Hittites, Mittanis and Aryans

Indo-Aryan superstrate in Mitanni

Contents

Articles

References

Article Licenses

Indo-Aryan superstrate in Mitanni

Some theonyms, proper names and other terminology of the **Mitanni** exhibit an **Indo-Aryan superstrate**, suggesting that an Indo-Aryan elite imposed itself over the Hurrian population in the course of the Indo-Aryan expansion.

In a treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanni (between Suppiluliuma and Matiwaza, ca. 1380 BC), the deities Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya (Ashvins) are invoked. Kikkuli's horse training text (*circa* 1400 BC) includes technical terms such as *aika* (*eka*, one), *tera* (*tri*, three), *panza* (*pancha*, five), *satta* (*sapta*, seven), *na* (*nava*, nine), *vartana* (*vartana*, round). The numeral *aika* "one" is of particular importance because it places the superstrate in the vicinity of Indo-Aryan proper as opposed to Indo-Iranian or early Iranian (which has "aiva") in general.

Another text has *babru'(-nnu)' ('"babhru*, brown), *parita(-nnu)* (*palita*, grey), and *pinkara(-nnu)* (*pingala*, red). Their chief festival was the celebration of the solstice (*vishuva*) which was common in most cultures in the ancient world. The Mitanni warriors were called *marya* (Hurrian: maria-nnu), the term for (young) warrior in Sanskrit as well [1] ; note mišta-nnu (= miẓḍha,~ Sanskrit mīḍha) "payment (for catching a fugitive)" (Mayrhofer II 358).

Sanskritic interpretations of Mitanni names render Artashumara (artaššumara) as Arta-smara "who thinks of Arta/Ṛta" (Mayrhofer II 780), Biridashva (biridašu̯a, biriiašu̯a) as Prītāśva "whose horse is dear" (Mayrhofer II 182), Priyamazda (priiamazda) as Priyamedha "whose wisdom is dear" (Mayrhofer II 189, II378), Citrarata as citraratha "whose chariot is shining" (Mayrhofer I 553), Indaruda/Endaruta as Indrota "helped by Indra" (Mayrhofer I 134), Shativaza (šattiu̯aza) as Sātivāja "winning the race price" (Mayrhofer II 540, 696), Šubandhu as Subandhu 'having good relatives" (a name in Palestine, Mayrhofer II 209, 735), Tushratta (tu̯išeratta, tušratta, etc.) as *tu̯aiašaratha, Vedic Tveṣaratha "whose chariot is vehement" (Mayrhofer I 686, I 736).

Archaeologists have attested a striking parallel in the spread to Syria of a distinct pottery type associated with what they call the Kura-Araxes culture.[2]
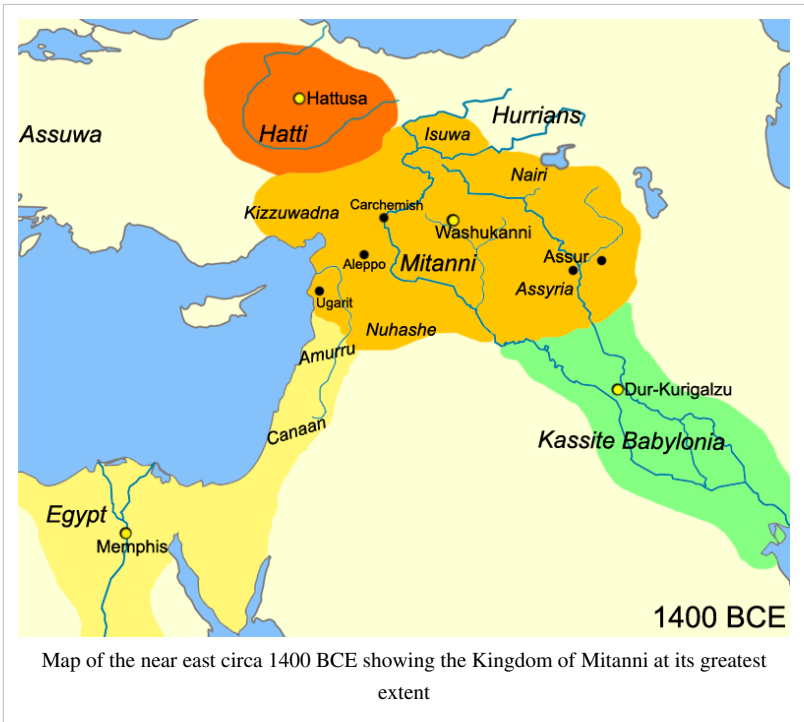
Literature

- James P. Mallory, "Kuro-Araxes Culture", *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997.
- Manfred Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen, Heidelberg 1986-2000.
- Manfred Mayrhofer, 'Welches Material aus dem Indo-arischen von Mitanni verbleibt für eine selektive Darstellung?' In: E. Neu (Hrsh.), *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae: Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser* (Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz 1982), 72-90.
- Paul Thieme, *The 'Aryan Gods' of the Mitanni Treaties*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 80, 301-317 (1960)

References

[1] Manfred Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen, Heidelberg 1986-2000, II 293

[2] James P. Mallory, "Kuro-Araxes Culture", *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997.

Mitanni

Map of the near east circa 1400 BCE showing the Kingdom of Mitanni at its greatest extent

Ancient Mesopotamia
Euphrates · Tigris
Sumer
Eridu · Kish · Uruk · Ur Lagash · Nippur · Girsu
Elam
Susa · Anshan
Akkadian Empire
Akkad · Mari
Amorites
Isin · Larsa
Babylonia
Babylon · Chaldea
Assyria
Assur · Nimrud Dur-Sharrukin · Nineveh
Hittites · Kassites Ararat / Mitanni
Chronology
Mesopotamia(Dynasty List)

Sumer (king list)
Kings of Elam Kings of Assyria Kings of Babylon
Mythology
Enûma Elish · Gilgamesh
Assyrian religion
Language
Sumerian · Elamite
Akkadian · Aramaic
Hurrian · Hittite

Mitanni (Hittite cuneiform KUR ^{URU}*Mi-ta-an-ni*, also **Mittani** *Mi-it-ta-ni*) or **Hanigalbat** (Assyrian *Hanigalbat, Khanigalbat* cuneiform *Ḫa-ni-gal-bat*) was a loosely organized Hurrian-speaking state in northern Syria and south-east Anatolia from ca. 1500 BC–1300 BC. Founded by an Indo-Aryan ruling class governing a predominately Hurrian population, Mitanni came to be a regional power after the Hittite destruction of Kassite Babylon created a power vacuum in Mesopotamia. At the beginning of its history, Mitanni's major rival was Egypt under the Thutmosids. However, with the ascent of the Hittite empire, Mitanni and Egypt made an alliance to protect their mutual interests from the threat of Hittite domination. At the height of its power, during the 14th century BC, it had outposts centered around its capital, Washukanni, whose location has been determined by archaeologists to be on the headwaters of the Khabur River. Eventually, Mitanni succumbed to Hittite and later Assyrian attacks, and was reduced to the status of a province of the Middle Assyrian Empire.

Their sphere of influence is shown in Hurrian place names, personal names and the spread through Syria of a distinct pottery type.

Geography

The Mitanni controlled trade routes down the Khabur to Mari and up the Euphrates from there to Charchamesh. They also controlled the upper Tigris and its headwaters at Nineveh, Arbil, Assur and Nuzi. Their allies included Kizuwatna in south eastern Anatolia, Mukish which stretched between Ugarit and Quatna west of the Orontes to the sea, and the Niya which controlled the east bank of the Orontes from Alalah down through Aleppo, Ebla and Hama to Quatna and Kadesh. To the east they had good relations with the presumed Hurrian speaking Kassites.[1] The land of Mitanni in northern Syria extended from the Taurus mountains to its west and as far east as Nuzi (modern Kirkuk) and the river Tigris in the east. In the south it extended from Aleppo across (*Nuhashshe*) to Mari on the Euphrates in the East. Its centre was in the Khabur River valley, with two capitals: Taite and Washshukanni, called *Taidu* and *Ushshukana* respectively in Assyrian sources. The whole area allows agriculture without artificial irrigation; cattle, sheep and goats were raised. It is very similar to Assyria in climate, and was settled by both indigenous Hurrian and Amoritic-speaking (*Amurru*) populations.

Name

"This kingdom was known as the Maryannu, Nahrin or Mitanni to the Egyptians, Hurri to the Hittites and Hanigalbat to the Assyrians. All three names were equivalent and interchangeable", asserted Michael C. Astour.[2] Hittite annals mention a people called *Hurri* (*Ḫu-ur-ri*), located in north-eastern Syria. A Hittite fragment, probably from the time of Mursili I, mentions a "King of the Hurri", or "Hurrians." The Assyro-Akkadian version of the text renders "Hurri" as *Hanigalbat*. Tushratta, who styles himself "king of Mitanni" in his Akkadian Amarna letters, refers to his

kingdom as Hanigalbat.[3]

Egyptian sources call Mitanni "*nhrn*", which is usually pronounced as *Naharin/Naharina* [4] from the Assyro-Akkadian word for "river", cf. *Aram-Naharaim*. The name *Mitanni* is first found in the "memoirs" of the Syrian wars (ca. 1480 BC) of the official astronomer and clockmaker Amememhet, who returned from the "foreign country called *Me-ta-ni*" at the time of Thutmose I.[5] The expedition to the Naharina announced by Thutmosis I at the beginning of his reign[6] may have actually taken place during the long previous reign of Amenhotep I[7] Helck believes that this was the expedition mentioned by Amenhotep II.

