

## SOME MORE ON CRETAN HIEROGLYPHIC SEALS

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*To the memory of my father*

This article amplifies my recent work on Cretan hieroglyphic seals and sealings as presented in Woudhuizen 2006a, section 12 and appendix I, and Woudhuizen 2006b, chapter III.

### 1. Tarkondemos in Cretan Hieroglyphic\*

The famous Tarkondemos seal with a bilingual inscription, the one in Akkadian around the border and the other in Luwian hieroglyphic in the center, played a notorious role in the deciphering process of Luwian hieroglyphic, its exact reading being contested up till the present time (Fig. 1). Nevertheless, it may reasonably be argued that the cuneiform legend should be emended as *<sup>m</sup>Tar-qu-u-tim-me* LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Me-ra-a*, whereas the Luwian hieroglyphic version, considering the fact that \*320 is now positively identifiable as a variant of \*165 *wá* thanks to its interchange with regular \*439 *wa* on sealings from the Nişantepe-archive<sup>1</sup>, reads *TARKU-wá* *ḪANTAWAT mi+r(a)-ḫ<sup>UTNA</sup>*, both variants of the legend still being translatable as “Tarkondemos, king (of) the land Mira”. The difference in form of the royal name between the two versions of the bilingual inscription can plausibly be explained by the fact that the Luwian hieroglyphic variant, on the analogy of short hand versions like *Ḫá+li* and *Um+r-li* of the Hittite royal names Ḫattusilis and Mursilis as attested for seals and sealings, constitutes an abbreviation of \**Tarkuntimuwas*. In writing variant *TARKU-wa*, this same abbreviation is traceable on sealings of the same king of Mira from Boğazköy/Ḫattusa (cf. Woudhuizen 2005, 101; 109-10) (Fig. 2). As far as the evidence allows us to determine, Tarkondemos

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\* My thanks are due to Jan Best for drawing my attention to the Cretan hieroglyphic inscriptions presented in our figures 5 and 6 during the sessions of the Alverna Research Group.

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins in Herboldt 2005, 257 with reference to the correspondence of Kat. 281-6 to



Fig. 1. Tarkondemos seal (Pope 1999, 139, fig. 86).



Fig. 2. Sealing of Tarkuwas (Güterbock 1975, 51, no.7 [cf. no. 6]).

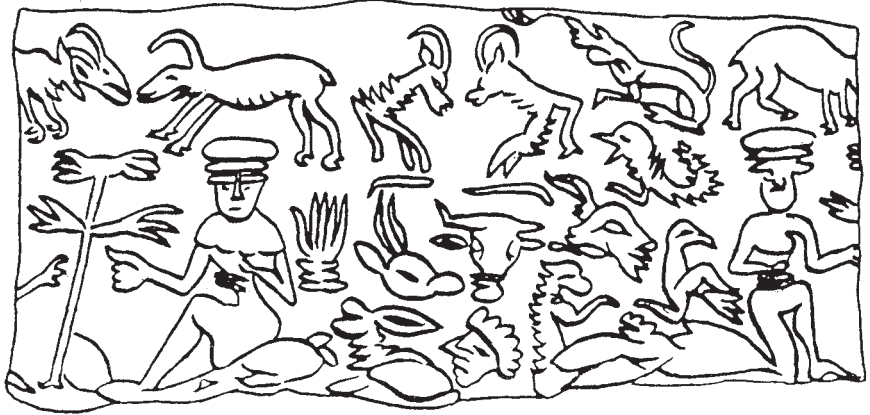


Fig. 3. Erlenmeyers' seal (Erlenmeyers 1965, Fig. 5 [cf. Fig 6a-g]).



Fig. 4. Seal Hogarth, no. 154 (Hogarth 1920, Pl. VI).

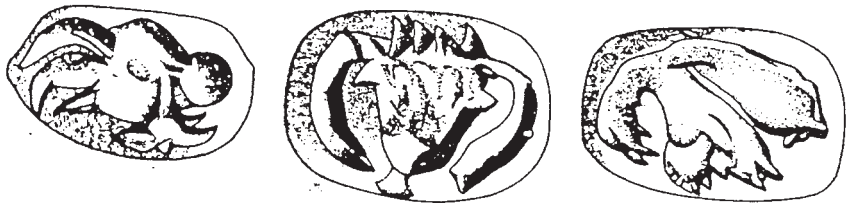


Fig. 5. Seal from Malia, Le Quartier Mu (Detournay/Poursat/Vandenabeele 1980, 160, Fig. 231).

ruled over Mira – by and large the Late Bronze Age predecessor of classical Lydia – as the penultimate ruler before the collapse of this realm in the period of the resurrections of the Sea Peoples (Woudhuizen 2005, 113; cf. Güterbock 1975: 51, nos. 6 and 7) or sometime afterwards (see preceding contribution).

