

AN ARYAN IN IŠUWA

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Abstract

The paper deals with an Aryan onomastic evidence in a Hittite cuneiform text concerning Išuwa, hitherto unnoticed. The author assumes the possibility of a mixed Hurrian-Aryan coexistence in this area, like in Mitanni, Kizzuwatna, and Syria-Palestine.

The so-called Kikkuli text,¹ a horse-training manual, authored by a Hurrian Kikkuli, including a number of technical terms of Indo-Iranian(-Aryan) (also called Mitannian Aryan) origins, is well known from the early period of Hittitology. These are *aikawartanna* ‘one circle’, *panzawartanna* ‘five circles’, *šattawartanna* ‘seven circles’, *aššuššanni* ‘horse breeder’, etc. The presence of these terms in a Hurrian text is usually treated as an evidence for the assumption that the Hurrians were intermediaries between the ‘Aryan’ experts of the art of horse-training and the Hittites.²

A considerable number of Indo-Iranian personal and divine names had come up with the study of Hittite, Mitannian, Egyptian, Assyrian and other sources.³ The bearers of these personal names were kings of Mitanni (Artadama, Artašumara, Parattarna, Paršadat-

¹ This extensive text, which occupies seven tablets (for the structure of the text, see E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes Hittites*, Paris, N. 284-287, 1971: 41), was published by A. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia Hethitica*, Wiesbaden, 1961; see also F. Starke, *Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden: Eine hippologisch orientierte Interpretation des Kikkuli-Textes*, Wiesbaden, 1995 [= Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, N.41]).

² H. A. Hoffner, “Hurrian Civilization from a Hittite Perspective”, *Urkesch and the Hurrians. Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen*, (= Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, vol. 26), Malibu, 1998: 176.

³ N. D. Mironov, “Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millenary B.C.”, *Acta Orientalia*, 11: 140-217; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Arier im alten Vorderasien*, Wiesbaden, 1966; idem, “Die Arier im vorderen Orient—ein Mythos?”, *Österreichische Akad. d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Klasse*, Bd. 294, Abh.1, Wien, 1974.

tar, Šauššatar/Šauštatar, Šattiwaza, Šuttarna, Tušratta),⁴ Kizzuwatna (Paddatišu, Pariyawatri, Šunaššura), as well as princes of small principalities of Syria and Palestine (Aitaggama, Artaya, Biriawaza, Šumittara, Dewatti, Šubanda, Šuwardata, etc.). Along with these, it became clear that four gods of the official Mitannian pantheon (Mitra, Waruna, Ind(a)ra, and Našatyaš) were also Indo-Iranian.⁵

Various theories attempt to explain vestiges of Indo-Iranian linguistic heritage found in Mitanni and in areas under the Hurrian political and cultural influence.

H. Winckler, the first excavator of Hattušaš-Boğazköy, was inclined to consider Mitanni as the earliest Indo-Aryan state.⁶

In A. Kammenhuber's opinion,⁷ the linguistic-cultural contacts between Aryans and Mitannian Hurrians must have taken place not in Mitanni, but rather in the mountainous regions adjacent to Mesopotamia before the formation of this state in the 18th century B.C. She considered the Third Millennium B.C. Transcaucasia as the area of this Aryan-Hurrian symbiosis.⁸

Igor Diakonoff argued against the existence of a living Aryan language in the mid-Second Millennium Anatolia, Mesopotamia and elsewhere; his arguments were: 1) the Indo-Aryan treatment of a large part of proper names and common words do not have safe etymologies; 2) they were preserved in cuneiform texts in the form of set phrases, which suggests that 'Aryan' at that period of time was not a spoken language.⁹ He had considered Mitanni Aryans as a breakaway branch of the proto-Indo-Iranian body, which could have

⁴ Artadama = Vedic *rtá-dhāman-* "whose abode is Ṛta; Tušratta = Vedic *tveṣá-ratha-* "whose chariot surges forward violently"; 'attiwaza = Indo-Iran. **sāti-vāja-* "acquiring booty" (M. Mayrhofer, *ibid.*: 23-25; idem, "Welches Material aus Indo-Arischen von Mitanni verbleibt für eine selektive Darstellung?", *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae*, Wiesbaden, 1982: 311-312).