People

The ethnicity of the people of Mitanni is difficult to ascertain. A treatise on the training of chariot horses contains a number of Indo-Aryan glosses.[8] Kammenhuber (1968) suggested that this vocabulary was derived from the still undivided Indo-Iranian language,[9] [10] but Mayrhofer (1974) has shown that specifically Indo-Aryan features are present.[11]

The names of the Mitanni aristocracy frequently are of Indo-Aryan origin, but it is specifically their deities which show Indo-Aryan roots (Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Nasatya), though some think that they are probably more immediately related to the Kassites.[12] The common people's language, the Hurrian language is neither Indo-European nor Semitic.[13] Hurrian, and thus the Hurrians, are therefore believed to be relatives of Urartu, both belonging to the Hurro-Urartian language family. It had been held that nothing more can be deduced from current evidence.[14] A Hurrian passage in the Amarna letters – usually composed in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the day – indicates that the royal family of Mitanni was by then speaking Hurrian as well.

Bearers of names in the Hurrian language are attested in wide areas of Syria and the northern Levant that are clearly outside the area of the political entity known to Assyria as *Hanilgalbat*. There is no indication that these persons owed allegiance to the political entity of Mitanni; although the German term *Auslandshurriter* ("Hurrian expatriates") has been used by some authors. In the 14th century BC numerous city-states in northern Syria and Canaan were ruled by persons with Hurrian and some Indo-Aryan names. If this can be taken to mean that the population of these states was Hurrian as well, then it is possible that these entities were a part of a larger polity with a shared Hurrian identity. This is often assumed, but without a critical examination of the sources. Differences in dialect and regionally different pantheons (*Hepat/Shawushka, Sharruma/Tilla* etc.) point to the existence of several groups of Hurrian speakers.

History

No native sources for the history of Mitanni (i.e. *Hanilgalbat*) have been found so far. The account is mainly based on Assyrian, Hittite and Egyptian sources, as well as inscriptions from nearby places in Syria. Often it is not even possible to establish synchronicity between the rulers of different countries and cities, let alone give uncontested absolute dates. The definition and history of Mitanni is further beset by a lack of differentiation between linguistic, ethnic and political groups.

Summary

It is believed that the warring Hurrian tribes and city states became united under one dynasty after the collapse of Babylon due to the Hittite sack by Mursili I and the Kassite invasion. The Hittite conquest of Aleppo (Yamhad), the weak middle Assyrian kings, and the internal strifes of the Hittites had created a power vacuum in upper Mesopotamia. This led to the formation of the kingdom of Mitanni.

King Barattarna of Mitanni expanded the kingdom west to Halab (Aleppo) and made Idrimi of Alalakh his vassal. The state of Kizzuwatna in the west also shifted its allegiance to Mitanni and Arrapha and Assyria in the east had become Mitannian vassal states by the mid 15th century BC. The nation grew stronger during the reign of Shaushtatar but the Hurrians were keen to keep the Hittites inside the Anatolian highland. Kizzuwatna in the west and Ishuwa in the north were important allies against the hostile Hittites.

After a few clashes with the Pharaohs over the control of Syria Mitanni sought peace with Egypt and an alliance was formed. During the reign of Shuttarna in the early 14th century BC the relationship was very amicable, and he sent his daughter Gilu-Hepa to Egypt for a marriage with Pharaoh Amenhotep III. Mitanni was now at its peak of power.

King Ashur-Uballit I of Assyria defeated Shuttarna and freed Assyria from Mittani domination in the middle of the 14th Century BC.

At the death of Shuttarna, Mitanni was ravaged by a war of succession. Eventually Tushratta, a son of Shuttarna, ascended the throne, but the kingdom had been weakened considerably and both the Hittite and Assyrian threats increased. At the same time, the diplomatic relationship with Egypt went cold. The Hittite king Suppiluliuma I invaded the Mitanni vassal states in northern Syria and replaced them with loyal subjects.

In the capital Washukanni a new power struggle broke out. The Hittites and the Assyrians supported different pretenders to the throne. Finally a Hittite army conquered the capital Washukkanni and installed Shattiwaza, the son of Tushratta, as their vassal king of Mitanni in the late 14th century BC. The kingdom had by now been reduced to the Khabur Valley. The Assyrians had not given up their claim on Mitanni, and Shalmaneser I in the 13th century BC annexed the kingdom.

Early kingdom

As early as Akkadian times, Hurrians are known to have lived east of the river Tigris on the northern rim of Mesopotamia, and in the Khabur Valley. The group which became Mitanni gradually moved south into Mesopotamia before the 17th century BC.

Hurrians are mentioned in the private Nuzi texts, in Ugarit, and the Hittite archives in Hattushsha (Boğazköy). Cuneiform texts from Mari mention rulers of city-states in upper Mesopotamia with both *Amurru* (Amorite) and Hurrian names. Rulers with Hurrian names are also attested for Urshum and Hashshum, and tablets from Alalakh (layer VII, from the later part of the old-Babylonian period) mention people with Hurrian names at the mouth of the Orontes. There is no evidence for any invasion from the North-east. Generally, these onomastic sources have been taken as evidence for a Hurrian expansion to the South and the West.

A Hittite fragment, probably from the time of Mursili I, mentions a "King of the Hurrians" (*LUGAL ERÍN.MEŠ Hurri*). This terminology was last used for King Tushratta of Mitanni, in a letter in the Amarna archives. The normal title of the king was 'King of the Hurri-men' (without the determinative *KUR* indicating a country).

It is believed that the warring Hurrian tribes and city states became united under one dynasty after the collapse of Babylon due to the Hittite sack by Mursili I and the Kassite invasion. The Hittite conquest of Aleppo (Yamkhad), the weak middle Assyrian kings, and the internal strifes of the Hittites had created a power vacuum in upper Mesopotamia. This led to the formation of the kingdom of Mitanni. The legendary founder of the Mitannian dynasty was a king called Kirta, who was followed by a king Shuttarna. Nothing is known about these early kings.

Barattarna / Parsha(ta)tar

King Barattarna is known from a cuneiform tablet in Nuzi and an inscription by Idrimi of Alalakh.[15] Egyptian sources do not mention his name; that he was the king of Naharin whom Thutmose III fought against in the 15th century BC can only be deduced from assumptions. Whether Parsha(ta)tar, known from another Nuzi inscription, is the same as Barattarna, or a different king, is debated.

Under the rule of Thutmose III, Egyptian troops crossed the Euphrates and entered the core lands of Mitanni. At Megiddo, he fought an alliance of 330 Mitanni princes and tribal leaders under the ruler of Kadesh. See Battle of Megiddo (15th century BC). Mitanni had sent troops as well. Whether this was done because of existing treaties, or only in reaction to a common threat, remains open to debate. The Egyptian victory opened the way north.

Thutmose III again waged war in Mitanni in the 33rd year of his rule. The Egyptian army crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish and reached a town called Iryn (maybe present day Erin, 20 km northwest of Aleppo.) They sailed down the Euphrates to Emar (Meskene) and then returned home via Mitanni. A hunt for elephants at Lake Nija was important enough to be included in the annals. This was impressive PR, but did not lead to any permanent rule. Only the area at the middle Orontes and Phoenicia became part of Egyptian territory.

Victories over Mitanni are recorded from the Egyptian campaigns in *Nuhashshe* (middle part of Syria). Again, this did not lead to permanent territorial gains. Barattarna or his son Shaushtatar controlled the North Mitanni interior up to *Nuhashshe*, and the coastal territories from Kizzuwatna to Alalakh in the kingdom of Mukish at the mouth of the Orontes. Idrimi of Alalakh, returning from Egyptian exile, could only ascend his throne with Barattarna's consent. While he got to rule Mukish and Ama'u, Aleppo remained with Mitanni.

Shaushtatar

Shaushtatar, king of Mitanni, sacked Assur some time in the 15th century during the reign of Nur-ili, and took the silver and golden doors of the royal palace to Washshukanni. This is known from a later Hittite document, the Suppililiuma-Shattiwaza treaty. After the sack of Assur, Assyria may have paid tribute to Mitanni up to the time of Ashur-uballit I (1365−1330 BC). There is no trace of that in the Assyrian king lists; therefore it is probable that Assur was ruled by a native Assyrian dynasty owing sporadic allegiance to the house of Shaushtatar. While a sometime vassal of Mitanni, the temple of Sin and Shamash was built in Assur.
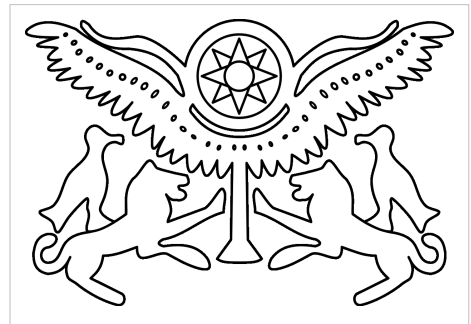
Aleppo, Nuzi, and Arrapha seem to have been incorporated into Mitanni under Shaushtatar as well. The palace of the crown prince, the governor of Arrapha has been excavated. A letter from Shaushtatar was discovered in the house of Shilwe-Teshup. His seal shows heroes and winged geniuses fighting lions and other animals, as well as a winged sun. This style, with a multitude of figures distributed over the whole of the available space, is taken as typically Hurrian. A second seal, belonging to Shuttarna I, but used by Shaushtatar, found in Alalakh, shows a more traditional Akkadian style.

The military superiority of Mitanni was probably based on the use of two-wheeled war-chariots, driven by the 'Marjannu' people. A text on the training of war-horses, written by a certain "Kikkuli the Mitannian" has been found in the archives recovered at Hattusa. More speculative is the attribution of the introduction of the chariot in Mesopotamia to early Mitanni.

Under the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenhotep II, Mitanni seems to have regained influence in the middle Orontes valley that had been conquered by Thutmose III. Amenhotep fought in Syria in 1425, presumably against Mitanni as well, but did not reach the Euphrates.

