

THE ROYAL HITTITE TITLE ‘MY SUN’ AND THE WINGED SUN DISK

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues against the accepted theory that the Syro-Hittite winged disk was inherited from Egypt. Iconographic traditions developed independently deeply embedded in local mythologies. From Sumer to Anatolia, the eagle ANZU myth created as scooped-out feature with originally short wings, and a Rosette disk, meaning ‘divinity’, as an alternate symbol for the eagle’s head. In the Nil Valley the founding theme is the identity between the Horus falcon and the king, a hero Bird-Man one, probably inherited from the Sumerian Gilgamesh cycle and adapted to the local culture of the Sed rejuvenating rituals. Nevertheless, the underlying saga seems to have been a universal one, on how to unite soul and heart, and achieve mystic theogamy within the body’s Sacred Tree. The saga seemed to have been much developed by Indo-European populations during the second millennium, rooted in Neolithic symbols, the main one being the Rosette. It finds revealing explanations, in the medieval Sanskrit Tantra texts, that distributed Vedic wisdom contemporary to the Hittite venture.

Key Words: Winged sun disk. Sun cult. Bird-Man. Sacred Tree. Sacred Mariage. Tantrism.

During over four hundred years (1625-1210 B.C. or 1670-1185 B.C.), the Hittite kingdom rose and disappeared in a period that spanned active war and peace events between the dominating powers Assyria, Syria, Anatolia and Egypt (Freu, 2007; 25-26). Meanwhile treaties and diplomatic correspondences developed a common custom of referring to the king as ‘My Sun’, metaphorically meaning ‘His Majesty’ (*CAD* Љ: 336-337). Ҡattušilli I, founder of the Hittite Kingdom, thus addresses himself in his political Testament. But it is only during the Empire, from Šuppiluliuma I onwards, that the solar title, eclipsing the *Tabarna* one, was ascribed to kings, and also to some queens (Gonnet, 1979; 19-20, 27, 35,

82-83; Puhvel, 1989; 354). During the Middle Kingdom, the winged disk appears first over a royal figure (Pl.II,15,a), then over the king's name and title in hieroglyphic form, the so called *aedicula* (Pl. II,22), after which it invariably hovers over royal monograms on seals and monuments (HH 190; Hawkins, 2000; 3). It is a divine attribute (Pl. II, 19-21, 26), incarnated in kingship. Old Hittite rituals refer to the king as 'UTU-šummis, 'our Sun' (Kellerman, 1978; 199-208).

According to current opinion, the Hittites would have adopted from Syria the Egyptian winged disk confused with the Babylonian sun-symbol, because of Egypt's prestige in Syria and Mitannian princesses wedded to pharaohs (Ward, 1910; 270-273, 282-283; Frankfort 1939; 275-278; Contenau, 1934; 108-109 ; Bittel 1976; 246; Bossert, 1957; Collon, 1975; 141-142; 1982; 15-16; 2005; 55; Teissier, 1996; Black & Green, 2004: 74, 185). A direct influence from Egypt to Hatti has also been suggested (Laroche, 1960; 99, 255). The present contention argues a Syro-Anatolian winged disk elaboration in a Mesopotamian mythological context, independently from the Egyptian one, and possibly older. Nevertheless, eastern and western solar theologies did convey similar spiritual claims, even though local speculations created distinct repertoires. But how the saga legitimated kinship remains abstruse to modern scholarship. The key to understanding here proposed, is that the saga symbols conveyed a *philosophia perennis* for which explanations are found in later Tantric teachings.

The complete absence of Egyptian features on Mitannian glyptic (Frankfort, 1939; 282), albeit marital ties, does not favour the prestige argument. Yet, Egyptian iconography undeniably occurs on second millennium Syrians seals. According to B. Teissier, they represent 14% of the figures and 1.01% of the symbols. Her conclusion is that « there is no evidence to suggest that the motif (winged disk) was not adapted from Egypt ». But the winged disk is systematically treated as an Egyptian feature, even when the associated motifs are alien to Egypt. Consequently, percentages are biased. The Syrian winged disk, with a Rosette, would be an adapted version of the Egyptian 'prototype' (Teissier, 1996; 25,71, 95, 98, 176). This viewpoint suffers from the general assumption that the Rosette is a mere decorative motif. It is here stressed that this is definitely not the case. The Egyptian disk is always plain, except in much later periods (Pl. III,13). Even then it never includes a Rosette. It is generally appended with *uraei* and embedded in the wings (pl. III,2-13), whereas the Syro-Hittite Rosette disk sits in or above 'scooped out' wings (Pl. II, 15-28).

Rosette, Leadership and Divinity in the East

Early leadership asserted power with the Rosette symbol, an arch old symbol found on Neolithic trading stamp seals distributed between Anatolia and Halafian Syria during the VIth-Vth millenniums (Michaux-Colombot, 2006a). A wealth of stamp seals bearing Rosettes have been retrieved from Early and Middle Bronze Age Anatolian sites (Pl. II, 1-2 *inter alia*) and Mesopotamian sites (Collon, 2005; 21-22, 25, 28-29, 33-34, 37-38). The Rosette is an ancient regal insignia, found alone or in diadems, on divine and royal foreheads (E. Özgüç, 1993; fig. 4; Riemschneider, 1955; Pl. 29, 47). After campaigning in Syria, Naram-Sin (2354-2218 B.C.) proclaimed his divinity and depicted himself under 7 Rosette disks on his Victory Stele (Frayne, 1993; 84-85; Winter 2002; 301-311; Michaux-Colombot, 2001; 343-348).

From Uruk IV (c. 3400 B.C.) onwards, the Rosette was the goddess Innana's symbol (Van Buren, 1931; 99-107), subsequently used as pictogram for 'god' in Syria and Sumer (Moortgat-Correns, 1994). Later cuneiform writing simplified pictograms and consequently Rosette and star became confused motifs (Pl. I, 7). From Ur III onwards, the Sun god ^dUTU is illustrated by a star, Rosette or cross disk over a moon crescent. The crescent sun disk recalls the masculine-feminine ^dInnana-^dUTU twinship, Nanna the Moon god being their father (Frankfort, 1939; 95-110, 180-181; Collon, 2005; 35, 176; Black & Green, 2004; 182-184).

