

# Some Earliest Traces of the Aryan: Evidence from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C.

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## 0. The Background

The early presence of the Aryans in the Near East is the topic of the research I have undertaken using the positive material and linguistic evidence, part of which has already been published, while the other, the main body of the work (*Main Work*) will be published as an extensive version.<sup>[1]</sup> In these works, and based on linguistic evidences, such as Aryan loanwords, ethnonyms and toponyms extant in the archaic Near Eastern texts as well as due to the absolute lack of loanwords from the so-called pre-Iranian native languages in the Old Iranian dialects, the conventional theory of the late migration of Aryans into the Iranian Highland has been refuted as “strongly disproved”. Based on the same evidence, a pre-Sumerian presence of the Aryans in Mesopotamia has been substantiated (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.10; 6.1.10). The present article is dealing with some earliest linguistic traces of the Aryan in the archaic Near Eastern languages such as in Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite and Egyptian.

## 1. Methodology

While most languages and dialects of the ancient peoples are unknown, as they are not attested or have died out, it is impossible to speak about an exact scientific methodology of the investigation of ancient words and names. Alone in the case of the Eastern Aryan, some scholars suppose that, beside Iranian and Indian, there existed a third Indo-Iranian language not attested later, the homeland of which is assumed to be in the lower Oxus Valley, in ancient  $X^v \sim razm$  (see *Aryans* 2.4.2). Moreover, the study, based on which the present article is composed, proceeds from the existence of a western group of Aryans, i.e. Western Aryans, who had partially settled west of the Zagros, already since prehistoric times and partly as pre-Sumerian native population of Mesopotamia. The rules of those non-attested languages and dialects cannot be directly determined today. The etymologization of the onomasticon of this group of peoples is quite difficult for two reasons: the lack of our knowledge of the traditions of naming on the one hand, and of the rules of word formation and of phonetic changes on the other.

## 2. The Earliest Trace of the Aryan

The early presence of the Aryans in their ancient homeland is verified by loanwords in other languages. In the West, a lot of loanwords have penetrated into the Finno-Ugric, which are dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C. and are derived from the Indo-Iranian and not from the Proto-Indo-European (PIE). The linguistic analysis of the early phases of the Indo-Iranian has also demonstrated that the separation of the speakers of this language from the Balts and Slavs took place during the long period of the originating agriculture, and therefore it should be placed in the early 5<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C. or even earlier. In the East, loanwords from the Proto-Iranian - again not from Indo-European - are attested in Chinese and Korean, which are to be explained by an early penetration of Proto-Iranian people to China and Korea or even by a prehistoric settlement of the Aryans in Korea. The Indo-Aryan - Dravidian relations in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C. have also been investigated and considered as possible (see *Aryans* 3.1). The Aryan (or the so-called “Indo-European”) loanwords in Sumerian are the topic of this article and in the *Main Work (NE.Aryans)*; their presence upon a large scale in Akkadian and other Semitic languages has already been studied.<sup>[2]</sup> Moreover, most of the geographical names in Syria and Palestine are not Semitic and can be often explained by the Aryan (see *Aryans* 6.2.1.2; 5.4.2.3). Many geographical names around the Black Sea are Iranian too (see *Aryans* 6.2.5.5).

As the traces of the Aryan language (and again not Indo-European) was so broadly expanded from Eastern Asia to Eastern Europe already in the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C., the existence of an older Indo-European proto-language, from which other IE languages, among them the Aryan, had descended much later, namely in early to mid 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C.,<sup>[3]</sup> becomes a serious problem. This severe chronological problem, among other things, as well as the fact that no people called themselves “Indo-European”, but the fact that on the contrary the trace of the designation “Aryan” is still extant in almost all languages of this family (see below 4.1), has urged the author to discard the unhistorical former term in favour of the latter historical one (see *Aryans* 3.1). Therefore, all the Indo-European roots listed in the present paper, which are accompanied with an apteryx (non attested), are to be imagined with a question mark.

## 3. Phonetic Change and the Chronology

The phonetic assimilations in the Aryan and Indo-European have been basically correlated based on the attested texts of the same languages. These contain, however, only a small fragment of the ancient Aryan lexicon. Furthermore, most phonetic

changes are assumed to have occurred only after the invention of the script. But in the reality no phonetic change has awaited the introduction of the script and none of them has taken place simultaneously among the Aryan or Indo-European population. We shall see below that some phonetic changes, which are assumed to have been taken place in the Middle Iranian period, can be traced back as early as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C. or even earlier. Thus, contrary to the conventional method of reconstructing the “Indo-European” lexemes based on the rather late attested corresponding literature (Indian, Iranian, Greek and Latin etc.), by considering an early presence of the Aryans in the Near East, many new correlations and reconstructions of archaic Aryan (“Indo-European”) roots could be carried out based on numerous Aryan loanwords in Sumerian, Akkadian and Egyptian etc.

**3.1. Assimilation and Euphony:** The assimilation of the Aryan names and words in the mouth of strangers, often reproduced as gibberish, as well as their distorted record by the strangers’ script represent serious difficulties, thus the risk of misinterpretation becomes great. This arises from the fact that in the antiquity no orthographic rules existed for foreign names recorded only occasionally. Furthermore, due to polyvalent features of many signs, the cuneiform script does not guarantee unequivocal rendering of the original pronunciation of old words and names. Add to this the euphonic elements intruded to the original word or name, after removal of which the original Aryan root steps forth. Here some archaic examples:

- Sum. *urudu* ‘copper’ < \**rudu* ~ IE \**reudh-*, \**rudh-ró-* ‘red’, Iir. \**rudra-* ‘red’, Balu...i *rÇd* ‘copper’ (see below 4.3.1).
- Sum. *Idigina*, literally interpreted as: ‘fast flowing river’ = ‘Tigris’ < \**digna*, Akk. (*I*)*diqlat* = Arab. *Dijla* ‘Tigris’ (after *d* < *t*; *n* < *r*) ~ OIran. *tigra-* ‘fast’ > OP *Tigr*~ ‘Tigris’ (see below 4.6).
- Sum. *Aratta* (the name of a country in Eastern Iran) < \**Ratta* ~ OIran. *rátha-* ‘wheel, chariot’ (see below 4.7.1).
- Sum. *Inanna* < \**Nana* ~ OIran. *Nana* ‘Old Iranian Mother God’ (see below 4.5).

**3.2. Some Early Phonetic Changes:** The chronology of phonetic changes and the determination of the original form is a basic problem of the linguistics; many historical conclusions depend on it. Phonetic changes, assumed to be attested only in the late historical times, can be traced back to the remote periods. Some new considerations are presented here:

**3.2.1. Centumization (*s* > *k*).** The linguists generally proceed from a *centum* mother language of the “Indo-Europeans”, from which the *sat*<*m* dialects have descended. Some indications speak, however, in favour of the reciprocal phonetic changes, i.e. a *sat*<*m* original form, centumized later. The extension of the *centum* languages from

Europe over Western Iran up to the Tokharians (see *Aryans* 6.2.3.5) and the east to west spread of the Indo-European languages<sup>[4]</sup> bear witness to various types of early migration of languages from an eastern homeland in different directions. The fact that the group of eastern languages, conventionally qualified as Aryan, in general does not show signs of a *centum* group, only means that the Eastern Aryan languages belong to the *satem* group and not necessarily means that the non-attested Western Aryan languages and dialects did not show once signs of *centum* features. Those linguistic features, generally unknown to the Eastern Aryan, could have been penetrated into the Western Aryan under an external influence, namely through migrations of foreign peoples, like the case of the Arabization of the New Persian (see *Aryans* 3.3). Quite the same could have been happened to a part of the Western Aryan, which has become, so to say, “centumized” already in early periods through overlaying of other languages. The trace of a rare centumization in the Iranian linguistic area may be traced still today (see below 3.2.1.1). The assumption of an early centumization is corroborated by the fact that the “Indo-European” vocabulary in the Near-Eastern languages very often descends from a *sat?m*-form, as the following examples show:

- Sum. *kal* ‘highly esteemed’ as well as ‘powerful, strong’, *gal* ‘great’, *gal* ‘king, prince’ < (after *s* > *k*; *r* > *l*) OIran. *sare-* ‘supremacy’, *sarah-* ‘head’ (see below)
- Akk. *Ùalmu(m)* ‘black, dark’, *Ùillu(m)* ‘shadow’ ~ Iran. *sarm/salm*, Ir.NAv. *s~ma-* ‘black’ (see *Aryans* 5.4.2.5-6), while the *centum*-correspondence have been assumed the IE *\*kel*, *\*k~l* ‘light and dark trips, grey and blackish colour tones’ > Lat. *c~l̥s̥go* ‘mist, darkness’;
- The designation for “horse” in the Near Eastern languages: *\*aÓëa*, *aÑuwa*, *sisu* ‘horse’ < Aryan *\*a•ëa*-and not from the IE *\*e³ëo* > Lat. *equus*, *equa* (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.23).

Now, having examined these examples, the penetration of the first one into almost all the old and new languages may be traced, by which the centumization as well as the phonetic variations (*s / h / k*) can be observed:

**3.2.1.1.** OIran. *sare-* ‘supremacy’, *sar-* ‘union, communion with’, or *sarah-* ‘head’.<sup>[5]</sup>  
 The tracing of this archaic Aryan root brings us to wide language areas of the ancient world: Ir.Av. *sarah-* ‘head’, OIA *Ñíras-*, OI *Ñíra£* ‘head, top’ (IE *\*³er-*, *³er?*- ‘top of the body’ > ‘head, horn’), MP.NP *sar* ‘head, top’, extant in different Indo-European languages, as in Gr. *iVD•* ‘head’, Homer. *6•D* ‘head’, *iVD0<* ‘heads, mountain top’, Att. *6VD•* ‘head’, *iXD"H* ‘horn’, Att.Dor. *6VD•<@<*, Ion. *6VD0* ‘head’, *6VD0<@<* ‘chief’, Lat. *cernuus* ‘head first, headlong’, Arm. *sar* ‘hight, peak’. From the original root for ‘head’ develops the derivations OIA *Ñĩ²ga-*, OI *Ñĩ²gam* ‘horn’ ~ ‘head’, Av. *srã*, NP *surã* ‘horn’, Hier.Hitt. *Ñurna-* ‘horn’, (after *s* > *h/k*) Hitt. *harsan-* ‘head’,

*kar~ëar* ‘horns’, Lat. *cerebrum* ‘brain’, *cornã* ‘horn’, OHG *hirni* ‘brain’ ~ ‘head’. Further derivation from the same root are Av. *s~rav~ra*, MP *s~rv~r* ‘headgear, helmet’ as well as Av. *\*s~rÇ-d~ra-*, MP.NP *s~l~r* ‘leader’.<sup>[6]</sup> A rare centumization of the root *sarah-* in the Iranian linguistic area or a direct adoption from the Indo-European form, as well as the change of *r > l*, has resulted to NP *kalla* ‘head’, *kal~°* ‘above’ (in this form component of some place names in Iran<sup>[7]</sup>) ~ *kala* ‘face’, *kal~n* ‘great’, *kal~ntar* ‘chieftain, head of a tribe, powerfully built’, NP *kal~te* ‘castle or village on the rise’ (in this form component of many place names in Iran<sup>[8]</sup>) < *\*kal~deh* < *\*sar(~)-deh* ‘high village’ (cf. *Sar-deh*, name of some villages in Iran<sup>[9]</sup>), furthermore MP *kul~f*, NP *kul~h*, Gilaki *kula*, Tabari *kal~* ‘hat, headgear’ (cf. IE *\*3er(e)n* ‘helmet’), Gr. i`DLH, iDV<@H ‘helmet’, OHG *hulja*, *hulla* ‘headgear’.<sup>[10]</sup> A secondary derivation from Ir.Av. *sarah-* ‘head’ = OIA *Ñíras-* has been extended into Ir.NAv. *sãra-* ‘hero’, OIA.OI *Ñíra-*, OP *\*2ãra*, MP *sãr* ‘strong’ (as a result of the semantic change: head ~ brain ~ horn ~ helmet ~ hero), a branch of which is OIA.OI *Ñávšra-* ‘strong, robust, superior’ and corresponds to Gr. iBD4@H ‘lord, ruler, owner’, fem. iLD\ ‘lady, regina’,<sup>[11]</sup> and further to Engl. *sir*, OHG *h•r* ‘dignified, magnificent’ and HG *Herr* ‘sir’.<sup>[12]</sup> Hier.Luw. *šarri* ‘above’ as well as *šurna-* or *Óawatar-* ‘horn’<sup>[13]</sup> should be derived also from the Old Iranian *sarah-* ‘head’, *sare-* ‘rule’ or *srã-* ‘horn’ and attest the *sat~m*-character of the Luwian. Thus, among the Aryan *Pereset* (Old Philistines, for the connection with the Persians see *Aryans* 6.2.1.2), whose language was akin to Luwian, *seren* ‘chieftain’ became a common word.<sup>[14]</sup>