Artatama I and Shuttarna II

Later on, Egypt and Mitanni became allies, and King Shuttarna II himself was received at the Egyptian court. Amicable letters, sumptuous gifts, and letters asking for sumptuous gifts were exchanged. Mitanni was especially interested in Egyptian gold. This culminated in a number of royal marriages: the daughter of King Artatama I was married to Thutmose IV. Kilu-Hepa, or Gilukhipa, the daughter of Shuttarna II, was married to Pharaoh Amenhotep III, who ruled in the early 14th century BC. In a later royal marriage Tadu-Hepa, or Tadukhipa, the daughter of Tushratta, was sent to Egypt.

When Amenhotep III fell ill, the king of Mitanni sent him a statue of the goddess Shaushka (Ishtar) of Nineveh that was reputed to cure diseases. A more or less permanent border between Egypt and Mitanni seems to have existed near Qatna on the Orontes River; Ugarit was part of Egyptian territory.

The reason Mitanni sought peace with Egypt may have been trouble with the Hittites. A Hittite ruler called Tudhaliya conducted campaigns against Kizzuwatna, Arzawa, Ishuwa, Aleppo, and maybe against Mitanni itself. Kizzuwatna may have fallen to the Hittites at that time.
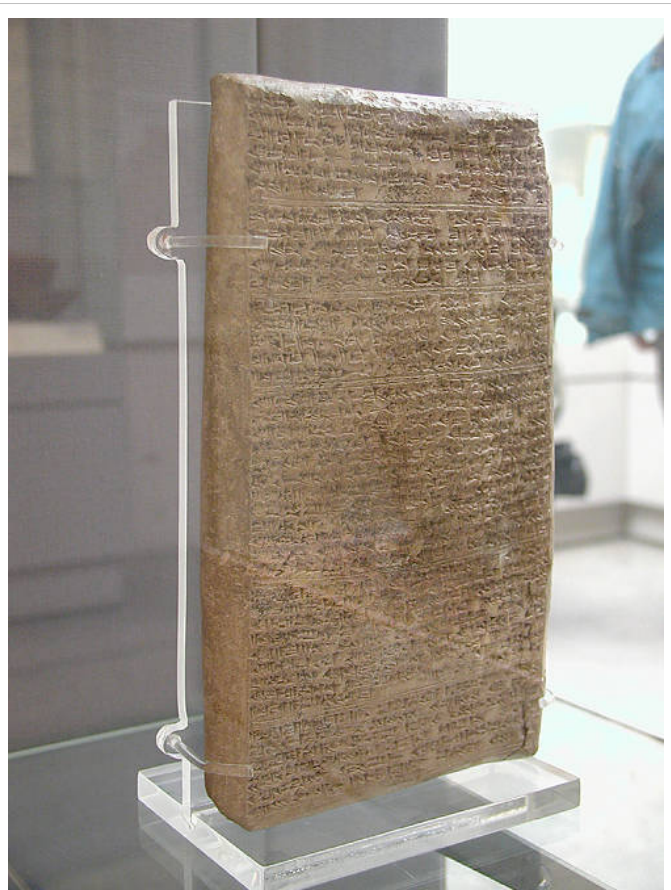
Artashumara and Tushratta

Artashumara followed his father Shuttarna II on the throne, but was murdered by a certain UD-hi, or Uthi. It is uncertain what intrigues that followed, but UD-hi then placed Tushratta, another son of Shuttarna, on the throne. Probably, he was quite young at the time and was intended to serve as a figurehead only. However, he managed to dispose of the murderer, possibly with the help of his Egyptian father-in-law, but this is sheer speculation.

The Egyptians may have suspected the mighty days of Mitanni were about to end. In order to protect their Syrian border zone the new Pharaoh Akhenaten instead received envoys from the Hittites and Assyria; the former Mitannian vassal state. From the Amarna letters we know how Tushratta's desperate claim for a gold statue from Akhenaten developed into a major diplomatic crisis.

The unrest weakened the Mitannian control of their vassal states, and Aziru of Amurru seized the opportunity and made a secret deal with the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I. Kizzuwatna, which had seceded from the Hittites, was reconquered by Suppiluliuma. In what has been called his first

Cuneiform tablet containing a letter from Tushratta of Mitanni to Amenhotep III-(of 13 letters of King Tushratta).

Syrian campaign, Suppiluliuma then invaded the western Euphrates valley, and conquered the *Amurru* and *Nuhashshe* in Mitanni.

According to the later Suppiluliuma-Shattiwaza treaty, Suppiluliuma had made a treaty with Artatama II, a rival of Tushratta. Nothing is known of this Artatama's previous life or connection, if any, to the royal family. He is called "king of the Hurri", while Tushratta went by the title "King of Mitanni". This must have disagreed with Tushratta.

Suppiluliuma began to plunder the lands on the west bank of the Euphrates, and annexed Mount Lebanon. Tushratta threatened to raid beyond the Euphrates if even a single lamb or kid was stolen.

Suppiluliuma then recounts how the land of Ishuwa on the upper Euphrates had seceded in the time of his grandfather. Attempts to conquer it had failed. In the time of his father, other cities had rebelled. Suppiluliuma claims to have defeated them, but the survivors had fled to the territory of Ishuwa, that must have been part of Mitanni. A clause to return fugitives is part of many treaties between sovereign states and between rulers and vassal states, so perhaps the harbouring of fugitives by Ishuwa formed the pretext for the Hittite invasion.

A Hittite army crossed the border, entered Ishuwa and returned the fugitives (or deserters or exile governments) to Hittite rule. "I freed the lands that I captured; they dwelt in their places. All the people whom I released rejoined their peoples, and Hatti incorporated their territories."

The Hittite army then marched through various districts towards Washukanni. Suppiluliuma claims to have plundered the area, and to have brought loot, captives, cattle, sheep and horses back to Hatti. He also claims that Tushratta fled, though obviously he failed to capture the capital. While the campaign weakened Mitanni, it did not endanger its existence.

In a second campaign, the Hittites again crossed the Euphrates and subdued Halab, Mukish, Niya, Arahati, Apina, and Qatna, as well as some cities whose names have not been preserved. The booty from Arahati included charioteers, who were brought to Hatti together with all their possessions. While it was common practice to incorporate enemy soldiers in the army, this might point to a Hittite attempt to counter the most potent weapon of Mitanni, the war-chariots, by building up or strengthening their own chariot forces.

All in all, Suppiluliuma claims to have conquered the lands "from Mount Lebanon and from the far bank of the Euphrates". But Hittite governors or vassal rulers are mentioned only for some cities and kingdoms. While the Hittites made some territorial gains in western Syria, it seems unlikely that they established a permanent rule east of the Euphrates.

Shattiwaza / Kurtiwaza

A son of Tushratta conspired with his subjects, and killed his father in order to become king. His brother Shattiwaza was forced to flee. In the unrest that followed, the Assyrians asserted their independence under Ashur-uballit I, and he invaded the country; and the pretender Artatama/Atratama II gained ascendancy, followed by his son Shuttarna. Suppiluliuma claims that "the entire land of Mittanni went to ruin, and the land of Assyria and the land of Alshi divided it between them", but this sounds more like wishful thinking. This Shuttarna maintained good relations with Assyria, and returned to it the palace doors of Asshur, that had been taken by Shaushtatar. Such booty formed a powerful political symbol in ancient Mesopotamia.

The fugitive Shattiwaza may have gone to Babylon first, but eventually ended up at the court of the Hittite king, who married him to one of his daughters. The treaty between Suppiluliuma of Hatti and Shattiwaza of Mitanni has been preserved and is one of the main sources on this period. After the conclusion of the Suppiluliuma-Shattiwaza treaty, Piyashshili, a son of Suppiluliuma, led a Hittite army into Mitanni. According to Hittite sources, Piyashshili and Shattiwaza crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish, then marched against Irridu in Hurrite territory. They sent messengers from the west bank of the Euphrates and seemed to have expected a friendly welcome, but the people were loyal to their new ruler, influenced, as Suppiluliuma claims, by the riches of Tushratta. "Why are you coming? If you are coming for battle, come, but you shall not return to the land of the Great King!" they taunted. Shuttarna had sent men to strengthen the troops and chariots of the district of Irridu, but the Hittite army won the battle, and the people of Irridu sued for peace.

Meanwhile, an Assyrian army "led by a single charioteer" marched on Washshukanni. It seems that Shuttarna had sought Assyrian aid in the face of the Hittite threat. Possibly the force sent did not meet his expectations, or he changed his mind. In any case, the Assyrian army was refused entrance, and set instead to besiege the capital. This seems to have turned the mood against Shuttarna; perhaps the majority of the inhabitants of Washshukanni decided

they were better off with the Hittite Empire than with their former subjects. Anyway, a messenger was sent to Piyashshili and Shattiwaza at Irridu, who delivered his message in public, at the city gate. Piyashshili and Shattiwaza marched on Washukanni, and the cities of Harran and Pakarripa seem to have surrendered to them.

While at Pakarripa, a desolate country where the troops suffered hunger, they received word of an Assyrian advance, but the enemy never materialised. The allies pursued the retreating Assyrian troops to Nilap_ini but could not force a confrontation. The Assyrians seem to have retreated home in the face of the superior force of the Hittites.

Shattiwaza became king of Mitanni, but after Suppililiuma had taken Carchemish and the land west of the Euphrates, that were governed by his son Piyashshili, Mitanni was restricted to the Khabur River and Balikh River valleys, and became more and more dependent on their allies in Hatti. Some scholars speak of a Hittite puppet kingdom, a buffer-state against Assyria.

Assyria under Ashur-uballit I began to infringe on Mitanni as well. Its vassal state of Nuzi east of the Tigris was conquered and destroyed. According to the Hittitologist Trevor R. Bryce, Mitanni (or Hanigalbat as it was known) was permanently lost to Assyria during the reign of Mursili III of Hatti who was defeated in the process. Its loss was a major blow to Hittite prestige in the ancient world and undermined the young king's authority over his kingdom.