Aiar pani, 'front Rosette', *aiaru*, 'Rosette', and 'sun-disks', *niphu*, were wide spread cult ornaments sewed on divine and royal ritual clothing, quoted in temple archives as offerings and valued as precious objects (Oppenheim, 1949; 172-173; CAD 'A':229-231). Hundreds have been retrieved in many Middle Eastern sites. Another term for Rosette or solar disc is *šamšatu(m)* or *šamšu* for which the sumerogram AŠ.ME was used by the Hittites to note the native word for Rosette, *šittar* (Tischler, 1982; 76; CAD 'Š': 332-335, 338). In a Hittite oracle, a neglected *aiaru* festival is said to have caused « Ishtar of Nineveh to be angry in her temple ». On another occasion, the god Hurianzipa was also found angry « because the feast has been neglected, the *šittar* has not been decorated » (Gurney, 1952; 159). The *šittar*-Rosette was the emblem of the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the supreme patroness of Hittite State. According to R. Lebrun, *šittar* should be the name of the Alaçahöyük sun disks (Pl. I, 1-5), (Lebrun, 1988; 48 n. 52; 60 n. 78). The Rosette has been *the* millenary power symbol. Sixth millennium hand shaped stamp sealings from Arpachiyah have a Rosette

nested in the hand's palm (Collon, 1997; 63 fig. 1), which is a striking double powered semiotic device: a human hand asserting capture of divine power on mundane leadership trading activity.

Old Hittite dynastic stamp seal have a Rosette at the centre of their seals around which a cuneiform inscription reads the names and titles (Pl. II,6-8). Rosettes, 'life' and 'health' signs are early Hieroglyphs that occur on many Old Hittite stamp seals from Boğazköy and Alaçahöyük (T. Özgüç, 1993; 484-485, Fig.12a-e). An interesting four sided hammer seal, probably from south Cappadocia and dated to the 16th century B.C., illustrates cult scenes on each of its four sides (Pl. I,15a-b). On the first one, a short winged Rosette hovers over a seated figure facing an eagle faced figure, on the opposite side of a cult stand. On the other face, the seated figure holds a Bird facing a 'Life' sign. The Rosette is a substitute for the splayed bird's head on seals and amulets from Boğazköy (Pl. II,12-14), Kültepe and other Anatolian sites (Pl. II,10-11) as well as in Syria (Pl. I,9) and earlier Sumer (Pl. I, 1-6). A text from Ur (*UET* VI 105,10), dated to the reign of Rim Sîn (1822-1763 B.C.), quotes « a magical link, a solar disk whose head (represents) a rapacious eagle grasping (two) stags looking right and left » (Charpin, 1986; 288).

The Splayed Eagle ANZU and his Short Wings

ANZU, the Splayed Eagle, is a most important figures of archaic iconography from Djemdet Nasr to Akkadian times, when the natural eagle was assimilated to the composite Imdugud, a splayed eagle with a lion's head. Seals illustrate the fate of the bird-man ANZU known from later mythic literature in various versions. He stole the Tablets of Destiny from the king of gods, Enki or Enlil, whose doorkeeper he was, thus depriving all the gods of their power. Eventually, he was defeated by Ninurta or Ningirsu, assisted by an army of 7 gods, who managed to cut off his wings, which were safely locked in a temple, permitting cosmic regulation to be restored to divine hands and chaos banishment (Amiet, 1952; 159-167; Bottéro, 1989; 389-421). His 'cut off' wings, treated as a cosmic trophy, became *the* symbol of cosmic power. In the Etana Myth, the eagle takes Etana, the first king of Kish, on his back, soaring up to heaven to find the Plant of Birth. ANZU is an ambiguous figure. He symbolizes right and wrong use of power. In Early Dynastic periods, this culture is well established. Shrines are dedicated to ANZU. His heraldic representation of a splayed figure stands above them. And his 'cut off' wings are appended on either side of shrines (Pl. I,1-2,6).

ANZU/Imdugud acquires a sun disk belly in Sumer and Syria (Pl. I,4-9) in Naram-Sin's time. A Rosette in crescent becomes a substitute for ANZU / Imdugud winged shrine standing on a bull (Pl. I,5-6), (Amiet, 1960; 1-10). Gradually ANZU disappears from representations of shrines for the benefit of his short cut off appended wings and a star Rosette. In Gudea's reign (2141-2122 B.C.), in the É-Ninnu temple of Tello, called Imdugud, there was a seven storey tower called É-pa, 'House of the wings'. The king deposited there wedding presents for the god Bau and his Lady (Amiet, 1960; 2 n. 7; Lambert & Tournay, 1952; 76-81, 77 n. 2., 13, 79 n. 1,13). An old Syrian cylinder seal illustrates a rare representation of the É-pa on sun-disks wheels (Pl. I, 8-8a). It suggests the soaring up to heaven of the divine couple with the ANZU wings overhead, either side of a diamond shape Rosette. Later Cappadocian glyptic conveys the same cultural theme. A seated king, in front of a tower with crossed ladders on a platform and over two sun disks wheels, leads four animals with ladder-like reins linked to a second ladder. The scene is dominated by a bird whose beak touches the sun disk in the middle of the ladders (Pl. I,9). ANZU, ladders and sun disks appear again in a very different composition (Pl. I,10). Artistic imagination on the climbing up to heaven in quest of the Plant of Life or immortality myth can be very fertile.

The splayed double-headed eagle is carved on the Alaçahöyük Sphinx Gate (Bryce, 2005; 155). He is closely associated to the Hittite king in rituals. The eagle is the king's personal messenger to the Sun, Storm gods and deities who 'spin the years of the king', reminiscent of the 'Tablettes of destiny' saga. Another ritual orders the eagle and the lion to entwine leopard and lion tails, so as to unite the kings' soul and heart together (Collins, 2002; 318-319). ANZU short wing sun disk is common in the Levant, including Cyprus (Pl. I, 11-16). The cultural saga is transferred to the nude goddess in a guilloche shrine with short wings on the back of the bull (Pl. I,10), a local version of Sumerian shrines on bull (Pl. I, 5-6). A short winged disk hangs over a concord scene between the semi nude goddess and the hero-king (Pl. II, 13). Like the É-pa theme, the scene represents theogamy (Pl. I,8). Syria inherited from Sumer highly symbolic scenes at a period when age old myths are distributed in second millennium written sources (Bottero, 1989; 389 ; Joannès & Michel 2001; 58-59). Guilloche patterns are an overwhelming motif on Syro-Hittite glyptics. It ornaments the É-pa tower (Pl. I,8). And the nude goddess is sometimes represented with entwined legs (Pl. I, 18).