⁵ One more possible Indo-Aryan deity (^dAk/gni) was found in the Hittite texts (H. Otten, M. Mayrhofer, "Der Gott Akni in den hethitischen Texten und seine indoarische Herkunft", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 60, H. 11/12, 1965: 545-552).

⁶ H. Winckler, "Die Arier in den Urkunden von Boghaz-köi", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 13, 1910: 289ff.

⁷ A. Kammenhuber, *op. cit.*:17f.

⁸ A. Kammenhuber, "Die Arier im Vorderen Orient und die historischen Wohnsitze der Hurriter", *Orientalia*, 46, 1977: 220f.

⁹ I. M. Diakonoff (D'yakonov), "Arijcy na Bližnem Vostoke: Konec mifa", *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, 1970: 41ff (the same paper in German: "Die Arier im vorderen Orient: Ende eines Mythos", *Orientalia*, N. S. 41(1972): 91-120).

had contacts with the Hurrians in the neighbourhood of the Lake Urmia during the first half of the Second Millennium B.C.¹⁰

Various scholars had revisited this problem in the following period. First, M. Mayrhofer criticised the critical paper of I. Diakonoff,¹¹ and soon was supported by Th. Gamkrelidze and V. Ivanov. According to the latter, the dialect of the Mitannian Aryans was not a dead language but was rather used by certain social group (the elite of the state).¹²

Finally, one should mention the well-balanced opinion of G. Wilhelm.¹³ He is doubtful that the vestiges of the Aryan linguistic influence discovered in Mitanni, the Hittite Empire and elsewhere can be attributed solely to contacts that took place ages ago in the remote Transcaucasia or some other area. The Hurrians are attested in Northern Mesopotamia not later than the 23th century B.C., and the Aryan linguistic data is coming from about 1500 B.C. He argues that if the Hurrians and Aryans had long-termed contacts in Transcaucasia, then "It is easier to accept the suggestion that there were Indo-Aryan-speaking splinter groups from the mainstream of migration through Iran to India, who along with Hurrians ended up in the amalgam of the Fertile Crescent". According to the author, Aryans had made their appearance in Northern Mesopotamia along with the second wave of Hurrians in the 18th-17th centuries B.C. Aryans together with the new groups of Hurrians must have descended from the southern parts of the Armenian Highland, infiltrated the future territory of Mitanni, and had subsequently played an important role in the formation of that state.¹⁴

¹⁰ Idem: 61f.; also G. M. Avetisyan, *Gosudarstvo Mitanni*, Erevan, 1984: 547; M. L. Xačikyan, *Xurritskij i urartskijazyki*, Erevan, 1985: 8.

¹¹ M. Mayrhofer, "Die Arier im vorderen Orient...".

¹² T. V. Gamkrelidze, V. V. Ivanov, *Indoeuropejskijazyk i indoeuropejcy*, Tbilisi, 1984. This view prevails in some studies (for example, O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, Baltimore, 1966: 125ff.).

¹³ G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, Warminster, 1989: 12; idem, "The Kingdom of Mitanni in Second-Millennium Upper Mesopotamia", *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Sasson, New York, vol. 2, 1995: 124ff. This opinion is shared by C. Kühne, "Imperial Mitanni: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction", *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, vol. 10, Winona Lake, 1999: 209f. .

¹⁴ The idea that the ruling dynasties of Mitanni, Kizzuwatna, and many other principalities of Syria and Palestine used to have Indo-Aryan origins, figures in most studies (Ed. Meyer, "Die ältesten datierten Zeugnisse der iranischen Sprache und der zoroastrischen Religion", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete indogermanischen Sprachen*, 42, 1909: 17ff.; J. Friedrich, "Arier in Syrien und Me-

Below we would like to focus on another evidence of the Aryan linguistic element in the Near East, which until now remains unnoticed. This comes from a cuneiform Hittite text, which deals with Išuwa, a state formation in the western part of the Armenian Highland.

The text KBo XVI 42, which was published in 1968 by H. Otten and H. G. Guterbock,¹⁵ is a double-sided tablet, with 32 badly damaged lines on each side. According to H. Klengel,¹⁶ this is a report of a high-ranked Hittite official dealing with some event taking place in Išuwa. In all probability, KBo XVI 42 dates back to the rule of the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I (1345-1322 B.C.).

