

TWO ASSUWIAN ROYAL SEALS

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Three stamp-cylinder seals, addressed to as Tyskiewicz, Aydin (= Louvre AO 1180) and Louvre AO 20.138 in the relevant literature, are often grouped together under the blanket term “Tyskiewicz group”, after the first mentioned and most famous representative of this set of seals.¹ Now, of these three stamp-cylinder seals, two, namely Aydin and Louvre OA 20.138, can be positively identified as Assuwian royal seals on the basis of the Luwian hieroglyphic legend of their stamp side. This is most obvious in the case of Louvre AO 20.138, where we can easily distinguish the sequence of “man’s head in profile” *19 *á* (middle), “triangle” *370 *su* (right), and “vine tendril” *160 *wi* (left), which results in the reading *á-su-wi* in sum (see Fig. 1a) — no doubt a shorthand rendering of the adjective *Asuwia* “Assuwian” if we realize that in case of the name of a Hittite princess Luwian hieroglyphic *56-*370-*175-*160 *kâ-su-la-wi* as attested for two sealings from Boğazköy-Ḫattusa corresponds to cuneiform *Gassuliyawiya*.² Working from this reading of the stamp side of Louvre AO 20.138, the same sequence of signs can definitely be traced for the stamp side of Aydin as well, be it that the “triangle” now appears to the left of the “man’s head in profile” and the “vine tendril” to the right of the latter, and that the entire legend is supplemented by a wish-formula in form of the combination of *369 *ankh* (below) and *187 “star” (on top) (see Fig. 1b).³ As the Assuwian league, which, in view of the name of its leader, Piyamakuruntas, is likely to be taken for a conglomeration of forces from western Anatolia running from Troy in the north to Lycia in the south headed by the royal house of Arzawa (cf. the Arzawan royal name Kupantakuruntas) seated at *Apasa* “Ephesos”, figures only for a short time in Hittite texts, *in casu* the annals of Tudḫaliyas I (c. 1430-1400 BC),⁴ who defeated it so decisively that (with the exception of a later historical reflection) it is never heard of again, the legends of the stamp side of Louvre AO 20.138 and Aydin can safely be assigned to the latter half of the 15th century BC.⁵

On the basis of the decoration on its cylinder side, however, the Aydin stamp cylinder seal, together with the closely related Tyskiewicz seal, clearly dates from a much earlier period and is usually assigned to the 18th or 17th century BC for stylistic reasons.⁶ Consequently, Aydin and possibly Louvre AO 20.138 as well, for which, though it is in the main considered of later

¹ For a detailed treatment of this group, see Alexander 1973-6.

² Güterbock 1940, nos. 37 and 104; cf. Laroche 1960, s.v. *160. Note that our numbering of Luwian hieroglyphic signs follows Laroche 1960.

³ Note that Laroche’s interpretation of the central sequence in this legend as a theophoric name as reported by Parrot 1951: 180 must be considered erroneous.

⁴ For the chronology of the Hittite kings, see to Gurney 1990.

⁵ Achterberg/Best/Enzler/Rietveld/Woudhuizen 2004a, 115-8.

⁶ Boehmer/Güterbock 1987, 35, note 27; Mora 1987, 32-5.

