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M. CAMMAROSANO, Kaššu, King of Tummanna: Bo 91/944 and L. 73  
“AUDIRE” (TAB. I)



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## Kaššu, King of Tummanna: Bo 91/944 and L. 73 “AUDIRE”

(TAB. I)

Michele CAMMAROSANO

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### 1. The Seal Impression Bo 91/944

The seal impression Bo 91/944 (Fig. 1) was found in 1991 in the debris of the so-called Westbau of Nişantepe at Boğazköy/Hattuša. Published in Herbordt 2005: 141 with Taf. 12 (No. 158), it constitutes at present the only known seal impression of a certain king Kaššu. A dating to the Hittite Empire period is *a priori* most likely, based on the fact that all of the seals attested at Nişantepe, with one exception, date back to that time (Herbordt 2005: 4, 18).

The central part of the seal is occupied by the name of the seal owner (*ká-su*), flanked on both sides by the logogram REX ‘king’ and by the name of the land which Kaššu ruled. On the right side, on top of the GN two filling motifs are visible. Remarkable is the quite imperfect, careless symmetry of the REX signs.

The royal status of its owner makes the seal a very relevant one. But which land did Kaššu rule? Unfortunately, the traces which conceal it are badly damaged; the decipherment is made even more difficult by the grainy texture of the clay (Fig. 2). Herbordt (2005: 141) transliterates “REX xx REGIO”. In his detailed treatment of the impression, J. D. Hawkins (*apud* Herbordt 2005: 258) states:

Clearly an important seal, as all those indicating the presence of local Anatolian kings within the kingdom of Hatti [ ... ] The known Anatolian kingdoms include those of the Arzawa lands, Mira, Seha River, Wilusa and Hapalla, represented only by seals of Tarkasnawa king of Mira [ ... ]; also Išuwa [ ... ]. Also known are the seals of Hattušili as king of the Upper Land(?) [ ... ]; and the Old Kingdom seal of Išputahsu king of Kizzuwatna [ ... ]. Of what country then can this Kasu be king? [ ... ] The only partially legible title REX xxx REGIO is in the circumstances very tantalizing. Above are two clear elements not apparently Hieroglyphs, presumably filling motifs; below, two(?) partly preserved sign(s) similar in appearance, of which the lower, more preserved one looks possible to identify as the logogram “river”, giving “king of the ... river-land”.

The debate was revived in 2014, as two new reading proposals were put forward. A decisive progress in the interpretation of the seal was possible thanks to a short article by M. Forlanini (2014), who argued that Kaššu’s land may be identified with Tummanna. He stressed that Kaššu is the name of a mountain which bordered Tummanna, and was able to restore a passage where a queen, probably Puduḫeba, dreams of a certain mr. Kaššu while staying in Tummanna. Forlanini further suggested reading the lower sign of the GN on Bo 91/944 as NA, which would pave the way for a possible reading *Tu-ma-na* (“La lecture *Tu-ma-na*, si elle n’est pas démontrable, reste

donc en tout cas possible”, Forlanini 2014: 33)<sup>1</sup>. At the 9<sup>th</sup> ICH in Çorum (Sept. 2014), on the other hand, R. Oreshko suggested reading the traces on the seal impression as *Mi+ra/i-a* REGIO, thus Mira, the well-known kingdom in western Anatolia. In the lively discussion which followed the talk, M. Weeden observed that the interpretative drawing published in Herbordt 2005 should be accepted as the most authoritative basis for interpretation until new documentation is available, the published photo of the impression not seeming sufficient to assert any new reading with confidence. Since a final version of the paper is not available yet, Oreshko’s interpretation cannot be discussed here in detail.

In 2014, I was able to collate and digitize the seal impression at the Boğazkale Museum in the frame of the project *3D-Joins und Schriftmetrologie* (JMU Würzburg, TU Dortmund, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz). A great advantage of 3D digitization as compared to photographs has to be stressed here, namely, that a three-dimensional, high-resolution model of the original object in principle provides everybody with the possibility of carrying out a virtual collation. Furthermore, specific mathematical operators enable one to enhance selected geometrical properties of the surface, a fact which can be of great help in deciphering sign traces on damaged areas. A version of the 3D model of Bo 91/944 will be soon freely available at the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* website (see [www.hethiter.net](http://www.hethiter.net)).