Syrian Developments of the Winged Sun Disk

In Hammurabi's time, seal depictions illustrate the Syrian development. Between a goddess and a king, a Rosette is nested in crescent shape short wings over a 'fish' standard. The cylinder seal is dedicated to « Matrunna daughter of Aplafanda, servant of the goddess Kubaba » (Pl. I,14). Aplafanda is known from Mari sources to be the king of Carkemish in Zimrilim's time (Dossin, 1938,115-121). Therefore the seal can safely be dated to c. 1775. A contemporary seal from Mari displays a curious anthropomorphic winged Rosette representing the nude goddess lifting up her skirt (Pl. I,16) (Buhl, 1982; 94). At that period, finely cut examples of Rosette winged disks, dated to Iarim-Lim I, king of Aleppo, or Abban his successor, develop a specific iconography with notched stands upholding the winged Rosette (Pl. I,17) from a supposed seal-cutting work shop in Aleppo (Collon, 1981; 33-43). At that period, the ANZU splayed eagle is still an alternate motif to the winged Rosette over the notched stand symbolizing the Tree of Life (Collon, 2005; 54 n° 215). Paleo-Syrian seals with these motifs are found over a wide area across the Mediterranean. The distribution, due to trade, reached Thebes in Greece, where an original Hittite example shows a short winged Rosette over the Weather god's head (Porada, 1981-1982; 47). A Syrian 'seal of Hammurabi of the treasury' was found at Karnak in Egypt (Pl. II, 21). It displays a very elaborate Tree of Life rising above a winged frontal head with uplifted arms and volutes. The two upper pairs of volutes cradle a Rosette similar to the winged one above. The frontal head is assimilated to a Hathor head (Porada, 1983, 238-240). Yet nothing comparable exists in Egyptian iconography. The goddess Hathor never has any wings. Nevertheless, these developments all suggest a feminine connotation upholding the Sacred Tree notion.

Hittite Development of the Winged Disk

Queen Ašmunikal seal (pl. I, 26) is thought to be the earliest known example of the Hittite *aedicula*. Yet the Cappadocian sample (Pl. I,15a), dated to the 16th century proves that the symbol is not unknown to Hittites. Ašmunikal was the wife of Arnuwanda I. But the name under the *aedicula* is Tudfalia. According to M. Salvini., she must have been *Tawananna* under the following reign of Tudfalia III, rather than under the previous one of Tudfalia II. Therefore the seal can be dated to c. 1.370 B.C. The seal is carved out in characteristic Mitannian style and drilling technique (Salvini, 1990; 257-268). A particular feature of that repertory is the so-called "scooped out wings" inherited from Middle Assyrian iconography

(Collon, 1982; 15; Stein, 1997) and markedly carved on the Hittite Megiddo ivory (Alexander, 1991). The Ašmunikal *aedicula* is close in date and style to the Mitannian dynastic seals of Šauštatar I (1475-1450 B.C.) (Sallaberger *et al.*, 2006; 80, fig. 6.), from Tell Basi south of Karkemish, and of Šauštatar II (1435-1410 B.C.), from Nuzi and Brak (Pl. II, 27). Dates are those of J. Freu (2003; 63, 70 and forthcoming article) to whom I am grateful for his draft.

Ašmunikal's *aedicula*, is akin to Mitannian samples except that the last are set on a standard. Nevertheless, Hittite winged disks on standards are otherwise attested at Alaçahöyük (Pl. II, 18), on the Chicago gold disk, and on several seals in the Louvre, Dresde and Ashmolean Museum (Kantor, 1957; 148-149, Fig. 4 n. 14; Hogart, 1920; 75 Fig. 78; Beyer, 1982; 74-75, n. 21). The seal from Yozgat, of which only the winged disk is here shown (Pl. I, 17), is identical to the Kaysari one (Pl. I, 16). These types are dated between 1.400-1.380 B.C. (Boehmer & Güterbock, 1987; p. 57; T. Özgüç, 1993; 490). The standard represents the 'Trunk or Pillar of Sky' or 'Tree or Life', a new concept, introduced by Indo-European populations, according to H. Kantor, D. Beyer and H. Frankfort (1939; 275-278). The Ašmunikal winged disk is similar to the Yozgat one, except that the hieroglyphic royal monogram takes the place of the Pillar and the two 'Great King' signs (HH 18) are substitutes for the supporting Bull-men, a common couple related to the Mesopotamian hero Gilgamesh.

S. Dalley stressed that the Akkadian word *palmu* and the god Palmu, equated with ^dUTU / Shamash in Middle and Late Assyrian god lists, came to be used for the winged sun-disk and written with the logograms AN.DÙL, NU or ALAM, for common nouns such as 'statue', 'god figurine', 'deified royal image', 'relief', 'monument' or 'canopy' or 'royal statue' in Old Akkadian Period (CAD B:79-85). Old Babylonian and Old Assyrians court oaths were sworn while touching a sacred object or weapon, in particular the *šaššrum*, the saw of Šamaš or the *šamšatum* / *šamšum*, sun-disk. Naturally, *palmu*, the winged disk became the promissory oath emblem for legal ceremonies entailing peace submission like treaties (Dalley, 1986; 92-94, 99-101). They were probably displayed on a staff for the occasion. The early Hittite title ^dUTU^{bi}, My Sun, occurs in treaties, that of Zidanta I with the Kizzuwatna and the one Arnuwanda I conceded to the Gasgas (Gonnet, 1979; 37, 41-42). Late Hittite *aedicula* stand on a stool, throne or pedestal (Pl. I, 19, 26), (Gonnet, 1967; 189-190, fig 15-16; HH 295). Moreover, *palmu* is attested in a funerary royal ritual from Ugarit and in

a fragment of a Middle Babylonian ritual from Boğazköy, *KUB* 37, 54 (Dalley, 1986; 89-90, 99). The stand under the winged disk is a political and cultic eastern development.

