



Die Arier im Vorderen Orient

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Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1969), 593-594.

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REVIEWS

ANNELIES KAMMENHUBER: *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*. (Indogermanische Bibliothek. Dritte Reihe: Untersuchungen.) 295 pp. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1968. DM 60.

The only legitimate employment of the grossly abused term 'Aryan' is now recognized to be an ethno-linguistic designation of the Indo-Iranians, appropriate indeed in so far as they used it of themselves. Their language in its earliest form is known from the Rigveda and parts of the Avesta, which, though they only survive in late manuscript traditions, appear to contain material perhaps as old as the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Prior to this, however, traces of Aryans have long been alleged to occur in the cuneiform records, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Hittite, dating to the middle of the second millennium approximately. The book under review aims at an exhaustive reappraisal of these occurrences.

Dr. Kammenhuber, lecturer in the Indo-Germanic languages of the ancient Near East at Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München, is as well qualified as anyone to undertake such a review, although she admits the difficulties; for few scholars have control of both the cuneiform sources and the Indo-Iranian language group. Indeed, it is on this very rock that so many past attempts have foundered. In her treatment of the evidence she adopts a ruthlessly sceptical posture, which must regretfully be admitted to be justified by her analysis of past work.

Traces of the Aryans are claimed to occur in the following contexts:

(i) Kassite: a few divine names, personal names, and loan-words;

(ii) Hurrian: (a) personal names, especially of the ruling dynasty of the kingdom of Mitanni, but also isolated examples from the city states of Syria and Palestine, and the kingdom of Kizzuwatna; (b) certain 'cultural loan-words' into Hurrian;

(iii) Hittite-Hurrian: (a) divine names, especially four gods invoked in the Hittite treaty with the last king of Mitanni; (b) technical terms in the horse-training texts shared by the Hittites and Hurrians.

After three introductory chapters to set the scene, Dr. Kammenhuber attacks the Kassite examples, all of which she dismisses, including the striking *Šuriyaš(u)* (Kassite Sun-god) = Sanskrit *sūrya*-, 'sun'. Her contention is that isolated examples of *Wortanklang* are totally

insufficient grounds for such identifications especially from languages as poorly known as Kassite. Thus it would be impossible to demonstrate that such words are not to be analysed perfectly satisfactorily as Kassite, while an Aryan interpretation may be against the historical probabilities, and in fact purely fanciful.

The same arguments she applies with even greater force to the so-called Aryan personal names associated with the Hurrians. Isolated names occurring out of their family context she dismisses as inadequate, and she demonstrates that 'Aryan' names occurring in families with otherwise identifiable Hurrian names may be equally satisfactorily (and therefore more probably) analysed as Hurrian. Worse still she is able to show that in a list of 10 dynastic names from Mitanni, published in 1948 and confidently provided with one or more 'Aryan' interpretations, six either have been misread or do not appear in their original forms. Furthermore, in this context she refuses to accept an identification unless a strictly comparable Indo-Iranian formation is attested. Identification of the individual elements is not enough. Her criteria are rigorous, not to say draconian. Nevertheless, she does acknowledge the Aryan character of seven of these names.

In the Hurro-Hittite context she feels on firmer ground, accepting after a critical scrutiny the traditional identifications of the four Aryan gods appearing in the Hittite treaty (namely Indra, Mitra, the *Nāsatyā*, and Varuṇa), and rejecting only the identification of a Hittite god *Akni* with an Indo-European word for 'fire' as unfounded. Similarly, in the horse-training texts she accepts the clearly identifiable Aryan racing terms, but analyses certain epithets of horses in the Nuzi texts as Hurrian rather than the now traditional Indic. In this last point she takes a stand against the modern dictionaries, which accept the latter interpretation.

The status of the cultural loan-words into Hurrian turns on the nature of the Hurrian suffix *-nni*, with which they all appear to terminate. A number of views have been taken on this, e.g. that it is the Hurrian definite article, or that it simply marks the loan of a foreign word into Hurrian. Dr. Kammenhuber discusses this, but in general prefers a Hurrian interpretation of the words in question to an Aryan one. Thus she even rejects as being too uncertain the time-honoured analysis of *mariyannu* (member of the charioteer class)—

i.e. Indic *márya*- 'young man' + Hurrian *-nni*, Akkadianized *-nnu*.

