

On the Reading of the Luwian Hieroglyphic Legends of the Schimmel Rhyton*

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Geyik riton, Schimmel koleksiyonu, Luwi hiyeroglifli lejantlar, Assuwa

Since its publication by Oscar Muscarella in 1974 (as no. 123), the scene on the silver stag-rhyton from the collection of Norbert Schimmel has been treated by various scholars. Most important among these treatments are the ones by Hans Gustav Güterbock, Sedat Alp, and John David Hawkins.

In his discussion of the intriguing object, Alp (1988) focuses on the order of the scene, which is a running one, and the question of its date. As to the order, which is convincingly established by Alp, his colleague Güterbock (already in 1977, but see esp. 1989a) draws attention to three Late Bronze Age seals with a Luwian hieroglyphic legend in the center, one from the British Museum in London (Mora 1987: IIIb 3.1), another from Dresden (not included in Mora 1987), and the third from Adana (Mora 1987: IIIb 3.3). All these three seals are in the outer band decorated with a scene depicting in varying detail more or less the following sequence (Fig. 1):

- (1) a seated goddess with a bird perched on her outstretched left hand and an altar in front of her;
- (2) worshippers to the left of the altar, the first one of which is pouring a libation and the third and last one represents the so-called “cupbearer of squatting”, and
- (3) behind the seated goddess the head and hoofs of a stag, a hunting bag, a quiver, two spears and the *eya*-tree.

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As the scene of the first two seals is characterized by a part focusing on a winged sun-disc on top of a triangle which is supported on either side by a mythological being in between the *eya*-tree on the one hand and the row of worshippers on the other hand, the order as depicted in our Fig. 1, which is first suggested by Güterbock and further underlined by Alp, who had the aforesaid figure drawn on the basis of these observations, may safely be assumed to be correct.

As far as the dating of the silver stag-rhyton from the Schimmel collection is concerned, Muscarella preferred its assignment to the Hittite Empire period, which presumably boils down to a dating to the 14th and 13th centuries BC. In any case, Alp contrasts this dating with the one by the former leader of the excavations at Boğazköy, Kurt Bittel, who rather suggests a dating to the period around or just after c. 1400 BC. Finally, Alp himself dates the object to the Old Hittite period, which covers the earliest phase of the Late Bronze Age, from c. 1650 to 1500 BC (Alp 1988: 21-23). It is of relevance to note in this connection that the seals used by Güterbock in his reconstruction of the order of the scene (see above) most certainly date prior to the Hittite Empire period, at least in the sense as used here (i.e. dating from the reign of Suppiluliumas I, c. 1350-1322 BC, onwards), the one from the British Museum in London being assigned by Clelia Mora to the period of the second half of the 16th to 15th century BC (see Mora 1987: discussion of IIIb 3.1). Notwithstanding so, Hawkins (2006: 50) sides with Muscarella and considers the silver rhyton a cult object dating from the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC).

What primarily concerns us here are the Luwian hieroglyphic legends added to the scene, one on top of the seated goddess with a bird perched on her outstretched left hand (our no. 1) and the other also at the upper margin, but this time in between the tutelary god standing on a stag and the first worshipper pouring a libation (our no. 2).

According to Hawkins (2006: 52; 56), the legends in question are to be read in the reverse order as *cervus_x-deus_x* and *á-x-deus_x-filia*. In his interpretation of the last sign in our legend no. 1 as *filia* he bases himself on Güterbock 1989b: 115, who suggests this as one of two options, both of which he considers insecure. The feminine nature of what simply seems to be an early variant of L 45 *infans^m* (numbering of the Luwian hieroglyphic signs according to Laroche 1960; note that the sign attached to the lower side of the hand is not an oval indicative of female gender (L 408^f or *femina*), but a rectangular and hence more likely to be considered a shorthand variant of L 386, 1^m or *vir₂*) is in fact an inference from Güterbock's identification of the

seated deity with which the legend is associated as a goddess, in which he, in my opinion, is correct. But does the legend have a bearing on this particular deity? In the opinion of Hawkins it does, and in this manner he arrives at the interpretation of the legend as the GN *Ala*, the consort of the stag-god mentioned in the other legend, our no. 2. As corroborating evidence for the fact that there is a consort of the stag-god named *Ala*, Hawkins draws attention to Emirgazi § 26, which he reads as *á* (*femina.deus*).^{*461} “the goddess *Ala*” (so also Hawkins 2004: 366). Along this line of approach, finally, Hawkins is quite certain about the identification of the enigmatic sign which occurs in both legends as an odd variant of L 360 *MASANA* (= *deus*).