Summarising evidence: Hittite winged sun disks, on a short or long stand, draw direct stylistic affinities from Hurrite Syria and from a general Levantine, Aegean and Anatolian cultural background, shared with Mesopotamia during the third and second millenniums. The Rosette is nested in 'scooped out' AMZU eagle wings, originally short. Therefore, the Hittite dynastic symbol is Syrian in style and composition and deeply Anatolian in terms of royal divine power, because of earlier Rosette Hattic sun disks and *tabarna* stamp seals.

The Advent of Solar Royal Theology East and West

Sumerian solar themes related to kinship hark back to the legendary kings of early Uruk and Kish. According to the Sumerian King List, Meskiangasher, high priest and first king of Uruk, is 'son of ^dUTU'. He is more or less contemporary with Etana, the first king of Kish, who ascended to heaven with the eagle (Jacobsen, 1932; 21, 80-81, 84-85, Table I). Though post diluvium legendary kings cannot be dated with precision, E.D. I would range from 2900 to 2750 B.C. (Honoré, 2004; 20 ; Roux, 1985; 428-430). Uruk's last king is ^dUTU-hegal. Shortly afterward, the Neo-Sumerian Šulgi of Ur III (2094-2047 B.C.) is the first kings to claim the title ^dUTU^{bi}, 'My Sun', later followed by Hammurabi of Babylon (1780-1750 B.C.) (Dalley, 1986; 98). The royal address 'My Sun' is a Neo-Sumerian concept restricted to the cuneiform sphere. It was later extended to pharaohs only in cuneiform diplomatic correspondence, during the El Amarna Period c. 1350 B.C. Egyptian royal address is 'My/His/Thy Majesty' *ꜥm.i / ꜥm.f / ꜥm.k.*. The word *ꜥm* means servant or priest.

Egyptian solar theology originally developed in the lowest social strata. Rē', the sun god, was overshadowed by more prominent gods (Verner, 1994; 100). In Dynasty II, the royal name Rē'-neb, 'Rē' is Lord', c. 2700 B.C., does testify royal interest (Vercoutter, 1992; 222-224). Yet, it is only from Khephren onwards (2472-2448 B.C.), at the fall Dynasty IV, that kings formally claim the title 'son of Rē'. After him, the 'solar kings' of Dynasty V created a new and outstanding cult with solar temples, in which the *benben* stone, an obelisk type pyramid, was worshiped. It symbolized the summit on which the sun was born each morning from the sky goddess Nut on the eastern horizon. His name is then Khepri, (sun beetle which means 'come into being'). After having crossed the heavenly ocean on the

mendjet bark, he descends on the western horizon as the god Atum, a human figured king at the head of the cosmic Ennead. At some undefined period, the falcon-headed Harakhty, 'Horus-of-the-Horizon' was assimilated to Rē' (Verner, 1994; 99-112 ; Wilkinson, 2006; 202). According to the prophecy of Djedi, mentioned in Papyrus Westcar, the new rulers of Dynasty V, Userkaf, Sahurē' and Neferikarē', were born from Rē's theogamy with Rededet, the wife of a priest of Rē'. *Iunu*, Heliopolis, the Sun Town, was Rē's consecrated town, of which nothing much is left, lost in the industrial suburbs north-east of Cairo. Fragments of royal sculptures, found in a refuse pit, date from Djoser onwards (Quirke, 2004; 99-152).

In short, and from textual evidence only, solar regal lineage, 'son of the Sun', is a Sumerian kingship claim from the start, in the first quarter of the third millennium. Egyptian pharaohs follow in the Pyramid Age, two centuries later at the least.

Egyptian Winged Disk Development, Behdety and 'Epy-wr

The Egyptian winged disk had two names. The early historical Behdety, referring to the falcon god, Horus of Behdet, was the general term. 'Epy-wr, The Great Flyer, was a late and local designation in the great Edfu myth, The Legend of the Winged Disk. The Edfu Legend explains how the winged disk came about. The Sun god Rē'-Harakhty landed in the nome of Edfu with Behdety who flew up, 'py, to heaven as 'py-wr, The Great Flier, to storm the rebels and foes. His bark had two *uraei* to terrify crocodiles and hippopotami. 'Epy conquered the foe at each landing of Rē', all along the country up north and down south again, in Nubia and west of Punt. In the end Rē' ordered Thoth: 'Thou shalt make this winged disk in every place in which I have rested, in every shrine of Upper Egypt and every shrine of Lower Egypt'. Thoth executed the order. And that is why the emblem is seen on every temple door lintel over the entire country (Fairman, 1935; 35; Chassinat, 1931; 129, XII,1). The town Behdet has been identified with Tell el-Balamun in the northern Delta. The original northern Horus cult would refer to an early, non defined, Predynastic period, before Upper Egypt took political power over the whole Nile valley, from Aswan to the Delta. The date of the take-over, if it did occur at all, is still a matter of debate. (Jiménez-Serrano, 2002; 4-10). The name Behdet was duplicated and applied to Edfu in Dynasty III, when Horus extended his power over the divine conclave of Upper Egypt (Gardiner, 1944; 42 ; 1947:6-7, 36-37, 158, 181; Málek, 1985; 181-185; *LÄ* II, 277-9; *LÄ* I, 683; *LÄ* I, 319-321). The Pharaoh's first name was the 'Horus name' representing the earthly

embodiment of the falcon god Horus. Falcons, single or affronted, over a nameless *serekh*, palace façade, representing authority, first occur in Predynastic Naqada IIIA2/B-IIIB period, c. 3350 B.C., on pottery, seals and censers from Sinai to Nubia (Jiménez-Serrano, 2003; 104-105, 137). Dates are still under discussion.

