

ADALYA

24 2021



AKMED

KOC UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kırıç

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

25 years

24 2021

ISSN 1301-2746

ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center
for Mediterranean Civilizations

OFFPRINT



KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kıraç

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

25 years

ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center
for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED)

Adalya, a peer reviewed publication, is indexed in the A&HCI (Arts & Humanities Citation Index) – CC / A&H (Current Contents / Arts & Humanities), Social Sciences and Humanities Database of TÜBİTAK / ULAKBİM Tr index, and ERIHPLUS (European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences).

<i>Mode of publication</i>	Worldwide periodical
<i>Publisher certificate number</i>	18318
<i>ISSN</i>	1301-2746
<i>Publisher management</i>	Koç University Rumelifeneri Yolu, 34450 Sarıyer / İstanbul
<i>Publisher</i>	Umran Savaş İnan, President, on behalf of Koç University
<i>Editor-in-chief</i>	Oğuz Tekin
<i>Editors</i>	Tarkan Kahya and Arif Yacı
<i>English copyediting</i>	Mark Wilson
<i>Editorial advisory board</i>	(Members serve for a period of five years) Mustafa Adak, Akdeniz University (2018-2022) Engin Akyürek, Koç University (2018-2022) Emanuela Borgia, Università di Roma Sapienza (2021-2025) Nicholas D. Cahill, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2018-2022) Edhem Eldem, Boğaziçi University / Collège de France (2018-2022) C. Brian Rose, University of Pennsylvania (2018-2022) Christopher H. Roosevelt, Koç University (2021-2025) Charlotte Roueché, Emerita, King's College London (2019-2023) Christof Schuler, DAI München (2017-2021)
©	Koç University AKMED, 2021
<i>Production</i>	Zero Production Ltd. Abdullah Sok. No. 17 Taksim 34433 İstanbul Tel: +90 (212) 244 75 21 • Fax: +90 (212) 244 32 09 info@zerobooksongline.com; www.zerobooksongline.com
<i>Printing</i>	Fotokitap Fotoğraf Ürünleri Paz. ve Tic. Ltd. Şti. Oruç Reis Mah. Tekstilkent B-5 Blok No. 10-AH111 Esenler - İstanbul / Turkey Certificate number: 47448
<i>Mailing address</i>	Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sok. No. 22 Kaleici 07100 Antalya - TURKEY Tel: +90 (242) 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 (242) 243 80 13 https://akmed.ku.edu.tr
<i>E-mail address</i>	adalya@ku.edu.tr



KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kırac

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

25 years

Contents

Umay Oğuzhanoglu

- What Happened Between Beycesultan XIII and XII? New Answers from Laodikeia-Kandiköy Early Bronze Age Levels* 1

Meltem Doğan-Alparslan – K. Serdar Girginer

- A Hittite Seal and Seal Impressions from Tatarlı Höyük* 31

Bülent İşler – Ş. Recai Tekoğlu

- Rock-Cut Tombs and Two Lycian Inscriptions from Karabel-Çamdağı* 43

Gül Işın

- The Farewell Dance to the Dead: The Dancers on the Portal of Trysa's Heroon and the Xanthos "Dancers Sarcophagus"* 61

Gonca Cankardeş-Şenol – Aygün Ekin-Meriç

- Stamps of Hellenistic Imported Amphorae Found in the Excavations of Nicaea (Iznik) Theater* 79

Pınar Çağnış

- Trade Relations between Byzantium and the Black Sea Region in the Hellenistic Period: An Assessment through Recently Found Amphora Stamps* 101

Burak Arslan

- The Stylistic Features and Stonework Details of the Prohedriai and Lion's Feet in the Metropolis Theater* 123

Gürkan Ergin

- Modes of Viewing the Urban Landscapes and Public Gardens of Early Imperial Rome* 153

Tuğba Taş Giese

- Die Waffenreliefs im Versturz des Marktgebäudes von Kapikaya in Pisidien* 183

Seçil Tezer Altay

- A Late Recompense: The Rediscovered Monumental Octagon at Pergamon* 215

Bahar Oğuş

- Animal Footprints on Roman Tiles from Perge and Aizanoi* 229

Burhan Varkivanç – İsmail Akan Atila

- A New Monumental Gate from the Roman Imperial Period on the Attaleia City Walls* 249

Ceren Ünal – İsmail Özcihan – Merve Toy

- A Group of Roman and Late Antique Bone Objects Found in Ancient Tralleis* 269

Emanuela Borgia	
<i>Minima Epigraphica: On Some Roman and Byzantine Inscribed Objects from Elaiussa Sebaste (Cilicia)</i>	297
Antonios Vratimos	
<i>Toghril Beg and Alp Arslan in the Historia of Michael Attaleiates</i>	311
Mustafa Nuri Tatbul	
<i>Abandonment, Continuity, Transformation: Setting Komana into Archaeological Context through the Middle Byzantine and Early Turkish Periods</i>	325
İklil Selçuk	
<i>Ottoman Market Regulation and Inspection in the Early Modern Period</i>	355
Erdoğan Aslan – L. Ufuk Erdoğan	
<i>The Underwater Recovery Excavation at Kekova Adası: Observations on the Tek Ada Shipwreck and Finds</i>	375
Samil Yırşen	
<i>The Construction Process of a School: The Antalya Kaleiçi Orthodox Christian Girls' School (Dumlupınar Secondary School) in Ottoman Archival Documents</i>	395

A Hittite Seal and Seal Impressions from Tatarlı Höyük

MELTEM DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN – K. SERDAR GİRGINER*

Abstract

Tatarlı Höyük is one of the largest settlements of Cilicia Pedias (Campestris). It is located on the important commercial and military routes at the western exit of the Amanus Mountains, in the eastern part of the Ceyhan district of Adana. It is also close to the Hittite-Kizzuwatna Caravan Road and connected to Central Anatolia by this route. This article discusses a seal and two seal impressions found in the excavations of Tatarlı Höyük in 2013 and 2015. One of the seal impressions is without an inscription and can be suggested to belong to the 16th-15th century BC. The other seal impression is inscribed with the female name *Pa-ti*. We can propose a date for this hieroglyphic seal impression from the 14th to the 13th century BC. One terracotta stamp seal was found out of context during the 2015 excavation season. We can read the name of the seal owner as *Sâ-li-pi* with a proposed dating to the 15th-14th century BC.