In actual fact, however, the given reading of the section of the Emirgazi text in question is highly questionable. In my treatment of this text it concerns § 27 and reads *á-ya* ^{MASANA} *pá<+r+tì>* “the heroic stag-god” (reconstruction on the basis of Malatya 5, where the divine name of the deity in question, standing on a male deer with prominent antlers, is written out in full and owing to this fact can be traced back to PIE ^{*b^h}*rent-* “stag”, see Woudhuizen 2011: 119, note 2). But much more important than that is the fact that what Hawkins takes as an unidentified sign in legend no. 1 and without proper foundation assumes to render the value *la* much more likely consists of the sign for “land”, L 228 *UTNA* (= *regio*) — this identification being only slightly hampered by the fact that the two triangles of which the sign is composed are set apart and are not connected at the lower side as is normally the case. If so, we may well be dealing here with the name of a country. Working along this alternative line of approach, the comparison with a combination on the Baltimore seal (Mora 1987: IIIb 2.1; note that this seal is from the same group as the seal from London and the seal from Adana mentioned in the foregoing in the context of scenes comparable to the one of the Schimmel rhyton), anticlockwise no. 12 of the outer ring, comes to mind for the direct association of L 19 *á* with L 225 *UMINA* (= *urbs*) — especially so if we realize that the latter sign for “town” is in fact interchangeable with L 228 *UTNA*. If allowance be made for the possibility that L 402, which appears in ligature here with L 19 *á*, already in texts from the Late Bronze Age expresses the value *sa*₄ as attested for Early Iron Age documents because its circular form suggests a value acrophonically derived from PIE ^{*seh₂}*wōl-* “sun” (see Woudhuizen 2011: 423), the combination in question reads *á+sa*₄ ^{UMINA} in sum. Now, although this same combination is used to express the country name *Išuwā* at the eastern confines of the Hittite empire (Hawkins 1998: 294-295, Figs. 2-3), in this particular case, in my opinion at least, it rather renders the geographic name *Aššuwā* as used for a league of nations along the western confines of

the Hittite empire featuring in Hittite history during the late 15th century BC. This opinion is based on two facts, namely:

- (1) the seal in question has surfaced on the market in Aydın in Lydia, i.e. exactly in the region where the nucleus of the Assuwan league is situated (see further below), and
- (2) the combination in second position anticlockwise consists of the titular expression L 18 *URA+ḪANTA*WAT (= *magnus rex*) “great king”, which is conceivable for a country along the western border of the Hittite empire, as exemplified by the case of the Arzawan king Tarḫundaradus rising to this preeminent status during the Amarna period in the earlier part of the 14th century BC, but entirely without parallel for the country of Isuwa, which as far as the evidence goes was ruled by functionaries addressed as L 17 *ḪANTA*WAT (= *rex*) “king” (cf. Woudhuizen 2011: 83, note 10; *contra* Hawkins 1998: 288).

Against this backdrop, then, it may reasonably be argued that the enigmatic sign, which takes the place of L 402 *sa*₄ in the sequence from the Baltimore seal, renders a sibilant value as well. In actual fact, this latter suggestion can even be further emphasized from an epigraphical corner of incidence, as the sign in question happens to be so closely related in form to L 430 *sa* as used in the inscriptions of great king Ḫartapus conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition and dating from the earliest stage of the Early Iron Age that it may well come into consideration as an earlier variant of it (Fig. 3). If so, the legend under discussion reads *á-sa*^{UTNA} *infans*^m in sum and bears reference to a son, or, in political terms, representative of the land of Assuwa (Fig. 2). The validity of our present reading of legend no. 1 can even be further enhanced by the observation that on the Baltimore seal the combination *á+sa*₄^{UMINA} is followed by *infans*^m+*UMINA* (anticlockwise no. 13)!