Shattuara I

The royal inscriptions of Adad-nirari I (c. 1307–1275) relate how King Shattuara of Mitanni rebelled and committed hostile acts against Assyria. How this Shattuara was related to the dynasty of Partatama is unclear. Some scholars think that he was the second son of Artatama II, and the brother of Shattiwazza's one-time rival Shuttarna. Adad-nirari claims to have captured King Shattuara and brought him to Asshur, where he took an oath as a vassal. Afterwards, he was allowed to return to Mitanni, where he paid Adad-nirari regular tribute. This must have happened during the reign of the Hittite King Mursili II, but there is no exact date.

Wasashatta

Despite Assyrian strength, Shattuara's son Wasashatta rebelled. He sought Hittite help, but that kingdom was preoccupied with internal struggles, possibly connected with the usurpation of Hattusili III, who had driven his nephew Urhi-Teshup into exile. The Hittites took Wasashatta's money but did not help, as Adad-nirari's inscriptions gleefully note.

The Assyrians conquered the royal city of Taidu, and took Washshukannu, Amasakku, Kahat, Shuru, Nabula, Hurra and Shuduhu as well. They conquered Irridu, destroyed it utterly and sowed salt over it. The wife, sons and daughters of Wasashatta were taken to Asshur, together with lots of loot and other prisoners. As Wasashatta himself is not mentioned, he must have escaped capture. There are letters of Wasashatta in the Hittite archives. Some scholars think he became ruler of a reduced Mitanni state called Shubria.

While Adad-nirari I conquered the Mitanni heartland between the Balikh and the Khabur, he does not seem to have crossed the Euphrates, and Carchemish remained part of the Hittite kingdom. With his victory over Mitanni, Adad-nirari claimed the title of Great King (*sharru rabû*) in letters to the Hittite rulers, who still did not consider him as an equal.

Shattuara II

In the reign of Shalmaneser I (1270s–1240s) King Shattuara of Mitanni, a son or nephew of Wasahatta, rebelled against the Assyrian yoke with the help of the Hittites and the nomadic Ahlamu around 1250 BC. His army was well prepared; they had occupied all the mountain passes and waterholes, so that the Assyrian army suffered from thirst during their advance.

Nevertheless, Shalmaneser won a crushing victory. He claims to have slain 14,400 men; the rest were blinded and carried away. His inscriptions mention the conquest of nine fortified temples; 180 Hurrian cities were "turned into rubble mounds", and Shalmaneser "…slaughtered like sheep the armies of the Hittites and the Ahlamu his allies…". The cities from Taidu to Irridu were captured, as well as all of mount Kashiar to Eluhat and the fortresses of Sudu and Harranu to Carchemish on the Euphrates. Another inscription mentions the construction of a temple to Adad in Kahat, a city of Mitanni that must have been occupied as well.

Hanigalbat as an Assyrian Province

A part of the population was deported and served as cheap labour. Administrative documents mention barley allotted to "uprooted men", deportees from Mitanni. For example, the governor of the city Nahur, Meli-Sah received barley to be distributed to deported persons from Shuduhu "as seed, food for their oxen and for themselves". The Assyrians built a line of frontier fortifications against the Hittites on the Balikh River.

Mitanni was now ruled by the Assyrian grand-vizier Ili-ippada, a member of the Royal family, who took the title of king (*sharru*) of Hanilgalbat. He resided in the newly built Assyrian administrative centre at Tell Sabi Abyad, governed by the Assyrian steward Tammitte. Assyrians maintained not only military and political control, but seem to have dominated trade as well, as no Hurrian names appear in private records of Shalmaneser's time.

Under Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1243–1207) there were again numerous deportations from Hanilgalbat (east Mitanni) to Assur, probably in connection with the construction of a new palace. As the royal inscriptions mention an invasion of Hanilgalbat by a Hittite king, there may have been a new rebellion, or at least native support of a Hittite invasion. The Assyrian towns may have been sacked at this time, as destruction levels have been found in some excavations that cannot be dated with precision, however. Tell Sabi Abyad, seat of the Assyrian government in the times of Shalmaneser, was deserted between 1200 and 1150 B.C.

In the time of Ashur-nirari III (ca. 1200 BC, the beginning Bronze Age collapse), the Phrygians and others invaded Hanilgalbat and it was temporarily lost to Assyrian rule. The Hurrians still held Katmuhu and Paphu. In the transitional period to the Early Iron Age, Mitanni was settled by invading Aramaean tribes.

Indo-Aryan superstrate

Some theonyms, proper names and other terminology of the Mitanni exhibit an Indo-Aryan superstrate, suggesting that an Indo-Aryan elite imposed itself over the Hurrian population in the course of the Indo-Aryan expansion. In a treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanni, the deities Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya (Ashvins) are invoked. Kikkuli's horse training text includes technical terms such as *aika* (*eka*, one), *tera* (*tri*, three), *panza* (*pancha*, five), *satta* (*sapta*, seven), *na* (*nava*, nine), *vartana* (*vartana*, turn, round in the horse race). The numeral aika "one" is of particular importance because it places the superstrate in the vicinity of Indo-Aryan proper as opposed to Indo-Iranian or early Iranian (which has "aiva") in general [16]

Another text has *babru* (*babhru*, brown), *parita* (*palita*, grey), and *pinkara* (*pingala*, red). Their chief festival was the celebration of the solstice (*vishuva*) which was common in most cultures in the ancient world. The Mitanni warriors were called *marya*, the term for warrior in Sanskrit as well; note mišta-nnu (= miẓḍha,~ Sanskrit mīḍha) "payment (for catching a fugitive)" (M. Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen< Heidelberg 1986-2000; Vol. II 358).

Sanskritic interpretations of Mitanni royal names render Artashumara (artaššumara) as Arta-smara "who thinks of Arta/Ṛta" (Mayrhofer II 780), Biridashva (biridašu̯a, biriiašu̯a) as Prītāśva "whose horse is dear" (Mayrhofer II 182), Priyamazda (priiamazda) as Priyamedha "whose wisdom is dear" (Mayrhofer II 189, II378), Citrarata as citraratha "whose chariot is shining" (Mayrhofer I 553), Indaruda/Endaruta as Indrota "helped by Indra" (Mayrhofer I 134), Shativaza (šattiu̯aza) as Sātivāja "winning the race price" (Mayrhofer II 540, 696), Šubandhu as Subandhu 'having good relatives" (a name in Palestine, Mayrhofer II 209, 735), Tushratta (tu̯išeratta, tušratta, etc.) as *tu̯aiašaratha, Vedic Tvastr "whose chariot is vehement" (Mayrhofer, Etym. Wb., I 686, I 736).

Mitanni rulers

(short chronology)

Rulers	Reigned	Comments
Kirta	ca. 1500 BC (short)	
Shuttarna I		Son of Kirta
Parshatatar or Parrattarna		Son of Kirta
Shaushtatar		Contemporary of Idrimi of Alalakh, Sacks Ashur
Artatama I		Treaty with Pharaoh Thutmose IV of Egypt, Contemporary of Pharaoh Amenhotep II of Egypt
Shuttarna II		Daughter marries Pharaoh Amenhotep III of Egypt in his year 10
Artashumara		Son of Shutarna II, brief reign
Tushratta	ca. 1350 BC (short)	Contemporary of Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites and Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV of Egypt, Amarna letters
Artatama II		Treaty with Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites, ruled same time as Tushratta
Shuttarna III		Contemporary of Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites
Shattiwaza or Kurtiwaza		Mitanni becomes vassal of the Hittite Empire
Shattuara		Mittani becomes vassal of Assyria under Adad-nirari I
Wasashatta		Son of Shattuara
Jiar		Son of Shattuara-Lost Prince

All dates must be taken with caution since they are worked out only by comparison with the chronology of other ancient Near Eastern nations.

Legacy

Within a few centuries of the fall of Washshukanni to Assyria, Mitanni became fully Assyrianized and linguistically Aramaized, and use of the Hurrian language began to be discouraged throughout the Neo-Assyrian Empire. However, Urartean, a dialect closely related to Hurrian seems to have survived in the new state of Urartu, in the mountainous areas to the north.[17] In the 10th to 9th century BC inscriptions of Adad-nirari II and Shalmaneser III, *Hanigalbat* is still used as a geographical term.

Sources

- Gaal, E. "The economic role of Hanilgalbat at the beginning of the Neo-Assyrian expansion." In: Hans-Jörg Nissen/Johannes Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn. Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Orient vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1 (Berlin, Reimer 1982), 349–354.
- Harrak, Amir "Assyria and Hanilgalbat. A historical reconstruction of the bilateral relations from the middle of the 14th to the end of the 12 centuries BC." *Studien zur Orientalistik* (Hildesheim, Olms 1987).
- Kühne, Cord "Politische Szenerie und internationale Beziehungen Vorderasiens um die Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends vor Chr. (zugleich ein Konzept der Kurzchronologie). Mit einer Zeittafel." In: Hans-Jörg Nissen/Johannes Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn. Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Orient vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1 (Berlin, Reimer 1982), 203–264.
- Novák, Mirko: "Mittani Empire and the Question of Absolute Chronology: Some Archaeological Considerations." In: Manfred Bietak/Ernst Czerny (eds.): "The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC III"; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschrift Band XXXVII; Wien, 2007; ISBN 978-3-7001-3527-2; pp. 389–401.
- Starr, R. F. S. *Nuzi* (London 1938).
- Weidner, "Assyrien und Hanilgalbat". *Ugaritica* 6 (1969)
- Thieme, P., *The 'Aryan Gods' of the Mitanni Treaties*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 80, 301–317 (1960)
- Wilhelm, Gernot: *The Hurrians*, Aris & Philips Warminster 1989.
- Von Dassow, Eva Melita. *Social Stratification of Alalah Under the Mittani Empire*. [S.l: s.n.], 1997.

References

[1]   Michael Roaf, Cambridge Atlas of Mesopotamia maps pp 134–135.