The royal name Tarkondemos, however, has a much longer history in Luwian hieroglyphic, as it is already attested for two seals from Henri Frankfort’s “First Syrian group”, dated to *ca.* 2000-1700 BC and assigned to either a Syrian or Cappadocian provenance for stylistic considerations. In one of the two seals, named after its publishers the Erlenmeyers’ seal, the name is written with the goat head *TARKU* (\*101), an as yet undetermined sign probably rendering a dental value, the ox head *MUWA*, *mu* (\*107) in its earliest rendering “en face”, and the man’s head for the primary vowel *á* (\*19), thus reading *TARKU-ta?-MUWA-á* in sum (Fig. 3). In the second, known as Hogarth no. 154, it appears in a writing variant consisting of the goat head *TARKU* (\*101), the non-predatory bird (\*128) with syllabic value *ti*<sub>5</sub> as acrophonically derived from \**tintapu-* (> *zinzapu-* by assibilation) “dove” (Woudhuizen 2004a, 118) (note that this sign occurs both on top and below the goat head, being repeated as a means to fill otherwise empty space), the ox head *MUWA*, *mu* (\*107), this time in a writing variant characterized by a humanized face, and the tail of a fish no doubt related to the fish sign *wa*<sub>8</sub> (\*138), which in sum leads us to the reading *TARKU-ti*<sub>5</sub>-*mu-wa*<sub>8</sub> (cf. Best/Woudhuizen 1989, 128-37) (Fig. 4).

Now, already the Erlenmeyers in their publication of the aforesaid Erlenmeyers’ seal observed the closeness in ductus of the Luwian hieroglyphic signs in their earliest attestation to Cretan hieroglyphic counterparts. This is not the place to treat the subject of the relationship of Cretan hieroglyphic with Luwian hieroglyphic *in extenso*, which I have done elsewhere (Woudhuizen 2006b, chapter III). I would like to take the opportunity to draw the attention of the reader to an early Cretan hieroglyphic seal from the atelier of Le Quartier Mu at Malia, possibly dating *ca.* 2000 BC, which shows the following sequence of signs divided over its three sides as according to its publication: the goat head on side 1, the ox head “en face” (with four strokes on top, recalling the four strokes on the cheek of the later Luwian hieroglyphic parallels) on side 2<sup>2</sup>, and a non-predatory bird (as it seems in a bad health condition) on side 3 (Fig. 5). Of these three signs, the goat head (016 = E65)<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>2</sup> Note that, in line with the practices in Luwian hieroglyphic where a six stroke variant of \*391 *má*, *mí*, *m* is attested for the onomastic element *SARU+má* as in Nişantepe Kat. 97, 320, 323-4 and 327 (see Herbordt 2005, Tafels 8 and 25-6), and Korucutepe no. 3 (see Güterbock 1980, Pl. 40), in Cretan hieroglyphic the number of the strokes added to the ox head “en face” may vary; thus it appears either with four (cf. CMS II, 2, Nrs. 138 and 191), five (CMS II, 2, Nr. 111) or six (Evans 1909, 134, Fig. 75b) strokes on top. Note furthermore that the trapezoid extension below the muzzle recalls the schematically rendered body of the ox head as rendered in Hogarth no. 154.

<sup>3</sup> For the numbering of the Cretan hieroglyphic signs, see CHIC and Evans 1909 when



Fig. 6. Seal CMS II, 2, Nr. 102.

the ox head “en profile” (012 = E62) figure in my treatment of Cretan hieroglyphic, whereas the non-predatory bird does not. Therefore it is noteworthy that it occurs in yet another early Cretan hieroglyphic inscription in combination with the spider<sup>4</sup> as an alternative means to render the titular expression usually occurring in form of 044-046 “trowel-adze” or 044-005 “trowel-eye” *pi-tī* or *pi-ti*<sub>6</sub> = Egyptian *bi'ty* “king” (Fig. 6). Furthermore, it ultimately correlates with the dove sign in the signary of the discus of Phaistos (D32), representing the value *ti*<sub>5</sub><sup>5</sup>. Finally, it obviously cannot be dissociated from the non-predatory bird in the Luwian hieroglyphic legend of seal Hogarth no. 154<sup>6</sup>, where, as we have seen, it occurs in between the goat head and the ox head.

In view of the latter evidence, then, it seems not far-fetched to infer that the Cretan hieroglyphic seal under discussion must be read the other way round as *TARKU-ti*<sub>5</sub>-*MUWA* and hence provides us with an early Cretan attestation of the Luwian royal name Tarkondemos<sup>7</sup>! As comparative evidence for a legend running continuously over more than one side of the seal, one may be remind-

<sup>4</sup> For the development of the Cretan hieroglyphic “spider” (E85 [or “bee”, when depicted from the top = 021, cf. Woudhuizen 1997]) into Linear A (and B) *pi*, see Brice 1991, 47, Fig. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Woudhuizen 2006b, Table IV; cf. Achterberg/Best/Enzler/Rietveld/Woudhuizen 2004, 54.