Keywords: Kizzuwatna, Tatarlı Höyük, Hittite, glyptic, stamp seal, seal impression

This article discusses a seal and two bullae found in the excavations of Tatarlı Höyük in 2013 and 2015.¹ Tatarlı Höyük is one of the largest mounds in Cilicia Pedias and located

* Assoc. Prof. Dr. Meltem Doğan-Alparslan, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölümü, Hititoloji Anabilim Dalı, 34134 İstanbul, Türkiye.

E-mail: dogannel@istanbul.edu.tr ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1197-9114>

Assoc. Prof. Dr. K. Serdar Girginer, Çukurova Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Protohistorya ve Önasya Arkeoloji Anabilim Dalı, 01330 Adana, Türkiye.

E-mail: kserdar.girginer@gmail.com ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8688-5641>

¹ It was first introduced to the literature by M.V. Seton-Williams in 1951 (Seton-Williams 1954, 128-29, 170, no. 39), and was visited and re-evaluated by K.S. Girginer during his 2005 investigation of the settlements of Kizzuwatna such as *La(bu)wazantiya* and *Kummanni* within the scope of the Kizzuwatna Research Project, which started in 2002 (Girginer 2007, 177). Until this date, most researchers had localized these cities to the Anti-Taurus range and its surroundings (For detailed information, see Girginer 2005). For this reason, in order to determine whether *Kummanni* and *La(bu)wazantiya* cities were located in this region, a comprehensive settlement inventory study

Öz

Tatarlı Höyük, Ovalık Kilikya'nın (Kilikia Pedias / Campestris) en büyük yerleşim yerlerinden birisidir. Adana'da Ceyhan ilçesinin doğusunda, Amanos Dağları'nın batı çıkışındaki önemli ticari ve askeri yol güzergâhları üzerinde yer almaktadır. Hitit-Kizzuwatna Karavan Yolu'na da yakındır ve bu güzergâh ile Orta Anadolu'ya bağlanmaktadır. Makalenin konusunu, 2013 ve 2015 yılı kazalarında bulunmuş olan bir pişmiş topraktan mühür ve iki mühür baskısı oluşturmaktadır. Bu malzemenin biri yazısız bir mühür baskısıdır ve MÖ 16.-15. yüzyıla tarihlenmesi teklif edilmiştir. Diğer mühür baskısı ise yazılıdır ve *Pa-ti* kadın adı okunmaktadır. Tarafımızdan MÖ 14. yüzyıldan 13. yüzyıla geçiş dönemine tarihlenmiştir. Bulunan pişmiş toprak mühür üzerinde ise *Sâ-li-pi* adı okunabilmekte ve MÖ 15.-14. yüzyıla tarihlenmesi teklif edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kizzuwatna, Tatarlı Höyük, Hitit, Glijptik, damga mühür, mühür baskısı

approximately 40 km east of the Ceyhan district in the eastern part of the province of Adana. It measures 370 x 230 m and has a height of 37 m. About 2.5-3 km east of the mound is a volcanic cone that erupted in the Plio-Quaternary period so for this reason the mound rises on a basaltic land.² This environment is one of the richest watersheds of Eastern Cilicia. Seven freshwater springs were identified on the northern skirts of the mound.³ The stream (Beynamazı / Mervin) formed by these waters flows between the Citadel and the Lower City.⁴ Apart from this, there is a dried lake to the south of the mound (fig. 1). It is located at the western exit of the Amanus Mountains on strategic trade routes. One can reach Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia from the southeast via Beilan Pass (Topboğazı), and from the northeast via Hasanbeyli-Fevzipaşa and Nurdağı Passes (*Pylae Amanicae*).⁵ Kültepe and therefore Central Anatolia can be accessed by the route starting from about 30 km west of the mound called the “Hittite-Kizzuwatna Caravan Road” (fig. 2).⁶

Due to its location, Tatarlı Höyük is important in terms of Hittite historical geography studies. As is known, in the second millennium BC it is located in the Kizzuwatna region, which is more or less associated with the present-day Çukurova region. In recent years, attention has been drawn to the possible association of Tatarlı Höyük with *La(hu)wazantiya* by Girginer.⁷ Sirkeli Höyük was thought to be *La(hu)wazantiya*, but in recent years it has been argued by the excavation team that it might be the city of *Kummanni* / *Kisuatni*.⁸ A different localization proposal was made by M. Forlanini, who suggested the existence of two separate *La(hu)wazantiyas*. If this is accepted, then one might be Elbistan Karahöyük and the second Tatarlı Höyük.⁹ The most recent localization proposal identifies Tatarlı Höyük with the city of *Arušna*, a cult center.¹⁰

The Tatarlı Höyük excavations have been continuing for 13 years.¹¹ The work has revealed a Hellenistic settlement with two phases at the top, preceded respectively by Achaemenid (Late Iron Age), Neo-Hittite (Middle Iron Age), and the Late Bronze Age settlements with their environs spreading over an area of at least 2-3 kilometers. The Middle and Early Bronze ages and Chalcolithic, and Neolithic cultures have now been identified (table 1).¹²

was carried out in the Yahyalı, Sarız and Develi districts of Kayseri, and Tufanbeyli and Saimbeyli in Adana. Since it is unlikely that these two centers were founded in the aforementioned locations (Girginer 2004, 314; Akıl and Girginer 2012, 8, n. 58), the research then headed for East Cilicia (west of Amanus Mountains). Since 2004 in particular, the plains at the borders of the Kozan and Ceyhan districts have been surveyed in detail. See Girginer et al. 2006; Girginer 2007; Girginer 2008; Girginer et al. 2007. Excavations have been continuing since 2007 under the sponsorship of Adana Metropolitan Municipality, on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums and Çukurova University. See Girginer et al. 2010.

² Bilgin 1970-1971; Işık 1999.

³ Girginer and Collon 2014, 61; Girginer 2016, 193.

⁴ Girginer 2016, 193.

⁵ Girginer et al. 2010, 454.

⁶ Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2016, 74, fig. 15; Girginer et al. 2017, 449, fig. 11.

⁷ See Ünal 2008, 325; Girginer et al. 2011, 135; Trémouille 2013; Forlanini 2013, 6; Girginer and Collon 2014, 59; Forlanini 2015, 27; Novák and Rutishauser 2017, 138, fig. 11.2; Dardeniz et al. 2018, 118.

⁸ Sollee et al. 2018, 112.