If we next turn to legend no. 2, it should be acknowledged that the first sign of this legend is correctly identified by Hawkins as a variant of L 103 *KURUNT* (= *cervus*₃; note that the given phonetic value originates from PIE **kerh*₁- “head, horn”) and as a rendering of the name of the stag-god. This leads us to the question: how does the additional sign, which we have just suggested to render a sibilant value, fit into our framework so far? The answer to this question is in my opinion to be found in the association of the, of origin, Hurritic goddess *Šauška* with the adjective (*a*)*pára*- “of the field” in Südburg § 3 (the combination reads ^{MASANA}(*a*)*pá-r(a)-sà-us-ka* in full, see Woudhuizen 2011: 123; 137), as this latter adjective is, as generally acknowledged, typical for the tutelary deity or stag-god *Kurunt* in the Yalburd (§ 3) and Emirgazi

(§§ 27, 30, 37, 39) texts (see Woudhuizen 2011: 113; 119-120; 137)!¹ It seems not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the sign with in our view a sibilant value associated with the GN *Kurunt* in our legend no. 2 confronts us with an abbreviation of the GN *Šauska*, who, as evidenced by the Yalburt and Emirgazi texts, really is the consort of the stag-god (see Fig. 4).

In this connection it is further of relevance to note that the close association of the god *Kurunt* with the goddess *Sauska* is underlined by the “double-deity” type of MN *Sà-us-ka-rú-ti* “Sauskaruntias” as attested for Köylütolu § 8 (see Woudhuizen 2011: 122; 143 and note that, in line with my remark on p. 80 of the same work, *Runtias* is the developed form of *Kurunti-* according to the phonetic development *Kuruntiyas* > *Kruntiyas* > *Runtiyas*).

If we are right, then, in our foregoing interpretation of the Luwian hieroglyphic legends of the silver stag-rhyton, it necessarily follows that, conform legend no. 1, the object is a dedication by a functionary of the land of Assuwa and that, conform legend no. 2, the deities involved are the stag-god *Kurunt* and his consort *Sauska*. Now, it so happens that especially the identification of a functionary of the land of Assuwa has chronological repercussions. The land of Assuwa, namely, which is mostly addressed in conformity with the information in Hittite texts as the Assuwan League, first turns up in Egyptian hieroglyphic sources in form of *’Isy* “Asia” as attested for the annals of pharaoh Tuthmosis III (1479-1425 BC) of the 18th dynasty for the years 34 and 38-39, which means in terms of absolute chronology 1445 BC and 1441-1440 BC, respectively (Sethe 1907: IV, 707, 719, and 724; cf. its discussion by Vercoutter 1956: 179-182). In one text from the latter’s reign, the so-called poetic stele, it is directly associated with *K3fty* “Crete” (Vercoutter 1956: 51, doc. 5). From the Hittite side, on the other hand, we are informed that great king Tudḫaliyas II (1425-1390 BC), presumably early in his reign,

1 I am aware of the fact that it is currently suggested that the related group of signs L 461-3 should be read as *ma_x* instead of *pá*, because the sequence L 209-463-383, 2 according to this opinion reads *i-ma_x+ra/i* and as such provides us with a perfect match of cuneiform Luwian *imra-* “field, countryside”, with regular loss of the voiced velar as compared to Hittite *gimra-* < PIE *ǵ^h*eyym-/ǵ^him-* “winter, snow”. It should be realized in this connection, however, that the new reading of L 209 as *i* instead of *a* is definitely ruled out by the correspondence of L 209-*la-pa-* to the TN *a-le-p-* “Aleppo” and of L 209-*ma-tu-* to the TN *a-mat-* “Hamath” and numerous other of such examples (see Woudhuizen 2011: 89-91), whereas the value *pá*, as we have already precluded upon in the case of the GN *pá+r-ti* for the stag-god in Malatya 5, is ascertained. Therefore I suggest that the labial [p] actually represents [mb] and that, as far as the initial vowel [a] is concerned — if only we realize that this corresponds to Lycian [e] — the closest comparable evidence is provided by the Lycian MN *Hē[p]ruma*, which occurs in Greek writing in form of *Embromos*, see Woudhuizen 2011: 399-400.