Transliteration

- 18') ^mKu-mar-[pí(-)]x ^{URU}Ha-a-ti-ma nu-mu-za-an [.....
 19') x-da-ma-[..... ^{URU}Ha-a-ti?]ma ú-it nu-mu ki-iš-[ša-an
 20') ^mKu-mar-pí(-)[.....k]is?-an ha-at-ra-a-it [.....
 21') an-da ú-w[a-nu-un?.....]x-ru-wa-it ^{GIS}pa-tal-ha-[.....
 22') A-NA ^mÚ-w[a-.....] ú-wa-nu-un nu-wa-mu a-x[.....
 23') na-aš-ta ka-[..... ^{URU}Ha-a-t]i-ma a-ap-pa x[.....
 24') an-tu-uh-ša-[.....]xx[.....
 25') nu-uš-ši SI[G₅.....
 26') ^mÚ-it-tar-n[a(-)

Translation

- 18') "Kumar[pi] (in?) the city of Hatima. And (to) me he [...
 19') [..... to the city of Hati]ma? he came. And to me he thus [said? ...]
 20') Kumarpi(-)[.....] thus(?) wrote. [.....
 21') "I ca[me?] The sole of the foot [.....
 22') To Uw[a(-)] I came. And to me ... [.....
 23') And him back [... (in) to Hat]ima [...]
 24') A man? [.....
 25') And to him goodn[ess
 26') Uit(t)arna(-)[.....

This portion of the text continues the account of the previous part, in which the Hittite official recounts the details of his trip to Išuwa (the mention of the city of Hatima, whose LÚ^{MEŠ}ŠU.GI "elders" are

sopotamien", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1, 1928: 144ff.; A. Goetze, "Šunaššura: An Indian King of Kizzuwatna", *Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, London, 1933: 127ff.; idem, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, New Haven, 1940: 7; etc.).

¹⁵ *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy*, Bd XVI, Leipzig und Berlin, 1968.

¹⁶ H. Klengel, "Nochmals zu Išuwa", *Oriens Antiquus*, 15, 1976: 65ff.

listed above in the text along with the elders from some other localities of Išuwa). In his narration, the author of the text makes a mention of three persons with whom he had either communicated in person or exchanged correspondence. These are:

^mKumarpi(-). No other solution than that the name of the “father of gods” Kumarbi (the father of Tešub), whose cult centre was located in the North Mesopotamian city of Urkeš,¹⁷ is in order. Here it is worth to note that neither in Hittite Anatolia, nor elsewhere, the name of Kumarbi is attested as a personal name.

^mUw[a-...]. Although the rest of this name is missing, there is a number of personal names in the Hittite cuneiform texts, which begins like this one (^mUwa [18th century Cappadocian text], ^fUwaš and ^fUwayaš [both feminine], ^mUwagazzani and ^mUwanti [16th century Northern Syrian princes], ^mUwabi, and ^fUwašunati [the latter feminine]).¹⁸ Anyway, at least two of these names (^mUwagazzani and ^mUwanti) could be either Hurrians or Aryans, taking into account the context of the text.¹⁹

^mUit(t)arn[a(-).... The last preserved sign is certainly *na*, which is followed by a damaged part where one might or might not expect additional signs.²⁰ Nevertheless, irrespective of what the missing characters are, this name is definitely the Iranian Vidarna-²¹

¹⁷ On Kumarbi, see G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*: 52f.; V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, Leiden, 1994: 82ff.; H. A. Hoffner, *op. cit.*: 190ff.; B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, Leiden–New York–Köln, 1998: 256ff.; etc.

¹⁸ E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris, 1966: 200f.; idem, “Les noms des Hittites. Supplément”, *Hethitica*, IV, 1981: 49. One more name is attested in the archive of Mašat Höyük–^mUwa (S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Mašat Höyük*, Ankara, N. 103, 1991: 104).

¹⁹ ^mUwagazzani and ^mUwanti have also been considered as Aryan names (R. T. O’Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, Roma, 1948: 62); ^mUwa of Mašat Höyük is considered as Hittite (S. Alp, *ibid.*).