[2]   Astour, "Ḫattusiliš, Ḫalab, and Ḫanigalbat" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* **31**.2 (April 1972:102–109) p 103.

[3]   Astour 1972:103, noting Amarna letters 18:9; 20:17;29:49.

[4]   Faulkner, Raymond O. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian.* p.135. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1962; (http://history.memphis.edu/murnane/Kitchen - New Kingdom Topographical Lists.pdf) Egyptian New Kingdom Topographical lists], by Kenneth Kitchen, p.5 bottom paragraph, University of Memphis

[5]   His memoir was published by L. Borchardt, "Altägyptische Zeitmessung" in E. von Basserman-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Ühre*, vol. I. (Berlin/Leipzig) 1930, pp 60ff, noted in Astour 1972:104, notes 25,26.

[6]   W. Helck, *"Oriens Antiquus* **8** (1969:301, note 41; 302.

[7]   É. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* 4th ed. (Paris) 1962:396f.

[8]   Robert Drews, "The Coming of the Greeks: Indo-European Conquests in the Aegean and the Near East.", Princeton University Press, Chariot Warfare. pg 61

[9]   Robert Drews, "The Coming of the Greeks: Indo-European Conquests in the Aegean and the Near East.", Princeton University Press, Chariot Warfare. pg 61

[10]   Annelies Kammenhuber, "Die Arier im vorderen Orient"(Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universistatverlag, 1968. pg 238. On pg 238 she indicates they spoke a : "noch ungeteiltes Indo-Iranisch".

[11]   M. Mayrhofer, Die Arier im Vorderen Orient – ein Mythos? Sitzungsberichte der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 294,3, Vienna 1974; M. Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen, Heidelberg 1986–2000, vol. IV

[12]   Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq,* p. 229. Penguin Books, 1966.

[13]   Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq,* p. 234. Penguin Books, 1966.

[14]   E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian,* p. 10. American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. 20. 1941.

[15]   http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http://www.geocities.com/farfarer2001/alalakh/idrimi_inscription.htm&date=2009-10-24+21:45:59

[16]   Paul Thieme, The 'Aryan' Gods of the Mitanni Treaties. JAOS 80, 1960, 301-17

[17]   Jacquetta Hawkes, *The First Great Civilizations* "Yet the Hurrians did not disappear from history. Away to the North in their Armenian homeland, they entrenched themselves and build up the kingdom of Urartu."; M. Chahin, *The Kingdom of Armenia,* "The new kingdom of Urartu, which proved to be the stronghold of the Hurrian race."

External links

- Mitanni (http://www.livius.org/mi-mn/mitanni/mitanni.html) (livius.org)
- Dutch excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad (http://www.sabi-abyad.nl/main.tpl?language=en)
- Excerpts from the text of the Shuppililiuma-Shattiwazza treaty (http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http://www.geocities.com/farfarer2001/hittite_letters/suppiluliuma_shattiwaza_treaty.htm&date=2009-10-25+22:04:07)

Hittites

The **Hittites** were a Bronze Age people of Anatolia. They established a kingdom centered at Hattusa in north-central Anatolia ca. the 18th century BC. The Hittite empire reached its height ca. the 14th century BC, encompassing a large part of Anatolia, north-western Syria about as far south as the mouth of the Litani River (in present-day Lebanon), and eastward into upper Mesopotamia. The Hittite military made successful use of chariots,[1] By the mid 14th century BC (under king Suppiluliuma I) carving out an empire that included most of Asia Minor as well as parts of the northern Levant and Upper Mesopotamia. After ca. 1180 BC, the empire disintegrated into several independent "Neo-Hittite" city-states, some surviving until the 8th century BC.

Their Hittite language was a member of the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European language family.[2] Natively, they referred to their land as Hatti, and to their language as *Nesili* (the language of Nesa). The conventional name "Hittites" is due to their initial identification with the Biblical Hittites in 19th century archaeology. Despite the use of "Hatti", the Hittites should be distinguished from the Hattians, an earlier people who inhabited the same region until the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, and spoke a non-Indo-European language called Hattic.

Although belonging to the Bronze Age, the Hittites were forerunners of the Iron Age, developing the manufacture of iron artifacts from as early as the 14th century BC, when letters to foreign rulers reveal the latter's demand for iron goods.

Archaeological discovery

The Hittites used cuneiform letters. Archaeological expeditions have discovered in Hattushash entire sets of royal archives in cuneiform tablets, written either in Akkadian, the diplomatic language of the time, or in the various dialects of the Hittite confederation.[3]

A Hittite rhyton from the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Before the discoveries, the only source of information about Hittites had been the Old Testament (see Biblical Hittites). Scholar Archibald Henry Sayce wrote of the prevailing view in the early 19th Century, that if the Hittites existed at all "no Hittite king could have compared in power to the King of Judah...".[4] He postulated, rather than to be compared to Judah, the Anatolian civilization "[was] worthy of comparison to the divided Kingdom of Egypt", and was "infinitely more powerful than that of Judah".[4] Sayce and other scholars also mention that Judah and the Hittites were never enemies in the Hebrew texts; in the Book of Kings, they supplied the Israelites with cedar, chariots, and horses, as well as being a friend and allied to Abraham in the Book of Genesis.

The first archaeological evidence for the Hittites appeared in tablets found at the Assyrian colony of Kültepe (ancient Karum Kanesh), containing records of trade between Assyrian merchants and a certain "land of *Hatti*". Some names in the tablets were neither Hattic nor Assyrian, but clearly Indo-European.

The script on a monument at Boğazköy by a "People of Hattusas" discovered by William Wright in 1884 was found to match peculiar hieroglyphic scripts from Aleppo and Hamath in Northern Syria. In 1887, excavations at Tell El-Amarna in Egypt uncovered the diplomatic correspondence of Pharaoh Amenhotep III and his son Akhenaton. Two of the letters from a "kingdom of *Kheta*" -- apparently located in the same general region as the Mesopotamian references to "land of *Hatti*" -- were written in standard Akkadian cuneiform script, but in an unknown language; although scholars could read it, no one could understand it. Shortly after this, Archibald Sayce proposed that *Hatti* or *Khatti* in Anatolia was identical with the "kingdom of *Kheta*" mentioned in these Egyptian texts, as well as with the biblical Hittites. Others such as Max Müller agreed that *Khatti* was probably *Kheta*, but proposed connecting it with Biblical Kittim, rather than with the "Children of Heth". Sayce's identification came to be widely accepted over the course of the early 20th century; and the name "Hittite" has become attached to the civilization uncovered at Boğazköy.

During sporadic excavations at Boğazköy (Hattusa) that began in 1906, the archaeologist Hugo Winckler found a royal archive with 10,000 tablets, inscribed in cuneiform Akkadian and the same unknown language as the Egyptian letters from *Kheta*—thus confirming the identity of the two names. He also proved that the ruins at Boğazköy were the remains of the capital of an empire that at one point controlled northern Syria.

Under the direction of the German Archaeological Institute, excavations at Hattusa have been underway since 1907, with interruptions during both wars. Kültepe has been successfully excavated by Professor Tahsin Özgüç since 1948 until his death in 2005. Smaller scale excavations have also been carried out in the immediate surroundings of Hattusa, including the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, which contains numerous rock-cut reliefs portraying the Hittite rulers and the gods of the Hittite pantheon.

Museums

The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, Turkey houses the richest collection of Hittite and Anatolian artifacts.

Geography

The Hittite kingdom was centered on the lands surrounding Hattusa and Neša, known as "the land Hatti" (^{URU}*Ha-at-ti*). After Hattusa was made capital, the area encompassed by the bend of the Halys River (Turkish: *Kızılırmak*, which Hittites called the Marassantiya) was considered the core of the Empire, and some Hittite laws make a distinction between "this side of the river" and "that side of the river", for example, the reward for the capture of an eloped slave after he managed to flee beyond the Halys is higher than that for a slave caught before he could reach the river.

To the west and south of the core territory lay the region known as *Luwiya* in the earliest Hittite texts. This terminology was replaced by the names Arzawa and Kizzuwatna with the rise of those kingdoms.[5] Nevertheless, the Hittites continued to refer to the language that originated in these areas as Luwian. Prior to the rise of Kizzuwatna, the heart of that territory in Cilicia was first referred to by the Hittites as Adaniya.[6] Upon its revolt from the Hittites during the reign of Ammuna,[7] it assumed the name of Kizzuwatna and successfully expanded northward to encompass the lower Anti-Taurus mountains as well. To the north lived the mountainous people called the Kaskians. To the southeast of the Hittites lay the Hurrian empire of Mitanni. At its peak during the reign of Mursili II, the Hittite empire stretched from Arzawa in the west to Mitanni in the east, many of the Kaskian territories to the north including Hayasa-Azzi in the far northeast, and on south into Canaan approximately as far as the southern border of Lebanon, incorporating all of these territories within its domain.

History

The Hittite kingdom is conventionally divided into three periods, the Old Hittite Kingdom (ca. 1750–1500 BC), the Middle Hittite Kingdom (ca. 1500–1430 BC) and the New Hittite Kingdom (the Hittite Empire proper, ca. 1430–1180 BC).

The earliest known member of a Hittite speaking dynasty, Pithana, was based at the city of Kussara. In the 18th century BC Anitta, his son and successor, made the Hittite speaking city of Neša into one of his capitals and adopted the Hittite language for his inscriptions there. However, Kussara remained the dynastic capital for about a century until Labarna II adopted Hattusa as the dynastic seat, probably taking the throne name of Hattusili, "man of Hattusa", at that time.

The Old Kingdom, centered at Hattusa, peaked during the 16th century BC. The kingdom even managed to sack Babylon at one point, but made no attempt to govern there, enabling the Kassite to rise to prominence and rule for over 400 years.