In addition, following derivations seems to have been taken place in the NonAryan cultures: Sum. *šar*, *še-er* ‘king, prince’, Akk. *šar~ju(m)* ‘marvelous, magnificent’, *šarru(m)* ‘king, prince’, *šarratu(m)* ‘regina, princess’, Heb. *Ñar* ‘director’,<sup>[15]</sup> Sum. *šár* ‘great’<sup>[16]</sup>, Sum. *šir-aš-lá* ‘a sort of headband’ (cf. Gr. iDZ\*g:<@<, Dor. iD•\*g:<@< ‘headband’), *šir-aš-lá* ‘who goes in front (on the head)’,<sup>[17]</sup> Sum. *sur*<sub>7</sub> ‘rise, high ground’ and finally (after *s > h*) Eg. *šr* ‘face’ (compare above NP *kala* ‘face’), *šrj* ‘top, head, master, chief’<sup>[18]</sup>; and furthermore, as a result of centumization: Sum. *a-gal* ‘high water’, *á-gal* ‘great power, strong’ as well as ‘leader of the assembly’, *á•ól* ‘force, power, victory’<sup>[19]</sup>, Sum. *Á-kal* ‘force, power’, *á.kal*<sup>uš</sup> ‘prince’,<sup>[20]</sup> Sum. *kal* ‘highly esteemed’ as well as ‘powerful, strong’,<sup>[21]</sup> *gal* ‘great’, *gal* ‘king, prince’ and all the combined terms as <sup>lú</sup>*gal* ‘the great, king’, *lugal* ‘prince, king’,<sup>[22]</sup> Sum. *lugal ki-šár-ra* (in connection with *Erim*) ‘king of the world’<sup>[23]</sup> (cf. Sum. *ki-šar-ra* ‘horizon, world’<sup>[24]</sup>, and also Iran. *\*kaysar*, *\*kauuisara* ‘great king’ > OP.El. *Ka-iš-ša-ra*,<sup>[25]</sup> Gr. i"ÃF"D, Lat. *caesar*, Got. *kaisar* ‘emperor’), Old El. *gal* ‘great’, *kir* ‘mister, man, one’ (*bar-sir ki-ir* ‘a Persian mister, a Persian’), *sukkal* ‘regent’, *sukkal-ma*<sub>i</sub> ‘overlord, grand regent’,<sup>[26]</sup> (the second component *ma*<sub>i</sub> ‘grand’

corresponds to Aryan *mah* ‘sublime’ see below 4.5 and Aryans 5.3.2), Middle El. *su-gir* ‘King’, *su-gir.ri-ša-ra* ‘male deity’<sup>[27]</sup>, furthermore, Akk. *karballatu* ( *kar.bal*<sup>túg</sup> ) ‘cap’<sup>[28]</sup> (cf. *parššgu(m)* ‘cap’, actually in connection with the prehistoric Persian people, see Aryans 6.2.1.2). In this language area a secondary derivation from the same root (Iir.NAv. *sāra*-‘hero’) has developed to Sum. *šul* ‘hero’<sup>[29]</sup>. Connected with the original root (Iir.Av. *sarah*-and after  $s > k > g > y$  and  $r > l$ ) may also stand NP *yal* ‘hero’. For the centumization of the root in Sumerian, i.e. the development of  $s > k/g$ , one could take the example *eme-sal* alongside *eme-gal* ‘Sumerian dialect’, where *eme* stands for ‘language’ and *sal/gal* for ‘high’. Thus, these terms originally meant ‘sublime language’ (compare *eme-gi<sub>7</sub>(r)* ‘Sumerian [sublime language]’ and *gi<sub>7</sub>(r)* ‘high’).<sup>[30]</sup>

Further trace of ANE *sar*, *Óar* are extant in personal names: *Abisar*<sup>[31]</sup>, the name of an Amorite king of the Larsa dynasty, < \**Apisar* or \**Apiyasar*; the *KwÓr* of the execration texts (see Aryans 5.4.1.17, e5) ~ Iran. \**Kauui-sar* = Av. *Kauui-*<sup>[32]</sup> (*Kavi*•, *Kavay*•) ‘prince, king’<sup>[33]</sup> (attested also as a personal name)<sup>[34]</sup>, cf. *Kis~ri*, the name of a king in the documents of the third dynasty of Ur (see Aryans 6.1.6).<sup>[35]</sup> Moreover, the personal name *Òaramuli* could contain the Aryan elements *sar(e)*-and }*mur/l* ‘the head of the *Amurri*’ or ‘*Sar* of the }*mur/l*’ (cf. the Hurr. *Amuli* < *Amurri*, see Aryans 5.4.1.5). Yet more derivations of *sar*-are possible.<sup>[36]</sup> Also *IrdaÓara* and *IrtáÓara* = \**RÛasara* ‘having communion with *RÛa*’, cf. the Av. *aÓa.sar*,<sup>[37]</sup> belong to this group, which are connected with the Median name *Artasari* in the Assyrian inscription of Salmanassar III (858-824 B.C.).<sup>[38]</sup>

**3.2.2. The Phonetic change  $s > h$ .** There is in fact no general consensus on the time of the phonetic change  $s > h$  in the Iranian languages, but we know that the change of *saptá* ‘seven’ to *hapta* had already been accomplished at the latest in the *G~th~s* of the Avesta (18<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)<sup>[39]</sup>, as well as in the Near Eastern Aryan in the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. (Av. *hapta* ‘seven’ ~ Akk. }*aptara* of the Nuzi Texts from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium B.C. in connection with horse breeding).<sup>[40]</sup> Even as early as in the 23<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., the *Amurru* King, *uwaruwaÓ* (~ Av. *hvar*-“sun” + Iir.OAv.NAv. *uÓah*-(*uÓ*~) ‘light, dawn’ or IE \**ë•su-*, OIA *vásu-*, Av. *vohu-*‘good’), maintained in his name the *h*-form (see Aryans 5.4.1.9; for the *Amurru* people see below 4.7.2). So it is quite probable that this development had taken place very early in some Iranian dialects. The spread of *h*-sound in the regions between Iran and Greece, preserved also in Lycian, Phrygian and Armenian, the expansion of *s*-sound in the regions between India over Mitanni, Luwiya (cf. Hier.Luw. *šarri* ‘above’ as well as *surna*-or *Óawatar*-‘horn’, see above 3.2.1.1) up to Palestine, raises the question whether both forms have resulted from an earlier one. This could be an interdental spirant \**z* (the

Engl. *th* in *thank*) or rather its voiced equivalent \*x (the Engl. *th* in *this*) which developed in different languages on the one hand into *t*, *t*, *d*, on the other hand into *z*, Ñ, Ó, *f* and finally into *j* and *h*. As an example of this phonation one could mention e.g. the Archaic Aryan \*zeëó -or \*xeë\ ‘god’ (IE \*deë(-) which have developed into the Old Iranian \*daëa-, OIA *d•v<-* ‘god’, Av. *da‘va-* ‘demon’, Gr. *t<sup>h</sup>eós*, *Zeús*, Lac.)gbH, Myc. *teo*, Hitt. \*ÓiuÓ, Luw. *Tiwat-* ‘god of the sun’, Old Latin *deivos*, *Dieuspater* ‘father heaven’ = *Jupiter*, Lat. *deus* ‘god’, *festus* ‘festive’ etc.<sup>[41]</sup> For the phonetic change *z > h, s, t* cf. the Iir.OAv. *puzra* ‘son’, OIA *putrá*, OP *puÖa*, Parth. *puhr*, Pahl. *pus*, NP *pusar* ‘son’.

**3.2.3. The Phonetic change *r > n*:** cf. IE \**suvar-s*, \**suvan-s*, Iir. \**suHar-/suHan-* ‘sun’ (OIA *svàr*) > av. *xv•n<sup>o</sup>*, *xvan<sup>o</sup>* ‘sun’, *x<sup>v</sup>anva»t* ‘sunny’, *x<sup>v</sup>•»g* ‘of the sun’, Germ. \**sunnc*, Got. *sunno*, Engl. *sun*.<sup>[42]</sup> This phonetic change can be traced back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C. as OIran. *Tigra* > Sum. (*I*)*digna* ‘Tigris’ (see below 4.6), OIran. *Amard* > *Martu* > Eg. *Mantu*; OIran. \**Amur* > Eg. *Amun* (see below 4.7.2), OIran. *BaxtriÓ* (Baktri) > Eg. *Bachtan*.

Connected with this is **the phonetic change *rt/rd > nt/nd***: cf. MIran. *murt~r*, NP *murd~r* ~ Arm. *mund~r* ‘carcass, corpse’.

**3.2.4. The Phonetic change *v > p***<sup>[43]</sup> through OAv. *hva-*, *huuar•* ‘sun, light, sky’ (~ OI *svà-*, OIA *svàr-* ‘sun, bright sky’) (~(?) NP *hav~*, Arab. *haw~* ‘air, sky’)<sup>[44]</sup> first developed into Hitt.Hurr. \**ıva* (~(?) Hurr. *ıavur+ni* ‘sky’<sup>[45]</sup>) and then into Hurr.Hitt. \**ıpa* and finally into *epa* ‘goddess of sun’ (see *Aryans* 5.4.3). With the proto-root could be also connected the IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ëh<sub>1</sub>-*~ proto-Iranian

\*(*H*)*vaHata* ‘wind’ (Av. *v~ta-*, Ved. *v:ta-*), then the IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-ent*, Hitt. *huëant-*, the Tokh. (A) *want* ‘wind’ as well as the Iir. \**HëaH* ‘blow’<sup>[46]</sup> (cf. above the NP *hav~* ‘air’) and (after *h ~ s* and *v > p*) the MParth. *ıspyr*, MP *spıhr*, *spahr*, NP *sıpihr* (*sepehr*) ‘sky’<sup>[47]</sup>. The Aryan proto-root *svàr-* / *hva-* ‘sun’ appears doubly in the Hurrian name *Öuwar-epa* = *svàr-*+ *epa*<sup>[48]</sup> and suggests that the person bearing the name was aware of his Aryan origin. Further trace of the same phonetic change can be seen in OIran. \**KÁÑa-* > \**KÁÑua-*, \**KÁÑva-* (= Akk. *Kaşšu* (Kassite) > \**KÁspa-* = Gr. *Kaspioi* and MIran. *KÁsp*.<sup>[49]</sup>

**3.2.5. The Phonetic change *v > g*.** The early change *v > g* in the Aryan can be proved by Sum. *guškin* ‘gold’ (after the change *w > g*) < PIE \*(*a*)*wes(k<sup>h</sup>)-* ‘gold’ ~ IE (*a*)*ëes-* ‘red sky’, \**auso-* ‘gold’ (cf. \**aus-tero-* ‘eastern’) > Finn. loanword *vas-ki* ‘copper’, Tokh. A *wäs* ‘gold’, Arm. (*v*)*os-ki* ‘gold’ < *vask-*<sup>[50]</sup> as well as by Av. \**veren<sup>-</sup>a-* ‘rice’, OI *vr\$hi-* and NP *birin<sup>-</sup>* ‘rice’ [~ NP *gurin<sup>-</sup>* and Waxi *gurun<sup>-</sup>* ‘rice’] > Akk. *kurangu*

‘rice’<sup>[51]</sup>). So, the names of the kings of Kummu; and Commagene from the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., *KuštaÓpi* < *Gušt~sp* < *Višt~spa* and *Kundašpi* < *Vind~spa* may be well explained as Iranian and manifest the survival of the Aryan tradition in the Near East. The OP *MarguÓ* = Av. *MÇuro* ‘Marv, Margiana’ speaks also in favour of an early phonetic change *v* > *g*.