defeated a confederation known as the Assuwian League, which entailed the entire west coast of Anatolia, running from the *Lukka* “Lycians” in the south to *Wiluša* “Ilion” and *Tarwiša* “Troja” in the north. As I have argued in various publications, the nucleus of the Assuwian League is formed by the kingdom of Arzawa with its capital *Apaša* “Ephesos” for three reasons. In the first place, its king Piyamakuruntas bears a name which is a hereditary one among the Arzawan royal house. Secondly, Homeros in his *Iliad* II, 461 situates the “Asian field” (Ἀσίω ἐν λειμῶνι) in the neighborhood of Ephesos, as we have just noted the capital of Arzawa. And thirdly, as much as four toponyms featuring in the list with a bearing on the Assuwian League can positively be situated in the realm of Arzawa (Achterberg e.a. 2004: 115; Woudhuizen 2006-7: 125; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 247-248; 326; most extensively Woudhuizen *forthc.*). But what primarily concerns us here: in the contemporary Egyptian and Hittite sources the country name Assuwa only features during the latter half of the 15th century BC, which, by implication, provides us with a similar date for the silver stag-rhyton from the Schimmel collection! Note, however, in this context that posterior to this date the Mycenaean Linear B tablets both from Knossos (c. 1350 BC) and from Pylos (c. 1200 BC) are still referring to inhabitants of the region of Ephesos by the ethnic adjective *a-si-wi-jo* (m) and *a-si-wi-ja* (f), respectively (Woudhuizen 2009: 190). Similarly, in a list of country names of the Egyptian pharaoh of the 19th dynasty, Ramesses II (1279-1213 BC), *’Isy* still features in close association with *Kftiw* “Crete”, presumably as a repetition from texts of his predecessors (Vercoutter 1956: 87, doc. 17).

Within the present framework, a final remark on the religion of the Luwians inhabiting the region of western Anatolia seems in order, especially in view of the fact that the writing of the country name Assuwa is, as we have seen in the above, identical with that of Isuwa and the “awkward confusion” (Hawkins 1998: 288) needs to be ruled out. As far as the religion of the Luwians of western Anatolia can be reconstructed, then, it is patently of the original Indo-European trifunctional type (cf. Woudhuizen 2010). Thus, the stamp-cylinder seal Louvre AO 20.138 (Mora 1987: Ia 1.3), which on the stamp side bears the secondarily inscribed Luwian hieroglyphic legend *á-su-wi* “Assuwian”, on the cylinder side shows us, alongside the Luwian hieroglyphic legend *amu Tarkukuruntas* “I (am) Tarku(ku)runtas” as part of the original design, a highly informative scene in which we can discern:

- (1) the sun-god (F1) rising between twin peaks at right of the top row;
- (2) the storm-god (F2) mounted in his chariot in the center of the top row;

(3) the tutelary deity or stag-god (F3) mounted on a lion at the left of the lower row consisting of a hunting scene; note that this god is depicted with sacrificial slaughtered animals (the spoils of the hunt) in front of him and an *eya*-tree with a bird on top of it behind him;

(4) the sun-maiden or goddess of love (= trans-functional goddess), who is in the act of throwing off her cloths in order to prepare herself for making love with the storm-god (Woudhuizen 2006-7: 125-127; Woudhuizen 2009: 211; cf. Güterbock 1989b: 119).

Furthermore, the cylinder seal discovered in Mycenaean Thebes, but which is of Anatolian origin (Mora 1987: IX 5.9) and in my opinion can be attributed to two successive Assuwian or Arzawan kings, named *Tarhuntimuwas* and *Tarhantiwalwas*, respectively, bears the testimony of a figurative scene consisting of:

(1) the tutelary deity (F3), with a lituus and a hare (the spoils of the hunt) in his left hand and brandishing a spear in the right hand;

(2) the sun-god (F1), whose identity, notwithstanding the fact that he carries the attribute of the storm-god, a bolt of lightning, in his left hand, can definitely be determined by the symbol of winged sun-disc above his head;

(3) the storm-god (F2) carrying a lance in his left hand;

(4) the sun-maiden or goddess of love (= trans-functional goddess), here depicted in her martial aspect with a shield in her left hand.

