').

³² CTH 176: Letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II (Edel 1994, I, 216–223, no. 105, L2).


³³ Edel 1994, I, 216–217.

³⁴ Edel 1994, I, 218–219.

ambassador because of the ‘title’ ^{LÚ}TEMU.³⁵ In the corpus of the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence the ‘title’ is used to qualify the Egyptian messenger Ḫani, already quoted about the ‘*daḫamunzu* affaire’ in KBo V 6 III 44 (= XIV 12 III 26 = XIV 12 IV 13):³⁶

- 1E₃24 *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-za ki-ša-[at]*
 1E₃25 *nu* ^{m.giš}PA-LÚ-iš IŠ-TU KUR ^{uru}mi-iz-r[i EGIR-pa ti-it]
 ŠA KUR ^{uru}mi-iz-ri-ia-aš-ši ^{lú}TE₄-MU ^mḫa-a-ni-is **BE-LU** kat-ta-an ú-it
 [1A44 ŠA ^{uru}mi-iz-ri-wa-aš-ši ^{lú}TE₄-MU ^mḫa-a-ni-is **BE-LU**]
 1E₃26 ŠA [K]UR ^{uru}mi-iz-ri-ia-aš-ši ^{lú}TE₄-MU ^m[

‘When spring came, Hattusaziti [returned] from Egypt and with him came the **lord** Hani, envoy of Egypt’.³⁷

The personality of this Egyptian messenger has already been well described by Del Monte;³⁸ his name is also listed in Laroche’s onomastic and discussed by Edel, Freu, and Güterbock.³⁹ Edel’s comment about the profile of the messenger is remarkable, since he interprets the ‘title’ *BĒLU* as a military high rank official;⁴⁰ furthermore, this Ḫani would be the same person mentioned in some Amarna letters.⁴¹ The name could be derived from the Egyptian  *Hnj* (Hani).⁴²

Superintendents

Another ‘title’ attested to qualify Egyptian ambassadors in Hittite texts is ^{LÚ}MAḪRU/ŠAKIN, usually translated as ‘superintendent/governor’;⁴³ it is attributed to three Egyptian messengers (**Table 3**):

Name	NH, NH-S*	Documents	Type of document
[^m A-taḫ-x[... = Ataḫmašši]	[1603]	KUB III 57 Rs. 8 [†]	Letter of Ramses II to Puduḫepa
[^m L/Ieya]	[693]	KUB III 34 Vs. 14 [‡]	Letter of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III
[^m Suta]	[1195]	KUB III 57 Rs. 2 [§]	Letter of Ramses II to Puduḫepa

* Cf. RO and HPN.

[†] Edel 1994, I, 144–145, no. 55, E22.

[‡] Edel 1994, I, 181–185, no. 78, H3.

[§] Edel 1994, I, 144–145, no. 55, E22.

Table 3: The three Egyptian ‘superintendents’ mentioned in the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence.

³⁵ Imparati 1975; Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 477–495; HED II (E-I) 385–390; HEG II (I-K) 372–377; HH 63; HW² II (E) 114; Kloekhorst 2008, 390.

³⁶ The text here reported is the *partitura* (1E₃25–26 = 1A44) in Del Monte 2008, 118.

³⁷ Del Monte 2008, 119.



³⁸ Del Monte 2008, 119, n. 62; for the name, cf. Ranke 1910, 9.

³⁹ NH 57, no. 270; Edel 1948, 13; Freu 2004, 75–79; Güterbock 1956, 122.

⁴⁰ Edel 1948, 13.

⁴¹ Albright 1946, 11, no. 9. For Egyptian spelling of Semitic and Hittite names: Schneider 1992, 428–479.

⁴² PN 229, no. 28. This the suggestion in Albright 1946, 11, no. 9; cf. Edel 1948, 13, identifying the Ḫani of the ‘*daḫamunzu* affaire’ with the Ḫani mentioned in the Amarna letters. Otherwise, if we consider them as two different individuals, we ought also to

take in consideration the names PN 229, nos 29 and 30:  *Hnj*² and  *Hny*.