## 4. The trace of the Aryans in the Ancient Texts

**4.1.** In Old Indo-Aryan the term *ari*-originally meant “stranger”, whence it is possible to understand the meaning “guest” and - on the later periods - also “enemy” (cf. NP. *~rš*( “enemy”). One cannot uncouple *arí-* from the Ved. *aryá-* “protector of strangers” > “master”, *ár(i)ya-* (*aríya-*) “householder, master” and *:rya-*, the designation of the Aryans.<sup>[52]</sup> These groups of peoples appear among different peoples of the Ancient world probably with their self-denomination *\*VrV-*(*/\*ari(a)-*-, */\*eri(a)-*-, */\*iri(a)-*-, */\*ori(a)-*-, */\*uri(a)-* etc., cf. the IE *\*ario-?* “master, lord”<sup>[53]</sup>), like e.g. the Sum. *>ri*, *ari* ‘nomad’, Eg. *©ry* ‘companion’<sup>[54]</sup>, cf. the Eg. *©ry p)t* ‘prince’<sup>[55]</sup>, probably ‘Aryan prince’<sup>[56]</sup> < (?) *\*ari-p<ti* (for the OIA *p<ti-* ~ Sum. *patesi*, see *Aryans* 6.2.2.4), Eg. *jarri*, ‘inhabitant of Palestine’<sup>[57]</sup>, Finn. *orja* ‘slave’ (prob. borrowed from the Indo-Iranian (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.7), Hit. *ara* ‘companion’<sup>[58]</sup> <sup>ld</sup>, *a-ri-eÓ* ‘Aryan people’ (see *Aryans* 6.4), *Alanen* (= Aryans, after *r* > *l*)<sup>[59]</sup>, but probably it is also the Aryans that we encounter under the ethnonym with the meaning “stranger”, like the Heb. **Goim** “stranger” (*Genesis* 14)<sup>[60]</sup>.

When Lugalbanda from Uruk moves eastwards to the land *Aratta* (see below 4.7.1) and enjoys “the plant of life, i.e. immortality”, which was called *ilianum* / *er~nu*,<sup>[61]</sup> and has been penetrated into Akkadian as *iri~num*, *eriannu*, *erandm*, *eri~num*, <sup>giÓ</sup> *erian dm*, <sup>giÓ</sup> *iriandm*, *ilianum* and <sup>giÓ</sup> *elanu* ‘a tree or a bush’,<sup>[62]</sup> and probably through an Aryan form *\*VrV-*(*\*era-*, *\*eri-*, *\*iri-*) + the Amurr.Hurr. suffix *-(~)nu(m)* together with Sum. *erin* indicates its homeland, which later was called the Parth. *ary~n*, MP *•r* “Iranians”, Pahl. *•r~n* (< *•r~n-Óahr* < *•r~n-Óahr* “realm of the Aryans” < Gen.Pl. *ary~n~m* ~ Av. *airyana-* ‘Aryan’) = *Iran* (see *Aryans* 5.1.2). GilgameÓ, the son of Lugalbanda, again persistently moves eastwards to obtain immortality. There, *umbaba* rules over the land of *Erin*<sup>[63]</sup> rich in forests, a name, which occurs also as geographical<sup>[64]</sup> and probably reflects the older form of *•r~n/Iran* (cf. *Erin* and *Eirinn* for ‘Ireland’, see also *Aryans* 4.1.1; 5.12; 6.1.1). The Sumerian term *erin* (also *erim*) later became also the name of many elements from the Iranian Highland: ‘enemy’, ‘hostile land’, ‘eastern soldiers’<sup>[65]</sup>, ‘treasury’, etc. Quite similar is the OIA.OI *dásyu-* and *d~sá-*, originally the name of a foreign people (OP *Daha-*, ethnonym: ‘Dahian’),

but later it became the term for the ‘foreign country’, ‘foreign people’ ~ Av.OP *dahyu-* ‘land’, as well as Khot. *daha-* ‘man’, NB *d~h* ‘servant’,<sup>[66]</sup> a parallel development (see *Aryans* 4.1.1).

**4.2. Aryan *arí-*, an archaic linguistic element:** *arR-*, *aryá-*, *:rya-* ‘Aryan’ < \*VrV- (see *Aryans* 4.1.1; 6.3.1) > ANE *ari*, *ariya*, *era er~*, *iri(~)*, *eri(a/n/m)*: as an appellative this root occurs already in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. in the form of *erin* (see *Aryans* 5.1.3), as well as *ilianum* / *er~nu* ‘immortality plant’ > Akk. *iri~num*, *eriannu* etc. (see *Aryans* 5.1.2). The Akkadian word *lâ’ir(i)~nu* too could be of the same origin. If this word could be interpreted as ‘inaccessible area of the heaven’,<sup>[67]</sup> it obviously refers to the mountainous landscape of the Iranian Highland. Yet the alternative interpretation as ‘high water’<sup>[68]</sup> too brings us to the same result, particularly since this word appears in a text in connection with *Subartu*, *ᵛarri* ‘Aryan?’ (see *Aryans* 4.1.1) and other terms (*la-iranu*, *maratú*, *amaridu*, *amu*, *êru*, *erinu* etc.),<sup>[69]</sup> which probably are connected with the Aryans. The early appearances of the Sum. *a-ri* ‘enemy, hostile, nomad’ ~ ‘hostile Aryan?’, *Aria* (a town in Mesopotamia, see *Aryans* 5.4.1.7) as well as *A-ri-a* the king of **Gu-du-a** witness meanwhile against a Hurrian root (*ar* ‘give’), as occasionally supposed,<sup>[70]</sup> since their attestation precedes the beginning of the Hurrian cultural presence in Mesopotamia.<sup>[71]</sup> The earliest designation of Northern Mesopotamia in the inscriptions as *eri* (< *Ari(?)*), later Akkad. = *ma-da uri*<sup>ki</sup> [see *Aryans* 6.2.2.1]), of the *Amurru* as = *ri* (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.7), of *Jerusalem* as *Uru-* / \**Eri-Salem* (see *Aryans* 5.4.2.5) could be connected with the early settlement of the Western Aryans in Western Iran across Northern Mesopotamia up to Syria and Palestine, consequently in a region which is but a little smaller than the territory inhabited by the Kurds. From the Cassite period (ca. 1750-1173 B.C.) also *Ari-/Aria-* inherent names are well attested (see *Aryans* 6.1.1, footnote 593), being partly combined with other well-known Aryan elements: *Ari-parni* ~ \**parnu-* ‘old’, \**ParnuÓ* (= Parth. *prnwÓ*) ‘old man’,<sup>[72]</sup> or representing *Ari-parna* ~ *X ar?nah-* of the Aryans ‘Aryan glory’ (see *Aryans* 6.3.11) as well as *Ari-kirma* and *Ari-kasú*<sup>[73]</sup> (Aryan Cassite?). *Ari-wana*, king of Abina ~ Av. *van-* ‘win, defeat’<sup>[74]</sup> or *van-*, *vanã-* ‘to love’<sup>[75]</sup> and *Ari-zana* = \**Aryazana-* ‘of Aryan origin’ (> Akk. *a-ri-za-nu*)<sup>[76]</sup> ~ Av. *zana-* ‘people, human race’<sup>[77]</sup>. *Ariya* appearing in the Egyptian documents<sup>[78]</sup> might be connected with the same root. The Assyrian documents (ca. 2200-606 B.C.) too contain this element,<sup>[79]</sup> where some later names unambiguously point to the Aryans and Iran; \**A-ri-a* ‘a Median prince’, *Arija*, the prince of *BarÓua* (ca. 715 B.C., who paid tribute to Sargon II; for *BarÓua* = *ParÓua* ~ *ParaÓi* ~ *P~rsa-* see *Aryans* 6.2.1), \**Ar-a-ra-am-na* = OP *Ariy~ramna-*, \**A-ri-pa-ar-na* = Iranian name, cf. UD4(@)nVD<0H<sup>[80]</sup> On the Iranian side attested *arya-* inherent names abound, like Av. *Aira-aëa-* ‘promoting the Aryans’, OP *Ariy~ramna-* ‘calming the Aryans, one who brings the peace for the Aryans’ and many Old Iranian

names attested by indirect traditions (cf. *Aryans*, 6.1.1, footnote 602), in which the Iran. *arya-* is rendered as the El. *Har-ri* or as the Akk. *ar-ri/ ar-ra*.<sup>[81]</sup> Owing to the uninterrupted use of the names with *Ari / Aria* in the Near East and their correlation with those in Iran up to the Iranian Scythians,<sup>[82]</sup> all the attested examples, even the oldest ones, might preferably be considered as derivations from the Iir. *\*arya-* = OP *ariya-* "Aryan" with the corresponding renderings, unless in exceptional cases, when other convincing interpretations urge. But it turns out that no other convincing meaning, of whatever nature, could make sense in all the Near Eastern names with the *Ari*-element. The same can be stated concerning the Greek enhancing prefixes *ari-* and *eri-*.<sup>[83]</sup> Thus, *Vk4-* and *Xk4-* are well attested in the poems of Homer. There is no unanimity concerning the meaning of these elements ('good', 'very', 'excellent', 'strong', 'very high', 'stranger'). Assuming the meaning 'stranger'<sup>[84]</sup> does not render in many cases the original meaning.<sup>[85]</sup> In some cases just the meaning 'strong' or 'high' could be assumed for *Xk4-*.<sup>[86]</sup> In any case, it has been supposed that *Vk4-* and *Xk4-* are of fossilized nature, the concrete and descriptive meaning of which has been forgotten.<sup>[87]</sup> The Greek *•D4FJ@H* 'the best, the first, the most distinguished' as well as numerous personal names as *Uk\FJT<*, *Uk4FJ\T<*,<sup>[88]</sup> and others (e.g. *UD4FJ@JX80H* 'Aristotle', but also *•k4FJ@ik"J"* 'aristocracy') might be connected with the above mentioned words. While *\*k4-* 'stranger' as a simplex does not exist in Greek,<sup>[89]</sup> and moreover, a consequent rendering of *Vk4-* by 'stranger' is impossible, and on the other hand, it no more existed as an independent word already in the Old Epic period,<sup>[90]</sup> one might think here of the probable original meaning 'Aryan' for it. This assumption leads to the conclusion that the immigrating Greeks were quite aware of their Aryan origin, as it has later become preserved in their language as a fossil, without being conscious of its original meaning. This conclusion coincides with other facts, which speak in favour of the same origin of the Iranians and the Greeks (see *Aryans* 6.2.2; 6.2.1.2; 6.2.1.3; 6.2.5.7; 6.2.5.8). The probable connection of the Greek *•88@H* 'other' with the OI *aryá-* 'stranger'<sup>[91]</sup> (later 'Aryan') too could be explained by the fact that this word originally labelled the immigrating Greeks (Aryans) versus the native population. Thus, the Gr. *W88VH* 'Hellas, Greece' might be derived (after *r > l*) from the original Archaic Aryan root *\*:ryas* 'Aryan' > (after *s > h*) OI *:ryaf* 'Aryan'; the Dor. *-•<gH*. 'Hellens' could also be explained through the same root, namely after the change *r > n* (see above 3.2.3).<sup>[92]</sup> Also interesting is the probable connection of the Armenian *ari* 'brave' with the proto-root *arR-*, *\*ario-* 'lord' (see above 4.1 and *Aryans* 4.1.1). Thus it seems that two groups of words have originated from the old root:

1) The first group has developed in the Indo-European languages into appellatives and adjectives which had the lexical meaning of supremacy, as e.g. 'lord', 'strong', 'the best, the most distinguished', 'brave' etc. It is imaginable to see traces of the archaic

Aryan *\*:ryas* ‘Aryan’ in its secondary meaning ‘highly confirmed’ = ‘strong, worth to confirm’ in the contemporary Indo-European languages, namely the NP *~ri* ‘yes’ might represent the first split of this proto-root and Engl. *yes* or Germ. *ja* ‘yes’ the second one.

2) The second group originated in the non-Indo-European languages, used mostly by the peoples who regarded the Aryans as captives, slaves, soldiers, enemies or strangers, as *erin* ‘soldier’, *erim* ‘enemy’, *orja* ‘slave’, *>ri*, *ari* ‘nomad’, *arri* ‘Palestinian’ (later also *Pereset* ‘Philistines’ ~ *Persians*, see *Aryans* 6.2.1.2) etc.

Besides the numerous appellatives and adjectives constructed with an *arR-* element which mean ‘master’, ‘strong’, ‘brave’, ‘sublime’, ‘the most distinguished’ in the Aryan and Indo-European languages respectively, one could also mention El.Akk. *ari* ‘roof (Elamite Lohnword?)’<sup>[93]</sup>, the Hier.Luw. *ari-* ‘raise’, *\*ariyatti(i)-* ‘elevation, mountains’,<sup>iursag</sup> *Ariyatti* ‘*Ariyatti*-mountains’ = ‘the Iranian Highland?’,<sup>uru</sup> *AriyataÓÓa* ‘town *AriyataÓÓa*’ as well as the Hitt. *ariya-*, Lyc. *erije-* ‘raise’ and Arm. *ari* ‘stand up!’ (~ IE *\*er-* ‘raise, elevation’).<sup>[94]</sup> It is therefore possible that in the Old Aryan *arí-* bears the meaning ‘high’ or ‘highlander’. Thus Gr. §D4n@H ‘billy goat’ and Lat. *aries* ‘ram’ might have meant originally ‘animal of the rise (*arí•*)’<sup>[95]</sup>, like NP *qu...* ‘ram’ with original meaning ‘animal of the mountain (Av. *kaofa•*)’ (see below 4.7.6 and *Aryans* 6.2.3.7).