<sup>6</sup> Note in this connection that Cretan hieroglyphic follows in the tracks of its ancestral Luwian hieroglyphic in the distinction of only two bird signs, a predatory one (\*130-3) for the value *ARA*, *ar*, or *ra* (< *ara*- “eagle”) and a non-predatory one (\*128) for the value *TINTA-PU*, *ti*<sub>5</sub>. For the closest comparisons in ductus of the Luwian hieroglyphic signs in question to their early Syrian and Cretan counterparts, see now the sign list of Herbordt’s edition of the Nişantepe-archive (Herbordt 2005, 408, \*130, Kat. 597 and \*128, Kat. 165, respectively).

<sup>7</sup> Note in this connection that in variant form *TARKU-MUWA* (already written with the ox head “en profile”) this name is further attested for a seal from Malia (# 271 according to the

ed of the libation formula *a-sa-sa-ra-me*, *a-sa-sa-ra.me* or *a-sa-sa-ra-mà* “Oh Asherah” from about the same period of time, which as a rule is divided over two sides of the seal (Woudhuizen 2006b, 71-2).

## 2. King Minos in Cretan Hieroglyphic

The three-sided prism-seal of red cornelian from an unspecified location in Crete catalogued as # 257 in the recent corpus of Cretan hieroglyphic inscriptions (CHIC) is one of the most beautiful objects of its kind, used by Arthur Evans for the cover of his series on the Cretan scripts (Fig. 7)<sup>8</sup>.



Fig. 7. Seal # 257 (from Evans 1909, 153, P. 23).

When transcribed according to the numbering of the signs, the legend covering the three sides reads as follows (with Evans’s numbers, marked by an E, when a CHIC number is failing):

# 257 1. E75-E84 038-010-031 2. 044-046 3. 036-092-031

Within this legend, there can be distinguished as much as three standard formulae, namely: (1) 038-010-031 “gate-leg-flower”, with a total of 25 occurrences in the corpus in sum<sup>9</sup>; (2) 044-046 “trowel-adze”, with a total of 7 occurrences in the corpus in sum; and (3) 036-092-031 “gate-horn-flower”, with a total of 11 occurrences in the corpus in sum. This leaves us with the residual E75-E84 “cat-snake” falling outside the scope of the standard formulae. (Note that the function of the solar symbol on side 2 remains elusive for the moment.)

As I have argued at length in earlier contributions, values can be assigned to the Cretan hieroglyphic signs on the basis of their comparison to parallels in

<sup>8</sup> Olivier/Godart 1996; Evans 1909; Evans 1952.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of the frequency of the standard formulae in Cretan hieroglyphic, see Woudhuizen 2001, 608-10 and Woudhuizen 2006b, 65-6.

basically Luwian hieroglyphic (which in the case of the present seal entails 010 = \*82 *ta*<sub>6</sub>, 031 = \*153 *nú*, 036 = \*488 *ta*<sub>5</sub>), and subsidiarily in Egyptian hieroglyphic (which in the case of the present seal concerns 044 = X8 *di* expressing the corresponding Luwian value *pi* < *piya*- “to give” according to the acrophonic principle in the Cretan context<sup>10</sup>) and Linear A (which in the case of the present seal has a bearing on 038 = L32 *ya*, 046 = L88 *tī*, 092 = L55 *ru*)<sup>11</sup>. Accordingly, the standard formula “trowel-adze” of side 2 reads *pi-tī*, and is identifiable as an honorific title owing to its correspondence to Egyptian L2 “bee” *bi'ty* “king (of Lower Egypt)”<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, the standard formula “gate-horn-flower” of side 3 can be transliterated as *ta*<sub>5</sub>-*ru-nú* and, if we realize that according to the spelling conventions in Luwian hieroglyphic and Cretan Linear, this may be a reflection of /*Athlunu*/ in phonetic spelling, positively be identified as the country name corresponding to mythical Atlantis<sup>13</sup>. Finally, the standard formula “gate-leg-flower” of side 1 reads *ya-ta*<sub>6</sub>-*nú* and, for its correspondence to Semitic *ytn* “to give”, plausibly functions as a wish-formula comparable to Egyptian *di nḥ* “given life”<sup>14</sup>.

The titular expression *piti* “king” in its various writing variants (it also occurs, alongside logographic 020 or 021 “bee” [the latter writing variant later being deformed to E85 “spider”] *bi'ty*<sup>15</sup>, in form of the standard formula 044-005 “trowel-eye” *pi-ti*<sub>6</sub> with a total of 35 occurrences in sum<sup>16</sup>, or, once, even in form of E85-E82 “spider-dove” *pi-ti*<sub>5</sub><sup>17</sup>) bears reference to the highest magistrate on the island of Crete. In addition, the country name *Tarunu* or *Athlunu* with its number of 11 occurrences in sum in the present writing variant (note that it also occurs in dative singular form as 036-028-049 “gate-antler-arrow” *ta*<sub>5</sub>-*rú-ni* on seal # 255)<sup>18</sup> distributed – if taken together with the other profane formulae with which it is commonly associated – over the entire northern zone of Crete from Knossos in the west to Kato Zakro in the east<sup>19</sup>, denotes the

<sup>10</sup> See on this particular sign Woudhuizen 2002b.