## 2. Bo 91/944 and the Sign L. 73 “AUDIRE”

Expanding on the proposal that the seal may refer to the king of Tummanna, and in consideration of Luwian *tumman(t)*- “ear”, *tumma(n)ti*- “to hear” (see Melchert 1993: 232-233; ACLT), I would put forward the following interpretation of the traces under discussion (Figs. 3-4)<sup>2</sup>:

*ká-su* REX ‘AUDIRE+*MI-na*’ REGIO  
 “Kaššu, king of the land of Tummanna”

The traces of the lower sign seem to fit very well with the reading NA on both sides, the orientation of the sign also being coherent with its position on the seal (cf. Herbordt 2005 No. 13). More tentative is the interpretation of the upper sign. The sign AUDIRE (L. 73, AURIS+*TU(+MI)*), on which see Hawkins 1978: 151-152, has not been hitherto recognized in an Empire inscription, whereas the ‘ear’ alone has in the second millennium the value SACERDOS<sub>2</sub> (L. 372). In my opinion, however, this does not rule out the possibility that the composite logogram might have existed

<sup>1</sup>At this juncture I would like to stress that M. Marizza came independently to the same idea, namely that the sign above REGIO in Bo 91/944 would have to be read *na* and that the seal may be attributed to a king of the land Tummanna, in 2010 while preparing together with me a study on this individual (e-mail 20.09.2010). In a preliminary version of the study dating 2011, he suggested reading the traces as L. 308 – L. 362 – L. 35, thus *Tu’-má-na* (whereby L. 308 is now best interpreted as a filling motif). Given the difficulty of justifying such a reading on the basis of the published photograph, we planned at that time to collate the seal impression on the first occasion. This appeared in 2014 in the frame of the project *3D-Joins und Schriftmetrologie*, and brought us in the end to a different reading for the same individual (see Cammarosano–Marizza 2015: 173 with fn. 82 and this article).

<sup>2</sup>First presented in Cammarosano–Marizza 2015: 173 with fn. 82.

already in the Late Empire period. The fact that the attestations of the verb *tumma(n)ti-* “to hear” are regularly complemented with *-ti-* (or, in some forms, with *-ta-*)<sup>3</sup> suggests that the combination AURIS+*TU(+MI)* alone, in principle, may not convey the verb *tumma(n)ti-* “to hear”, but rather *tumman(t)-* “ear” (attested in CLuwian, hitherto unattested in HLUwian; the usage of Latin AUDIRE would turn out to be, then, confusing). If this is correct, we may further assume that the sign might also be used phonetically for /tuma/. So, we would expect the natural orthography for the name Tummanna to be AUDIRE-*na*, a so-called rebus-spelling, for which there are parallels in the hieroglyphs and in Hittite cuneiform for names as well (SUPER-*TEŠUB-pa*, <sup>m</sup>*mur-DINGIR-LIM-iš* and the like). This is precisely the writing that can be reconciled with the traces on the seal of Kaššu. Above NA, two short segments are clearly visible, which can be interpreted as the left half of an MI; to the right of them, the surviving traces are compatible with a reading AURIS (the ‘ear’). The alleged ‘ear’, in the typical Hittite shape, shows the usual dextroverse orientation. In the abraded portion to the bottom and to the right of it, nothing seems to prevent us from restoring TU and the right part of MI respectively, thus giving the combination AURIS+*TU+MI*. The specular legenda on the left part of the impression is even more damaged, but traces of NA and of the right part of MI seem to be recognizable (Figs. 5-6).

As Hawkins observed, there are not many kingdoms to consider for Kaššu. Now, Tummanna happens to be *a priori* the best possible choice in view of the historical context (see §3). The reading proposed here, based on a new examination of the original impression, reconciles the ‘Tummanna option’ with the extant sign traces. If correct, the proposed interpretation would have the following implications:

1. The sign L. 73 AUDIRE would be already attested in the second millennium, more precisely from the Late Empire period at the latest.
2. The sign L. 73 AUDIRE would correspond to *tumman(t)-* “ear”, also phonetically /tuma/; only secondarily to *tumma(n)ti-* “to hear” (in this case, the sign is regularly complemented with *-ti-* or *-ta-*).
3. The ‘ear’ (AURIS) would appear in the Empire period in at least two signs, i.e. alone as SACERDOS<sub>2</sub> and, in combination with *TU* and *MI*, as AUDIRE+*MI*.
4. The writing AUDIRE+*MI-na* for /tumana/ would lend further support to the idea that the sign L. 391 as a phonetic indicator originally stands for /ma/, not (or perhaps besides) /mi/, as maintained by Güterbock 1998: 202-203 (kindly brought to my attention by C. Melchert).