### 4.3. Early Aryan trace based on some Iranian products

**4.3.1. Copper.** For the Iranian origin of the Near Eastern copper, the adoption of its original Aryan designation in Sumerian is significant. In Old Iranian ‘red’ is *\*rudra-* which is connected to the IE *\*reudh-*, *\*rudh-ró-*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>rud<sup>h</sup>-ró-* ‘red’, Av. *raoi\*ita-* ‘red, reddish’, OIA *\*rudhrá•*, *\*rudhirá-* ‘red, blood-red’, Myc. *e-ru-to-ro*, Gr. XDLhD`H ‘red’ and also with the OIA *lohá-*, OI *lÇhá-* ‘reddish metal, copper’, OIsl. *raupi* ‘red iron-ore’, OChSl. *ruda* ‘ore, metal’, Balu?i *rÇd* ‘copper’ etc.<sup>[96]</sup> The Sumerians might have borrowed *urudu* ‘copper’ from this root.<sup>[97]</sup> This fact confirms the prehistoric commercial relations of the Aryan copper dealers with the Sumerians who were dependent on the import of this metal from the Iranian Highland. Then the earliest mention of *urudu* goes back to the most archaic texts from Uruk, namely the Eanna IVa layer (ca. 3200-3000 B.C.).<sup>[98]</sup> It is noteworthy that in Southern Mesopotamia *urudu* was defined by *luh-ha* ‘refined’ in order to announce its pure quality.<sup>[99]</sup> Probably the Sumerians had also borrowed this term from the Aryan *lohá-* adj. ‘reddish’, which together with *\*rudra-* originally designated ‘red = pure copper’.

**4.3.2. Iron.** The words introduced by the Persians, the later Philistines (see below

4.7.4), points to the designation of these people, as e.g. the Heb. *barzel* ‘iron’, Aram. *b/pa/urz l~*, Old South Arabic *przn*, Arab. *firzil*, Akk. *parzillu* ‘iron’<sup>[100]</sup> (cf. the OI *p:raÑava-* ‘made of iron’ = the OP *parzave-* ‘introduced by the Parthians’)<sup>[101]</sup>, furthermore the Lat. *ferrum* ‘iron’ < \**fersÇm* (“loanword from a Near Eastern Language”, after the intervocalic *s > z > r*),<sup>[102]</sup> as well as the Sum. **an-bar-sù(-ga) ~ an-bar-sù-àm** ‘iron’<sup>[103]</sup> are all connected with the designation of this proto-Persian people and with the root *prs, pers, \*Paras(u/a)* ‘axe-fighter, Persian’ ~ OIA *paraÑu-* ‘battle-axe’ (see *Aryans* 6.2.1.4).

#### 4.4. Mythological Personage

The name *Anzu*, a mythological bird in the Lugalbanda Epos, is of Aryan origin: The plant *haoma-*, and correspondingly *soma-*, was called in Old Indo-Aryan *amÑú-*, Av. •*su*, a plant that belongs to *haoma-*.<sup>[104]</sup> *Amsu* at the same time means also ‘cup for the *soma*-drink’.<sup>[105]</sup> In the Rigveda *soma* figures also as a bird<sup>[106]</sup> to which, as to *AmÑú-* or *AnHu-* participation in a battle was ascribed.<sup>[107]</sup> *AÑu* is also the name of a protégé of the *AÑvins*.<sup>[108]</sup> Also the epos “GilgameÓ and the Land of Living” reflects many details of the Iranian version of the legend about *Dah~k* and *Yima*. Like *umbaba*, *Yima* too has seven breezes at his disposal. Like *umbaba* (~ El. *Humban* <(?) Iran. \**Hauma-p~na-* ‘protector of *haoma* plant’) who was decapitated by GilgameÓ and his companion Enkidu, *Yima* was torn into two pieces by the companion of *Dah~k*.

#### 4.5. Aryan God in the Near East

Many God of the Near East may be formally and etymologically explained with the Iranian correspondings:

- Sum. *Martu (Mardu)*, Akk. *Amurru* (see under name of people and lands, bellow 4.7.2).
- Sum. *Inanna* may be the rendering of the Iranian goddess *Nanaia (Nana(i)(a))*, after an initial euphonic vocal ‘i’ was implemented (cf. euphonic vocals by (A)*ratta*, (I)*dig(i)na*, see above 3.1 and *Aryans* 5.3.1).
- Akk. *IÓtar* < IE \**h<sub>2</sub>stér-*, Hitt. *Óittar / sitar / star* ‘Venus’, Ir.OAv. *star-* ‘star’.
- Elamite *Nahiti* ‘Sun God’ < Archaic Aryan \**»•~hita*) > Av. *An~hit~*.
- Sum. *Ma*ḫ ‘the Moon God’ may represent the Iranian god *M~h* ‘the moon’ (see *Aryans* 5.3.2).
- Sum. *Irda, Erda, EreÓda, ErreÓ, Ereda* may correspond to the elamite rendering *Irda* of the OIA Av. *Íta-* = OP *arta-* ‘correct order’.
- *Apsf*, surface waters, which originates from an underground fresh water ocean<sup>[109]</sup> ~

OI *apsú* ‘water’<sup>[110]</sup>.

• Assur.Bab. *Assur* (*AÓÓur*) is corresponding to the Aryans *Ásura*-‘a god, master, as well as a designation of a group of gods’ = Iranian *Ahura-Mazd~h* originated from it. For further Aryan deities in Mesopotamia see *Aryans* 5.3.5.

#### 4.6. Geographical names of Mesopotamia

- *Marda*<sup>ki</sup> (*Marad*)<sup>[111]</sup> is a non-Semitic<sup>[112]</sup> name and its ideographic form, *Amarda*<sup>ki</sup><sup>[113]</sup>, amazingly coincides with the Iranian ethnonym *Amard*.<sup>[114]</sup>
- *Mardaman*<sup>ki</sup> a town in the land *Subartu* may be from the same origin.
- *Aria*<sup>ki</sup>, a town, may point to the Aryans.
- *LagaÓ* ‘royal town?’ (~ IE \**re•-s* ‘king’, OIA *r:j-* ‘king, ruler’, OI *r:j~-* ‘king’, Lat. *r•g-* ‘king’, *regšna* ‘queen’, cf. the Old Iranian town and region *Ra*(~-[also *Ragay-*, *Ra(ay, Rā ay-*, today *Rey*, south of Tehran]),
- The Hurr. *Puranti* = Sabarian *Uruttu* ‘Euphrates’, Akk. \**Purantu* ~ *Purattu*, *Uruttu* ‘Euphrates’<sup>[115]</sup> (~ Sum. <sup>id</sup> *buranun*) < Iran. *ufr~tu-* ‘Euphrates’<sup>[116]</sup> < Old Iran. *hu-pere2wa-* ‘good to cross’ = ‘Euphrates’;<sup>[117]</sup>
- The Hurr. *AraÓÓi* or *Aranzi* ‘Tigris’<sup>[118]</sup> = Subarian *Aranzã* < Iran. *Arang* ‘a river flowing to the west’ = *Digla* ‘Tigris’;<sup>[119]</sup>
- Connected with the *Tigris*, the Akk. (*I*)*diqlat* and Sum. *Idigina*, linguistically interpreted as ‘[fast] flowing river’,<sup>[120]</sup> after the intrusion of an euphonic element ‘i’ (cf. *Nana* > (*I*)*nanna*, see above 3.1) and the change *r* > *l/n* (cf. \**mur* > *mul*, *Amun*, see above 3.2.3), can be easily interpreted from an Old Iranian root ~ OP *Tigr~* ‘Tigris’, El. *ti-ig-ra* ~ Av. *ti(ra-* ‘pointed, acute, sharp’, *ti(ri-* ‘arrow’ (cf. OP *tigra-xauda-* ‘with a sharp hat’<sup>[121]</sup>), whereby the MP *Arvand* ‘Tigris’<sup>[122]</sup> < Av. *aurvant-* ‘quick’<sup>[123]</sup> maintains the same attribut of the river.
- Eg. *RÝnw* (*Rathanu*)<sup>[124]</sup> < *rátha-*+ the Hurr. suffix **-nu** or the Old Iran. *nava* ‘new’ = ‘new *rátha-/Aratta*’ (see above 4.7.1 and *Aryans* 5.1.7ff.) or the Ir. Av. *nauua* ‘nine’ = ‘nine wheels’. (cf. *Ennea-Hodoi* ‘nine ways’ in HERODOTUS VII, 114);
- The Eg. *ø\*-hy* (*Zahi*) ‘dark land’ = ‘Syria’<sup>[125]</sup> < Av. *arezahš-* ‘the name of a country (*karÓvar*) situated in the west’,<sup>[126]</sup> the origin of which is *arezah-* ‘evening’ = ‘west’;<sup>[127]</sup> the later designations of *Syria* are also of Aryan origin;<sup>[128]</sup>

#### 4.7. Names of peoples and countries

**4.7.1. Aratta.** In the country *Aratta*, situated in Eastern Iran<sup>[129]</sup> and possessing legendary wealth, gold, silver, carneol and lapis lazuli, one could come upon a series of other Iranian elements. The designation of the land itself is Aryan: in the cuneiform texts the OIA *rátha-* ‘wheel, war-chariot’ is rendered as \**arata-*, like in the Akk.

*eratti(ja)nnu* ‘part of a weapon?’, probably the wheel of the chariot and the Hittite *aratianni* ‘chariot equipment, a part of a chariot’, as well as *aratiyanni* in the texts from Alalakh, which all descend from the Aryan *rátha-* (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.24). Besides, it is necessary to take into consideration that initial ‘r’ is usually preceded by an euphonic element ‘a’ in the cuneiform script<sup>[130]</sup> (cf. the euphonic vocal ‘i’ by *(I)nanna*, *(I)dig(i)na*, see above 3.1). Hence after removing this ‘a’, we obtain the original *ratta* < *rátha-*. Thus there might be no objections against the cuneiform rendering of *rátha-* by *aratta*. The Aryan analogy of *Aratta* could be seen in *X<sup>v</sup>aniratha*, the designation of the part of the earth (*kaÓvar-*) in the middle of the earth, which enclosed the homeland of the Aryans.<sup>[131]</sup> The possible roots for *X<sup>v</sup>aniratha* can be restored by connecting *rátha-* ‘wheel’ with *x<sup>v</sup>arenah-* (= Med. *farnah-* < IE \**sēl* ‘sun’), thus ‘wheel of kingly brilliance’, as well as with the Av. *hvar-*, hence ‘wheel of the sun’. *Rátha-* and the symbolic description of all parts of the world, in the middle of which *X<sup>v</sup>aniratha* is situated, as the homeland of the Aryans,<sup>[132]</sup> found its continuation in the Avesta and in the Indian sources.<sup>[133]</sup> In the list of the countries in the Avesta among the 16 Ahurian countries also *Chxra* is mentioned. Later it became the NP *charx* ‘wheel’. NP *Charx* was also the name of a town Khor~s~n, north of Neish~bur,<sup>[134]</sup> also *Òarq* not far from Bukh~r~<sup>[135]</sup>, and another place near Ghazn~n.<sup>[136]</sup> All those names should be understood as the survivals of the term *rátha-* (*Aratta*) in Eastern Iran; in spite of the linguistic transformation they have been preserved semantically until the Islamic times. According to HERODOTUS and HELLANICUS the Persians were called also *Artaioi* (*Artaians*).<sup>[137]</sup> Later, the inhabitants of the country Barygaza were mentioned by the Greeks as *Arattii*, *Arachosi* and *GandarÉi*, subdued by the bellicose Bactrians.<sup>[138]</sup>