⁴³ Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 450–451.

Physicians

A peculiar class of envoys coming from the Egyptian court, often treated and considered just as ‘royal gifts’, is surely that of physicians.⁴⁴ These envoys sometimes present the second, complementary ‘title’ of ‘scribe’ (LÚDUB.SAR). Some physicians are quoted in the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence: among them the most famous is surely Pariamahū,⁴⁵ the physician sent by Ramses II to Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša, whose name is attested in three letters of the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence: KUB III 66 Rs. 4 (from Ramses II to Puduḫepa);⁴⁶ KUB III 67 Vs. 12, Rs. 6, 8, 10 (from Ramses II to Ḫattušili III or Tuḫaliya IV);⁴⁷ NBC 3934 Rs. 8, 13, 18 (from Ramses II to Ḫattušili III).⁴⁸

Heralds

On one instance (KUB XIV 1 Rs. 51–52),⁴⁹ an envoy named Zuwa carries the specific ‘title’ LÚ^{GIŠ}PA, i.e. ‘herald’ (lit., ‘the man with the stick/sceptre’):⁵⁰

- 51 *ka-ru-ú li-in-ki-iš-ki-it nu X ZI[-IM-DI ANŠ]U.KÚR.RA.ḪI.A II × C ZAB.MEŠ-ya A-NA*
 ¹*Zu-wa-a LÚ^{GIŠ}PA tar-[na-aḫ-ḫu-un]*
- 52 [^{LÚ}]KÚR-ya ŠÁ-PAL^{URU}Ma-ra-a-ša a-a[r-áš na-áš-]ta¹*Zu-wa-an LÚ^{GIŠ}PA ku-e-nir A-NA*
 [. . .]
- 51 ‘And I left (?) 10 horses [harnessed] and 200 foot soldiers to Zuwaš, the **scepterman**,
 [and sent him?].
- 52 ‘And the enemy got as far as Marāša [when] they struck Zuwaš, the **scepterman**;
 the [...].’

Envoys mentioned without a specific ‘title’

A final problem regards the envoys quoted in the documents without a specific ‘title’. One clear example is that of Kalbaya,⁵¹ mentioned in EA 32. In this letter, sent by the king of Arzawa to the pharaoh, the Anatolian king complains about the communication carried by the messenger Kalbaya. Despite the lack of a precise ‘title’,⁵² it seems that on some occasions it was possible that the recipient of a delegation did not trust the word of the messenger in charge, and asked for a second more official confirmation of the content, with the specification that the text be on a tablet,⁵³ and in Hittite,⁵⁴ thus directly verifiable by the Arzawean king.⁵⁵ This episode could reveal a veiled glimpse of what might have happened on some

⁴⁴ Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 119–120; Edel 1976; De Pietri and Urzì 2021, 115–118.

⁴⁵ Edel 1976, 90; De Pietri and Urzì 2021, 118–119.

⁴⁶ Edel 1994, I, 170–173, no. 72, F4.

⁴⁷ Edel 1994, I, 170–171, no. 71, F3.

⁴⁸ Edel 1994, I, 52–57, no. 22, D3.

⁴⁹ CTH 147: Indictment of Madduwatta by Arnuwanda I; Goetze 1928, 30–33.

⁵⁰ Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 177.

⁵¹ Marizza 2007, 144.

⁵² Possibly, the same Kalbaya quoted as ‘ambassador’ on l. 11: ‘IŠ-TU^{LÚ}ṬE-MI-YA’.

⁵³ EA 31, ll. 12–12: *na-i ku-u-un-na-mu me-mi-an ṭup-pí-az / EGIR-pa ḫa-at-ra-a-i*.