During the 15th century BC, Hittite power fell into obscurity, re-emerging with the reign of Tudhaliya I from ca. 1400 BC. Under Suppiluliuma I and Mursili II, the Empire was extended to most of Anatolia and parts of Syria and Canaan, so that by 1300 BC the Hittites were bordering on the Egyptian sphere of influence, leading to the inconclusive Battle of Kadesh in 1274 BC.

Egypto-Hittite Peace Treaty (c. 1258 BC) between Hattusili III and Ramesses II is the best known early written peace treaty. Istanbul Archaeology Museum

Civil war and rivalling claims to the throne, combined with the external threat of the Sea Peoples weakened the Hittites and by 1160 BC, the Empire had collapsed. "Neo-Hittite" post-Empire states, petty kingdoms under Assyrian rule, may have lingered on until ca. 700 BC, and the Bronze Age Hittite and Luwian dialects evolved into the sparsely attested Lydian, Lycian and Carian languages.

Remnants of these languages lingered into Persian times (6th–4th centuries BC) and were finally extinguished by the spread of Hellenism which followed Alexander the Great's conquest of Asia Minor in the 4th century BC.

Government

One of the most important posts in the Hittite society was that of the Gal Mesedi (Chief of the Royal Bodyguards).[8] It was superseded by the rank of the Gal Gestin (Chief of the Wine Stewards), who like the *Gal Mesedi* most times was a member of the royal family.

Language

The **Hittite language** (or **Nesili**) is recorded fragmentarily from about the 19th century BC (in the Kültepe texts, see *Ishara*). It remained in use until about 1100 BC. Hittite is the best attested member of the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European language family.

The language of the Hattusa tablets was eventually deciphered by a Czech linguist, Bedřich Hrozný (1879–1952), who on 24 November 1915 announced his results in a lecture at the Near Eastern Society of Berlin. His book about his discovery was printed in Leipzig in 1917, under the title *The Language of the Hittites; Its Structure and Its Membership in the Indo-European Linguistic Family*. The preface of the book begins with:

> *The present work undertakes to establish the nature and structure of the hitherto mysterious language of the Hittites, and to decipher this language [...] It will be shown that Hittite is in the main an Indo-European*

language.

For this reason, the language came to be known as the Hittite language, even though that was not what its speakers had called it. The Hittites themselves apparently called their language *nešili* "(in the manner) of (the city of) Neša" and hence it has been suggested that the more technically correct term, "Nesite", be used instead. Nonetheless, convention continues and "Hittite" remains the standard term used.

Due to its marked differences in its structure and phonology, some early philologists, most notably Warren Cowgill even argued that it should be classified as a sister language to Indo-European languages (Indo-Hittite), rather than a daughter language. By the end of the Hittite Empire, the Hittite language had become a written language of administration and diplomatic correspondence. The population of most of the Hittite Empire by this time spoke Luwian dialects, another Indo-European language of the Anatolian family that had originated to the west of the Hittite region.

Religion and mythology

Hittite religion and mythology were heavily influenced by their Hattic, Mesopotamian, and Hurrian counterparts. In earlier times, Indo-European elements may still be clearly discerned.

"Storm gods" were prominent in the Hittite pantheon. Tarhunt (Hurrian's Teshub) was referred to as 'The Conqueror', 'The king of Kummiya', 'King of Heaven, 'Lord of the land of Hatti'. He was chief among the gods and his symbol is the bull. As Teshub he was depicted as a bearded man astride two mountains and bearing a club. He was the god of battle and victory, especially when the conflict involved a foreign power.[9] Teshub was also known for his conflict with the serpent Illuyanka.

Biblical Hittites

The Hebrew Bible refers to "Hittites" in several passages, ranging from Genesis to the post-Exilic Ezra-Nehemiah. Genesis 10 (the Table of Nations) links them to an eponymous ancestor Heth, a descendant of Ham through his son Canaan. The Hittites are thereby counted among the Canaanites. The Hittites are usually depicted as a people living among the Israelites - Abraham purchases the Patriarchal burial-plot of Machpelah from "Ephron HaChiti", Ephron the Hittite, and Hittites serve as high military officers in David's army. In 2 Kings 7:6, however, they are a people with their own kingdoms (the passage refers to "kings" in the plural), apparently located outside geographic Canaan, and sufficiently powerful to put a Syrian army to flight.

It is a matter of considerable scholarly debate whether the biblical "Hittites" signified any or all of: 1) the original Hattites of Hatti; 2) their Indo-European conquerors (Nesili), who retained the name "Hatti" for Central Anatolia, and are today referred to as the "Hittites" (the subject of this article); or 3) a Canaanite group who may or may not have been related to either or both of the Anatolian groups, and who also may or may not be identical with the later Neo-Hittite (Luwian) polities.[10]

Other biblical scholars have argued that rather than being connected with Heth, son of Canaan, instead the Anatolian land of *Hatti* was mentioned in Old Testament literature and apocrypha as "Kittim" (Chittim), a people said to be named for a son of Javan.

Origins

The Indo-European element at least establishes Hittite culture as intrusive to Anatolia in scholarly mainstream [11] (excepting the opinion of Colin Renfrew, whose Anatolian hypothesis assumes that Indo-European is indigenous to Anatolia[12] [13])

The arrival of the Hittites in Anatolia in prehistoric times was one of a superstrate imposing itself on a native culture, either by means of conquest[14] or by gradual assimilation.[11] In archaeological terms, relationships of the Hittites to the Ezero culture of the Balkans and Maikop culture of the Caucasus have been considered within the migration framework.[15]

References

[1]   Kate Santon: *Archaeology*, Parragon Books Ltd, London 2007

[2]   Dr Andrew McCarthy, University of myles c gy 1B Lecture

[3]   The Hittite Empire Chapter V - by Vahan M. Kurkjian

[4]   The Hittites: the story of a forgotten empire By Archibald Henry Sayce Queen's College, Oxford.

October 1888. Introduction

[5]   *A Short Grammar of Hieroglyphic Luwian*, John Marangozis (2003)

[6]   Beal, Richard H.,"The History of Kizzuwatna and the Date of the Šunaššura Treaty", *Orientalia* 55 (1986) pp. 424ff.

[7]   Beal. (1986) p. 426

[8]   Bryce, Trevor (2004-12-17). *Life and society in the Hittite world* (http://books.google.com/books?id=-4OHxYNRdhAC&pg=PA22). Oxford University Press. p. 22. ISBN 9780199275885. . Retrieved 8 April 2011.

[9]   (http://home.comcast.net/~chris.s/hittite-ref.html), Christopher B. Siren, 'Hittite/Hurrian Mythology REF 1.2', *Myths and Legends*]

[10]   See Marten H. Woudstra, *New International Commentary on the Old Testament: Book of Joshua*, p.60, fn.33 (http://books.google.com/ books?id=BfG1svPVYyQC&pg=PA60&dq=biblical+hittites+hatti&sig=dGj0aL0KEkOX-GDkOYAY_xyCXDE#PPA61,M1) and Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, p.389 ff.

[11]   Steiner, G. (1990), "The Immigration of the First Indo-Europeans into Anatolia Reconsidered", *Journal of Indo-European Studies* **18** (1 & 2): 185−214.

[12]   Renfrew, C. (1999), "Time Depth, Convergence Theory, and Innovation in Proto-Indo-European: 'Old Europe' as a PIE Linguistic Area", *Journal of Indo-European Studies* **27** (3 & 4): 257−294.

[13]   Renfrew, C. (1987), *Archaeology and Language. The puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, Cambridge University Press.

[14]   Puhvel, J. (1994), "Anatolian: Autochton or Interloper", *Journal of Indo-European Studies* **22** (3 & 4): 251−264.

[15]   Mallory, J. (1989), *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, New York: Thames and Hudson.

Literature

• Akurgal, Ekrem (2001) *The Hattian and Hittite Civilizations,* Publications of the Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture, ISBN 975-17-2756-1

• Bryce, Trevor R. (2002) *Life and Society in the Hittite World,* Oxford.

• Bryce, Trevor R. (1999) *The Kingdom of the Hittites,* Oxford.

• Ceram, C. W.(2001) *The Secret of the Hittites: The Discovery of an Ancient Empire*. Phoenix Press, ISBN 1-84212-295-9.

• Güterbock, Hans Gustav (1983) "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld eds. *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures*, Magnes Press, Hebrew University pp. 21−35.

• Macqueen, J. G. (1986) *The Hittites, and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*, revised and enlarged, Ancient Peoples and Places series (ed. G. Daniel), Thames and Hudson, ISBN 0-500-02108-2.

• Mendenhall, George E. (1973) *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, ISBN 0-8018-1654-8.

• Neu, Erich (1974) *Der Anitta Text*, (StBoT 18), Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

• Orlin, Louis L. (1970) *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia*, Mouton, The Hague.

- Hoffner, Jr., H.A (1973) "The Hittites and Hurrians," in D. J. Wiseman *Peoples of the Old Testament Times*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Gurney, O.R. (1952) *The Hittites,* Penguin, ISBN 0-14-020259-5
- Kloekhorst, Alwin (2007), *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon,* ISBN 90-04-16092-2O
- Patri, Sylvain (2007), *L'alignement syntaxique dans les langues indo-européennes d'Anatolie*, (StBoT 49), Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, ISBN 978-3-447-05612-0
- J. Freu et M. Mazoyer,

Des origines à la fin de l'ancien royaume hittite, Les Hittites et leur histoire 1, Paris, 2007 ; Les débuts du nouvel empire hittite, Les Hittites et leur histoire 2, Paris, 2007 ; L'apogée du nouvel empire hittite, Les Hittites et leur histoire 3, Paris, 2008.