**4.7.2. Martu (Mardu) and Amurru.** *Martu*, the god of the living in the steppe and the master of the mountains, is the personification of the tribe *Martu*. The tribe name *Martu*, which later entered into Akkadian as *Amurru* (Old Testament *Amorit*) and afterwards in other Semitic languages, offers an obvious clue. Neither the designation *Martu* nor *Amurru*, nor the change from one form to the other could be explained through any Semitic language. On the contrary, both forms have the same root in Aryan, and the phonetic change is well attested: From the linguistic point of view the Iranian term }*mu*, correspondingly }*mul* (and also \*}*mur*) presumes the Old Persian \*}*mÍda-* (Gr. U: "D\* @4), which is probably connected with the OIA *amÍta-* ‘immortal, immortality’ or rather ‘life, vitality’ (Av. *am?Óa-*) and is attested in the Rigveda as an immortal god.<sup>[139]</sup> In other sources we know off Iranian tribes *Amard*, *Mard* and *Amurgi*. Eg. *MnÝw* (*Mantu*) ‘name of a tribe and a god’, *Mntw* ‘name of a place’ and also Eg. *mr.t* ‘slave’ derive from the same root (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.11). the introduction of the Egyptian term *mr.t* ‘slave’ (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.8). So the phonetic change *Martu* > *Mantu* (according to *rt/rd* > *nt/nd*) or *r* > *n* (see above 3.2.3) is quite feasible

linguistically. *Mntw* figured also as a geographical name (Sinai).<sup>[140]</sup> It is significant that *MnÝw* was revered in Egypt as a god,<sup>[141]</sup> as *Martu* was revered in Mesopotamia (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.1). As a parallel to Mesopotamia, later in Egypt too the change of the ethnonym *Martu* into *Amurru* (according to Iran. \*}mÍda-> \*}mur) took place. There was on one side the change of ethnonym *Mantu* to *Amu*, and on the other, the development from the theonym *Mantu* (~ sum. *Martu* < Iran. \*}mÍda-) the name of the god *Amun* (~ Akk. *Amurru* < Iran. \*}mur); also the designation of the *Ammonites* in Palestine is connected with the same. Based on the same phonetic change from the Iran. ~tar•, ~t?r?• ‘fire’ the Egyptian Sun God *Aton* could have been developed. Amenophis IV. (1364-1347 B.C. = Ekhnaton, Eg. +j-n-*Jtn* ‘pleasing *Aton*’<sup>[142]</sup>), whose mother in law (*Gilu-epa*, daughter of the Mittanian King *Šuttarna*, see *Aryans* 6.3.19) as well as his own secondary wife (*Kiya*, see *Aryans* 6.1.6) bear Aryan names, was the first preacher of a monotheistic religion in Egypt and worshiper of the God *Aton*.

The people *Amu*, attested in the Egyptian texts since the 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty (2330-2180 B.C.),<sup>[143]</sup> were according to the Egyptian documents from the land ø+ty (*Djati*), named as the homeland of the *Amu*.<sup>[144]</sup> The location of *Djati* is not even defined in the approach. As the supposed homeland of the *Amu* was in the surroundings of the Caspian Sea up to }mudary~ and *Badakhsh~n*, *Djati* may be identified with the Avestan *D~ity~*,<sup>[145]</sup> which is a river in *Airyana Va•jah*.<sup>[146]</sup>

**4.7.3. *Subartu* or *Subar*** could belong to the great vedic kingdom *Bharata* <(?) *Sú-bhartá-*, *súbhÍta-*, *sú-bhar-* ‘well cultivated’, *sú-bhÍti~* Av. *hu-frabereiti-* ‘good performance’, correspondingly *Subur* < *sú-bhur* = ‘very mobile’,<sup>[147]</sup> a *Bharatá-* people being attested in the Vedic literature.<sup>[148]</sup> For supposing an Aryan root of the toponym it is important that *Subur* is attested also as *ubur*,<sup>[149]</sup> which witnesses a phonetic change absolutely unknown in Sumerian,<sup>[150]</sup> while the transformation *s > h* and *su-> hu-* ‘good’ is regular in Iranian. The inhabitants of *Subartu*, at least some part of them, are attested as *Su-* people ‘good people’ (see in detail *NE.Aryans*).

**4.7.4. *ParaÓi* = *BarahÓi* (*Bara;Ói*)** = ideographic *Mar;aÓi*, a land east of *Elam* and *AnÓan*, somewhere in the region of Kerm~n. The earliest occurrence of this ideographic name is from a document of *Lugal->nne-mundu* (ca. 2500 B.C.), a ruler of Adab.<sup>[151]</sup> From the time of Sargon (2371-2316 B.C.) more documents are extant, which tell about a land *Bara;Óum*, *Bara;Ói*, *ParaÓi*, *Para;Óu(m)* or *Mar;aÓi*, often together with Elam.<sup>[152]</sup> All these names refer to the same country<sup>[153]</sup> and in each case they reflect the actual spelling at the moment of writing, while *Mar;aÓi* represents the ideographic form.<sup>[154]</sup> In any case the older and therefore the original form was *ParaÓi*. The Aryan analogy of *ParaÓi* might be regarded in OIA *paraÑú-* ‘hatchet,

axe, fighting axe'<sup>[155]</sup>; also the name of the Persians, the OP *P~rsa*-may be regarded as an Iranian correspondence of *\*P~r[a]Ñva*-‘people with fighting axes’ = Med. *P~rsa*- < *\*P~rÑv-a*-(the original form is *PárÑu*), IIr. *\*p~r?ëa*-. For the ethnic affinity of the *ParaÓi* people with the *Perisits* (Philistines) see *Aryans* 6.2.1.7.

**4.7.5. *Mada* = *M~da*.** Already very early *Mada* appears as a geographical term in the Mesopotamian texts. The Sumerian *ma-da* is doubtlessly a loanword, which is generally translated as ‘land’. Yet the nature of its occurrence in the ancient texts witnesses that a specific meaning must be connected with it.<sup>[156]</sup> So Gudea of *LagaÓ* (2143-2124 B.C.) mentions *Mada* as a region where legumes(?) grew.<sup>[157]</sup> Yet this region might include a larger territory, since *mada*-appears as prefix to many toponyms and country names in the Iranian Highland, such as *Martu*, *Subartu*, *AnÓan*, *KimaÓ*, *Gutium* etc. Thus, *Mada* may render *M~da* of the Old Iranian sources. The etymology of *Mada* could be connected with ‘middle’ and ‘center’, as the IIr.OAv. *maidia*-and NAV. *mai\*ia*-‘middle, center’, Old Indo-Aryan *mádhya*-‘middle, situated in the middle’ suggest, indicating the countries with the *mada*-determinative as the center of the world.

**4.7.6. *Gutium* (*Qutium*),** situated in Western Iran, is mentioned already in the presargonic period in a document (ca. 2500 B.C.) The fact that the *Guti* belonged to the proto-Iranians, is confirmed by their language, which is attested mainly by personal names. According to them the *Guti* spoke an Indo-European language, which was close to the Tokharian.<sup>[158]</sup> The relation between the Tokharian and the Aryan is corroborated by linguistic remnants in Tokharian and the grammatical parallels between both languages, while it is also related with Hittite, Greek, Latin and Armenian as well as Baltic and Slavic (see *Aryans* footnote 854-856). In later periods we come across the Tokharian speaking people, that is the Tokharians, probably calling themselves *Tugri*, near the border of China, and among the *Yhe-chih*, which, according to the normal phonetic change in Chinese (after *gu ~ yh*, *ti ~ ?i*), represent the *Guti*.<sup>[159]</sup> So the *Guti* and the *Tukri* (see below 4.7.7) of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C., or at least a part of them, should have migrated already early from Western Iran towards the east and settled at the borders of China. A connection between the tribe name *Ku?* (*KÇ?*) and *kãfi?* ‘mountainous people’ has been already considered.<sup>[160]</sup> It is indeed possible to imagine that the *Ku?i* and *Guti* derive from the Aryan word-stem for ‘mountain’: from the Indo-European roots *\*keu-*, *\*skeu-*‘prolonged’ and *\*keu-*‘bend’ has developed the IE *\*keu-k-*and *\*keup-*‘vault upwards, hill’, from which then the OI *ku?ati-*‘curves’, *kuca-*‘woman’s breast’, Av. *kaofa-*, OP *kaufa-*, MP *kwf*, Pahl. *kÇf*, NP *kÇh* ‘mountain’, *kÇiñ*‘hunchbacked’, Russ. *kú?a* ‘pile’, OHG *hof* ‘yard, good’ (originally from the location on the high ground, hill)<sup>[161]</sup>, furthermore the OI *Ñoþa-*‘swelling, rise’ are developed, while the MIA *ÑÇpha-*‘swelling’ could be a

contamination of Ño<sup>th</sup>a- and Aryan \*kaupha-, cf. OIA \*kōpha- ‘hill, mountain’ (= Av. *kaofa*).<sup>[162]</sup> So *Guti* and *Quti* as well as *Ku?i* etc. could have belonged to the same root and originally meant “mountainous people”, which points to their homeland in the mountainous area of the Zagros (cf. the tribe *Ku?* of the traditional history of Iran<sup>[163]</sup>). Thus, NP *qu...* ‘ram’ means originally ‘animal of the mountain’, like Gr. §D4n@H ‘billy goat’ and Lat. *aries* ‘ram’, which might have meant originally ‘animal of the rise (*ari-*)’ (see above 4.2).

**4.7.7. *Tukri(Ó)***, is the land of the *Tār~nians*, who are specified in the Middle Iranian documents as *Tw(rn)*, in an inscription of Sh~pur I as *Tu(r~n)*, the MP *Twrstn* = *Tārast~n*, Av. *t̥ra-* ‘Turian, the Turians, Turanians’, Arm. *Turan* and Arab. *Úār~n*.<sup>[164]</sup> We know that the people called by the Indians as *Tukh~ra* and by the Greeks as ΓP"D@4, were Iranian and lived 2000 km west of the place, where the “Tokharian” documents are found.<sup>[165]</sup> In later periods we come across the Tokharian speaking people, that is the Tokharians, probably calling themselves *Tugri*, near the border of China. The word root of the ethnonym could be the Ilr. \*tura- ‘quick, prompt’,<sup>[166]</sup> Av. *tura-* ‘powerful’, OI *turá-* ‘strong’, Kurd. *tār* ‘wild, unruly’. The designation of Tokharian is actually “*Tugri*” (*tw(ry)*).<sup>[167]</sup> This is identical with the name of the country *Tukri(Ó)*, which we know already early in the documents of Sargon of Akkad<sup>[168]</sup> and in which the sibilant in the end of the name is probably a native case inflexion.<sup>[169]</sup> Moreover, the current names of Tehran (*Tehr~n*) and *Tā̄ riÓ* (suburb North of Tehran) may be connected with the old forms \**Tu(r~n)* and \**Tu(ri (~ TukriÓ))*, namely after the palatalization of \**g* to *̄* and then to *h* (\*(*~ \*g<sup>h</sup> > \*<sup>h</sup>̄, - > h*)<sup>[170]</sup>). The supposed geographical location of *TukriÓ* in the surroundings of Tehran (see *Aryans* 6.2.3.6), supports the formal correspondence. Parallel to this, the geographical name *Òamir~n*, a region North of Tehran, probably represents a connection with *Sarm* (see *Aryans* 5.4.2.7).

**4.7.8. *Arman(i), Arman(um)*** It was situated in the north-west of the Iranian Highland, extended at times from Caucasus up to Anatolia and the North of Mesopotamia. The ethnonym *Armanu* and *Armani* could be the renderings of \**Ari-mánu* and \**Ari-mani* and could consist of *ari-* ‘Aryan’ and *mánu-* ‘man’ and \**mani-* ‘embellishment’ respectively (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.12). So the ethnonym of the Armenians could originally have meant “Aryan man” or “adornment of the Aryans”.