### 3. Historical Context: The Kingdom of Tummanna

A connection between king Kaššu and the land of Tummanna fits very well with the historical evidence at our disposal, as already pointed out by Forlanini in 2014. In what follows, selected results of a comprehensive study on the kingdom of Tummanna will be recalled (see Cammarosano–Marizza 2015 for details and discussion).

<sup>3</sup>AUDIRE+*MI* is complemented by *-ti-* in the following inscriptions: KARKAMIŠ A 6, TELL AHMAR 1, BOHÇA. In KARKAMIŠ A 11 b+c, ASSUR letter e, and apparently MARAŞ 3 the *-ta-* complement is found (on this form see Morpurgo Davies 1980: 92 with fn. 12); MARAŞ 1 and BOSSERT seal have the uncomplemented form.

The history of the land Tummanna, attested in Hittite cuneiform sources dating from the time of Muršili II on<sup>4</sup>, can be reconstructed beginning from the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. Traditionally, Tummanna is located in the area of Kastamonu; some scholars, however, argue for a location further to the south-west. The territory of Tummanna bordered the land of Pala and could be reached from mount Kaššu, which is probably to be identified with a mountain in the Ilgaz chain; mount Kaššu, in turn, reached the Dahara river (almost certainly modern Devrez). It is not known when Tummanna came under Hittite control for the first time. Reconquered by Šuppiluliuma I and again lost during his reign, the territory of Tummanna was permanently brought under Hittite control in the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Muršili II. Following the recapture, this king assigned Tummanna to Hutupiyanza, an esteemed military commander and relative of his, to be “governed” (Hitt. *maniyahh-*). Later on, Tummanna is listed in the so-called *Apology* of Hattušili III among the “deserted lands” which Muwattalli II assigned to his brother, the future Hattušili III, who was at that time king of Hakmiš. Again, the terminology is that of “governing”, “administering” (Akk. *AŠSUM MU’IRRUTTIM*). It is during the reign of Muršili III or Hattušili III, possibly in the context of the clash between their opposite factions, that the district of Tummanna seem to have undergone the transformation into a kingdom. Tummanna began therefore to enjoy greater political autonomy from the central authority and a dynastic lineage of its own. The political and economic importance of the newly created kingdom rose considerably in the Late Empire period. In cult-inventories dating to the reigns of Hattušili III and/or Tudhaliya IV, the “king of Tummanna” is responsible for cult offerings and supplies in a number of different areas, a remarkable fact even if these supplies were to be interpreted as a one-off event. In the oracle IBoT 1.32 the king of Tummanna is considered, together with the king of Išuwa, as the possible commander for a military expedition into the land of Azzi in eastern Anatolia. The mention of personal deities of the king of Tummanna in documents originating from the central administration is a further hint at the relevance of this political subject. Most importantly, it seems that the land of Pala ceased to be mentioned as an administrative district, i.e. as a political entity, from the time of Hattušili III on. This fact, together with the parallel rise of the kingdom of Tummanna, leads to the assumption that the latter came to include the territory of Pala within its borders. Given the political relevance of the king of Tummanna and his integration into the Hittite military and economic framework, it is only natural for him to be represented in the Nišantepe-archive.

In none of the texts where there is mention of him is the ‘king of Tummanna’ called by name, so that until now one could only speculate about the dynasty which ruled the kingdom. The attribution of Bo 91/944 to this personality, if the reading proposed here is correct, allows us to bring the king into closer connection with the textual sources, thus providing a starting point for filling this gap. There were more individuals bearing this name in the Empire period, see van den Hout 1995: 226-232 (in KBo 1.6 rev. 19’, CTH 75, the title is to be read GAL SANGA, see Devecchi 2010: 17). It is at present not possible to identify king Kaššu of Bo 91/944 with one of them with any certainty, but the option that it might be identical with the seal owner of SBo 2.32 (= van den Hout 1995: 226 no. 4 a), who is qualified as REX.FILIUS,

<sup>4</sup>For a comprehensive list of the relevant attestations see Cammarosano–Marizza 2015: 158 fn. 2.

‘prince’, is very tantalizing. This would imply that Kaššu of Bo 91/944 himself was of royal lineage, either meaning that the kingdom of Tummanna came into existence at the time of Kaššu’s father at the latest (Kaššu of Bo 91/944 being then the second [or later] ruler of this kingdom), or that Kaššu of Bo 91/944 was son of a king of a land other than Tummanna.

#### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank in the first place M. Marizza, who as early as 2010 suggested to me that Bo 91/944 might refer to the king of Tummanna, and M. Weeden, who brought to my attention the possibility that the GN Tummanna might be conveyed, in principle, by means of L. 73 “AUDIRE”. Further, I wish to thank all those colleagues who provided me with comments, advice, and help, even when they did not agree with the ideas argued here: in particular, thanks are due to N. Bolatti Guzzo, M. Forlanini, F. Giusfredi, J. D. Hawkins, C. Melchert, Z. Simon, I. Yakubovich, and to an anonymous reviewer. Thanks are also due to D. Schwemer, who put at disposal his personal photographs of the seal impression, as well as to S. Helle and the staff of *Orientalia* for improving my English. Bo 91/944 was digitized at the Boğazkale Museum with kind permission of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the context of the joint project *3D-Joins und Schriftmetrologie* (JMU Würzburg – TU Dortmund – Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz). Support by the Boğazkale Museum (T. Aksekili and his staff) and by the Boğazkale expedition (A. Schachner, D.A.I.) is gratefully acknowledged.

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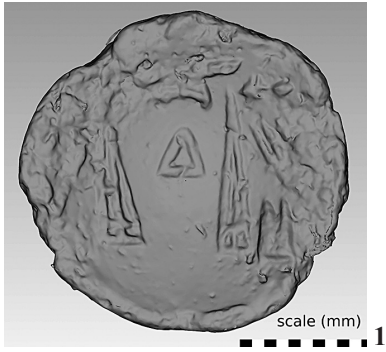


Fig. 1 – Bo 91/944, snapshot from the 3D-model (courtesy *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*).

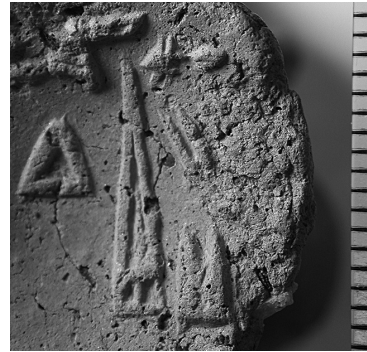
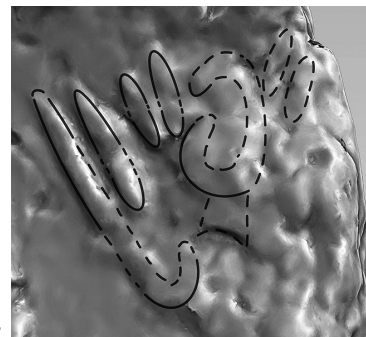
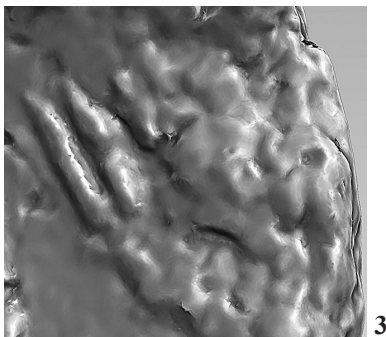
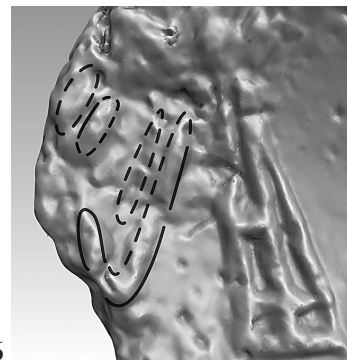
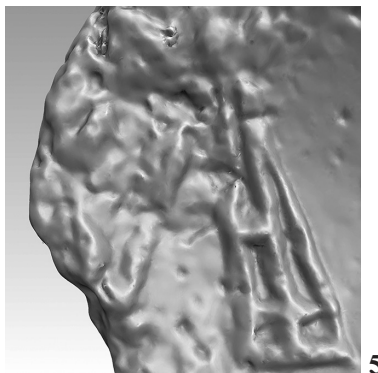


Fig. 2 – Bo 91/944, photograph by D. Schwemer, detail.



Figs. 3-4 – Detail of the hieroglyphic legend on the right side of the seal impression and corresponding reading proposal (snapshot from the 3D-model).



Figs. 5-6 – Detail of the hieroglyphic legend on the left side of the seal impression and corresponding reading proposal (snapshot from the 3D-model).