External links

- Video lecture at Oriental Institute - Tracking the Frontiers of the Hittite Empire (https://oi.uchicago.edu/getinvolved/member/events/20100407_hittitefrontiers.html)
- Hattusas/Bogazköy (http://www.visitturkeynow.com/cities/c_hattusas.htm)
- Arzawa, to the west, throws light on Hittites (http://pages.sbcglobal.net/zimriel/amc/arzawa.html)
- Pictures of Boğazköy, one of a group of important sites (http://www.pbase.com/dosseman/bogazkale)
- Pictures of Yazılıkaya, one of a group of important sites (http://www.pbase.com/dosseman/yazilikaya)
- Der Anitta Text (at TITUS) (http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/anat/hethbs.htm)
- Tahsin Ozguc (http://news.independent.co.uk/people/obituaries/article330433.ece)
- Hittites.info (http://www.hittites.info)
- Hittite Period in Anatolia (http://www.ancientanatolia.com/historical/hittite_period.html)
- Hethitologieportal Mainz, by the Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mainz, corpus of texts and extensive bibliographies on all things Hittite (http://www.hethiter.net/)

Biblical Hittites

The **Hittites** (also **Hethites**) and **children of Heth** are a people or peoples mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. They are listed in Book of Genesis as second of the twelve Canaanite nations, descended from one **Heth** (*חת* *ḤT* in the consonant-only Hebrew script). Under the names *חת-בני* (*BNY-ḤT* "children of Heth") or *חתי* (*ḤTY* "native of Heth") they are mentioned several times as living in or near Canaan since the time of Abraham (estimated to be between 2000 BC and 1500 BC) to the time of Ezra after the return from the Babylonian exile (around 450 BC). Heth (Hebrew: חֵת, Modern *Ḥet* Tiberian *Ḥēṯ*) is said in Genesis to be a son of Canaan, son of Ham, son of Noah.

In the early 20th century, the Biblical Hittites were identified with a newly discovered Indo-European-speaking empire of Anatolia, a major regional power through most of the 2nd millennium BC, who therefore came to be known as the Hittites. This nomenclature is used today as a matter of convention, regardless of debates about possible identities between the Anatolian Hittite Empire and the Biblical Hittites.

Identification hypotheses

Given the casual tone in which the Hittites are mentioned in most Old Testament references, Biblical scholars before the age of archaeology traditionally regarded them as a smaller tribe, living in the hills of Canaan during the era of the Patriarchs, including Abraham. This picture was completely changed by the archaeological finds that placed the center of the Hatti/Hattusas civilization far to the north, in modern-day Turkey, relegating Hittites in Canaan to a periphery.

The question of whether the Biblical Hittites of the first half of the first millennium BC are identical to the earlier Anatolian Hittites is still disputed in academic Biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies.

The case for identity

Some scholars take the view that the two peoples are identical.[1] Apart from the similarity in names, the Anatolian Hittites were a powerful political entity in the region before the collapse of their empire in the 14th-12th centuries BC, so one would expect them to be mentioned in the Bible, just in the way that the *ḤTY* post-Exodus are. A stone lion relief found at Beth Shan, near the Sea of Galilee (now at the Israel Museum), dated to about 1700 BC, has been interpreted by professor Bill Humble as confirming this identification, since lions are often pictured in Hittite art.[2] Moreover, in the account of the conquest of Canaan, the Hittites are said to dwell "in the mountains" and "towards the north" of Canaan — a description that matches the general direction and geography of the original Hittite empire, which had been influential in the region prior to the Battle of Kadesh.

Modern academics propose, based on much onomastic and archaeological evidence, that Anatolian populations moved south into Canaan as part of the waves of Sea Peoples who were migrating along the Mediterranean coastline at the time of the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Many kings of local city-states are shown to have had Hittite and Luwian names in the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age transition period. Indeed, even the name of Mount Zion may be Hittite in origin.[1]

The case for separation

Because of the perceived discrepancy between the picture of the Hittites as developed in the Bible and the archaeological discoveries, some Biblical scholars reject Archibald Sayce's identification of the two peoples, and believe that the similarity in names is only a coincidence. For example E. A. Speiser, referring to "the children of Heth" in the Book of Genesis writes "For reasons of both history and geography, it is most unlikely that this group name has any direct connection either with the Hattians of Anatolia or with their 'Hittite' successors."[3]

Trevor Bryce suggests that biblical references to Hittites may be separated into two distinct groups.[4] The first, the majority, are to a Canaanite tribe as encountered by Abraham and his family. The names of these Hittites are for the

most part of a Semitic type; for example **Ephron** at Genesis 23:8-17 etc., **Judith** at Genesis 26:34 and **Zohar** at Genesis 23:8. These were presumably the Hittites who were subject to Solomon (Kings 1 11:1-2, Kings 1 9:20-21, Chronicles 2 8:7) and who were elsewhere in conflict with the Israelites (Deuteronomy 20:17, Judges 3:5). They were a small group living in the hills, and clearly to be distinguished from the Hittites of the Anatolian Kingdom.

But there are other biblical references which are not compatible with the notion of a small Canaanite hill tribe. Most notable among these is Kings 2 7:6: "For the Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us."

This conveys the impression that the Hittite kings were commensurate in importance and power with the Egyptian pharaohs. A similar impression is conveyed by Chronicles 2 1:17: "And they fetched up, and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for six hundred shekels of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty: and so brought they out horses for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, by their means." In these cases there can be little doubt that the references are to the neo-Hittite kingdoms of Syria.

If the references to the Canaanite tribe are distinct from those to the neo-Hittite kingdom, the similarity between the names (only two significant consonants) could easily be due to chance.

List of Biblical references

Source and ordering of citations

Listed below are all the occurrences of the word "Heth", "Hittite" or "Hittites" in the King James Bible (KJB), found through a University of Virginia search service.[5] The same information is available in book form in Jones[6]

The citations were arranged approximately in chronological order, more precisely according to the epoch in which the events in question are supposed to have occurred. Note that this is not always the time in which the words were supposedly or actually written. (In particular, the covenant with Abraham about the future conquest of Canaan is sorted as if it were contemporary with the latter.) The epochs are indicated by the names of the Biblical characters (Patriarchs, Judges, Kings, or Prophets) prominent at the time.

From Noah to Abraham

The Biblical view of humanity is set forth in Genesis:10, where various peoples are described as different lines of descent from Noah. In particular, Canaan is one of the sons of Ham, who is also said to be the ancestor of the Egyptians, and the Philistine. The sons of Canaan are given as Sidon, Heth, then the (ancestors of?) the Jebusites, Amorites, Girgasites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and the Hamathites.

Noah

- Genesis 10:1: Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood. [...] *6*: And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan. *7*: And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtecha: and the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan. *8*: And Cush begat Nimrod [...] *10*: And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, [...]. *13*: And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, *14*: And Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim,) and Caphtorim. 15: And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and **Heth**, *16*: And the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, *17*: And the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, *18*: And the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad. *19*: And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest, unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha. *20*: These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations.
- Chronicles 1 1:13: And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn, and **Heth**, [...]

From Abraham to Egypt

In this period, which is conjectured to start sometime after 2000 BC and end sometime before 1200 BC, the "sons of Heth" or "children of Heth" (תח-ינב, *BNY-HT*) and the label "Hittite" (*HTY*) are mentioned multiple times, but referring to essentially only two events.

In Genesis 23:2, towards the end of Abraham's life, he was staying in Hebron, on lands belonging to the "children of Heth", and from them he obtained a plot of land with a cave to bury his wife Sarah. One of them (Ephron) is labeled "the Hittite", several times. This deal is mentioned three more times (with almost the same words), upon the deaths of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph.

Decades later, in Genesis 26:34, Abraham's grandson Esau is said to have taken two Hittite wives, and a Hivite one. This claim is repeated, with somewhat different names, in Genesis 36:2. In Genesis 27:46, Rebekah is worried that Jacob will do the same.

Abraham

- Genesis 23:2: And Sarah died in Kirjath-arba; the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her. *3*: And Abraham stood up from before his dead, and spake unto the sons of **Heth**, saying, *4*: I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a burying place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. *5*: And the children of **Heth** answered Abraham, saying unto him, *6*: Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead. *7*: And Abraham stood up, and bowed himself to the people of the land, even to the children of **Heth**. *8*: And he communed with them, saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight; hear me, and intreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar, *9*: That he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field; for as much money as it is worth he shall give it me for a possession of a buryingplace amongst you. *10*: And Ephron dwelt among the children of **Heth**: and Ephron the **Hittite** answered Abraham in the audience of the children of **Heth**, even of all that went in at the gate of his city, saying, *11*: Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead. [...] *16*: And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of **Heth**, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant. *17*: And the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure 18: Unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of **Heth**, before all that went in at the gate of his city. *19*: And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre: the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan. 20: And the field, and the cave that is therein, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the sons of **Heth**.

- Genesis 25:8: Then Abraham gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, an old man, and full of years; and was gathered to his people. 9: And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the **Hittite**, which is before Mamre; 10: The field which Abraham purchased of the sons of **Heth**: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife.

Esau and Jacob

- Genesis 26:34: And Esau was forty years old when he took to wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the **Hittite**, and Bashemath the daughter of Elon the **Hittite**: *35*: Which were a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

- Genesis 27:46: And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of **Heth**: if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of **Heth**, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?

- Genesis 36:2: Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan; Adah the daughter of Elon the **Hittite**, and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite; *3*: And Bashemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth.

- Genesis 49:29: And he [Jacob] charged them, and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people: bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the **Hittite** *30*: In the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the **Hittite** for a possession of a buryingplace. *31*: There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah. *32*: The purchase of the field and of the cave that is therein was from the children of **Heth**.

Joseph

- Genesis 50:13: For his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field for a possession of a burying place of Ephron the **Hittite**, before Mamre.

This passage refers to Jacob being buried in Machpelah. Joseph was buried in Shechem Joshua 24.32 "And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for a hundred pieces of money; and they became the inheritance of the children of Joseph."