⁹ See Forlanini 2013, 8; Forlanini 2015.

¹⁰ For this new localization proposal based on philological data, see Pelvanoğlu et al. 2020.

¹¹ Novák et al. 2017, 173-76 and cf. Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020.

¹² Girginer et al. 2019, 404-5.

TABLE 1. (Novák et al. 2017, 175-76).

Period	Date	Level	Historical affiliation	Features and objects	Connections
Early Byzantine	4th century AD and later	I		Necropolis on eastern slope	
Hellenistic / Early Roman Imperial	330-50 BC	II a-b		Eastern Sigillata A, West Slope ceramics, Megarian bowls, fish plates, incurved-rim bowls, coins and terracotta figurines	
Late I A	539-330	III a		Achaemenid Stela and pottery	
Middle I A (Late Assyrian, Neo-Hittite)	850-609	III b1	Assyrian Domination Hiyawa / Que	Kohl box, Cypro-Cilician painted pottery	
Early I A	1200-850	–			
LBA II	1450-1200	IV a	Hittite Domination Kizzuwatna	Hieroglyphic bulla, seals, long-necked bottles, votive vessels, miniature bowls, Hittite monochrome ware, drab ware	Central Anatolia, Cyprus, Northern Levant
LBA I	1650-1450	IV b	Kizzuwatna Hittite Old and Middle Kingdoms	Hittite monochrome wares, hieroglyphic/non-hieroglyphic bullae	Central Anatolia
MBA	2000-1650	V	<i>kārum</i> -Period	Painted Syro-Cilician pottery, Cypriote WPPLS, cylinder seals, figurines, ring-shapes vessels, bull rhyta and bird-shaped vessels	Northern Levant, Cyprus, Central Anatolia
EBA III ?	2400-2000	VI		Orange wares	Tilmen ve Gedikli
LC EC (Ubaid)	4000-3000 5000-3000	VII		Amuq F-related stamp seals	Mesopotamia, Syria, Amuq
Late PN (Halaf) Early PN	6300-5000 7000-6300	VIII a VIII b		Stamp seals	Northern Levant, (Ras Shamra, Tell el Kerkh 2)

The first epigraphic find of Tatarlı Höyük from the second millennium BC is a recently published hieroglyphic bulla found during the 2008 excavations, which bears the name *tu/tu₂/SUPPI-su₂(?)-ta₃-wa/i*. It was unearthed in Room 10 of the building (Late Bronze Age Temple) called Structure A located east of the mound and dated to the 15th century BC.¹³ Another is a two-faced stamp seal uncovered during the work carried out at the Late Bronze

¹³ Ünal and Girginer 2010.

Age fortification system in the 2012 excavations.¹⁴ It is dated to the 13th century BC, but its inscription is illegible.¹⁵

The bulla was found in trench AZ 173 in 2013 and is 3.7 cm in diameter and 1.1 cm in thickness (fig. 3).¹⁶ The edge decoration, in the form of a basket weave, lies between two borderlines. There is no sign in the central area usually reserved for hieroglyphics.¹⁷ Although it is difficult to determine its date due to the lack of inscriptions, it probably belongs to 16th-15th century BC judging from similar edge decorations.¹⁸

During the 2015 excavation season in trench 186 AY, just beneath the Middle Iron Age floor, a terracotta stamp seal was found out of context (fig. 4 a-b). Unfortunately, it is not possible to say much about the form of the seal due to the broken handle. However, the outer edge decoration is reminiscent of the Tyszkiewicz Group seals.¹⁹ The parallels suggest that the Tatarlı seal, with a hammer or bump head, is close to the group.²⁰ Nevertheless, due to its material being terracotta, it may also have had a handle in a simpler form. The preserved height of the seal is 2.7 cm, while the diameter of the print area is 3 cm. The inscribed central area of the seal is bordered by a frame. The border ornament is extremely detailed and displays fine workmanship. This section shows two antithetic winged creatures and bull-lion pairs. Bulls are depicted with wings, and a lion was studied in great detail to depict their bone structures. Although the edges of the seal are damaged, two tridents and four volutes placed between the animals can be easily followed.²¹ The diameter of the seal's central area with the inscription is 1.2 cm judging from the impression. The right side of the inscribed area²² contains the symbols of Life (L. 369; *VITA*) and Health (L. 370 *BONUS*)₂ from top to bottom. We can read the name of the seal owner as *Sâ-li-pi* (L. 104 - L. 278 - L. 66)²³ with three hieroglyphic signs lined from

¹⁴ Girginer and Collon 2014, 68.

¹⁵ Cf. Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 35, fig. 21a.

¹⁶ LBA I Tatarlı Höyük IVb (1650-1450 BC). For dating of the layers, see Novák et al. 2017, 176; cf. Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020.

¹⁷ See the Kuşaklı sample for similar inscriptionless seals (Müller-Karpe 2000, 320, fig. 7). Some bullae found in Boğazköy Upper City (Dinçol and Dinçol 2008a, fig. 9.94 and fig. 10.95) and the Oluz Höyük seal (Doğan-Alparslan and Alparslan 2010) can be given as examples.

¹⁸ For similar examples of basket weave, see Dinçol and Dinçol 2008a, figs. 1, 2.

¹⁹ An example in the Berlin Staatliche Museum reminds us of the Tatarlı seal in terms of form and workmanship (Dinçol and Dinçol 2008a, 3-4, fig. 1). However, there is a small description in each area on the side surfaces of the Tyszkiewicz Group in question (Alexander 1972-1976). There are no such descriptions on the Tatarlı seal.

²⁰ The Tatarlı seal can be compared in terms of its form with the Baltimor seal. See Perrot and Chipiez 1887, 773-804; Messerschmidt 1900a, 45, pl. 43.6; Hogarth 1920, 75, fig. 79; Gordon 1939, 24-25, no. 70; Bossert 1942, nos. 679-80; Boehmer 1975, 450, pl. 376.9; Güterbock 1977, 8, no. 2; Mora 1987, 68, Group 3b, pl. 13.2.1 (mid 15th century BC - early 14th century BC). Yozgat seal see. Hogarth 1920, 75, fig. 78; Budge 1887, 27; Messerschmidt 1900a, pl. 43.3; Messerschmidt 1900b, 441, fig. 3; Messerschmidt 1902, 44, pl. 15.18; Riemschneider 1954, pl. 98; Bossert 1959, 11-12, fig. 8; Alexander 1972-1976, 172-73, pl. 3, fig. 6; Alp 1993, fig. 12 a-b; Mora 1987, 70, Group 3b, fig. 13.3.1 and Louvre seal see Alp 1993, fig. 13; Orthmann 1975, fig. 376; Messerschmidt 1900a, 44, pl. 43.2; Messerschmidt 1900b; Delaporte 1920, 202, pl. 101.13 a-b, A.1037; Boehmer 1975, pl. 376.e; Güterbock 1977, 9-10, no. 14; Mora 1987, 70, fig. 13.3.2.b.