## 5. Conclusion

The Aryan form for the designation of ‘copper’ and ‘iron’ in Sumerian (see above 4.3 and *Aryans* 4.2.3; 6.2.1.2), together with the old geographical names of Sumer, such

as *Amarda*<sup>ki</sup>, *Aria*<sup>ki</sup>, *Buranum* ‘Euphrates’, *Idigina (Idigna)* ‘Tigris’, *eri* ‘Akkad’, probably also *LagaÓ* (see above 4.2; 4.6 and *Aryans* 5.4.1.6; 5.4.1.7; 5.4.2.3; 6.1.1), as well as the mythological personages (see above 4.4 and *Aryans* 5.1.6) and finally theonyms and ethnonyms (see above 4.7 and *Aryans* 5.3; 5.4; 6.2), witness not only the early influence of the archaic Aryan on the Sumerian language, but corroborate the thesis about a pre-Sumerian Aryan population of Mesopotamia, thus, before the invasion of the Sumerians into Mesopotamia. This view is supported by archaeological indications (see *Aryans* 5.4.1.10) as well as by some very basic Sumerian words, which are probably borrowed from the archaic Aryan:

- Sum. *ab, aba* ‘sea’ ~ Iir.OAv. *ap-*, OIA *áp-* ‘water’;
- Sum. *Bgar* ‘arable land’ ~ PIE *\*a<sup>3</sup>’ro* ‘arable land’;
- Sum. *ab-ba* ‘old, father’ ~ IE *\*aëo-s* ‘grandfather’, OIran. *-vaka-* (cf. *Aryans* 6.1.8);
- Sum. *bala* ‘spindle, an instrument of wood and metal’ ~ PIE *\*pele<sup>3</sup>u* ‘soil hoe’ (see *Aryans* 6.2.1.4);
- Sum. *gu<sub>4</sub>* ‘bull, cattle’ ~ OIran. *g~o, gav-, gau-, g~uÓ*, OI *g<u, -gd-* ‘bull cattle’;
- Sum. *kur* ‘mountain, mountains’ ~ PIE *\*H(e/o)k’or* ‘summit of the mountain’;
- Sum. *PA.TE* ‘master, supervisor’ (in *PA.TE.SI*) ~ proto-Iran. *\*pati-*, Iir.OAv. *paiti-* ‘master’ ~ OIA *páti-* ‘master, sovereign’ (see *Aryans* 6.2.2.4);
- Sum. *ÓBr* ‘king’ < OIran. *sare-* ‘rule’ (see above 3.2.1.1);
- Sum. *tjr* ‘yard, enclosure, cattle-yard’ ~ PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>wer-* ‘yard, door’ (IE *\*dhë•r-*);
- Sum. *guškin* ‘gold’ (after the change *w > g*) < PIE *\*(a)wes(k<sup>h</sup>)-* ‘gold’ (see above 3.2.5); as well as word from elsewhere in the Near East, like:
  - Akk. *mat±u, matqu(m)* ‘sweet’ < PIE *\*med<sup>h</sup>u-* ‘honey, honey drink’, OI *mádhu-* ‘sweet drink, honey’, Av. *ma\*u-* ‘beery wine’;
  - Eg. *bj.t* ‘bee, honey’ < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>ei-* ‘bee’;
  - Akk. *unātu* ‘vessel’ < PIE *\*naHw-* ‘ship, vessel’, OI *náu-*, Av.OP. *n~v°* ‘ship, boat’; Akk. *du;nu* ‘panic, millet’ < PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>oHn~-* ‘grain’, OI *dh~n:--* NP *d~na* ‘grain seed, grain’ etc. <sup>[171]</sup> as well as appellatives in connection with the proto-Persian people (see above 4.3.2 and *Aryans* 6.2.1.2) and other examples (see *NE.Aryans*).

## Abbreviations

<i>Aryans</i>	Derakhshani 1998 ('99) (see endnote 1)
<i>NE.Aryans</i>	Derakhshani (to be published, see endnote 1)

For other bibliographical abbreviation see *Aryans*.

<b>Akk.</b>	<b>Akkadian</b>
<b>Amurr.</b>	<b>Amurrit, Amorite</b>
<b>Arab.</b>	<b>Arabic</b>
<b>Aram.</b>	<b>Aramaic</b>
<b>Arm.</b>	<b>Armenian</b>
<b>ANE</b>	<b>Aryan in the Near East</b>
<b>Assyr.</b>	<b>Assyrian</b>
<b>Att.</b>	<b>Attic</b>
<b>Av.</b>	<b>Avestan</b>
<b>Eg.</b>	<b>Egyptian</b>
<b>El.</b>	<b>Elamite</b>
<b>Engl.</b>	<b>English</b>
<b>Gen.</b>	<b>Genitive</b>
<b>Germ.</b>	<b>German</b>
<b>Heb.</b>	<b>Hebrew</b>
<b>HG</b>	<b>High German</b>
<b>Hier.</b>	<b>Hieroglyphic</b>
<b>Hitt.</b>	<b>Hittite</b>
<b>Hurr.</b>	<b>Hurrian</b>
<b>IE</b>	<b>Indo-European</b>
<b>Ir.</b>	<b>Indo-Iranian</b>
<b>Khot.</b>	<b>Khotan-Saka</b>
<b>Kurd.</b>	<b>Kurdish</b>
<b>Lat.</b>	<b>Latin</b>
<b>Med.</b>	<b>Median</b>
<b>MIA</b>	<b>Middle Indo-Aryan</b>
<b>MIran</b>	<b>Middle Iranian</b>
<b>MP</b>	<b>Middle Persian</b>
<b>MParth.</b>	<b>Manichaeian Parthian</b>
<b>NAv.</b>	<b>New Avestan</b>
<b>NP</b>	<b>New Persian</b>

<b>OAv.</b>	<b>OldAvestan</b>
<b>OChSl.</b>	<b>Old Church Islandic</b>
<b>OHG</b>	<b>Old High German</b>
<b>OI</b>	<b>Old Indic</b>
<b>OIA</b>	<b>Old Indo-Aryan</b>
<b>OIcel.</b>	<b>Old Icelandic</b>
<b>OIran.</b>	<b>Old Iranian</b>
<b>Oss.</b>	<b>Ossetic</b>
<b>Pahl.</b>	<b>Pahlavi</b>
<b>Parth.</b>	<b>Parthian</b>
<b>Pl.</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>PIE</b>	<b>Proto-Indo-European</b>
<b>Sum.</b>	<b>Sumerian</b>
<b>Tokh.</b>	<b>Tokharian</b>
<b>Ved.</b>	<b>Vedic</b>

### **Explanation of Signs**

< originated from

> developed to

\* not attested, merely reconstructed

V vowel of uncertain quality

~ a sign for likeness

= in connection with

### **Rendering of Words and Names**

<i>mart-</i>	Aryan, Indo-European
<i>martu</i>	Near Eastern with (probably) Aryan, Indo-European root
<b>dusu</b>	non-Aryan, non-Indo-European
<b>G;NA</b>	ideogram, polyvalent
<b>WR</b>	ideogram with (probably) Aryan root
<b>HERODOTUS</b>	name of author