date on the basis of the style of the frieze on its cylinder side (suggested to be Mitannian by some),⁷ we believe to have epigraphical reasons as presented in the following to trace it back to the 17th century BC at least, must be considered centuries old heirlooms of the Arzawan royal family at the time of their being reinscribed at the stamp side during the episode of the Assuwian league.⁸ This inference can be further underlined if we take a look at the decoration of the cylinder side of Louvre AO 20.138, which consists of two friezes framed by an upper band of repeated man's heads and a lower band featuring the repeated combination of the goat's and deer's heads (not deer's and antelope's heads, as Alexander wants to have it).⁹ These upper and lower bands are, in my opinion, not strictly decorative, but bear the testimony of Luwian hieroglyphic writing in its earliest form as attested for Middle Bronze Age documents, in which the individual signs are sometimes repeated as to form columns or rows in order to fill otherwise empty space, as in case of a sealing from Tell Atchana-Alalakh VII c. 1720-1650 BC (no. 154)¹⁰ and one attributable to the Karkamisan king Aplaḥanda of the early 18th century BC from Acemhöyük.¹¹ To be more exact, we appear to be dealing here with the earliest form of the glyph *19 which (in contrast to the more "modern" profile as encountered in the late 15th century BC inscription on the stamp side) still indicates the back of the head, to all probability used here logographically for AMU "I",¹² and the combination of *101 TARKU with *102-3 KURUNT, *rú* to form the royal name *Tarkukuruntas*,¹³ likely to be considered an ancestor of the leader of the Assuwian league Piyamakuruntas and one of the latter's successors, the Arzawan king Kupantakuruntas (a contemporary of the Hittite kings Tudḥaliyas II, c. 1390-1370 BC, and Arnuwandas I, c. 1370-1355 BC).¹⁴ For later Luwian hieroglyphic seals starting with *1 AMU, see the Nişantepe-archive from Boğazköy-Ḥattusa, cat. nos. 16 and 17,¹⁵ for double-deity names, compare *Sauskakuruntas* or *Sauskakuruntis* (a Hittite prince, contemporary of the Hittite king Tudḥaliyas IV, c. 1239-1209 BC, and principal of the Luwian hieroglyphic Köylütölu

⁷ Alexander 1973-6, 153 ff.

⁸ Note that Alexander (1973-6, 143) already observed that the stamp sides of Aydin and Louvre AO 20.138 were reworked.

⁹ Alexander 1973-6, 154.

¹⁰ Collon 1975, 84-5; cf. Best/Woudhuizen 1989, 128-37; Woudhuizen 2004a, 112-20.

¹¹ Özgüç 1980, Fig. III-17; Woudhuizen 2004a, 115, note 9.

¹² For the derivation of the syllabic value of "man's head" *19 *á* from logographic "man pointing at himself" *1 and *2 AMU according to the acrophonic principle, see Woudhuizen 2004b, 160.

¹³ This Middle Bronze Age attestation of deer's head (= *102-3 KURUNT, *rú*) should be added, next to the fish-sign *138 *wa₈*, as the 22nd member of our list of Middle Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic signs in Woudhuizen 2005, 739, Table III. Note that in Herbordt 2005 it is proposed that the names with the onomastic element *102-3 KURUNT, *rú* already developed into the late form *Runtias* during the Late Bronze Age, as in case with *Ḥalparuntias* (cat. nos. 108-10), etc., but, although apparently underlined by the patently Luwian name *Ru-w-an-ta* in an Egyptian exercise of writing Keftiu (= Minoan) names presumably from the period of the early 18th dynasty (c. 1550-1450 BC) (see Woudhuizen 1992, 2, note 6), this only applies if Hittite cuneiform *^dKAL* can be read in this way also. However this may be, it cannot be denied that the Cretan hieroglyphic offshoot of Luwian hieroglyphic "deer" or "deer's antlers" *102-3, E99 or 028 (attested from c. 2000 BC onwards; for the closest Old Hittite parallel in ductus to the Cretan counterpart of this sign as rendered in Best 1996-7, 125, Fig. 14a (below), see Beran 1967, Tafel I, no. 54), renders the value *rú*, either directly from Proto-Indo-European **roi-ko-* "deer" or as a developed form of *kurunt-* (< Proto-Indo-European *kerh₁-* "horn"), see Woudhuizen 2006b, 88, Table IV; 129.

¹⁴ Note that I have erroneously catalogued the inscription of the stamp side of the Aydin seal as evidence for Middle Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic in Woudhuizen 2004a, 203, Map II, which, if I am right in my interpretation of it, now can be replaced by the evidence of Middle Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic for western Anatolia as represented by the inscription on the cylinder side of Louvre AO 20.138.

¹⁵ Herbordt 2005.

text), whose name combines that of the Hurritic goddess *Sauska* with that of the Luwian stag god *Kurunt-*, and *Armatarḫuntas* (son of Zidas, an adversary of the Hittite king Ḥattusilis III, c. 1264-1239 BC), a combination of the name of the Luwian moon god *Arma* with that of the Luwian storm god *Tarḫunt*.¹⁶ It is not unthinkable that the aforesaid seal of king Aplaḥanda of Karkamis provides the closest comparative evidence for the legend of the cylinder side of Louvre AO 20.138 and should likewise be interpreted as *19 AMU "I" in combination with *107 MUWA and *97 WALWA for the personal name *Muwawalwas* of an in that case Anatolian subordinate of Aplaḥanda, paralleled for the father of Manapatarḫuntas, the vassal-king of Seḫa during the reign of the Hittite king Muwatallis II (c. 1295-1271 BC).¹⁷