The earliest mention of Behdety occurs in the Step Pyramid precinct of Djoser (2630-2611 B.C.) in Dynasty III (Pl. III,1), on a dummy chapel relief that was part of the Sed royal rejuvenating rites (Gardiner, 1944; 27-28; Jiménez-Serrano, 2002; 45-50). The earliest winged disk appears half a century later, in the reign of Snefru (2543-2510 B.C.), the first Dynasty IV king (Pl. III,2). It is carved on one end of a curtain box belonging to his wife Hetepheres. The winged disk surmounts the king's cartouche, to the right of which is the king's Horus name is flanked by the Was sceptre. To the left is a 'protection behind (him) living eternally' formula. An overall security for the king's double identity, personal and royal is suggested. The plaque of Snefru's son Cheops has just a cartouche on the obverse (Pl. III,3). It is only in Dynasty V that the winged disk, over the complete royal titulary, is termed Behdety and qualified 'The Great God of variegated plumage', on sail top of Sahurē's state ship, depicted in his mortuary temple at Abusir (Pl. III, 4). The large sail is entirely decorated with rows of Rosettes, a unique case (Borchardt, 1913; Pl. 9). The king's Horus name figures on a column of the temple over which stands a plain disk with *uraei* under the *pt* signe for 'sky' (Pl. III, 5). According to A. Gardiner the winged disk and the *pt* sign are alternate sky symbols (1944:47). The sixth king of that dynasty, Niuserrē, adds the epithet 'Beneficent God, Lord of the two lands' to the winged disk with pending *uraei* (Gardiner *et al.*, 1955; 59 n°10, Pl. VI). The Elephantine stela of Wenis, the last king of that dynasty, also shows *uraei* either side of the disk supported by two Was sceptres (Pl. III, 6), like on Sahurē's column inscription. The theological meaning of the winged disk is henceforth set. The wings would be a concept of cosmos, a celestial Janus, double headed protective god, 'Lord of the two lands'. The winged sky god without a sun disk has a precursor on the ivory comb of king Djer. The added sun disk is a Heliopolitan creation, fusing the older falcon Horus with the more recent sun god Rē (Wengrow, 2006; 45, Fig. 2.5; Jiménez-Serrano, 2002; 96, fig. 56; Gardiner, 1944; 47).

However, up to Pepi I (pl. III, 7), the hovering Horus grasping the *šnw* sign (a cartouche in its original round form, symbolizing the sun's circuit and rule over the entire land) and the winged disk, both termed Behdety,

seem to be distinct entities « or if the same as engaged in a different activity » according to A. Gardiner (1944; 49). Pepi I bares the white crown of Upper Egypt under the winged disk, whereas with the red crown of Lower Egypt, the king is under the falcon. Originally these crowns may only have had a ritual meaning (Jiménez-Serrano, 2002; 48). The red one stands here for spiritual accomplishment of the Sed festival, and the white one for mundane accomplishment over invading Bedouins. The winged disk is linked to the king's prenomen in more or less elaborate cartouche compositions (Pl. III, 9a, 14) throughout all periods (Radawan, 1975).

On a porch of Medamud (pl. III, 8) the king is seen at the culmination point of the Sed Festival seated on one side of the dais as ruler of Upper and on the other as ruler of Lower Egypt. Horus of Behdet (Lower Egypt) and Seth of Ombos (Upper Egypt) each present a notched palm of 'million of years' to the king. After Sesostri I, Sambehedet, fully written Sam-n-Behdet in the New Kingdom, became a substitute of Behedet when Amen-Rē rose to power in Karnak, as the new national god, and was assimilated to Horus under the title 'Lord of Sambehdet'. The compound name means 'union of the place of the throne', from *sm3*, 'unite' and *bꜣdw*, 'throne' (Gardiner, 1944; 41-45). The sitting statues of Sesostri I discovered at Lisht have the stereotyped concord scene (Pl. III, 9), found on many thrones. Horus the Behdety and Seth of Ombos, both with a foot on the royal lungs, each grasp the plants of Lower and Upper Egypt, united by a knot in the middle of the windpipe, also called *sm3*. They 'give life' to the king whose name is in a cartouche, a substitute for the sun disk at the top of the windpipe, *i.e.*, at the place between the royal eyes. This is highly figurative picture of cosmic kingship, uniting Horus and Seth, arch old enemies, in his solar eye.

From the Middle Kingdom onwards, iconography becomes very elaborate. Elegant examples are found on *cloisonné* pectorals belonging to princesses from Lahun and Dashur (Andrews, 1996; 6, 59, 91, 93, 128-130). Hatchepsut's theogamy with Amun is illustrated under the winged disk in Luxor temple (Roberts, 2001; 123). Hands were added in the New Kingdom (Pl. III, 12). During the Amarna 'heresy', Atum/Iten is venerated as a plain disk deprived of wings, from which radiates elongated hands. Horus eyes and eye-brows are substitutes to wings (Pl. III, 11), sometimes shown on the back of the stele (Pl. III, 9, a-b). The Eye of the Sun, who sees, knows and judges all things, is a popular Egyptian myth (de Cénival, 1988). In Dynasty XIX, the plain winged disk is used as determinative

to the word *wꜥm*, ‘herald’ for festivals, at Qantir in the Eastern Delta (Pl. III,13). The drooping wing feature only occurs on rounded stele tops for visual harmony.

The absence of Rosette is surprising considering that in Predynastic periods the Rosette was a royal symbol depicted on Scorpion and Narmer’s Mace-Heads and Narmer Palette. In the Old Kingdom there were ‘priests of the rosette’, and all through Egyptian history Sheshat, the goddess of Divine Books and time recording, is recognised by the Rosette above her head. She directed the Sed royal rejuvenating festivals in the Old Kingdom (Vercoutter, 1992; 271). Rosettes adorn royal head bands and the bottom of Hathor *menit* counterpoises (Michaux-Colombot, 2006b). The *menit* is the Sed festival ritual necklace. Its counterpoise illustrates Hathor’s body, and its bottom her womb (Roberts, 2001, 67). The Rosette means rebirth. In spite of frequent diplomatic contacts between Egypt, Syria and Anatolia during the two centuries that span the Hittite *aedicula* period, 1400-1200, i.e. between Thutmosis IV and Siptah, comprising the Amarna Period when Mitannian princesses were wedded to pharaohs and the reign of Ramesses II who married two Hittite princesses, each country kept to their own iconography, deeply rooted in long lived practices. Sahurē’s sailing ship is the only occurrence when Rosettes and winged disk are illustrated together. That is also when the winged disk becomes a god in Egypt. An Eastern influence due to trade seems probable. Could the Egyptian ‘py, ‘fly’, derive from Sumerian *é-pa*, ‘wing house’?