<sup>11</sup> Woudhuizen 2006a, 125-7, Tables 4-6; Woudhuizen 2006b, 87-95, Tables IV-VI; cf. Woudhuizen 1992b, Pls. XXVI and XXIV, respectively; Woudhuizen 2001, 618, Fig. 3. For the numbering of Luwian hieroglyphic signs, see Laroche 1960, of Egyptian hieroglyphic signs, see Gardiner 1994, and of Linear A signs, see Meijer 1982, 38-47.

<sup>12</sup> Best 1996-7, 118-9; cf. Woudhuizen 1997, 107; Woudhuizen 2002a, 124-5; Woudhuizen 2006a, 128-9; Woudhuizen 2006b, 73.

<sup>13</sup> Woudhuizen 1992a, 79; Woudhuizen 2001, 612; Woudhuizen 2006a, 129; Woudhuizen 2006b, 74-5.

<sup>14</sup> Woudhuizen 2006b, 74; cf. Best/Woudhuizen 1989, 127; Woudhuizen 2001, 612; note in this connection the frequent use of wish-formulae in form of \*369 *ANKH* and \*370 *ASU* on Luwian hieroglyphic seals.

<sup>15</sup> Woudhuizen 1997; Woudhuizen 2002a, 125.

<sup>16</sup> Woudhuizen 1992a, 79; Woudhuizen 1997, 107; Woudhuizen 2001, 610.

<sup>17</sup> See section 1, Fig. 6, side 3 (= CMS II, 2, no. 102), above.

<sup>18</sup> Woudhuizen 2006b, 79-80.

<sup>19</sup> Woudhuizen 2001, 613; Woudhuizen 2006a, 129; Woudhuizen 2006b, 78; 99, Fig. 23; cf. Woudhuizen 2001, 617, Fig. 2.

largest geographical entity in the island. All in all, then, the thus far missing personal name, which can only be expressed by the residual combination E75-E84 “cat-snake” on side 1, may reasonably be surmised to have a bearing on the most important king of Crete.

Of the two signs expressing the personal name, the value of E75 “cat” (note that this sign also occurs in less elaborate form as cat’s head without indication of the body) is most easily to be recovered from oblivion thanks to its correspondence to the cat’s head in Linear A, L95 *ma*<sup>20</sup>. Much more difficult, however, is the reading of E84 “snake”. In earlier contributions I suggested that this sign might render the same value as 069 “coiling water”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic \*212 *HAPA*, *ná*, but this was nothing but a hunch<sup>21</sup>. Only in second instance, it occurred to me that the Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) root \**neh<sub>1</sub>trah<sub>2</sub>*- “adder” (cf. Latin *natrix*, German *natará*, etc.)<sup>22</sup> provides us with a word for a snake which according to the acrophonic principle indeed might render the value *na* (*na<sub>6</sub>* in the system of transliteration of Luwian hieroglyphic, where, by the way, the snake appears as \*139-40). As more signs from the Cretan hieroglyphic repertoire, just like their Luwian hieroglyphic counterparts, can be shown to derive acrophonically from a Proto-Indo-European root<sup>23</sup>, it may reasonably be concluded that the personal name of the owner of seal # 257 really reads *ma-na<sub>6</sub>*, which, given the context, can only be explained as the Cretan hieroglyphic reflex of the mythical Cretan royal name Minos!

In sum, then, we arrive at the following transliteration and interpretation of the legend of seal # 257:

1. *ma-na<sub>6</sub> ya-ta<sub>6</sub>-nú* 2. *pi-tī* 3. *ta<sub>5</sub>-ru-nú*  
 “Minos, granted <life>, king (of) Atlunu”

As far as the dating of the seal is concerned, the presence of signs originating from Linear A provides us with the 18th century BC as a *terminus post quem*<sup>24</sup>. As for the lower limit, it seems likely that the once mighty realm of Atlunu or Atlantis came to an end as a result of the for Crete disastrous Santorini eruption of ca. 1450 BC<sup>25</sup>. At any rate, the mythical figure of Minos clearly

<sup>20</sup> Woudhuizen 2006a, 127, Table 6; Woudhuizen 2006b, 95, Table VI.

<sup>21</sup> Woudhuizen 2006a, 130, Table 8; Woudhuizen 2006b, 76-7, notes 57 and 64.

<sup>22</sup> De Vries 1992, s.v. *adder*.

<sup>23</sup> Woudhuizen 2006b, 129 (E80 = LH \*130-3 *ARA*, *ar*, *ra* < PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-/h<sub>2</sub>or-* “eagle”; “bucranium” with four strokes between its horns = LH \*107 *MUWA*, *mu*, a ligature of \*105 *UWA*, *u* with the number “4”, \*391 *MAUWA*, *má*, *mi*, *m* < PIE *g<sup>w</sup>ow-* “ox” and \**mei-* “less”; 028 *nú* < PIE \**ro<sub>1</sub>-k<sub>2</sub>o-* “deer” = LH 102-3 *KURUNT*, *kar* or *RUWANT*, *nú* < PIE *k<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-* “head, horn”); Woudhuizen 2004a: 119 (LH \*35 *na* < PIE \**nah<sub>2</sub>w-* “ship”; LH \*111 *HAWA*, *h<sub>2</sub> a<sub>4</sub>* < PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>owi-* “sheep”), etc.