If we are right in assigning the stamp-cylinder seal Louvre AO 20.138 to a 18th or 17th century BC forerunner of later Assuwian and/or Arzawan kings, the pictorial design of its cylinder part gives us some interesting information about western Anatolia during this early period (see Fig. 2). In the first place, this region appears to be rather advanced in having the disposal of war-chariots with teams of horses apparently reigned by means of a bit or a cavasson instead of a nose-ring as still attested for seals or sealings from the Kültepe-Kanesh period (c. 1910-1780 BC).¹⁸ Secondly, the depiction of a storm god with his war-chariot driven by bulls in intimate relationship with an unveiling fertility goddess with streams of water pouring from her shoulders in true Mesopotamian style in the upper frieze (note the graphical connection by means of twisted streams culminating in rudimentarily drawn vases, and the fact that only of the storm god and the fertility goddess the genitalia are indicated, suggesting their sacred marriage),¹⁹ and that of a bow-god receiving the spoils of a hunt in the lower frieze, strongly suggests that we are confronted here with the earliest pictorial representation of the Luwian trifunctional divine triad *Tarḫunt-* or *Tarku* (storm god, F1), *Santas* (war god, F2) and *Kubaba* (fertility goddess, F3) as attested for the Early Iron Age successor of Arzawa, the kingdom of Lydia, and the peripheral region of Crete in the form of a magical spell against the Asiatic pox in the language of the Keftiu (= Minoans) as preserved in an Egyptian hieroglyphic text probably dating back to the reign of Amenhotep III (1390-1352 BC).²⁰

¹⁶ Laroche 1966, nos. 1144 and 138.

¹⁷ Laroche 1966, no. 839. Note that the combination of "bull" (*107) and "lion" (*97) is also present in a sealing from Kültepe-Kanesh (Matouš & Matoušová-Rajmová 1984, no. 73; if this renders a personal name indeed, the combination on top of the column in my opinion should be emended as "hare" *115 TAPAR + "antelope" *104 *sá* for the titular expression *taparsa-* [= *labarsa-* in the Kültepe-Kanesh texts] frequently attested for Luwian hieroglyphic seals or sealings from the Middle Bronze Age period) and, reduced to heads and in association with the "man's head" (*19), in the outer ring on the stamp side of the Tyskiewicz seal; but note that in the latter case the name of the owner of the seal appears to be rendered in the center and to have *312-3 *ZITI* as its second element, whereas the signs in the outer ring (supplemented by the "bird of prey" (*131-3), the "antelope" (*104) and the "lion's head" (*97) en face) might well be pseudo-hieroglyphs for decoration purposes only. At any rate, it must be admitted that the symbols on the cylinder side of Tyskiewicz consisting of the ass's (*100) and bull's (*107) heads, the pomegranate (?) and an ear of wheat are plausibly interpreted by Alexander 1973-6: 150 as representations of offerings to the gods.

¹⁸ Littauer/Crouwel 1979, figs. 28-9 and 32; for the earliest Syrian seals or sealings bearing testimony of innovative form of horse-control by a bit or cavasson dating from the late 18th or 17th century BC (i.e. about the same period to which we assign Louvre AO 20.138), see Littauer/Crouwel 1979, figs. 33-4 and 36.

¹⁹ Alexander 1973-6, 156-7.

²⁰ Woudhuizen 2006a, 141-2. Note that this Luwian trifunctional divine triad is already attested for the Kültepe-Kanesh period in form of the divine name *Kubabat* and related personal names like *Tarḫu(a)la*, etc., *Sa(n)taḫsu*, etc., and *Šillikubabat*, see Hirsch 1961, 28 (*Kubabat*) and Laroche 1966, nos. 1255-6, 1266, 1273 (*Tarḫ-*) and 1097-8 (*Sa(n)ta-*).