The Sacred Tree and Symbolic Meaning of the Winged Sun Disk

The Eastern iconography, especially Assyrian one in the second millennium, definitely harps on the Tree of Life or Sacred Tree theme (Parpola, 1993; 161-208; Giovino, 2007). Endowed by a winged goddess, the king is portrayed as a Bird Man whose authoritative symbol is a winged Pillar or sacred Trunk (Pl. I,17-18, Pl. II,27-28). Hittite repertory follows (Pl. II,15a, 17-22, 24), what is considered a new concept introduced by Indo-European populations whose homeland is a long debated subject (Kazanas, 2001; 257-293; Brice, 2007; 12-15). However, in Hammurabi’s time, sacred trees flanked and/or encircled the door of the holy well *apsû* on the ziggurat of Ur, over which stood the ‘magical link, a solar disk...’ quoted above. Ritual dependence did exist between the Sacred Tree, solar disk and ANZU.

Noteworthy is the fact that Mitannian kings all have Indo-Aryan or Vedic names (Freu, 2003; 19-31). Vedic deities, such as Mitra, Varuna, Indra

and the Nasatya are found in the two Hittite-Mitannian treaties between Šuppililiuma and Šattiwaza (Laroche, 1979; Freu, 1994; 209-226). And the fire god Agni, prototype of Brahman, is found in two Hittite rituals KUB VIII 28 and KBo XI 14. (Freu, 1994; 222). Now, at the base of the Sacred Pillar, is the Door of Brahman, *Bramadvāra* (Avalon, 1983; 183).

Physiological descriptions are revealed in the medieval Sanskrit *Tantra* texts (> *tan*, diffusion), often called the ‘fifth Veda’ (> *vid*, knowledge). Thousands of *nādi*, channels (> *nad*, movement), cross the body, three of which are most important. The central one, *susumnā*, is the Pillar, up which surges *Kundalini*, the vital energy. And *Ida* and *Pingalā*, entwined round the spinal chord, convey male and female energies (Pl. III, 14 F). They are also named sun and moon. The *susumnā* crosses through five centres called *çakra*, circle, with varying numbers of petals (4–6–10–12–16) representing the number of *nādi* muscles round the circle, and commonly figured as lotuses or Rosettes. The three *nādi* meet in the sixth *çakra*, the *Ajnā çakra* or Third Eye, where the Sacred Marriage occurs when *Kundalini* awakens and arises up the spine and meets Shiva/Brahma. When rising, *Kundalini* is described as a warm serpent. She is the female aspect of the Sacred Tree in which Hathor rising rituals of the Egyptian Sed regenerating cycle is recognizable (Roberts, 2001; 66-67). The *Ajnā shakra* has only two petals. They are identified with the wings of Hamsa, Brahma’s mythical bird, who drives the adept to the spiritual experience of Unity, soaring up to the seventh sky, or *Sahasrāra*, the Thousand Petal Lotus above the head. Another mythical bird on a pillar is Garuda the *vāhana* of Vishnu. The *çakra* are described as swirling wheels of energy otherwise expressed as swastika. *Kundalini* yoga (> *yug*, join) develops the flow of these cosmic energies, compared to sap rejuvenating the Tree of Life. The adept becomes a seer when his *Ajnā çakra* opens. (Avallan, 1977, 1983; Renou & Filliozat, 1985 I; 423-429, 583-600; Mookerjee, 1982). The Vedic Rishi (> *drish*, to see) were the Seers of universal knowledge. Divine kingship and solar theology most probably derived from this seemingly universal saga.

The Akkadian word for ‘magical link’ is *giš-būr*, which means a ‘trap’ embracing two entwined serpents according to D. Charpin (1985: 290). This could refer to the *Ajnā çakra*, where the three main *nādi* meet in a threefold knot, and where conflict resolves into concord. Fourth millennium motifs of entwined serpents round Rosettes (Pl. III, 14 A,C) should be none other than *Ida* and *Pingala* crossing round *çakra*. The Mesopotamian and

Anatolian cultures conserved the *çakra* notion with the Rosette ‘divinity’ symbol also used for AN ‘heaven’. Their winged disk is a composed symbol associating the general notion of access to divinity through the *çakra* and the ANZU, Third Eye knot, power of control (Pl. III, 14,B). Rosettes don’t have a set number of petals, therefore no specific *çakra* is meant, except maybe the cross Rosette, that could refer to the four petal bottom *çakra*, out of which rises *kundalini*. The guilloche motif is the entwined serpent one of *Ida* and *Pingala* (Pl. III, 14), illustrated in Egypt by crossing ribbons with a knot on the Sed festival Hathor dancer’s torso (Roberts, 2001, 25-28). On many Mitannian and Hittite seals, swirling motifs or globs are in groups of seven (Pl. III, E). Seven is a sacred number. Naturally the *É-pa* had seven stories and in Egypt, there are seven Hathor. The Great *uraeus* (>*iares* to rise) emerging from pharaoh’s brow and the two *uraei*, either side of the sun disk, must be the three main *nādi*. If the Egyptian winged disk represents the *Ajnā çakra*, the third eye, it would explain why no Rosette ever adorns the disk. Proto Tantrism was expressed differently East and West. Its wisdom, health or healing effectiveness was long conveyed by the Caduceus symbol of Hermes, Mercury and Esculap, used now days as a medical emblem (Bayard, 1978).

Conclusion

Neither Syrian nor Anatolian winged disks show any Egyptian artistic affinity. The main differences are the complete absence of Rosette on the Egyptian disk that has appended *uraei* and the scooped-out ANZU feature of the Syro-Hittite Rosette disk without *uraei*. Egyptian types with *uraei* (Pl. I, 19) first occur in Syria, c. 1775, centuries after the short winged ANZU had long prevailed in Sumer and Anatolia. The earliest Anatolian one of 16th century is both short winged and scooped out (Pl. II, 15a). It antedates the Egyptian campaigns in Syria under Tuthmosis III in the 15th century. But noteworthy is the fact that the earliest Syrian winged Rosette, dated to the middle of the third millennium (Pl. I, 8), fits the time span of the earliest Egyptian undecorated winged disk (Pl. III, 2-4).