<sup>24</sup> Woudhuizen 2006a, 126; Woudhuizen 2006b, 70.

<sup>25</sup> Bietak 2000, 194; cf. Achterberg/Best/Enzler/Rietveld/Woudhuizen 2004, 115, note



embodies the period of the Minoan thalassocracy, *ca.* 1600-1450 BC, so that the seal may safely be assigned within these latter margins.

### 3. Nestor's Cretan Hieroglyphic Seal

The Cretan hieroglyphic seal published in the corpus by Olivier and Godart as # 295 (Olivier/Godart 1996, 277) has, for stylistic considerations, been assigned to the Old Palace period (hence its incorporation in CMS II, 2 [Pini 1977, 485-6, Nr. 316]), but in actual fact it constitutes an isolated find outside its proper archaeological context as the general attribution to Crete implies (Fig. 8).

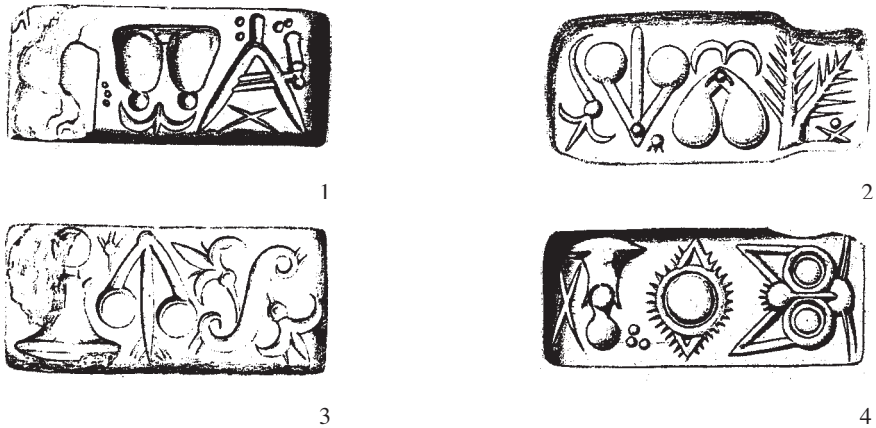


Fig. 8. Seal # 295 (from CMS II, 2, 485-6, Nr. 316).

The legend of the four sided seal of green jasper runs as follows according to the numbering of the signs (note that the one number preceded by an E stems from Evans 1909 because it goes unnumbered in CHIC) if we start with the only partly preserved seal sign and continue reading to the right:

#295 1. 056-034-057 2. 049-077-029 3. 044-049 4. 044-005-E74

Among this legend, then, we can discern as much as three standard formulae, namely: (1) “seal-land-official(s)” on side 1, (2) “trowel-arrow” on side 3, and (3) “trowel-eye” on side 4. Of these standard formulae, the one mentioned first (= profane formula 7) occurs as much as 9 times in full and 1 time in abbreviation without the last sign in the entire corpus as published by Olivier and Godart (Woudhuizen 2002a, 124), whereas the ones mentioned second and third (= profane formulae 1 and 2) occur as much as 72 and 35 times in

sum in this same corpus. For the proper understanding of profane formulae 1 and 2 it is important to note that these are used in combination as much as 16 times in the entire corpus, 2 times of which they occur together on the same side of the seal, whereas the combination even gave rise to the abbreviated form “eye-trowel-arrow” (= profane formula 3) with 4 occurrences in sum in the entire corpus. Moreover, it deserves our attention that profane formula 2 never occurs together on one seal with the much rarer profane formula 4 “trowel-adze”, which occurs only 7 times in sum in the entire corpus, so that it might be suggested that this last mentioned formula constitutes a rare writing variant of the one first mentioned (Woudhuizen 2001, 610; Woudhuizen 2006b, 69-70).

The value of the signs can be recovered from oblivion by comparison to counterparts in the related scripts, which means primarily Luwian hieroglyphic and subsidiarily Egyptian hieroglyphic, Linear A and Cypro-Minoan. The comparisons with Luwian hieroglyphic (LH) entail the following four instances<sup>26</sup>:

	CHIC	Evans	LH	value
1.	056	E24-5	*327	<i>SASA, sa<sub>5</sub></i>
2.	034	E114	*228	<i>UTNA, tu<sub>5</sub></i>
3.	077	E122	*415	<i>sa</i>
4.	005	E5	*191	<i>TIWATA, ti<sub>6</sub></i>

Of the comparisons to the subsidiarily related scripts, two have a bearing on Egyptian hieroglyphic (Eg.) – the second one through the medium of the Byblos script and with its value adapted to the Luwian language –<sup>27</sup>:

	CHIC	Evans	Eg.	value
5.	057	E27	A21	<i>sr</i> (≈ Akk. <i>SARU</i> )
6.	044	E18	X8	<i>pi</i>

two others are rather linked up to Cretan Linear A (CL)<sup>28</sup>:

<sup>26</sup> Woudhuizen 2006a, 124-4, Table 4; Woudhuizen 2006b, 87-91, Table IV. For the numbering of LH signs, see Laroche 1960.