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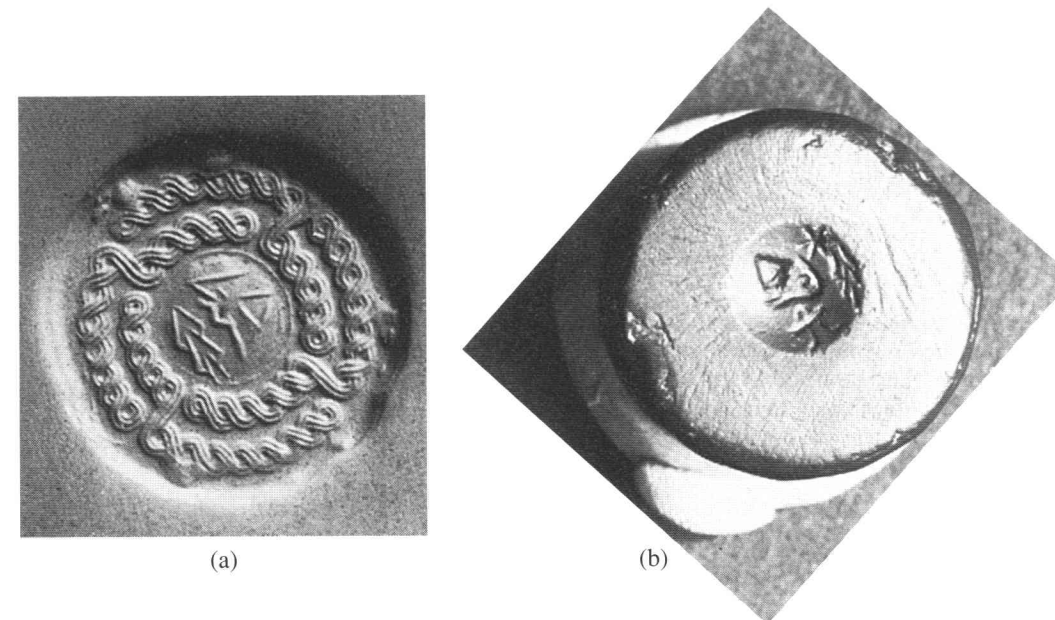


Fig. 1. Stamp side of stamp-cylinder seals Louvre AO 20.138 (a) and Aydin (b) (from Alexander 1973-6: plate I, fig. 2c and 2b, respectively).

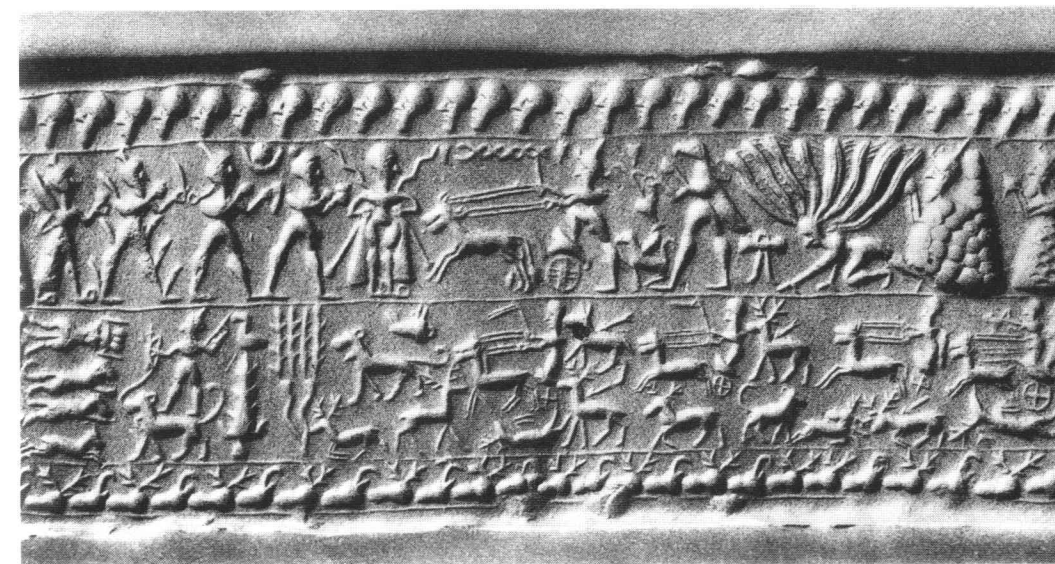


Fig. 2. Impression of the cylinder side of stamp-cylinder seal Louvre AO 20.138 (from Parrot 1951: Pl. XIII, 1).