⁵⁴ EA 31, ll. 24–25: *DUB.ḪI.A[-ká]n ku-e ú-da-an-zi / nu ne-eš-[u]m¹-ni-li ḫa-at-ri-eš-ki*.

⁵⁵ A similar request for a written confirmation is attested (either as a literary *topos* or as an actual event) in the later ‘Report of Wenamun’ (see Brinker 2011, 91–92): the king of Byblos Tjekker-Baal is surprised that Wenamun lacks a letter of credentials, similarly to what is said e.g. in the earlier EA 30, EA 39, or EA 40 (where various kings require a ‘passport’ or a ‘safe-conduct’ for their messengers).


occasions: that the messenger did not refer the precise content of the message or even changed it for some diplomatic or betraying purposes.

Possible ‘colleagues’ (i.e. ‘cliques of envoys’)

On many occasions, envoys are mentioned together with other possible ‘colleagues’, i.e. groups of messengers travelling together.⁵⁶ I provide here a table (**Table 4**) summarising the occurrences of such groups of ‘colleagues’: the second column displays the name of the messenger, while the third lists the names of his ‘colleagues’.

This table exemplifies how messengers were appointed for diplomatic missions together with specific ‘colleagues’ who formed a kind of semi-fixed ‘cliques’. In other words, it happened that the same messengers were part of the same diplomatic mission: e.g. Maniya is frequently attested together with Ri/eamašiya, while Nahḫa is often mentioned along with Ziwtalla/i and Kulazita/i. From the analysis of the names, three possible ‘patterns’ seem to be obtained: a) messenger with Egyptian names associated to envoys with non-Egyptian names (‘mixed pattern’, e.g. ‘case’ E.2⁵⁷); b) only messengers with Egyptian names (‘Egyptian pattern’, e.g. ‘cases’ D = O and H.2); c) only messengers with non-Egyptian names (‘non-Egyptian pattern’, e.g. ‘case’ B = I). Probably, the presence in the same diplomatic mission of both Egyptian and non-Egyptian messengers was intended to render communication more effective and easier, due to the presence of both Egyptian and Akkadian/Hittite native-speaker messengers.

Hittite officials with Egyptian names

Besides Wašmuarianahṭa (see *supra*) and Manamasu (see *infra*), at least another of the aforementioned officials presents a name partially of Egyptian origin:⁵⁸ Mizramuwa, literally ‘the strength (i.e. the strong man) of Egypt’.⁵⁹ It is remarkable that the name ‘Egypt’ was used to define people not directly coming from the Nile Valley, but also subdued indigenous dwelling in the Egyptian possessions in Syro-Palestine.⁶⁰ Therefore, a proper name compound with the toponym ‘Egypt’ could also meaning not a native Egyptian but, more probably, a person born in Syria and connected, for an unknown reason, to the Nile land. Probably, people born in this area were chosen as messengers because they were native bilingual. A second possible official bearing an Egyptian name is Tuttu, mentioned in KBo III 43 Ro 10 and NBC 3934 Ro 28.⁶¹ The name has been recognized as Egyptian by Albright and Goetze, but with some remarks (the latter author recalls that ‘Tuttuš’ is also a typical Hittite name).⁶² A similar Egyptian name could perhaps be reconnected to PN 383, no. 23: , Tt.⁶³ Despite the scarcity of information, it is clear that some Hittite messengers carried Egyptian names or maybe ‘Egyptian nicknames’ connecting them to Egypt: they could have been either people of Egyptian (or Syro-Palestine) origin or individuals involved in some way with the Egyptian court.

The peculiar case of Manamasu/Amanmašu

A peculiar case is presented in this paragraph: beside the cuneiform documentation, a seal impression from Ugarit, datable to the 13th century BC, quotes Manamasu/Amanmašu, an official of king Tili-

⁵⁶ Sometimes, for instance, messengers were accompanied by interpreters: this is the case of the messenger Mane and the interpreter Ḫane (EA 21).