<sup>27</sup> Woudhuizen 2002b; Woudhuizen 2006a, 125, Table 5; Woudhuizen 2006b, 92-3, Table V. For the numbering of Eg. signs, see Gardiner 1994.

<sup>28</sup> Woudhuizen 2006a, 127, Table 6; Woudhuizen 2006b, 94-5, Table VI. For the numbering of CL signs, see Meijer 1982. Note that Cretan hieroglyphic lacks separate *d*- and *t*-series, so that the Cretan hieroglyphic equivalent of CL *da* in effect reads *ta*.

	CHIC	Evans	CL	value
7.	029	E101	L30	<i>da</i>
8.	—	E74	L95	<i>ma</i>

whereas two signs, one of which we have already seen to ultimately originate from Egyptian hieroglyphic, correlate to Cypro-Minoan (CM) counterparts<sup>29</sup>:

	CHIC	Evans	CM	value
6.	044	E18	51	<i>pi</i>
9.	049	E13	28	<i>ni</i>

If we fill in the values of the signs recovered in this manner, we arrive at the following transliteration of the legend of the seal under discussion:

1. *SASA UTNA SARU* 2. *ni-sa-ta* 3. *pi-ni* 4. *pi-ti<sub>6</sub> ma*

Of the formulaic expressions, the introductory sequence *SASA UTNA SARU* can be translated as: “seal (with respect to) the land (and) official(s)” (Woudhuizen 2002a, 125-6; Woudhuizen 2006b, 79), whereas *pi-ni-pi-ti<sub>6</sub>* can be analyzed as a titular expression consisting of a compound of Semitic *bn* “son” with Egyptian *bi'ty* “king”, translatable, on the analogy of Luwian hieroglyphic \*46 *infans*+*HANTAWAT*, as “prince” (Woudhuizen 2006a, 128-9; Woudhuizen 2006b, 76-7).

This leaves us with the residual elements *ni-sa-ta* and *ma*. Now, the element first mentioned is likely to be considered the personal name of the owner of the seal. This suggestion gains weight by the fact that the sequence in question strikingly recalls the personal name *ná-sa<sub>2</sub>-ta* (also occurring as *ná-sa<sub>2</sub>-tu<sub>6</sub>* in the nominative and *ná-sa<sub>2</sub>+ti* in the dative) “Nestor” (= king of Pylos according to Homer) as recorded for the text of the discus of Phaistos<sup>30</sup>, especially if we realize that the vowel [e], for the lack of a fully developed *e*-series in Cretan hieroglyphic, can be variously expressed by [a] or [i]<sup>31</sup>. For a parallel of the fact that one and the same personal name may be variously written in one and the same script, attention may be drawn to the Luwian hieroglyphic writings of the royal name Tarkondemos, variously appearing as *TARKU-wa*

<sup>29</sup> Woudhuizen 2006a, 126, Table 7; Woudhuizen 2006b, 96, Table VII. For the numbering of CM signs, see Masson 1974, 13-4, Figs. 2-3.

<sup>30</sup> Achterberg/Best/Enzler/Rietveld/Woudhuizen 2004, B2, A6, B30; esp. 76; Woudhuizen 2006b, 118-21.

<sup>31</sup> Note that on the basis of comparisons to Linear A and Cypro-Minoan Cretan hieroglyphic appears to dispose of only *me*, *te*, *ze* and *le*, see Woudhuizen 2006a, 127, Tables 6 and 7; Woudhuizen 2006b, 94-5, Table VI; 96, Table VII.