Obviously in Antiquity, a wisdom saga had enlightened the early centres of civilisation. It developed on distinct cultural lines. Written evidence favours a Sumerian anteriority over Egypt for the royal claim to divine kingship. But the origin of serpent power lore is shrouded in mystery and this evidence cannot be conclusive. Yet, iconography of divine birds, ANZU eagle with rosettes harks back to Uruk, c. 3500 B.C., whereas Horus falcon appears in Egypt in Naqada IIIA, c. 3300 B.C., at

a period when Palestinian wine jars with sealings, bearing the earliest Egyptian Rosette motifs, are found in Scorpion I's tomb at Abydos. Yet the disk bellied ANZU from Brak (Pl. I,9) has an E.D. III antecedent at Fara over a swirling animal swastika (Pl. I,3), a common motif at the time. Therefore, it could be inferred that the concept of a winged disk is a Syro-Mesopotamian one imported into Egypt. The Gebel Tarif knife handle decoration from Upper Egypt (Pl. III, 14C) is considered as an Asiatic import. Eagle and falcon, though from distinct families and geographical residences, both belong to the order *Falconiformes* (Houlihan, 1986; 148-150). They both have a long distance piercing eye-sight, an evident idea in Egyptian iconography where eyes are substitutes for wings. The Hittites probably featured the power of double vision by adding a second Rosette disk over the *aedicula* (Pl. II,25). The Syrian repertoire praised the Sacred Marriage and Sacred Tree themes (Pl. I,12-14, 16-18), even when their traders came to Egypt (Pl. I,20). Yet when the Egyptian type comes to Syria, the winged disk conserves the *uraeus* feature (Pl. I,19). Typologies did not mix even abroad. Borrowing hieroglyphs from Egypt on Syrian glyptic did not entail any fundamental change. Borrowing the winged disk would have.

The Advent of the Winged Disk (middle reign approximate dates)

	EGYPT	SYRIA	ANATOLIA	MESOPOTAMIA
6000		Arpachiah, Halaf, Rosettes	Çatal Hüyük, Birds, Rosettes	
3500 3300	Naqada IIIA, Horus, rosettes	ANZU on seals		Uruk IV, ANZU and Innana-Rosettes
2800 2600 2580 2520 2420	D.1, Djer, Horus wings D.3, Djoser, Behedet, D. 4, Snefru, winged disk D.5, Sahurê*, w-d = Behedet	Brak, Chuera, Rosette=God Brak, ANZU-disk belly ANZU short wing disk, É-pa		Meskiangascher, Etana E.D.III ANZU Rosette=God ANZU-disk belly
2250 2150	D.6, Pepy I	Brak, ANZU-winged disk Winged shrines, Ebla, Mari	Alaçahöyük, sun disks/poles Boğazkoy, Rosette seals	Ur III, ANZU winged shrines, Sun disks/poles, É-pa
1800	D.12, trade with Byblos	Short wing Rosette disk	Cappadocia ANZU=Rosette	
1775	Karnak, Syrian winged disk	Mari, Alalakh VII, short wing Rosette disk Anthropomorphic Tree of Life	ANZU eagle seals Rosette seals	Hammurabi Sun disks on poles
1600 1550	Hyksos D. 18, Ahmose	Alalakh IV, Egyptian motifs	Tabarna seals with Rosette Cappadocia winged disk	
1450	D. 18, Tuthmosis III	Sauštatar I, scooped-out / pole	Yozgat, winged disk/pole	
1400	D.18, Tuthmosis IV		Ašmunikal,	
1370	D.18, Amenhotep III		Tudhalia III <i>aedicule</i>	
1350	D.18, Akhenaton	Tušratta,	šuppiluliuma	

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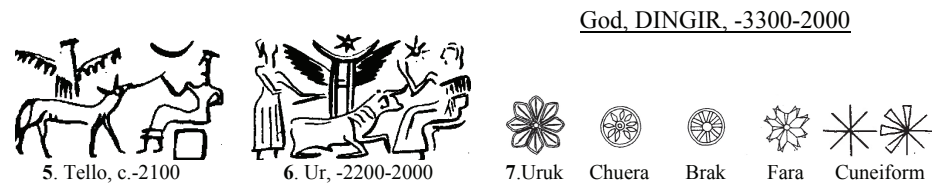
Plate I

1: Legrain, n°349. - **2:** *Id.*, n°360. - **3:** Amiet, 1980, n°1083. - **4:** Black-Green, 107. - **5:** Amiet, 1960, 2, fig. 3. - **6:** *Id.*, fig.2. - **7:** Moortgate-Correns, 369 (detail). - **8:** Amiet, 1993, 265. - **9:** Matthews, n°232. - **10:** Amiet, 1960, 6, fig. 11. - **11:** Schaeffer-Forrer, 14. - **12:** *Id.*, 68, A23. - **13:** El-Safadi, Pl. II n°3. - **14:** Teissier, 27 n° 186. - **15:** Collon, 2005, 74 n° 328.

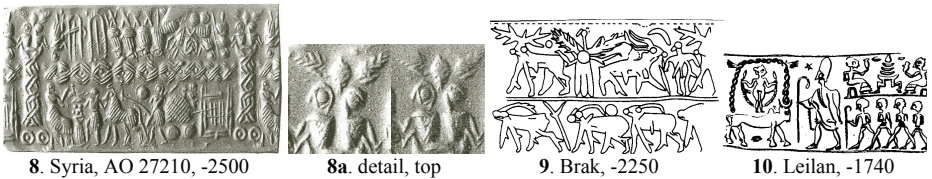
- 16: Tessier, n°196. - 17: *Id.*, n° 189. - 18: Beyer, 73 n°15. - 19: Teissier, n° 188. - 20: *Id.*, n° 202.