²¹ Cf. Dinçol 1983, 188-222, pls. 8.8 and 9.9a-b; Mora 1987, 71, fig. 14.3.3.b; Dinçol and Dinçol 2008a, fig. 2.18a-b, 19a-b, 20a-b, 21a-b, 22a-b, 23a-b.

²² Unfortunately, the pressures did not work well, since the inscribed area of the seal was very worn.

²³ Hieroglyphic signs, especially the second one *li* (L. 278) providing us with the name of the owner, are hardly visible. For the hieroglyphic sign *pi* (L. 66), which constitutes the last sound value of the name, see Dinçol and Dinçol 2008b, 169 and 174; Herboldt 2005.

top to bottom.²⁴ This name has not been previously documented in the cuneiform and hieroglyphic corpus. The border decoration of the aforementioned seal and the small area reserved for the hieroglyphs suggest a date around the 15th-14th century BC compared to the similar seal impressions from Boğazköy.

The inscribed bulla on the floor belonging to the Tatarlı IVa layer (1450-1200 BC),²⁵ found in trench BA 186 in 2015, is 2.5 cm in width and 1.3 cm in thickness (fig. 5 a-b). The back of the clay lump, where the seal was pressed more than once, is broken. Therefore, a very small part of the second edition can be seen. In addition, the piece with the legible inscription is also very damaged. The diameter of the impression area, whose seal is bordered by a frame, is 1.2 cm. There is also a frame between the edge decoration and the inscribed area. The edge decoration consists of vertical and horizontal short lines. On both sides of the rather narrow inscribed part, the sign combination shows that the seal holder was a female: *BONUS₂ - FEMINA* (L.370 - L.79). In the central area, the name *Pa-ti* (L. 334 - L.90), written with two hieroglyphic signs from top to bottom, can be read. Two triangles with a notched bottom on both sides of the name were used for decorative purposes. It is possible to see an example very close to the Tatarlı seal impression in the Borowski Collection.²⁶ There is a hieroglyphic inscription on both sides of that seal. The name *Patiya* (L.334 - L.90 - L.209) was read on the B side, although it is not certain whether it is a female name or not,²⁷ since it also appears as a male name in Hittite cuneiform texts. In Maşat Höyük Letters (no. 111, Mt. 75 / 58 Vo.21), it appears as a male name in the form of ^m*Pa-ti-ya-as*.²⁸ It was documented²⁹ as *fPát-te-i* / *fPít-te-i* in KUB 44.4+KBo 13.241³⁰ and *fPattiya*³¹ in KUB 22.70³² as a female name. The texts suggest that *fPattiya* was commissioned to serve the god of the city of *Arušna* and that she was probably removed from the palace because of an intrigue as the mother-in-law of the great king.³³ Unfortunately, it does not give us much clue in terms of stamp impression, dating, form and edge decoration. Therefore, it is very difficult to date the bulla in question. However, we see the seals with small impression areas during the transition period between the 14th and 13th centuries BC. Considering the layer where the finds have been excavated, we can propose a date for this hieroglyphic seal impression extending from the 14th to the 13th century BC to date.

²⁴ See the Boğazköy archive for similar compositions for the order of signs from top to bottom in the inscribed area of the seal and the use of symbols of goodness and life. See Dinçol and Dinçol 2008a, fig. 7.68a-b and 72a-b; Herbordt 2005.

²⁵ For dating of the layers, see Novák et al. 2017, 176; cf. Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020.

²⁶ Poetto and Salvatori 1981, 92.

²⁷ Poetto and Salvatori 1981, 28-29, figs. 22 and 23.

²⁸ Alp 1991, 110.

²⁹ Beckman 1983, 176-81.

³⁰ CTH 767.7; Incantation Fragments with Luwianisms. Sammeltafel CTH 528.22; Cult Inventories with description of festivals.

³¹ The name *Patti(ya)* is found in the text repertoire of the Hittite cuneiform and the seal corpus. *Pata* as a male name (Laroche 1966, no. 956) and *Pata* as a female name (Dinçol and Dinçol 2008a, fig. 17.175c-d; Dinçol and Dinçol 1981, 9, 23, fig. 7.7). *fPatabuli*, *fPattiyanni*, *fPatila* are the other names that are documented in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic seals and seal impressions, and they originate from similar names; see Zehnder 2010, 245, 247. Hurrian names can be derived from the hypocoristic suffix *-iya*. Similar examples are documented in the names of individuals from many settlements. For the name ^m*Nigri* / ^m*Nigriya* mentioned in the Alalakh tablets, ^m*Pandi* / ^m*Pandiya* in the Mari tablets, *fKili* / *fKiliya* in the Emar documents, and *fMannī* / *fManniya* in HKM 60 in the Maşat Höyük archive, see Alp 1991, 234; Zehnder 2010, 69-70, 246-47.

³² CTH 566; oracles concerning the cult of the deity of Arušna.

³³ See Pelvanoğlu et al. 2020; Ünal 2017, 209-10, de Martino 2011, 16, 50.