and *TARKU-wá* (cf. Woudhuizen 2005, 109-10; see further section 1 above). Much more complicated is the elucidation of the element *ma*. This same element is also attested for seal # 309 from Pyrgi, in direct associated with the titular expression *pi-ti*<sub>6</sub> = *bi'ty* “king”, and, in form of *ma*<sub>6</sub>, for seal # 312 from Xida, in direct association with the titular expression *TUPA<LA>* “scribe” (Woudhuizen 2006a, 131-2, Fig. 26; Woudhuizen 2006b, 104, Table IX). If we realize, then, that next to titular expression and personal name, we would be expecting an indication of the place name, I think it is not farfetched to assume that we are dealing here with an abbreviation of the geographic name Mesara, which occurs in form of *mi*<sub>1</sub>-*SARU* in the text of the discus of Phaistos<sup>32</sup>, and would hence be subject to the same variation between [a] and [i] for the vowel [e] as the personal name Nestor. At any rate, in the text of the Phaistos disc, Nestor is explicitly associated with the Mesara, partly considered his crown dominion in so far as *sa*<sub>3</sub>-*har-wa*<sub>10</sub> *Saharwa* “Skheria” along the coast in the west is concerned, partly supervized for him by his governor, Idomeneus (= king of Knossos according to Homer), in so far as the region of Phaistos to Rhytion in the east is concerned<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, the title attributed to Nestor in the text of the discus of Phaistos, *ura*- “great”, is, just like the one on the seal under discussion (“prince”), of lower rank (from the text of the discus of Phaistos it is absolutely clear that Nestor’s dominions in Crete are in loan from a great king likely to be identified as Tarhundaradus of Arzawa)<sup>34</sup>. It must be admitted, though, that on the seals from Pyrgi and Xida mentioned above the expected place name is already expressed by the profane formula 6 “throne-horn-flower”, occurring as much as 11 times in full and 6 times in abbreviation without the final “flower” in the corpus, which reads *ta*<sub>5</sub>-*ru-nú* or *Atlunu* and, given the distribution of the type of seals in question over primarily the northern zone of Crete from the region of Knossos in the west to Palaikastro in the east and to the exclusion of the Mesara valley, cannot be dissociated from the mythical Atlantis, which went to wreck and ruin as a result of the for northeastern Crete disastrous Santorini eruption *ca.* 1450 BC (Woudhuizen 2001). As it seems, then, it can only be concluded that, if we want to uphold our interpretation of *ma* as an abbreviation of the Mesara, the competence of the functionaries in question is specified as covering both the provinces Atlunu and the Mesara! (Note that also in the text of the discus of Phaistos northern Crete, with Knossos and perhaps Malia simply referred to as *wa*<sub>8</sub>-*ti*<sub>1</sub> [dative] = (*w*)*astu* “the town”, is explicitly distinguished, now under the blanket term *ra-sú-tu*<sub>6</sub> or *ra-sú-ta* [dative *ra-sú+ti*] “Lasithi”, from the southern province of the Mesara<sup>35</sup>.)

<sup>32</sup> Achterberg/Best/Enzler/Rietveld/Woudhuizen 2004, discussion of A1, A26, A30, B7, B8.

<sup>33</sup> Achterberg/Best/Enzler/Rietveld/Woudhuizen 2004, 94-5; cf. Woudhuizen 2006b, 118-21.

<sup>34</sup> Achterberg/Best/Enzler/Rietveld/Woudhuizen 2004, 94 (A4); Woudhuizen 1992a,

In sum, the preceding line of reasoning leads us to the following interpretation of the legend of seal # 295:

“seal (with respect to) the land (and) official(s), Nestor,  
prince (of) the Mesara”

Provided that we are right in our identification of seal # 295 as belonging to Nestor, this obviously has repercussions for the dating of this seal. Clearly, in that case it must be dated to the same period as from which the discus of Phaistos stems, which in effect means to Late Minoan IIIA1, *ca.* 1390-1350 BC (Achterberg/Best/Enzler/Rietveld/Woudhuizen 2004, 12; 116, note 474; 118). As a consequence, my suggestion that Cretan hieroglyphic seals with Linear A signs are assignable to the period *ca.* 1750-1450 BC, after which an hieroglyphic purification set in as witnessed by the texts of the double axe from Arkalokhori and the Phaistos disc, which patently lack signs with a counterpart in Linear A (Woudhuizen 2006b, 74; 79; 108-9; 136-7), needs to be revised: apparently, the glyptic tradition of Cretan hieroglyphic seals of the type characterized by the profane formulae 1 and 2 with subsidiary signs from the repertory of Linear A did continue up to *ca.* 1350 BC; but I would maintain that the seals characterized by the profane formula 6 (*ta<sub>5</sub>-ru-nú = Atlunu*) predate the for northeastern Crete disastrous Santorini eruption of *ca.* 1450 BC.

**Additional notes:** My interpretation of side 3 of the four-sided bead-seal from Sitia (# 310) as *AMU 'TARKU* “I (am) Tarkus” (Woudhuizen 2002a) (Fig. 9) receives substantial confirmation from the fact that the nominative of the first person singular *AMU* also appears on two sealings of Ananas from the Nişantepe archive (Herbordt 2005, Kat. 16 and 17), reading *AMU á-na-nà* “I (am) Ananas” (Fig. 10). Note, however, that the sign in form of a spear or javelin or lance (040 = E14), which in Cretan hieroglyphic constitutes a variant of the determinative of personal name, in Luwian hieroglyphic functions as an honorific title (\*173 *hastarius*, see Herbordt 2005, Kat. 468). Furthermore, the seal sign (056 = E24-5), which in Cretan hieroglyphic denotes the object, in Luwian hieroglyphic (\*327 *SASA*), as far as the evidence from the Nişantepe archive goes, rather seems to function as a title, especially considering its association with \*247 *PARNA* (Kat. 2, 389, 547) or its antithetic arrangement along both sides of the centrally placed personal name (Kat. 638), though it must be admitted that its use in a sealing of a certain Taparzitis from Boğazköy/Hattusa, omitted by Hawkins in his discussion of the titles with the



Fig. 9. Side 3 of seal # 310 from Sitia  
(from Evans 1909, 155, P. 29).