Since the Aryan identifications, accepted or rejected, are firmly embedded in the matrix of Hurrian language and culture, much of this book necessarily deals with aspects of this poorly-known people. With her primarily philological interests, Dr. Kammenhuber does not deal at great length with the cultural and historical implications of the 'Aryanisms'. This is perhaps all to the good, in view of the exclusively philological nature of the evidence. She naturally gives short shrift to the old idea that the Hurrians of Mitanni were ruled and led to victory by an Aryan aristocracy, for she demonstrates how utterly inadequate to support such a fancy is the evidence of the few gods, names, and loan-words which can be recognized. She further denies that the 'Aryans of Mitanni' can be credited with the introduction of either the horse or the two-wheeled chariot into the ancient Near East.

The material of the book, however, is somewhat tiresomely and repetitiously presented, at much greater length than necessary, and with a wealth of confusing divisions and sub-paragraphs. From the series of which this volume forms a part, one might suppose that it was intended as a general handbook on the subject, but one has the feeling at times that Dr. Kammenhuber is more concerned with carrying on a private war with her more optimistic colleagues. Ultimately an evaluation must depend on one's view of her methods of analysis of the material. These provide a valuable corrective to much slack scholarship of the past, but the suspicion remains that she may have over-corrected. Certainly little remains of 'die Arier im Vorderen Orient' after her treatment of the subject.

J. D. HAWKINS

HENRI LIMET: *L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3^e dynastie d'Ur*. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. CLXXX.) 572 pp. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1968. Fr. 44.

Sumerian personal names generally have meaning, and it seems that in all periods a fair number, if not the majority, were chosen specifically for the message. Since, furthermore, they occur in large numbers on the thousands of Sumerian tablets of economic and administrative content they are a prime source for Sumerian language and concepts. Their study is not therefore highly specialized and recondite like that of, say, current European names.

Dr. Limet's work, which is a revised form of a thesis submitted to the University of Liège, is only the second book to be written on this topic. The first, *Die Personennamen in den Keilschrifturkunden aus der Zeit der Könige von Ur und Nisin*, by E. Huber, dates from 1907 and is now totally antiquated. Smaller contributions on this topic are equally inadequate, apart from scattered comments on individual names. This work does then supply a real need, and since the material is so vast the author has restricted himself to the one century covered by the Third Dynasty of Ur. From the superabundant tablets the names were collected and are presented in the list on pp. 359-568. For each name references are given to the sources, arranged where possible by the cities from which they come. With very common names a row of dots indicates that not all occurrences are listed, and in fact with rarer names there is also only a selection of occurrences in many cases. However, while not exhaustive the list gives a fully adequate collection of personal names of this period.

The exposition of this material deals first with grammatical structure, and then with content, selecting under this head the named deities and their attributes, the king (human or divine), the family terms 'father', 'mother' and 'brother', and finally 'city' and 'temple'. The rest of the exposition consists of a lexicon of terms dealt with at length in many cases (pp. 214-333).

The difficulties which beset the author are partly those of a developing field: the lack of an adequate Sumerian dictionary, a comprehensive syntax, a detailed study of divine names, etc., but in addition there was a special difficulty in the necessary limiting of the study to one period so as to enable a thesis to be completed within a reasonable time. A synchronic study of names ideally should depend on a prior diachronic study. Personal names do not alter fundamentally from the Early Dynastic period to the Third Dynasty of Ur, but one of the developments which is apparent even within one period is abbreviation: a name of, say, two main elements will drop one. For example, dingir.mu.ma.an.sì 'My god has given me' appears also as ma.an.sì 'He has given me', as quoted on p. 97. The simultaneous attestation of both allows the interpretation of the abbreviated form, at least grammatically. The further interpretation depends on assuming the object of the verb. No doubt it is the bearer of the name, so that the name is spoken by a parent. One example of a less clear example will be given. A common Ur III name is lugal.ḫé.gál, made up of lugal 'king' and ḫegal 'prosperity'. The author explains, 'Il procure l'abondance' (p. 171). On p. 74 he explains the similar name