Bibliography

- Akul, H., and K.S. Girginer. 2012. "Kapadokya Komanası Geç Hellenistik - Roma Dönemleri Seramığı." In *Stratonikeia'dan Lagina'ya, Abmet Adil Tirpan Armağanı / From Stratonikeia to Lagina. Festschrift in Honour of Abmet Adil Tirpan*, edited by B. Sögüt, 1-25. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Alexander, R.L. 1972-1976. "The Tyszkiewicz Group of Stamp-Cylinders." *Anatolica* 5:141-215.
- Alp, S. 1991. *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 6.35. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Alp, S. 1993. *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels, Kultanlagen im Lichte der Keilschrifttexte. Neue Deutungen*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 6.23a. 2nd ed. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Beckman, G.M. 1983. *Hittite Birth Rituals*. 2nd ed. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 29. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Bilgin, T. 1970-1971. "Formes Volcaniques a l'est de Ceyhan et 'Leçe' de Hassa." *Review of the Geographical Institute of the University of Istanbul* 13:97-112.
- Boehmer, R.M. 1975. "Kleinasiatische Glyptik." In *Der alte Orient*, edited by W. Orthmann, 437-52. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14. Frankfurt am Main / Berlin / Vienna: Propyläen Verlag.
- Boehmer, R.M., and H.G. Güterbock. 1987. *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy, Grabungskampagnen 1931-1939, 1952-1978*. Boğazköy-Hattuşa 14. Die Glyptik von Boğazköy 2. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Bossert, H.Th. 1942. *Altanatolien. Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasiens von den Anfängen bis zum vollen Aufgeben in der griechischen Kultur*. Die ältesten Kulturen des Mittelmeerkreises 2. Berlin: E. Wasmuth.
- Bossert, H.Th. 1959. *Janus und der Mann mit der Adler-oder Greifenmaske*. Publications de l'institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 5. İstanbul: The Netherlands Historical-Archaeological Institute.
- Budge, E.A.W. 1887. "Letter to Rylands dated November, 3 1886." In *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Seventeenth Session, 1886-87. First Meeting, 2nd November, 1886*. Vol. 9, 27. London: The Offices of the The Society.
- Dardeniz, G., K.S. Girginer, and Ö. Oyman-Girginer. 2018. "A Pottery Kiln from Tatarlı Höyük (Adana, Turkey) and Its Implications for Late Bronze Age Pottery Production in Cilicia and Beyond." *Adalya* 21:117-34.
- Delaporte, L. 1920. *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental*. Vol. 1, *Fouilles et missions*. Paris: Librairie Hachette.
- de Martino, S. 2011. *Hurrian Personal Names in the Kingdom of Hatti*. Eothen 18. Firenze: LoGisma Editore.
- Dinçol, A.M. 1983. "Adana, Hatay ve İstanbul Müzelerinde Bulunan Hittit Hieroglif Mührleri." *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 9:173-284.
- Dinçol, A.M., and B. Dinçol. 1981. *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesinde Bulunan Hittit Hieroglif Mührleri / Hethitische Hieroglyphensiegel im Museum für anatolische Zivilisationen*. Ankara Turizmi, Eski Eserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Derneği Yayınları 10. Ankara: Ankara Turizmi, Eski Eserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Derneği.
- Dinçol, A.M., and B. Dinçol. 2008a. *Die Prinzen- und Beamten Siegel aus der Oberstadt von Boğazköy-Hattuşa vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende der Grossreichszeit*. Boğazköy-Hattuşa, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 22. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Dinçol, A.M., and B. Dinçol. 2008b. "Neue hieroglyphische Dokumente aus Alacahöyük / Alaca Höyük'te Bulunmuş Yeni Hiyeroglif Belgeler." *Colloquium Anatolicum* 7:167-75.

- Doğan-Alparslan, M., and M. Alparslan. 2010. "Ein hethitisches Siegel aus Amasya - Oluz Höyük." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 37.2:302-5.
- Forlanini, M. 2013. "How to Infer Ancient Roads and Itineraries from Heterogeneous Hittite Texts: The Case of the Cilician (Kizzuwatnean) Road System." *KASKAL* 10:1-34.
- Forlanini, M. 2015. "Some Hurrian Cult Centres North of the Taurus and the Travels of the Queen." In *Sacred Landscapes of Hittites and Luwians. Proceedings of the International Conference in Honour of Franca Pecchioli Daddi Florence, February 6th-8th 2014*, edited by A. D'Agostino, V. Orsi, and G. Torri, 27-36. *Studia Asiana* 9. Firenze: Firenze University Press.
- Girginer, K.S. 2004. "2002 Yılı Adana İli ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları (Tufanbeyli) ve Kizzuwatna Araştırmaları I." *AST* 21.1:311-24.
- Girginer, K.S. 2005. "Kizzuwatna Araştırmaları Projesi: 2002 Yılı Adana ve Çevresi Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırmaları ve Kummanni-Comana İlişkileri." In *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 02-08 Eylül 2002 / Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum 02-08 September 2002*, edited by A. Süel, 377-404. Ankara: Çorum İl Özel İdaresi.
- Girginer, K.S. 2007. "2005 Yılı Adana (Ceyhan) ve Kayseri (Develi) Yüzey Araştırmaları." *AST* 24.2:173-96.
- Girginer, K.S. 2008. "2006 Yılı Kapadokya ve Kilikya Yüzey Araştırmaları: Kayseri (Yahyalı) ve Adana (Ceyhan II)." *AST* 25.2:379-402.
- Girginer, K.S. 2016. "Tatarlı Höyük Kazıları ve Kizzuwatna Arkeolojisindeki Yeri ve Önemi." In *Uluslararası Tarıhte Adana ve Çukurova Sempozyumu Bildirileri Kitabı, 17-19 Nisan 2015, Adana, Türkiye, Tarıhte Adana ve Çukurova, 1. İlkçağ'dan Ortaçağ'a Adana ve Çukurova*, edited by Y. Kurt and M.F. Sansar, 173-96. Adana: Akademisyen Kitabevi.
- Girginer, K.S., Ö. Oyman-Girginer, and F. Erhan. 2006. "2004 Yılı Adana ve Kayseri Yüzey Araştırmaları (Sarız ve Kozan)." *AST* 23.2:293-308.
- Girginer, K.S., H.F. Özdemir, and B. Kaplan. 2007. "2002-2006 Yılları Kapadokya ve Kilikya Yüzey Araştırmaları: Genel Bir Değerlendirme." In *Atatürk Üniversitesi 50. Kuruluş Yıldönümü Arkeoloji Bölümü Armağanı, Doğudan Yükselen Işık, Arkeoloji Yazları*, edited by B. Can and M. Işıklı, 231-66. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Girginer, K.S., Ö. Oyman-Girginer, and H. Akıl. 2010. "Tatarlı Höyük (Ceyhan) Kazısı: İlk İki Dönem." *KST* 31.3:453-76.
- Girginer, K.S., Ö. Oyman-Girginer, and H. Akıl. 2011. "Tatarlı Höyük Kazısı 2009-2010 / Excavations at Tatarlı Höyük in 2009 and 2010." *Anmed* 9:128-35.
- Girginer, K.S., and D. Collon. 2014. "Cylinder and Stamp Seals from Tatarlı Höyük." *AnatSt* 64:59-72.
- Girginer, K.S., and Ö. Oyman-Girginer. 2016. "Kizzuwatna Araştırmaları Projesi ve Doğu Kilikya'nın M.O. II. Binyl Yerleşimleri." In *Stratejik Kalkınmada Kent Değerleri Sempozyumu-Osmaniye, 3-4-5 Mayıs 2016, Her Yönüyle Osmaniye, Dünyü Bugünü Yarını: Her Yönüyle Osmaniye Bildiriler Kitabı*, edited by A.A. Sezgin, A. Gerçek, and T. Yolcu, 67-77. Osmaniye Korkut Ata Üniversitesi Yayınları 3. Osmaniye: Osmaniye Korkut Ata Üniversitesi.
- Girginer, K.S., and Ö. Oyman-Girginer. 2020. "Tatarlı Höyükün Stratigrafisi Üzerine Ön Sonuçlar." In *Amanosların Gölgesinde Hayriye Akıl Anı Kitabı, MORS IMMATURA / In the Shadow of Amanus, In Memoriam Hayriye Akıl*, edited by K.S. Girginer, G. Dardeniz, A. Gerçek, F. Erhan, E. Genç, İ. Tuğcu, Ö. Oyman-Girginer, M.C. Fırat, H. Gerçek, and M.F. Tufan, 211-50. Kizzuwatna Araştırmaları Projesi Yayınları 1. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Girginer, K.S., Ö. Oyman-Girginer, H. Akıl, and M.F. Tufan. 2017. "2015 Yılı Tatarlı Höyük Kazısı Sonuçları." *KST* 38.2:443-54.
- Girginer, K.S., Ö. Oyman-Girginer, M.F. Tufan, M.C. Fırat, A. Gerçek, O.H. Kayci, H. Gerçek, and E. Dündar. 2019. "2017 Yılı Tatarlı Höyük Kazısı Sonuçları." *KST* 40.3:397-414.
- Gordon, C.H. 1939. "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery." *Iraq* 6.1:3-34.