Plate I

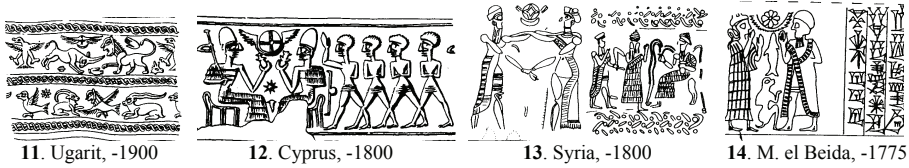
Mesopotamian ANZU, E.D.III - Ur III



Syrian ANZU



Levantine short winged sun disks



Aegean, Syrian and Mitannian -1700 - 1400

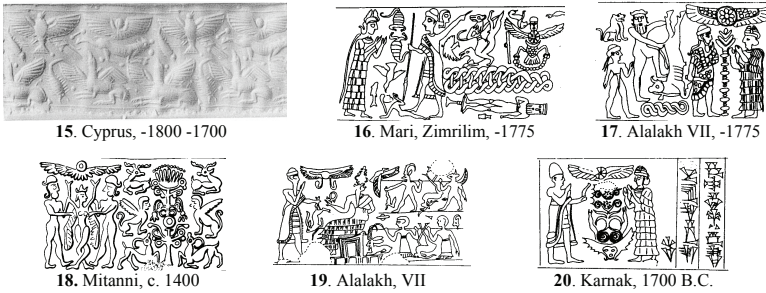


Plate II

1: Boehmer-Güterbock, Pl. IX 102. - **2:** *Id.*, Pl. XIV 143. - **3-4:** Gonnet, 1967, 170 (detail). - **5:** *Id.*, 171, (detail). - **6-8:** Beran, Pl. IV n°143, 146a, 147. - **9:** Contenau, 1934, 69. - **10:** Collon 2005, 43 n° 150. - **11:** Boehmer-Güterbock, 34 n° 17b. - **12:** Beran, Pl. I, 41. - **13:** *Id.*, Pl. XXVI 218c. - **14:** *Id.*, 70 n° 50a. - **15:** *Id.*, 54 n° 39b,d. - **16:** Messerschmidt, pl. XLIII 3. - **17:** Kantor, 149. - **18:** Koşay, Pl. LXVII 4. - **19:** Gonnet, 1967, 189 n°16. - **20-21:** *Id.*, 192. - **22:** Salvini, 259. - **23:** Schaeffer, 3 n°2. - **24:** Boehmer-Güterbock, 80. - **26:** Schaeffer, 96. - **27:** Collon, 2005, 127 n°548. - **28:** Stein, 1997, 113a.

Plate II

Stamp seals, -2500 -1600



1-2. Boğazköy

Sun-disks, -2100 -2000



3-5. Alaçahöyük,

Hittite Tabarna stamp seals



6-8. Tabarna, Alluwama, Huzziya

Anatolian ANZU



9. Cappadocia, -1900

10-11. Kültepe/ Kanis, -1800

Hittite and Ancient Hittite stamp seals, -2000 -1500



12-14. Boğazköy



15,a-b. -16th c., South Cappadocia

Common seals, -15th c.

Ritual standard

Deities



16. Kayseri



17. Yozgat



18. Alaçahöyük



19. Palmu



20. Şauşga



21. Kubaba

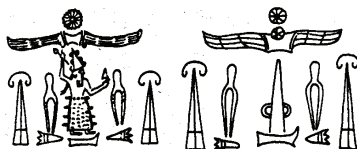
Royal seals, -1370 -1340



22. Ašmunikal, -1370



23. Šuppiluliuma



24-25. Tudhaliya IV -1340

Mitannian seals



26. Aleppo c. -1320



27. Šauštatar II, -1440



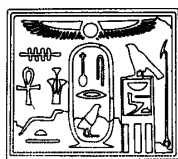
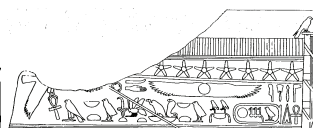
28. Nuzi, -1400

Plate III

1: Gardiner, 1944, Pl. III 4. - 2: Reisner, Pl. 11 n° 29a. - 3: Petrie, 28. - 4-5: Gardiner, 1944, Pl. VI, 1, 5. - 5: Petrie, 93. - 6: Gardiner *et al.*, 1955, Pl. VIII, 16. - 7-8: Gardiner, 1944, Pl. IV, Pl. III, 1. - 9: Gardiner *et al.*, 1955, Pl. LXV, 199a-b. - 10: *Id.*, pl. LXVII, 235. - 11: Hassan, 55, 5. - 12: Hamza, 61, 6. - 13: Radawan, 221. 14: A: Amiet, 1980, Pl. 14bis. - B: *Id.* 13bis. - C: Vandier, 547. - D: Stein, 113a. - E: Hogarth, 1922, Pl. XXIV, 12. - Fa: Mookerjee, 21 - F b-c: Bayard, 129 (detail). - Fd: Āryadeva, 136. - G: Bayard, 45.

Plate III

Egyptian winged sun disk, Behedet,

1. Djoser
D. 3, c.-25802. Snefru
D. 4, c.-25303. Cheops
D. c.-24504. Sahurē
D. 5, c.-2420

5.

6. Wenis
D. c.-2310

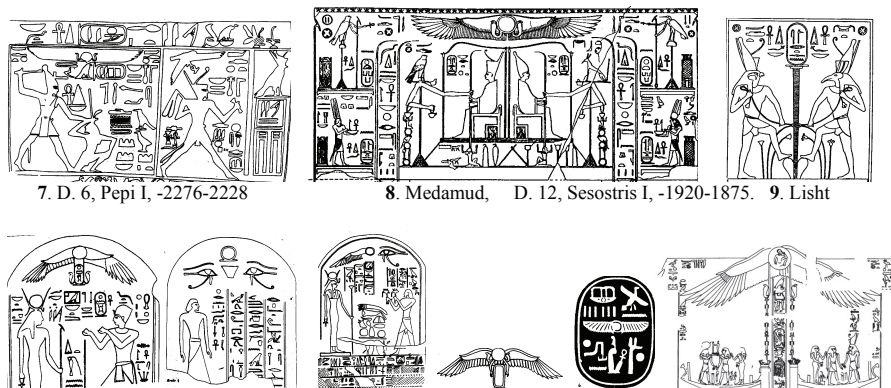


Fig. 14. Tree of Life antecedents of Tantrisme