### **Meaning of the Determinatives (Sum., Akk.)**

**bad** fortress

**d** (dingir ‘god’) for theonyms

**giÓ** (Sum. ‘tree, wood’) before trees and wooden objects

**jur.sag** mountain

**ki** after names of places and countries (geographical names)

**kur, mat** before names of countries and mountains

**Id** (Sum. 'man') before names of professions and tribes

<sup>na</sup>**4** (Sum. 'stone') before stones

**uru** town

~~~~~

## Notes:

[1] J. DERAKHSHANI, *Grundzüge der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Irans. Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Ostiran*. Band I, Heft 1: *Die Zeit Zarathustras, Rekonstruktion der Altiranischen Chronologie*, Teheran 1995; *id.* 1998 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1999), *Die Arier in den nächstlichen Quellen des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. = Iran & Caucasus II* (1998): 141-237, here abbreviated as *Aryans*; *id.* Heft 2: *Die Arier im Alten Vorderen und Mittleren Orient. Evidenzen seit dem 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr. vom Iranischen Hochland bis Ägypten*, to be published (here abbreviated as *NE.Aryans*).

[2] Cf. BRUNNER 1969, *Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln des semitischen und indogermanischen Wortschatzes: passim*; DOLGOPOLSKY 1989, "Cultural Contacts of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Indo-Iranian with Neighbouring Languages", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 18, 1-2: 3-36.

[3] KAMMENHUBER 1969, "Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch und Hieroglyphenluwisch", FRIEDRICH *et al.* (eds.) 1969, *Altkleinasiatische Sprachen, HbO*, 1. Abtl., 2. Band, 1. u. 2. Abschnitt, Lief. 2.: 248. 340; RISCH 1971, "Die griechische Sprachwissenschaft nach der Entzifferung der mykenischen Schrift", SCHMITT-BRANDT (ed.) 1971, *Donnum Indogermanicum, Festgabe für Anton Scherer zum 70. Geburtstag*: 108.

[4] MALLORY 1989: 152.

[5] *HbZ*: 292b; *Air.Wb.*: 1564. 1565.

[6] Frisk i: 784ff. 826ff.; Walde 1965, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 4th edition., i: 203; *KEWA* iii: 341. 369; *EWAia*. ii: 638. 653; Pokorny 1959: 574ff.; Horn 1893, 692.

[7] *FJI* xi: 376b-377a. 381a.b.

[8] *FJI* xi: 377a-381b.

- [9] *FJI* xi: 253b.
- [10] Cf. Dehkhodj: 16257c. 16278a. 16319a. 16320b; Horn 1893, 863; Hübschmann 1895, 863 (no etymology offered); Pokorny 1959: 575; Frisk ii: 7.
- [11] *EWAia*. ii: 624. 650; *KEWA* iii: 316. 365; Frisk II: 53ff.; for contra cf. Pokorny 1959: 592ff. “derived from IE \*<sup>3</sup>eu-, \*<sup>3</sup>eë?-, \*<sup>3</sup>ā-, \*<sup>3</sup>ë~- ‘swell, vault, arch’”.
- [12] For contra cf. Pokorny 1959: 524. 541: *Held* ‘hero’ from IE \**kal-*, \**kali-*, \**kalu-* ‘beautiful, healthy’; *Herr* ‘sir’ from IE \*<sup>3</sup>ei-, \*<sup>3</sup>ei-ro- ‘dark, gray, brown’.
- [13] Melchert 1993, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*: 190. 193; Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1994, *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*: 404.
- [14] Max MÜLLER 1900, *MVAG* 5: 12; BARNETT 1975, *CAH* II, part 2: 373.
- [15] *AHW*: 260a. 1182b. 1188-1189; *SDG*: 941.
- [16] *AHW*: 936; *SDG*: 940.
- [17] *AHW*: 14a. 33a; *SDG*: 968; Pokorny 1959: 575.
- [18] Borger 1978, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste*, *AOAT* 33: 177; *SDG* : 918; *GHwÄD*: 544. 546ff.
- [19] *SumGl.*: 1. 3; *AHW*: 498b. 557a. 667a; *SDG*: 15. 17.
- [20] *SumGl.*: 3; *AHW*: 1189a; *SDG* : 21.
- [21] *SumGl.*: 113; Borger 1978, *AOAT* 33: 131; *SDG*: 529.
- [22] *SumGl.*: 76ff. 172; Borger 1978, *AOAT* 33: 100. 142; Falkenstein 1978, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš* I: 126; *SDG*: 298ff. 637.
- [23] *AHW*: 492a; *SDG* i: 637.
- [24] Falkenstein 1978 i: 59. 116; *SDG*: 538.
- [25] *PF*, 646, 5 (Hallock 1969: 712); this name has been vocalized as *Kaššara* and suggested to be derived

from Med. \**k~sara*- ‘small jewel’ (*OnP*, 8.796; Hinz 1975: 150). But the loss of ‘*i*’ in the transcription gives no priority to this interpretation; therefore, this name may present an Old Iran. \**Kaisara* < \**Kavisarah* ‘great king’; to this cf. Iran. \**Kaifr~da*-> Akk. ***Ki-e-ip-ra-da-a***’.

[26] Cameron 1936: 71-72; *CHI* ii: 10. 12. 28.

[27] *EWb.*: 420. 468. 1098.

[28] *AHW* i: 449a.

[29] Falkenstein 1978, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*, ii Syntax: 17; *SDG* ii: 1008.

[30] Cf. *SDG*: 265ff.; 330.

[31] For *api*-cf. *OnP*, 8.84; 8.85; 8.97: a composite with \**api*- (\**abi*-).

[32] Cf. MAYRHOFER 1979, 209, *Kauu~ta*- ‘the founder of the Kauui Dynasty’.

[33] *Air. Wb.*: 442b.

[34] *Yt.* 13, 114. 119. 123; *Air. Wb.*: 443; MAYRHOFER 1979, 210.

[35] *SAK*: 174.

[36] Cf. the OIA *kIsara*- ‘the hair of the head, mane’ ~ Lat. *caesari*’s ‘the hair of the head’, *caesar* and later the OHG *keisar* < Got. *kaisar* ‘emperor’, as well as the Iranian toponyms as *Kiy~sar*, *Kiy~sar~* etc., and finally *Kayseri* in Central Anatolia; (*EWAia*. I: 401; *KEWA* I: 268; WALDE & HOFFMANN 1965ff., *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* I: 133; *Duden: Deutsches Universal Wörterbuch*, 1989: 799a; for the Iran toponyms cf. *FJI* XI: 400b, 3568-69. 3570-72).

[37] *OnP*, 8.602; 8.652.

[38] *ARAB* I, 587.

[39] For the topic “The Time Zoroaster’s” cf. DERAKHSHANI 1995, *Die Zeit Zarathustras*.

[40] Cf. Kronasser 1957, “Indisches in den Nuzi-Texten”, *WZKM* 53: 187-8; *AHW* i: 322a s.v. *aptara(ma)nnu*, “Adj. for describing horses”; see also von Soden 1957, *ZA* 52 NF 18: 337.

- [41] FRISK I: 610; *EWAia*. I: 742; SCHMITT-BRANDT 1998: 98. 102. 179. 277.
- [42] *KEWA* iii: 567; *EWAia*. ii: 793ff.
- [43] Cf. *Aryans* 5.4.3 footnote 544; for the interchange of **w/p** in Hurrian cf. SPEISER 1941, *Introduction to Hurrian*: 38. 41-44; BUSH 1999, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*: 72; cf. also Hurr. **w/pandari** ‘cook’; **wur-/pur-** ‘to see’; **•pae** < **\*•ve+ae**; **•pje** < **\*ve+je**; (Wegner 2000, *Hurritisch. Eine Einführung*: 49-51. 236. 239. 260).
- [44] Cf. JACKSON 1892, *An Avesta Grammar*: 46; cf. also the Sogd. *xor*, NP *xwar*, Oss. *xor* ‘sun’, OIA *svBr-*(*EWAia*. II: 793 ff.; Hübschmann 1895, *Persische Studien*: 57; POKORNY 1959: 881).
- [45] WEGNER 1988, “Grammatische und lexikalische Untersuchungen hurritischer Beschwörungsformeln aus Bo<sup>?</sup>azköy; HAAS (ed.) 1988, *Hurriter und Hurritisch*: 147. 300.
- [46] MAYRHOFER 1989, *CLI*: 7; *EWAia*. II: 542.
- [47] For contra cf. the suggested derivation from the IIr.Iran. *\*spi2ra-*, NAv. *Spiti* ‘white’ ~ OIA.OI *Ñvitri-* ‘white, whitish’ (*EWAia*. II: 679; *KEWA* III: 406; cf. also *MoP*: 178); yet cf. the IIr. NAv. *spa•ta-*, OP *\*sata-*, NP *sap•d* ‘white’, MP *sp•t* in relation to the OIA.OI *Ñvet-* ‘white’ (*EWAia*. II: 679; *KEWA* III: 406; *Air. Wb.*: 1609). However it remains unclear how the word-stem for ‘white’ had developed into ‘sky’ which is blue.
- [48] *NPN*: 260b; GELB 1944, *Hurrians and Subarians*: 107; for more names with *Ōuwar-*= *svBr-* see *Aryans* 6.3.22.
- [49] Cf. Derakhshani, *Geschichte und Kultur des KaŌi-Volks* (to be published in 2002).
- [50] Pokorny 1959: 86ff.; GAMKRELIDZE *et al.* 1995: 615. 618. 826.
- [51] Cf. *AHW* i: 509b.
- [52] THIEME 1938, *Fremdling in Rigveda*: 10ff. u. *passim*; *EWAia*. I: 111-12; POKORNY 1959: 24.
- [53] Cf. POKORNY 1959: 67.
- [54] *?HW*: 15; *GHw?D*: 82a; SZEMERÉNYI (1977, “Indo-European Kinship”, *Acta Iranica* VII: 148)

indeed accepts the relation between the Eg. **©ry** ~ Ugar. <**ry** with the Aryan word *ari-*, *arya-*, however he suspects obviously with regard to the theory of the later migration of the Aryans, of a word-stem of a Near Eastern origin. For contra see *Aryans* 4.1.1, footnote 55.

[55] ?*HW*: 15 s.v. **©rj**; *GHw?D*: 464b.

[56] For **rp)t** “prince” s. ?*HW*: 94; *GHw?D*: 464b.

[57] For the discussion on **arri** “Aryan” or **urri** “Hurrian” see *NE.Aryans.*, cf. however the rendering of Iran. *arya*-by El. **Har-ri**, correspondingly Akk. **ar-ri/ ar-ra** (see *Aryans* 6.1.1).

[58] SZEMERINYI 1977, *Acta Iranica* VII: 147.

[59] BRANDENSTEIN & MAYRHOFER 1964: 11.

[60] CORNELIUS 1960, “Genesis XIV”, *ZATW* 72: 3.

[61] *LBE*, 243; for *er~nu* cf. FALKENSTEIN 1964, “Sumerische Religiöse Texte”, *ZA* 56 NF 22: 63 n. 39; WILCKE 1969, *Das Lugalbandaepos*: 187.

[62] *AHW* I: 386a; *GudCyl* A XV, 23; WILCKE 1969: 187ff.; *MSL* 5: 113, 250 with note e.

[63] For the location of **Erin** east of Sumer in the Iranian Highland see *NE.Aryans.*

[64] **kur-<sup>giÓ</sup> erin<sup>ki</sup>** (KRAMER 1944, “The Epic of Gilgameš and its Sumerian Sources”, *JAOS* 64: 14a, n. 48) literally ‘the mountainous country of the **erin**-trees’, yet interpreted by the author of the present work as ‘the mountainous country **Erin** rich in forests’ (see *NE.Aryans.*); **Innin.Erin<sup>ki</sup>** (*ITT* II-1 641; *RA* 19: 44 cited by BUCCELLATI 1966: 52) and **Inanna.Erin<sup>ki</sup>** ‘Susa’ (*UET* I, 210. 211. 289), **MÙÒ.EREN<sup>ki</sup>** ‘Susa’ (see *Aryans* 5.1.5).

[65] **Erén** mainly meant “eastern soldiers”. In a list from the time of Amar-Sin (2047-2039 B.C.) **erén** ‘man, soldier’ occurs in connection with geographical names, for qualifying places outside Babylon and partly east of Tigris. Contrary to **guruÓ** ‘native soldiers’ **erén** obviously meant ‘soldiers from the eastern neighbouring countries’ (GOETZE 1963, “Òakkanakus of the Ur III Empire”, *JCS* 17: 4-6; GELB 1973, “Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia”, *JNES* 32: 85).

[66] *EWAia* I: 711ff. 723ff.; *KEWA* II: 28ff. 38ff.; BRANDENSTEIN & MAYRHOFER 1964: 113ff.

[67] Cf. HAUPT 1881, *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, *Assyriologische Bibliothek* I: 124f. as well as the commentary by MEISSNER 1943, “lâ’irânu, lâ’iriânu”, *Orientalia* NS 12: 192-193.

[68] MEISSNER 1943, *Orientalia* NS 12: 193.

[69] VON SODEN 1936, *ZA* 43 (NF 9): 236, Z. 51. 60, as well as 48. 61. 62. 65. 127. 140. 141. 150. 165; for the interpretation ‘non-flowing, standing water’ see *AHW* I: 529a; for *martu* ~ *amard*, *amu* ~ *Amurru* ~ }*mul* (\*}*mur*) see *Aryans* 5.4.1.4, for *erin* see *Aryans* 5.1.3.

[70] Kammenhuber 1968, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*: 106. 176 n. 526.

[71] For the date of the earliest presence of the Hurrians and their cultural influence see *NE.Aryans*.

[72] GERSHEVITCH 1969, *Amber at Persepolis*: 219, s.v. *PirnuÓ*; *OnP*, 8. 1320.

[73] PINCHES 1017, “The Language of the Kassites”, *JRAS* 1917: 112; HÖLSCHER 1996, *Die Personennamen der Kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*: 38b.

[74] Cf. \**Am*:-*vanya*-‘victorious by force’, *aiwi.vanyah*-‘victorious’ etc. (*OnP*, 8.53; 8.104; 8.237; 8.667; 8.780; 8.880; 8.929; 8.942; 8.946; 8.1115; 8.1152; 8.1503).

[75] Cf. \**T-ga-vanã*-‘loving wreath’, OP \**Vanuka*-etc. (*OnP*, 8.335; 8.954; 8.1115).

[76] HINZ 1975, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*: 40.

[77] *EWAia*. I: 566; cf. \**Vahu-zana*- (*OnP*, 8.1030); see also *Aryans* 6.3.27: *Wašū-zana*.

[78] )*A-ri-ya* (ALBRIGHT 1934, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, *AOS* 5: 33, III, 5; 49,X, B 1).

[79] *A-ri-ju/i* \**A-ri-ka*, *A-ri-ri*, \**A-ri-Ûa-a*, *Ai-ri-šarru* (TALLQVIST 1966, *Assyrian Personal Names*: 29a-30a).

[80] TALLQVIST 1966, *Assyrian Personal Names*: 29b; for *Arija* from *Baršua* see BRANDENSTEIN & MAYRHOFER 1964: 2.

[81] For the representation of *:riya*- ‘an Aryan’ in the form from the El. *Hariya* cf. *OnP*, 8.458; see also the El. *harriya* ‘an Aryan’ (*EWb*. I: 636); for the representation of /\*/ in The Akkadian through /i/ see

UNGNAD 1969, *Grammatik des Akkadischen*: 12; for the transcription of the last ‘ayin through j see SPEISER 1933, *AASOR* 13: 39 as well as ALBRIGHT 1952, *BASOR* 125: 27.

[82] Cf. the Scyth. name *Ariapeites* (HERODOT IV, 78).

[83] FRISK I: 138. 557 s.v. VD4-and XD4-.

[84] For the interpretation ‘stranger’ proposed by THIEME 1938, *Der Fremdling im Rigveda*: 161165; *Aryans* 6.1.1, footnote 606.