- Güterbock, H.G. 1977. "The Hittite Seals in the Walters Art Gallery." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36 (*Essays in Honor of Dorothy Kent Hill*):7-16.
- Herbordt, S. 2005. *Prinzen- und Beamtenstiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattuša*. Boğazköy-Hattuša, Ergebnisse der Ausgraben 19. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Hogarth, D.G. 1920. *Hittite Seals with Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- İşık, A. 1999. "Mustafabeyli - Aslanpınarı - Kırmıtlı ve Tatarlı (Osmaniye) Yöresi Kuvaterner Yaşı Bazaltların Jeoloji ve Petrografisi." Master's thesis, Çukurova University.
- Laroche, E. 1966. *Les noms des Hittites*. Études linguistiques 4. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Messerschmidt, L. 1900a. *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*. MVAG 4-5.
- Messerschmidt, L. 1900b. "Über einege hethitische Siegel." *OLZ* 3.12:440-2.
- Messerschmidt, L. 1902. *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*. MVAG 3-7.
- Mora, C. 1987. *La Glittica Anatolica del II Millennio A.C., Classificazione Tipologica*. Studia Mediterranea 6. Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel 2. Pavia: G. Iuliano.
- Müller-Karpe, A. 2000. "Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 1999." *MDOG* 132:311-53.
- Novák, M., A.L. D'Agata, I. Caneva, C. Eslick, C. Gates, M.-H. Gates, K.S. Girginer, Ö. Oyman-Girginer, E. Jean, G. Köroğlu, E. Kozal, S. Kulemann-Ossen, G. Lehmann, A. Özyar, T. Özaydın, J.N. Postgate, F. Şahin, E. Ünlü, R. Yağcı, and D. Yaşın-Meier. 2017. "A Comparative Stratigraphy of Cilicia. Results of the First Three Cilician Chronology Workshops." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 44.2:150-86.
- Novák, M., and S. Rutishauser. 2017. "Kizzuwatna: Archaeology." In *Hittite Landscape and Geography*, edited by M. Weeden and L.Z. Ullmann, 134-45. Leiden / Boston: Brill.
- Orthmann, W., ed. 1975. *Der alte Orient*. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14. Berlin: Propyläen Verlag.
- Pelvanoğlu, T., M. Alparslan, and E. Konyar. 2020. "MÖ II. Binyilda Tatarlı Höyük'ün Adı." In *Amanosların Gölgesinde Hayriye Akıl Anı Kitabı, MORS IMMATURA / In the Shadow of Amanus, In Memoriam Hayriye Akıl*, edited by K.S. Girginer, G. Dardeniz, A. Gerçek, F. Erhan, E. Genç, İ. Tuğcu, Ö. Oyman-Girginer, M.C. Fırat, H. Gerçek, and M.F. Tufan, 359-87. Kizzuwatna Araştırmaları Projesi Yayınları 1. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Perrot, G., and Ch. Chipiez. 1887. *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiqué* 4, *Judée, Sardaigne, Syrie, Capadoce*. Paris: Librairie Hachette.
- Poetto, M., and S. Salvatori. 1981. *La collezione anatolica di E. Borowski*. The Lands of the Bible Archaeology Foundation - Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada. Studia Mediterranea 3. Pavia: Grafiche Pavoniane Artigianelli.
- Riemenschneider, M. 1954. *Die Welt der Hethiter*. Stuttgart: Gustav Kilpper Verlag.
- Seton-Williams, M.V. 1954. "Cilician Survey." *AnatSt* 4:121-74.
- Sollee, A.E., S. Rutishauser, Ch. Hübner, B. Hemeier, and M. Novák. 2018. "Fernerkundung, geophysikalische Prospektion und Ausgrabungen am Sirkeli Höyük (TR): Die Wiederentdeckung des antiken Kummanni/Kisuatni." In *Naturwissenschaftliche Methoden in der Archäologie*, 112-35. Mitteilungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Bern NF 75. Bern: Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Bern.
- Trémouille, M.C. 2013. "Remarques sur Comana de Cappadoce et sa déesse." In *Ritual. Religion and Reason. Studies in the Ancient World in Honour of Paolo Xella*, edited by O. Loretz, S. Ribichini, W.G.E. Watson, and J.Á. Zamora, 407-16. AOAT 404. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Ünal, A. 2008. "Çukurova'da Hitit Varlığı: Tarihi Yanılgılar ve Gerçekler." In *1. Ceyhan Sempozyumu, Ceyhan'dan Ceyhan'a Bildiriler. Ceyhan 29 Mart - 01 Nisan 2006*, edited by İ. Dikilitaş, 321-27. Ceyhan Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları 8. Adana: Ceyhan Belediyesi.