The identifications of the deities as presented here can be underlined by the Luwian hieroglyphic legends associated with them. Thus the tutelary deity is associated with the wish-formula L 369 *vita* and L 370 *ASU* (= *bonus*₂) pertaining to the state or community as a whole, the sun-god with the names of the Assuwian or Arzawan great kings, the storm-god with the emblem of a king seated on a throne, and the sun-maiden with the name *Wastizitis* of a lower functionary, the “spear-man”. Note that from the sun-god onwards the images of the deities are associated with indications of functionaries of diminishing rank, ranging from great king via king to a lower functionary, which enhances the validity of our analysis to a great deal (Woudhuizen 2009: 204-212). Note also that, like in the case of the Schimmel rhyton, the lower functionary is directly associated with the goddess and that this latter, presumably, as we have seen, to be identified as *Sauska*, is a hypostase of the Assyrian goddess *Ištar* (Aro 2003: 305) or her Phoenician equivalent *Aštarte*, in other words of the Indo-European sun-maiden (< PIE **h*₂*stér-* “star”).

Against this backdrop, then, there can be little doubt that the silver stag-rhyton from the Schimmel collection represents the third function (F3) in Dumézilian terms, abundantly attested, as we have just seen, for the clearly trifunctional religion of the Luwians of western Anatolia — which diminishes the possibility that the object is from Isuwa of which region similar detailed evidence on the religion of the population to the best of my knowledge is lacking. In addition, it will probably no longer come as a surprise if we remark that the *eya*-tree, associated with the stag-god, originates from PIE **h_aeig-* “oak” or, more in specific, the ever-green “Turkey-oak” (*Quercus curris*) by the for Luwian regular loss of the voiced velar **[g]* (see Mallory – Adams 2007: 161; cf. Woudhuizen 2011: 410-412).

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Abstract

In this paper it will be argued that on the basis of its Luwian hieroglyphic legends the stag-rhyton from the collection of Norbert Schimmel can be positively attributed to a functionary representing the west-Anatolian land of Assuwa. The nucleus of the latter land, or better confederation of lands, which rose to political prominence during the second half of the 15th century BC, was formed by the country of Arzawa, as can be inferred from the fact that its king was a member of the Arzawan royal house. It will further be argued that the stag represents the tutelary deity or stag-god, i.e. the third function (F3) in Dumézilian terms, and, in doing so, perfectly fits into the relevant evidence on the religion of the Luwians of western Anatolia, which was straightforwardly of an Old Indo-European trifunctional type.

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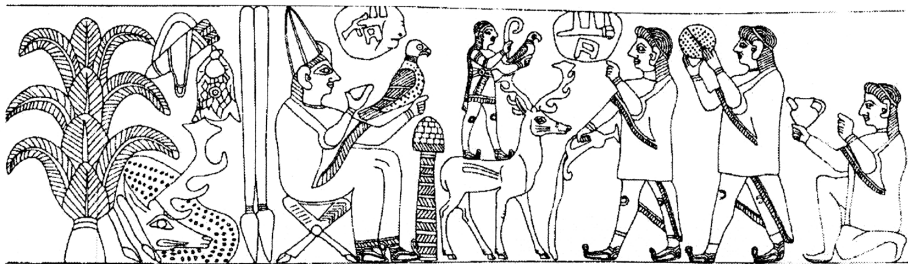


Fig. 1 Drawing of the scene on the Schimmel rhyton (from Hawkins 2006: 71, Fig. 5).



Fig. 2 Luwian hieroglyphic legend no. 1 (from Hawkins 2006: 71, Fig. 5) with comparison from the Baltimore seal (cf. Mora 1987: IIIb 2.1).



Fig. 3 Thus far enigmatic sign from the Luwian hieroglyphic legends with suggested equivalent of later date, L 430 sa.

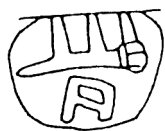


Fig. 4 Luwian hieroglyphic legend no. 2 (from Hawkins 2006: 71, Fig. 5) with comparison from Südburg § 3 (cf. Hawkins 1995: Abb 35).