[85] FRISK I: 138 after SPECHT, *KZ* 68: 42f; R. SCHMITT 1967, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*: 33. 132.

[86]  $\text{ik}^{\text{Li}}\text{H}$  ‘loudly (strongly) roaring’,  $\text{ik}^{(*)}\text{LB}\text{H}$ ,  $\text{ik}^{\text{kg}}\text{XJ0H}$  ‘loudly (strongly) roaring’,  $\text{ik}^{\text{bP0}}\text{<}$  ‘having a long (strong) neck’,  $\text{ik}^{\text{T8}}\text{>}$ ,  $\text{ik}^{\text{T8}}\text{H}$  ‘having high (strong) clods’,  $\text{ik}^{\text{Fhg}}\text{<ZH}$  ‘having strong power’,  $\text{ik}^{\text{FJVnL8}}\text{H}$  ‘having strong cluster’ (THIEME 1938: 164165).

[87] THIEME 1938: 161; R. SCHMITT 1967: 33. 132.

[88] FRISK I: 140.

[89] R. SCHMITT 1967: 34.

[90] THIEME 1938: 165, yet see there (note 1)  $\text{ik}^{\text{4H}}$  ‘strife’ in comparison to *hostis*, *hostilia* (cf. also above 4.1.1).

[91] FRISK I: 76-77, according to SPECHT 68: 42 ff.

[92] Cf. Frisk I: 498: “no convincing etymology exists”.

[93] *AHW*: 68a; *EWb.*: 83.

[94] Cf. STRAKE 1990, *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens*, *StBoT* 31: 303; MELCHERT 1993, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*: 26-27; for IE root \*er-cf. Pokorny 1959: 326-330.

[95] For contra cf. Frisk I: 560; Walde 1965 I: 67; Pokorny 1959: 326.

[96] POKORNY 1959: 872ff.; *EWAia*. II: 453. 484; *KEWA* III: 67. 119; FRISK I: 567.

[97] POKORNY 1959: 873; SCHERER 1950 [1968], *Die Urheimat der Indogermanen*: 296; KEWA III: 67. 119; SCHMITT-BRANDT 1998, *Einführung in die Indogermanistik*: 286; otherwise GAMKRELIDZE *et al.* 1995, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*: 616: “Sum. loanword in the Indo-European (~ Akk. **Purattu** ‘Euphrates’)”, though for **Purattu** see above 4.6; it is improbable that the exported copper of Iranian origin (see *Aryans* 4.2.3) had borrowed the designation of this metal from the importers.

[98] FALKENSTEIN 1936, *Archaische Texte from Uruk*: 55-636.

[99] REITER 1997: 151; cf. also *SDG* I: 639.

[100] *AHW* II: 837b; cf. also *Judaica* XIII: 288b; for **parzilli** ‘iron’ in the Nar~msin text see: GURNEY 1955, “The Sultantepe Tablets”, *Anatolian Studies* 5: 102, Z. 83.

[101] *KEWA* II: 257.

[102] Cf. WALDE 1965, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* I: 486; also SCHMITT-BRANDT deduces the Lat. *ferrum* < \**bhersom* < \**BARSA-* from the Semitic (Hebr. **barzel**) (SCHMITT-BRANDT 1998: 286); yet in a personal conversation he agreed with the possibility of the direct descent from Aryan, suggested by the author.

[103] *AHW* II: 837b; *SDG* I: 65; WILCKE 1969, *Lugalbandaepos*: 56, Z. 110; 59 n. 212.

[104] MACDONELL 1898, *Vedic Mythology*: 114; *EWAia* I: 36-37.

[105] WINTERNITZ 1910, *A General Index to the Names and Subject-Matter of the Sacred Books of the East*: 40.

[106] *RV* IX, 3, 1; IX, 33, 1; cf. MACDONELL 1898: 106. 152.

[107] *RV* VIII, 5, 26; see GRASSMANN, *Rig-Veda* I: 397.

[108] MACDONELL *et al.* 1912, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* I: 1.

[109] JENSEN 1928, “apsû-Apsû” *RLA* I: 122a-124b.

[110] *RV* I, 23, 19: *apsu àntár amĪtam apsu bhesjám* ‘in the water is the vitality, in the water is the healing

power'; THIEME 1952, *Studien zur Indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte*: 21.

[111] EDZARD 1989, "Marad, Marda", *RLA* VII: 351a; EDZARD & FARBER 1974, *RGTC* 2: 116; GRONEBERG 1980, *RGTC* 3: 159; NASHEF 1982, *RGTC* 5: 184.

[112] DELITZSCH 1881, *Wo lag das Paradies?*: 220.

[113] DELITZSCH *loc. cit.*; EDZARD 1989, *RLA* VII: 351a.

[114] HS 2009, inscription 1, col. III, line 10 = EDZARD 1960, "Neue Inschriften zur Geschichte von Ur III unter Òäsuen", *AfO* 19: 7; EDZARD & FARBER 1974, *RGTC* 2: 118.

[115] KAMMENHUBER 1968, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*: 124; *AHW* III: 1437a, see there *Erim* and *id buranun*; cf. also the Sum. **Buranun(a)** (*ÒL*, 381, 270); for more attested forms see also GÜTERBOCK 1964, "Sargon of Akkad mentioned by attuÓili I of atti", *JCS* 18: 3.

[116] *Bh.* I, 19; according to Rüdiger SCHMITT the native name 'Euphrates' is etymologically remodelled in Iranian (*ufr~tu*-probably 'with good fords' and from there penetrated into Greek (R. SCHMITT 1967, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot", *ZDMG* 117: 122 n. 32); cf. also *Air. Wb.*: 1830; KENT 1953, *Old Persian*: 176a-b; MAYRHOFER 1990, *Iranisches Personnamenbuch*, Bd. V, Fasc. 6a: *Iranische Namen in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens*: 55.

[117] POKORNY 1959: 817 *s.v.* IE \**per-tu*.

[118] NASHEF 1991, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit*, *RGTC* 4: 144; see also *Aramza*<sub>1</sub> (*RGTC* 5: 341).

[119] *Gozide-h~ye Z~dsparam* (ed. R}SHED-MOHASSEL) 3, 22; 34, 10.

[120] *GudCyl* A 1, 9. 28, 13; B 5, 13. 17, 10; FALKENSTEIN 1949, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von LagaÓ* I: 61; KAMMENHUBER 1968, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*: 123.

[121] KENT 1953, *Old Persian*: 186b.

[122] *D~dist~n-i D§n§k* 92, 2, (ed. WEST, *Pahlavi Texts* II: 262 n. 4); MARKWART 1901, •*r~nÓahr*: 157; *id.* 1938, *Wehrot und Arang*: 116. 136.

[123] *Air. Wb.*: 200; *MOP*: 30b.

[124] The name of the country **RÝnw** (Northern Palestine, Syria) first appears in the narration about Sinuhe (*Sinuhe* B 99-100. 229; see also *ARE* I, 494); later it repeatedly occurs in the Egyptian documents (*ARE* II., 413. 439. 477. 596. 616 etc.).

[125] HELCK 1971, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend*, 2. Aufl.: 268.

[126] *Yt.* 10, 15. 67. 133; 12, 9; *Vpr.* 10, 1; *Vd.* 19, 39, *GBd* 68, 4; *D~dest~n-i dšnšg* XXXVI, 5 (*SBE* XVIII: 79).

[127] *Air.Wb.*: 202; *HbZ*: 30a; cf. the OIA *r<jas-*‘darkness’, *rajas<* ‘dark, gloomy’, Sskr. *r<jasš* (*EWAia*. II: 426; *HbZ*: 30a; see also *KEWA* III: 34 f.; *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* IV: 374); cf. also GERSHEVITCH (1959, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*: 217), who following HENNING (*Sogdia* 1940: 28 f.) localises *ar?zahš-* in the east and *savahš-* in the west.

[128] **Subartu** (*Suria* = *Suri* < *Subria* < *Òubari* = *Subartu*) (LEWY 1924, *ZA* 35 NF 1: 145’6; GOETZE 1946, *JNES* 5: 166b; TVEDTNES 1981, “The Origin of the Name ‘Syria’”, *JNES* 40: 139); for **Subartu** see above 4.7.3; for the OI *Sārya-* ‘god of the sun’ see *Aryans* 8.2.1.4, footnote 952; for the connection with the *Suriy~n* of the *Sh~hn~meh* see *NE.Aryans*; cf. also the Arab. **al-Ò~m** ‘Syria’ < MP *Ó~m* ‘evening, west’ (see *Aryans* 5.4.2.6).

[129] Today scholars agree concerning the location of the country of **Aratta** in Eastern Iran; cf. MAJIDZADEH 1976, “The land of Aratta”, *JNES* 35: 110ff.

[130] MAYRHOFER 1960: 145 n. 66 after SPEISER 1941, *Introduction to Hurrian*: 27f., § 38.

[131] *Yt.* 57, 31; *Yt.* 10, 15.67. 133; 12, 15, *Vd.* 19, 39; *Vp.* 10.1.

[132] MONCHI-ZADEH 1975, *Topographisch-Historische Studien zum Iranischen Nationalepos*, *AKM* 41, 2: 22.

[133] For contra cf. GERSHEVITCH 1959, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*: 176, 15<sup>1</sup>: *X<sup>v</sup> aniratha-* ‘self-founded’.

[134] BAHRAMI 1990, *Dictionary of the Avesta* I: 494.

[135] IBN KHURD}DBIH: 22; Arabization of ?arg (MARKWART 1938, *Wehrot und Arang*: 146, n. 5); s. also MONCHI-ZADEH 1975, *Topographisch-Historische Studien zum Iranischen Nationalepos*: 126.

- [136] MONCHI-ZADEH 1975: 126.
- [137] HERODOTUS VII, 61. 150.; MARQUART 1986, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran I*: 234.
- [138] *The periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Ed. W. SCHOFF, New York 1912): 41.
- [139] RVI, 59, 1.
- [140] ARE I, 728.
- [141] ARE II, 844.
- [142] LÄ i: 213a.
- [143] ARE I, 311.
- [144] HAYES 1971, *CAH I*, 2: 487; POSENER 1971, *CAH I*, 2: 535; GARDINER 1962, *Geschichte des Alten Ägyptens*: 132.
- [145] *Yt.* 1, 21; 5, 17. 104. 112; 9, 25. 29; 15, 2; 17, 49.61; *Vd.* 1, 2(3); 2,21; 19,2.
- [146] *Bnd XX*, 13 = WEST 1880, *Pahlavi-Texts I*: 78; JUSTI 1868, *Der Bundehesh*: 29; *Air.Wb.*: 730; DOUSTKH}H, *Avesta II*: 981.
- [147] The origin of the Subarians, their language and different phases of Hurrian and its connections with Aryan is the topic of study in the *Main Work (NE.Aryans)*.
- [148] RVI, 96, 3; V, 11, 1; MACDONELL *et al.* 1912, *Vedic Index I*: 167-9. 218. 317 etc.; s. *id.* vol. II: 94ff., as well as Index page 549b; *EWAia II*: 249ff; see also HAUSSIG 1984, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie V*: 50.
- [149] UNGNAD 1936, *Subartu*: 109. 110.
- [150] UNGNAD 1936: 110.
- [151] GÜTERBOCK 1934, “Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200.”, Teil 1, *ZA* 42: 40, Z. 11.

- [152] Sargon C 7 = GELB *et al.* 1990, *Die Altakkadischen Königsinschriften des Dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*: 179-81; C 13 = *ibid.*: 187-88; b 15 = HIRSCH 1963, *AfO* 20: 51; b 16 = *ibid.*: 51; KAV 92 = VAT 8006, Z. 33 = WEIDNER 1953, *AfO* 16: 4. 20; GRAYSON 1977, *AfO* 25: 62. 63.
- [153] JENSEN 1900, “KiÓ”, *ZA* 15: 230 (cf. there the erroneous conclusion, *ParaÓi* = Susiana); GÜTERBOCK 1938, *ZA* 44: 78; GOETZE 1946, *JNES* 5: 167a; *id.* 1953, *JNES* 12: 118 n. 21; cf. also EDZARD 1957, *Die Zweite Zwischenzeit Babylons*: 73 n. 352; *RLA* VII: 381a ff.
- [154] GÜTERBOCK 1938, *ZA* 44: 78; GOETZE 1946, *JNES* 5: 166a; WEIDNER 1953, *AfO* 16: 20; for the phonetic change ( $v > b$ ) and ( $m > v$ ) in Iranian cf. GEIGER 1898-1901, *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie* I, 2. Abt.: 236.
- [155] *EWAia.* II: 87; *KEWA* II: 213; HAUSSIG 1984, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie V: Götter und Mythen des Indischen Subkontinents*: 106.
- [156] JACOBSEN 1953, “The Reign of Ibbš-Suen”, *JCS* 7: 40, n. 47.
- [157] *GudCyl* A XIV, 7-9 in *SAK*: 104. 105; JACOBSEN 1953, *JCS* 7: 40, n. 47.
- [158] HENNING 1978, “The First Indo-Europeans in History”, ULMEN (ed.) 1978, *Society and History, Essays in Honour of Karl August Wittfogel*: 215-230; for the Indo-European origin of the Gutians cf. also CHRISTIAN 1928, “Das erste Auftreten der Indogermanen in Vorderasien”, *MAGW* 58: 210-229; SPEISER 1930, *Mesopotamian Origins*: 101.
- [159] HENNING 1978: 221-225; cf. there (p. 222) Yhe-chih in the Middle Chinese (600 B.C.) form *ng-wyt-fÑi* < Old Chinese *ngw|t-Þ•(g)*; see also NARAIN 1987: 8 and *passim*.
- [160] *Borh~n*: 1722b + n. 3; DEHKHODA 1967, *Loghatn~meh* 40: 307a; HAUSSIG (Hrsg.) 1986, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* IV: 492.
- [161] POKORNY 1959: 587-591.
- [162] *KEWA* III: 379; *IAL*, 3521. 12634.
- [163] *Sh~hn~meh*, Moskau, *Siy~vuÓ*, 616; KHALEGHI MOTLAGH (Ed.), 606; there *Ku?* appears together with *Balu?*

[164] HENNING 1949, *Asia Major* I: 159 n. 2; cf. there the parallel development \**Tuwr-* < *Tu(r-* and *murw* < *mur*(, see also *MoP*: 195 s.v. Tār~n; *Air.Wb.*: 656.

[165] COWGILL & MAYRHOFER 1986, *Indogermanische Grammatik*: 48.

[166] HAUSSIG 1986, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* IV: 448 according to ABAEV.

[167] HENNING 1949, “The Name of the ‘Tokharian’ Language”, *Asia Minor* I: 158ff.; KRAUSE 1971, *Tocharisch*: 7.

[168] HENNING 1978: 225; NARAIN 1987, *On the “First” Indo-Europeans: The Tokharian-Yuezhi and their Chinese homeland*, *Papers on Inner Asia* 2, Indiana University: 10.

[169] HENNING 1978: 220.

[170] Cf. SCHMITT-BRANDT: 86. 95 and also 121.279; SZEMÉRENYI 1970, *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* (4th ed. 1990): 57.64.

[171] Cf. partly in *KEWA* I: 75. 351; II: 213; see also Derakhshani 2000, “Materialien und Industrien aus dem Iranischen Hochland in den Nahöstlichen Märkten des 4. bis 2. Jahrtausends v.Chr.”, *Iran & Caucasus* iii-iv: 48; for a comprehensive list of Indo-European word-stems in Akkadian cf. Brunner 1969, *Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln des semitischen und indogermanischen Wortschatzes*; for contra cf. GAMKRELIDZE *et al.* 1995: 771-773 “Near-Eastern loan-words in proto-Indo-European”; for this important topic see in detail *NE.Aryans*.