- Ünal, A. 2017. "Cilicia between Empires." In *Places and Spaces in Hittite Anatolia. 1, Hatti and the East. Proceedings of an International Workshop on Hittite Historical Geography in Istanbul. 25th-26th October 2013*, edited by M. Alparslan, 209-30. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Ünal, A., and K.S. Girginer. 2010. "Tatarlı Höyük Kazlarında Bulunan 'Anadolu Hiyeroglifli' Damga Mühür Baskısı." In *Veysel Donbaz'a Sunulan Yazilar DUB.SAR É.DUB.BA.A / Studies Presented in Honour of Veysel Donbaz*, edited by §. Dönmez, 275-81. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Zehnder, T. 2010. *Die bethitischen Frauennamen. Katalog und Interpretation*. Dresden Beiträge zur Hethitologie 29. Wiesbaden: Verlag Otto Harrassowitz.

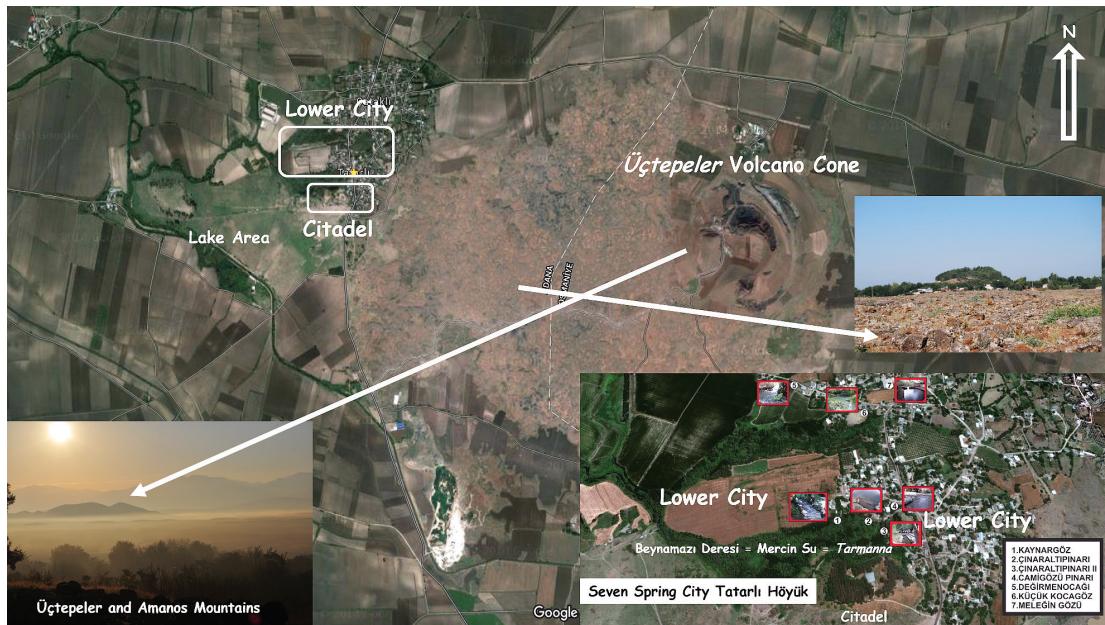


FIG. 1 Satellite image of Tatarlı Höyük and its surroundings, Üçtepeler volcano cone, and Yedi Pınar, located in Citadel and Lower City.

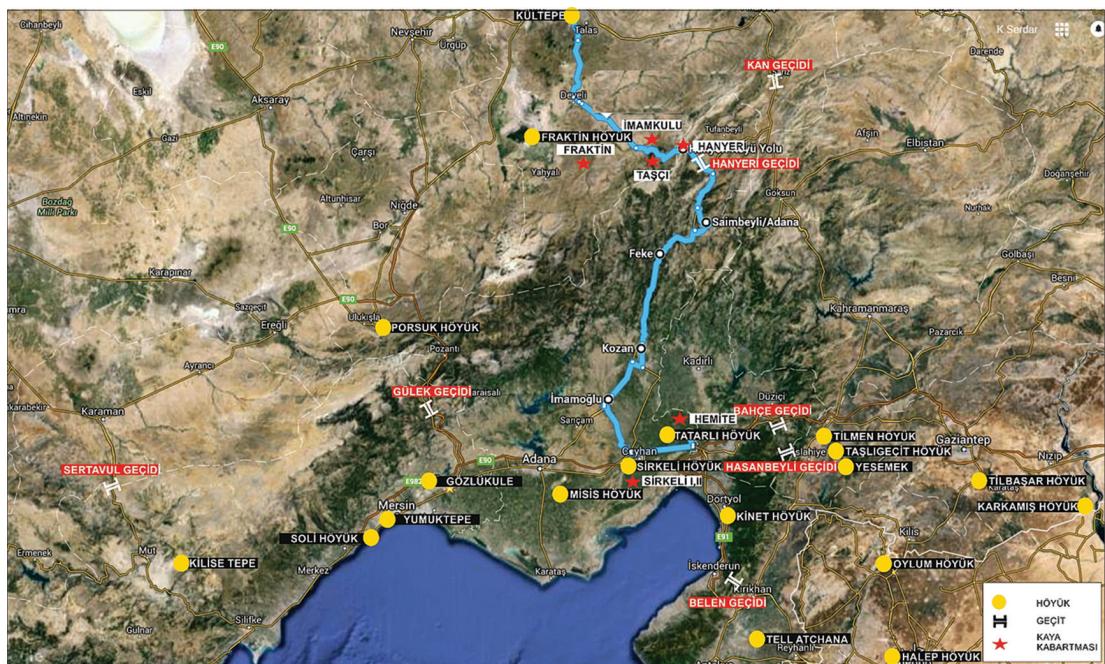


FIG. 2 Excavations, roads and "Hittite-Kizzuwatna Caravan Road" in Kizzuwatna (Tatarlı Höyük Excavation Archive ©).



FIG. 3 Late Bronze Age I site in Trench AZ 173 and location of bulla
(Tatarlı Höyük Excavation Archive ©).