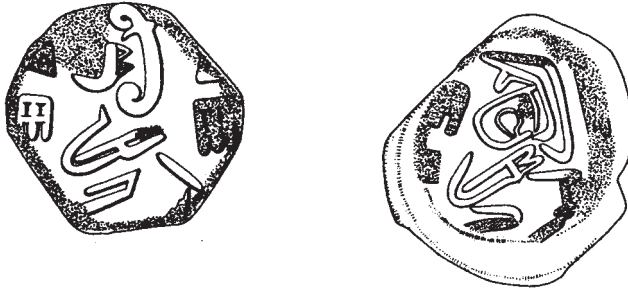


Fig. 10. Sealings of Ananas (from Herbordt 2005, Tafel 2, Kat. 16 and 17).

seal sign in Herbordt 2005, 309, appears to be identical to that of its Cretan counterpart, viz. as a reference to the object, see Beran 1957, Taf. 29, 32. In like manner, the land sign (\*228 *UTNA*) in Luwian hieroglyphic seals and sealings is directly associated with the name of the country mentioned and does not figure together with the seal sign in an introductory formula like it is the case with its Cretan counterpart (034 = E114). Considering these variations in use of related signs, also determined by the difference in seal forms, Cretan hieroglyphic seals or sealings should be considered not as identical to Luwian counterparts but rather as *Luwianizing* – a conclusion further emphasized by subsidiary signs from Egyptian hieroglyphic and Cretan Linear A lacking in the mother script.

In consulting Herbordt 2005, the reader should be aware that \*101 *TARKU* is not a donkey head, but a goat head (note the distinctive beard [as in Kat. 441], see esp. Woudhuizen 2005, 109), and that \*104 *sà* is not a goat (head), but an antelope or gazelle (head) (see esp. Bohça § 13 as per Woudhuizen 2004b, 105).

As far as the reading of \*376 is concerned, the Nişantepe-archive provides supplementary evidence for the new reading as *zi* (*ḥa-zi-ā* [Kat. 121] = cun. *Ḥazziya*, *ḥi-la+r(a/i)-zi* [Kat. 123] = cun. *Ḥillarizzi*, *ḥwā-zi-ā* [Kat. 131] = cun. *Ḥuzziya*, *ma-ḥwā-zi* [Kat. 217-23] = cun. *Mahḥuzzi*, *mi-zi+r(a/i)-MUWA* [Kat. 242-9] = cun. *Mizrimuwa*, *tu-wa-zi* = cun. *Duwazi* [Kat. 473, 485]), which is acknowledged, but also for the old reading *i* (*ar-ná-li-i* [Kat. 71-4] = cun. *Arnili*, the frequent names in *-ziti-i* = cun. *-zi-ti* [Kat. 26, etc.] likewise with patent plene writing comparable to for example *ku-la-à* [Kat. 170] and *pi-ḥa-á* [Kat. 297] in the *a*-series and for example *pi-nu-nu-u* [Kat. 328-9] in the *u*-series – the phenomenon, given the fact that the value of \*209, 1-3, 6 is definitely *ā*, otherwise being absent in the *i*-series [see Best/Woudhuizen 1988, 94; cf. Hawkins in Herbordt 2005, 291-2]), which is neglected; for the polyphone nature of this sign, see Woudhuizen 2004a, appendix VI; Woudhuizen 2004b, 8-11; Woudhuizen 2006b, appendix II.

Finally, it deserves attention that to the instances of polyphony in Luwian

hieroglyphic, comprising, next to the just noted \*376 *i*, *zi* and the related \*377 *ī*, *za* or, more likely, *zī*, \*199 *TARHUNT*, *TESUP*, *hà*, \*212, 214 *HAPA*, *ná*, \*160 *WIANA*, *TUWARSA*, \*360 *MASANA*, *ma*<sub>4</sub>, *sí*, \*317 *HÁLPA*, *sa*<sub>7</sub>, \*181 *TURPI*, *tu*<sub>6</sub>, *pa*<sub>4</sub>, may now be added \*102-3 *KURUNT*, *kar*, *RUWANT*, *rú*, *INARA* (Herbordt 2005, Kat. 138-40, the last mentioned value being distinguished from the first mentioned one by a graphic aid in the form of the additional \*383,2 +*r(a/i)* instead of the otherwise usual \*90 *it*<sup>36</sup>) and possibly \*285 *WATA*, *ZUWA* (Woudhuizen 2004a, 70-1; Herbordt 2005, Kat. 541 and following). If the latter newly established case of polyphony applies, we gain an extra instance of plene writing in regard to the *i*-series in the form of *ZUWA-li-i* corresponding to cun. *Zuwali* (Herbordt 2005, Kat. 547). I think that the two variants of \*432, the first with angular legs and the second with pointed legs, may well turn out to be separate signs, the first rendering the value *zu* and the second that of *wí*, in which case the sign(s) in question falls outside the scope of the examples for polyphony.

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<sup>36</sup> Note in this connection that the less usual association of \*102 *KURUNT* with \*376 as in Kat. 604 in view of cun. <sup>o</sup>*KAL-ia-* provides us with further evidence for the reading of the last mentioned sign as *i*, which can even be underlined by its Early Iron Age appearance in form of *RUWANT-ī-* (Kt. § 40), cf. Woudhuizen 2004b, 98.

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