⁵⁷ ‘Cases’ are here expressed by mean of the LETTER in column 1 and the number of ‘groups’ in column 3.

⁵⁸ De Pietri 2015, 342–344, 413–417.

⁵⁹ NH 119–120, no. 811; NH-S 27, no. 811; Parker 2013, 18.

⁶⁰ NH 274.

⁶¹ NH 192–193, no. 1391.

⁶² Albright 1946, 22, no. 62; Goetze 1943, 250, no. 5; van den Hout 1995, 169–172; Mora 2006, 140–141.

⁶³ Cf. PN 379, nos 15–17.

'Case letter'	Name*	'Colleagues' [†]
A	Beḥašdu	[Naḥḥa] [‡]
B	Ḥattušaziti	[P]āpu [§]
C	Kulazita/i	[Naḥḥa]; Zitwalla/i [¶]
D	[Mairia]	[Tuttu] ^{**}
E	[Maniya]	1) / ^{††} 2) [Pa/iriḥnawa]; [Ri/eamašiya]; Tilitešub; Zinapa ^{‡‡} 3) [Ri/eamašši]; Tilitešub ^{§§}
F	<i>Mašnijalli</i>	/ ^{¶¶}
G	[Naḥḥa]	1) Beḥašdu ^{***} 2) Kulazita/i; Zitwalla/i ^{†††}
H	[Pa/iriḥnawa]	1) / ^{†††} 2) [Ri/eamašši] ^{§§§} 3) [Maniya]; [Ri/eamašiya]; Tilitešub; Zinapa ^{¶¶¶}
I	[P]āpu	Ḥattušaziti
L	[Ri/eamašiya]	1) [Maniya] ^{****} 2) [Maniya]; Tilitešub; Zinapa ^{††††} 3) [Maniya]; [Pa/iriḥnawa]; Tilitešub; Zinapa ^{††††}
M	[Ri/eamašši]	1) [Pa/iriḥnawa] ^{§§§§} 2) [Maniya]; Tilitešub ^{¶¶¶¶}
N	Tilitešub	1) / ^{****} 2) [Maniya]; [Ri/eamašiya]; Zinapa ^{†††††} 3) [Maniya]; [Pa/iriḥnawa]; [Ri/eamašiya]; Zinapa ^{†††††}
O	[Tuttu]	[Mairia] ^{§§§§§}
P	Zinapa	1) [Maniya]; [Ri/eamašiya]; Tilitešub ^{¶¶¶¶¶} 2) [Maniya]; [Pa/iriḥnawa]; [Ri/eamašiya]; Tilitešub ^{*****}
Q	Zitwalla/i	Kulazita/i; [Naḥḥa] ^{††††††}

* For the reference to NH and NH-S see *supra*. As in previous tables, names in [...] are Egyptian.

[†] The numbers in the right-column refer to various 'groups', quoted on different instances. The sign / indicates that the messenger is attested alone in the document. Sources (according to HPM-K) are displayed in notes.

[‡] KBo VIII 16.

[§] KBo XXVIII 51.

[¶] KUB III 34.

^{**} NBC 3934.

^{††} KBo XXVIII 2.

^{‡‡} KBo XXVIII 21+22; KBo XXVIII 23.

^{§§} KBo XXVIII 8.

^{¶¶} KBo XXVIII 5 (+) 6.

^{***} KBo VIII 16.

^{†††} KUB III 34.

^{††††} KUB III 51; KUB XXXIV 2; KBo XXVIII 46; KBo XXVIII 47.

^{§§§} KBo VIII 13.

^{¶¶¶} KBo XXVIII 21+22; KBo XXVIII 23.

^{****} KBo I 21.

^{††††} KBo XXVIII 14.

^{†††††} KBo XXVIII 21+22; KBo XXVIII 23.

^{§§§§} KBo VIII 13.