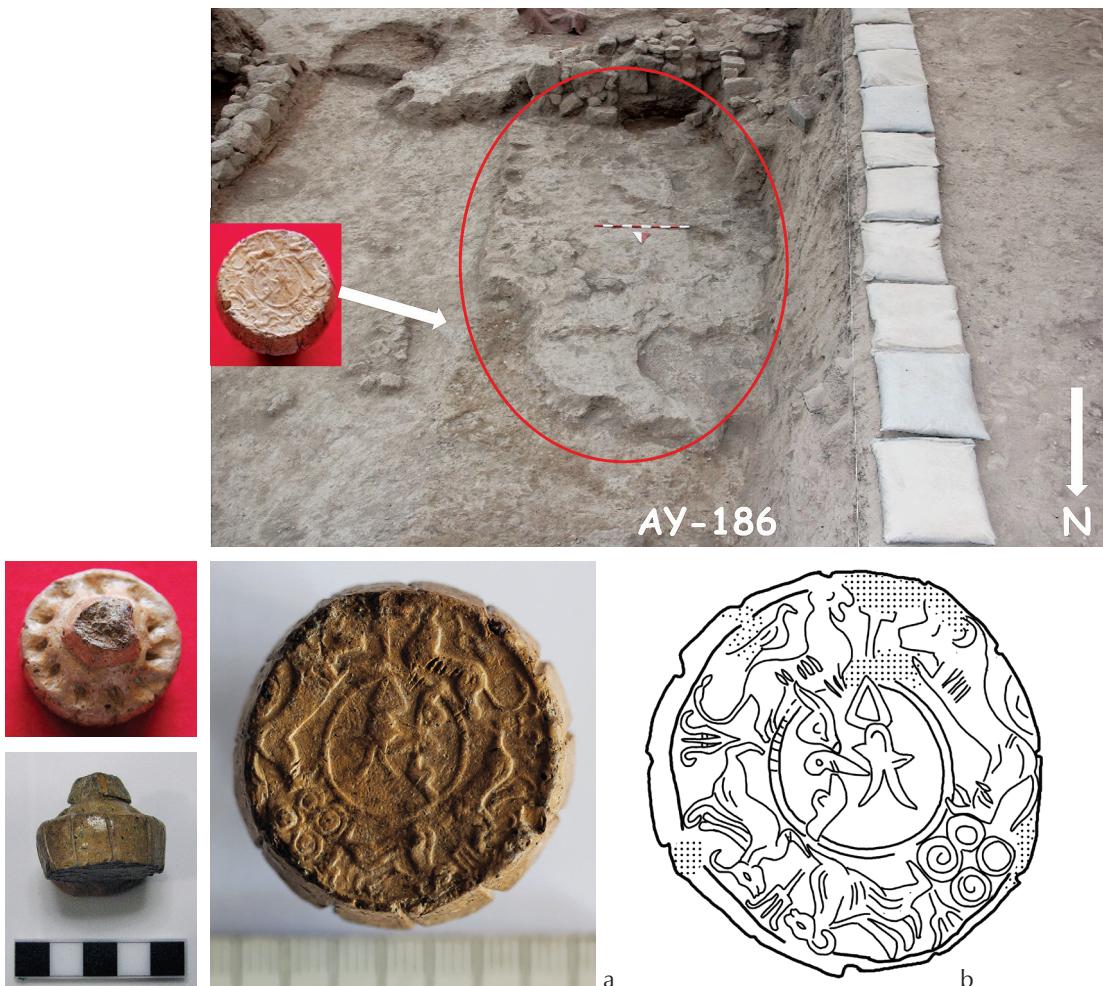


FIG. 4 a) In Trench AY 186 stamp seal found under the Middle Iron Age floor
(Tatarlı Höyük Excavation Archive ©). b) Seal found in Trench AY 186 and its drawing.

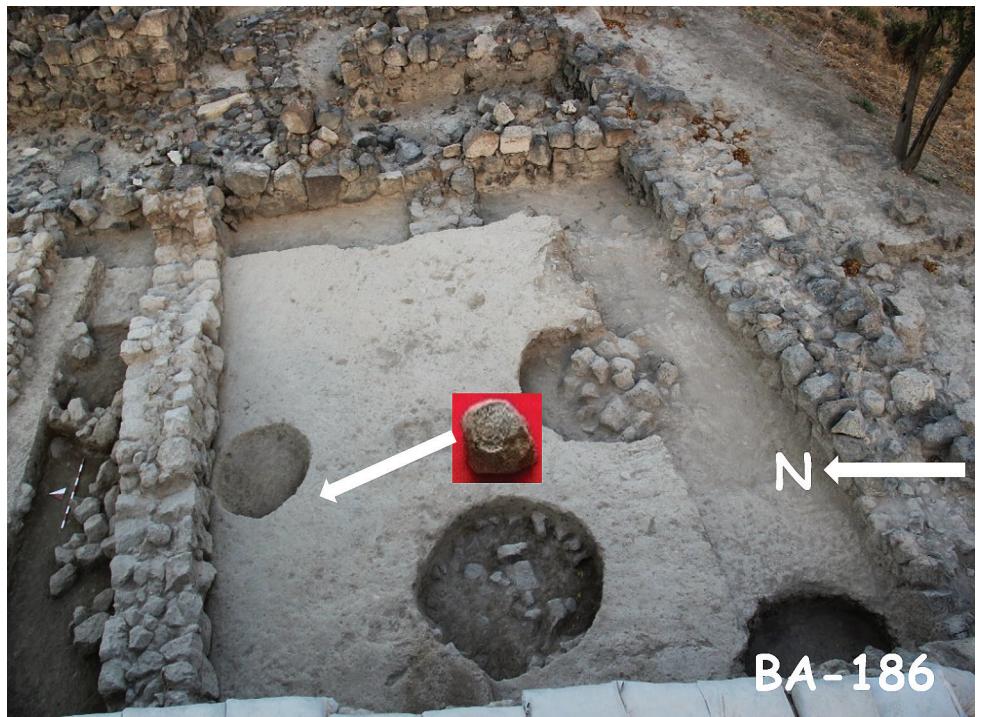


FIG. 5 a) Location of the bulla on the LBA II base in Trench BA 186 (Tatarlı Höyük Excavation ©).
b) Bulla found in Trench BA 186 and its drawing.