²⁰ E. Laroche does not offer any interpretation to this name, although he was confident on the reading of the *na* sign (“Les noms des Hittites: Supplément”: 57).

²¹ In old Persian writing Vi-i-d-r-n-. It is attested in various versions: in Greek Ὑδάρνης, Ὑδέρνης, Elamite mi-tar-na, mi-tur-na, Akkadian ú-mi-da-ar-na-a, and Lykian widr̥na (see in detail R. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar*, New Haven, 1953: 208; W. Brandenstein, M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, Wiesbaden, 1964: 153; E. Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien*, Paris, 1966: 89; Walther Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, Wiesbaden, 1973: 156; idem, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, Wiesbaden, 1975: 260; R. Schmitt, *Die Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos (Iranica Graeca Vetustiora-1)*, Wien, 1978: 267 (§ 8.1176); M. Mayrhofer, *Iranisches Personen-namenbuch, Bd 1. Die altiranischen Namen*, Wien, 1979: II/29, §58). Hardly a Hittite-Luwian compound (from *wit-* “Wasser” + *tarna-* “Kopf, Anfang”, with the meaning “Wasser-Anfang, Ausgangspunkt der Quelle”) as in J. Tischler, “Beiträge zur hethiti-

a masculine Persian proper name meaning “support, security” (R. Kent), or “der auseinander reit” (W. Hinz), from OIr. *wi-*dr*na- (na-participle with OIr. *dar- “hold”, or *dar- “tear”) with vi- (OIr. *wi-).

Historical Considerations

According to some scholars, the Hurrians made up the nucleus of the population of Iuwa.²² This is largely based on the documented evidence of close political contacts between Mitanni and Iuwa (prior to the final conquest of the latter during the reign of Suppiluliuma I) and the existence of a local dynasty with the kings bearing Hurrian names (Ari-arruma and Ehli-arruma) in the 13th century B.C. Some other Hurrian personal names known from the same 13th century B.C. strengthens this idea.²³ One should mention also the flight of some population from Iuwa to Mitanni during the Hittite conquest of Iuwa, which is referred to in the historical introduction of the unaura-treaty.²⁴ These people, probably, were Hurrians.

As to the presence of a person bearing an Aryan name in Iuwa (if he was a resident of this country and not someone who had some sort of dealing with the event described in KBo XVI 42), it will not be too speculative to assume the possibility of a mixed Hurrian-Aryan coexistence, like that in Mitanni, Kizzuwatna, and Syria-Palestine.²⁵

schen Anthroponymie”, *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift fr G. Neumann*, Innsbruck, 1982: 453.

²² Thus in H. Klengel, “Die Hethiter und Iuwa”, *Oriens Antiquus*, 7, 1968: 71, where the Hurrians are regarded as a dominant ethnic element; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, “Zu Salmanassars I. Eroberungen im Hurritergebiet”, *Archiv fr Orientforschung* 35, 1988:93; G. Djahukian (ahukyan), *Hayoc’ lezvi patmut’yun. Naxagrayin ran*, Erevan, 1987: 323.

²³ E.g. ^fKiluhepa, ^mKili, ⁿNanizi (their Hurrian etymology is doubtful). Among the large number of personal names from Iuwa recorded in the Hittite texts very few could be stated as being Hurrian when compared with those from Northern Mesopotamia, Hittite Anatolia, and Syria-Palestine (the study of these Iuwaean names by the author is in progress).

²⁴ E. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1923:88ff.; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta, N.2, 1996:17ff. For arguments supporting the attribution of this treaty to Tudhaliya II, see R. Beal, “The History of Kizzuwatna and the Date of the unaura Treaty”, *Orientalia*, 55, 1986:424ff.; G. Wilhelm, “Zur ersten Zeile des unaura-Vertrages”, *Documenta Asiae Minoris*, (= Festschrift H. Otten), Wiesbaden, 1988: 359ff. (previously dated with the reign of Suppiluliuma I).

²⁵ In this regard of some interest is the name of the “leader of the Hurrians”, Kartaura (KUB XXIII 16), which has clear Aryan etymology (as noted in Ph. H. J. Houwink den Cate, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire*, Leiden, 1970: 78).