^{¶¶¶¶} KBo XXVIII 8.

^{*****} KBo XXVIII 13 + ABoT 59.

^{†††††} KBo XXVIII 14.

^{††††††} KBo XXVIII 21+22; KBo XXVIII 23.

^{§§§§§} NBC 3934.

^{¶¶¶¶¶} KBo XXVIII 14.

^{*****} KBo XXVIII 21+22; KBo XXVIII 23.

^{†††††††} KUB III 34.


Table 4: Reconstruction of possible 'cliques of envoys'.



Figure 1: drawing and picture of the sealings of Manamasu on clay tablet RS 17.28(76) = UG 4, from Ugarit/Ras Shamra (after Ugar. III, 50, figs 68–69).

Figure 2: clay tablet RS 17.28(76) = UG 4, from Ugarit/Ras Shamra (after Ugar. III, 48, fig. 66).

Šarruma of Karkemish, whose name is surely of Egyptian origin. The case is defined as ‘peculiar’ because this is the only Egyptian name attested on Anatolian glyptic of the 2nd millennium BC, thus far.⁶⁴

The cylinder seal impression (**Figure 1**) is stamped on a clay tablet (RS 17.28(76) = UG 4; **Figure 2**) and measures 7 cm length.⁶⁵ The inscription is flanked, on the upper and lower sides, by a band decorated with a twisted motive. Inside this decoration there is a cuneiform inscription on two vertical registers:^{NA4}KIŠIB 'A-ma-an-ma-š[u], ‘seal of Amanmašu’. Between two figures, there are some Anatolian hieroglyphic signs, spelling the name *Ma-na-ma-su*. The name of Manamasu/Amanmašu,⁶⁶ as already noted by Albright,⁶⁷ is Egyptian and can be reconnected to PN 29, no. 8 as , *Jmn-ms* (Amanmasu, ‘Amon is born’). C. Mora has already stated the importance of the seal impression of Manamasu, joined by another sealing on the same tablet quoting the name Lat-^DKUR, both officials at Ugarit on behalf of the king of Karkemiš Tili-Šarruma.⁶⁸ Despite the tablet regards a transaction between the kings of Karkemiš and Ugarit,⁶⁹ and so there is no evidence of direct Egyptian-Hittite relationships, it is remarkable to find the cuneiform and hieroglyphic transcription of a name of clear Egyptian origin at Ugarit, a city that was for long

⁶⁴ Mora 1987, 220, no. IX 2.1. For the possibility of another Egyptian name (Tuttu) on glyptic: Mora 1987, 220, no. IIIb 3.3.

⁶⁵ Description of the tablet, its text, and the seal impression in PRU IV, I, 109–110 (text IV E 6); cuneiform transcription in PRU IV, II, Pl. II; image of the tablet, the sealing, and its drawing in Ugar. III, 42–50, figs 66–69. For a discussion about the name of the owner, see Ugar. III, 142–147.

⁶⁶ NH 29, no. 45.

⁶⁷ Albright 1946, 10, no. 3.

⁶⁸ Mora 1987, 221, no. IX 2.2.

⁶⁹ Mora 1987, 241, n. 8.

time under the Anatolian sphere of influence: it could also be a proof of the actual presence at Ugarit of personnel directly coming from Egypt or, at least, carrying Egyptian names. This fact stresses the importance of Ugarit as an important harbour for the Egyptian and North-Syrian trades.

Conclusions

Just to define and trace some preliminary conclusions: people in charge of contacts between Egypt and Ḫatti are qualified with different ‘titles’: messengers (^{LÚ}*ḫalugatalla*, DUMU.KIN = *MĀR ŠIPRI*); envoys, ambassadors (^{LÚ}*TEMU*); knights (^{LÚ}*PITHALLU*); lords (*išḫa-/EN/BĒLU*); superintendent/governor (^{LÚ}*MAḪRU/ŠAKIN*); physicians (^{LÚ}*A.ZU(-ú)* = ^{LÚ}*ASŪ(M)*); heralds (*LÚ GĪS^{IS}PA*). Furthermore, personal names are sometimes attested without any ‘title’; in other instances, ‘titles’ are mentioned without reference to a specific proper name. In the documentation analysed in this paper, the most quoted envoy is certainly Pa/iriḫnawa (quoted in eight documents). Sometimes ‘cliques’ or ‘groups’ of messengers can be retraced, probably referring to specific diplomatic missions. Moreover, the etymology of some personal names can support a specific Egyptian, Hittite, Luwian, or Hurrian origin of the messengers. Eventually, the sealing of Manamasu/Amanmašu from Ugarit attests the presence of Hittite or Syrian officials carrying names of clear Egyptian origin. In a few words, the documentation here presented offers a ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘international’ landscape for the activities of these diplomats, connecting Egypt to the Hittite Empire in Anatolia and Northern Syria. Once again, our modern (and fictional) borders have been broken.

Abbreviations

ABOT = Balkan, K. 1948. *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

AHW = von Soden, W. 1965–1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bo = Number of tablets from Boğazköy.

CAD = M.T. Roth (ed. in chief) 1964–. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

CHD = P.M. Goedegebuure, H.G. Güterbock, H.A. Hoffner, Th.P.J. van den Hout (eds) 1980–. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

CTH = Laroche, E. 1971. *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck.

EA = El-Amarna letters: see mainly *infra* Schniedewind and Cochavi-Rainey 2015.

ePSD2 = electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary, 2.0, viewed on 10 June 2021, <<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/>>.

HED = Puhvel, J. 1984–2017. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin-New York: de Gruyter.

HEG = Tischler, J. 1983. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

HH = Tischler, J. 2001. *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.

HPM = *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*, viewed on 10 June 2021, <<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php>>.

HPM-K = Košak, S. *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*, viewed on 10 June 2021, <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrageF.php>.

HPN = Marizza, M. and M. Cammarosano. *Hittite Personal Names*, viewed on 10 June 2021, <<https://cuneiform.neocities.org/HPN/start.html>>.

HW = Friedrich, J. 1952–1954. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

HW² = Friedrich, J., A. Kammenhuber, I. Hofmann 1975–1984. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

HZL = Rüster, C. and E. Neu 1989. *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung (1916–1923), Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag (1954–).

KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy*. Berlin: Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen (1921–).

NBC = Number of tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection.

NH = Laroche, E. 1966. *Les noms des Hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck.

NH-S = Laroche, E. 1981. Les noms des Hittites : Supplément. *Hethitica* 4: 3–58.

PN = Ranke, H. 1935. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I: Verzeichnis der Namen*. Glückstadt: Augustin.

PRU IV = Nougayrol, J. 1956. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit 4: textes accadiens des Archives Sud (Archives internationales)*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale; Klincksieck.

RO = Trémouille, M.-C. *Répertoire onomastique*, viewed on 10 June 2021, <<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom/ONOMASTIdata.html>>.

RS = Number of tablets from Ras Shamra/Ugarit.

SHS² = Boysan-Dietrich, N., M. Marazzi, C. Mora, H. Nowicki 2009. *Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel, Band I: Vorarbeiten. 2., revidierte und ergänzte Auflage zusammengestellt von M. Marazzi*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

UG = Number of seals/sealings from Ugarit/Ras Shamra.

Ugar. III = Schaeffer, C.F.A. 1956. *Sceaux et cylindres hittites, épée gravée du cartouche de Mineptah, tablettes chypro-minoennes et autres découvertes nouvelles de Ras-Shamra*. Paris: Librairie Geuthner.

VBoT = Götze, A. (ed.) 1930. *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*. Marburg: Lahn.

Wb. = Eрман, A. and H. Grapow 1971. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

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