Exodus and the conquest of Canaan

This period is conjectured to start sometime after 1800 BC and end sometime before 1000 BC. In this period (in which can be included the promise made to Abraham, centuries earlier, and its recall by Nehemiah half a millennium later), the Hittites are mentioned about a dozen times as part of an almost fixed formula that lists the "seven nations greater and mightier than [the Hebrews]" whose lands will be eventually conquered. Five other "major nations" are mentioned in almost all instances of the formula: Canaanites, Amorites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Perizzites. The Girgashites are mentioned only five times. Abraham's covenant in Genesis 15:18 omits the Hivites but includes the Kadmonites, Kenites, Kenizzites, and Rephaim.

Among the five references to the Hittites that cannot be classified as a variant of that formula, two (Numbers 13:29 and Joshua 11:3) declare that the Hittites "dwell in the mountains", together with the Jebusites, Amorites, and Perizzites, whereas the Canaanites live "on the east and on the west", on the coast of Jordan, and the Amalekites live "in the south". In Joshua 1:4 the land of the Hittites is said to extend "from the wilderness and this Lebanon", from "the Euphrates unto the great sea". In Judges 1:18, the Bethel traitor who led the Hebrew into the city is said to have gone to live among the Hittites where he built a city called Luz. Finally in Judges 3:5 it is said that the Hebrew lived and intermarried with the Hittites as well as with the other five "major nations".

Abraham's covenant

- Genesis 15:18: In the same day the LORD made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates: *19*: The Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites, *20*: And the **Hittites**, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims, *21*: And the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.

- Nehemiah 9:8: And foundest his heart faithful before thee, and madest a covenant with him to give the land of the Canaanites, the **Hittites**, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Jebusites, and the Girgashites, to give it, I say, to his seed, and hast performed thy words; for thou art righteous:

Moses

- Deuteronomy 20:17: But thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the **Hittites**, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee:

- Deuteronomy 7:1: When the LORD thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the **Hittites**, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou;

- Numbers 13:29: The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south: and the **Hittites**, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains: and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan.

Joshua

- Exodus 3:8: And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the **Hittites**, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites. [...] *17*: And I have said, I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanites, and the **Hittites**, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, unto a land flowing with milk and honey.

- Exodus 13:5: And it shall be when the LORD shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, and the **Hittites**, and the Amorites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this service in this month.

- Exodus 23:23: For mine Angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites, and the **Hittites**, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites: and I will cut them off. [...] *28*: And I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the **Hittite**, from before thee.

- Exodus 33:2: And I will send an angel before thee; and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite, and the **Hittite**, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite:

- Exodus 34:11: Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the **Hittite**, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite.

- Joshua 1:4: From the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the **Hittites**, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast.

- Joshua 11:3: And to the Canaanite on the east and on the west, and to the Amorite, and the **Hittite**, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountains, and to the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh.

- Joshua 12:8: In the mountains, and in the valleys, and in the plains, and in the springs, and in the wilderness, and in the south country; the **Hittites**, the Amorites, and the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites:

- Joshua 24:11: And ye went over Jordan, and came unto Jericho: and the men of Jericho fought against you, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, and the **Hittites**, and the Girgashites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; and I delivered them into your hand.

- Joshua 3:10: And Joshua said, Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among you, and that he will without fail drive out from before you the Canaanites, and the **Hittites**, and the Hivites, and the Perizzites, and the

Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Jebusites.

- Joshua 9:1: And it came to pass, when all the kings which were on this side Jordan, in the hills, and in the valleys, and in all the coasts of the great sea over against Lebanon, the **Hittite**, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, heard thereof.

Judges

- Judges 1:18: Also Judah took Gaza with the coast thereof, and Askelon with the coast thereof, and Ekron with the coast thereof. *19*: And the LORD was with Judah; and he drave out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron. [...] *21*: And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day. *22*: And the house of Joseph, they also went up against Bethel: and the LORD was with them. *23*: And the house of Joseph sent to descry Bethel. (Now the name of the city before was Luz.) *24*: And the spies saw a man come forth out of the city, and they said unto him, Shew us, we pray thee, the entrance into the city, and we will shew thee mercy. *25*: And when he shewed them the entrance into the city, they smote the city with the edge of the sword; but they let go the man and all his family. *26*: And the man went into the land of the **Hittites**, and built a city, and called the name thereof Luz: which is the name thereof unto this day. *27*: Neither did Manasseh drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shean and her towns, nor Taanach and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns: but the Canaanites would dwell in that land.

- Judges 3:1: Now these are the nations which the LORD left, to prove Israel by them, even as many of Israel as had not known all the wars of Canaan; *2*: Only that the generations of the children of Israel might know, to teach them war, at the least such as before knew nothing thereof; *3*: Namely, five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hivites that dwelt in mount Lebanon, from mount Baal-hermon unto the entering in of Hamath. *4*: And they were to prove Israel by them, to know whether they would hearken unto the commandments of the LORD, which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses. *5*: And the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, **Hittites**, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites: *6*: And they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods. *7*: And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the LORD, and forgat the LORD their God, and served Baalim and the groves. *8*: Therefore the anger of the LORD was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim king of Mesopotamia: and the children of Israel served Chushan-rishathaim eight years.

Kingdoms period

In this period the Hittites are mentioned as the ethnic label of two military commanders under king David (around 1000 BC), Ahimelech and Uriah; the latter is murdered by David for the sake of his wife Bathsheba.

In Solomon's reign (around 950 BC), the Hittites are listed as people whom the Hebrews had not been able "utterly to destroy" in their conquest of Canaan and who paid tribute to Israel. The kings of the Hittites are mentioned (in two similar passages), together with Egypt and the kings of Syria, as senders of lavish tribute to Solomon. Then Hittites are said to be among the "strange women" that Solomon loved, along with "the daughter of the pharaoh" and women from the other peoples in the region.

In the time of the prophet Elisha (around 850 BC) there is a passage in 2Kings:7:6 where the Syrians flee in the night after hearing a terrible noise of horses and chariots, believing that Israel had hired "the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians".

Saul

- Samuel 1 26:5: And David arose, and came to the place where Saul had pitched: and David beheld the place where Saul lay, and Abner the son of Ner, the captain of his host: and Saul lay in the trench, and the people pitched round about him. *6*: Then answered David and said to Ahimelech the **Hittite**, and to Abishai the son of Zeruiah, brother to Joab, saying, Who will go down with me to Saul to the camp? And Abishai said, I will go down with thee.

David

- Samuel 2 23:8: These be the names of the mighty men whom David had: [...] *39*: Uriah the **Hittite**: thirty and seven in all.

- Chronicles 1 11:10: These also are the chief of the mighty men whom David had, who strengthened themselves with him in his kingdom, and with all Israel, to make him king, according to the word of the LORD concerning Israel. [...] *41*: Uriah the **Hittite**, Zabad the son of Ahlai,

- Samuel 2 11:3: And David sent and inquired after the woman. And one said, Is not this Bath-sheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the **Hittite**? *4*: And David sent messengers, and took her; and she came in unto him, and he lay with her; for she was purified from her uncleanness: and she returned unto her house. ["Uriah the Hittitte" named 4 more times in this chapter.]

- Samuel 2 12:9: [Nathan:] Wherefore hast thou despised the commandment of the LORD, to do evil in his sight? thou hast killed Uriah the **Hittite** with the sword, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain him with the sword of the children of Ammon. *10*: Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thine house; because thou hast despised me, and hast taken the wife of Uriah the **Hittite** to be thy wife.

- Kings 1 15:5: Because David did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and turned not aside from any thing that he commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the **Hittite**.

Solomon

- Kings 1 9:20: And all the people that were left of the Amorites, **Hittites**, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel, *21*: Their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel also were not able utterly to destroy, upon those did Solomon levy a tribute of bondservice unto this day.

- Chronicles 2 8:7: As for all the people that were left of the **Hittites**, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel,

- Kings 1 10:28: And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price. *29*: And a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the **Hittites**, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means.

- Chronicles 2 1:16: And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price. *17*: And they fetched up, and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for six hundred shekels of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty: and so brought they out horses for all the kings of the **Hittites**, and for the kings of Syria, by their means.

- Kings 1 11:1: But king Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and **Hittites**; *2*: Of the nations concerning which the LORD said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall not go in to them, neither shall they come in unto you: for surely they will turn away your heart after their gods: Solomon clave unto these in love. *3*: And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines: and his wives turned away his heart. *4*: For it came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods: and his heart was not perfect with the LORD his God, as was the heart of David his father. *5*: For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the

Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites. *6*: And Solomon did evil in the sight of the LORD, and went not fully after the LORD, as did David his father. *7*: Then did Solomon build a high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon. *8*: And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods.

Elisha

- Kings 2 7:6: For the Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the **Hittites**, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us. *7*: Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life.

Babylonian exile and return

In Ezekiel 16:1, Jerusalem is said to be the daughter of a Hittite mother and an Amorite father, sister of Samaria and Sodom. The intent is clearly offensive, but it is not clear whether the reference to the Hittites is concrete or only symbolic. However, a century later, Ezra is dismayed to learn, on his arrival from Babylon, that the leaders who had remained on the land had been "polluted" by mixing with other people, including the Hittites.

Ezekiel

- Ezekiel 16:1: Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying, *2*: Son of man, cause Jerusalem to know her abominations, *3*: And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD unto Jerusalem; Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an **Hittite**. [...] *44*: Behold, every one that useth proverbs shall use this proverb against thee, saying, As is the mother, so is her daughter. *45*: Thou art thy mother's daughter, that lotheth her husband and her children; and thou art the sister of thy sisters, which lothed their husbands and their children: your mother was an **Hittite**, and your father an Amorite. *46*: And thine elder sister is Samaria, she and her daughters that dwell at thy left hand: and thy younger sister, that dwelleth at thy right hand, is Sodom and her daughters.

Ezra

- Esdras 1 8:3 (Apocrypha): This Esdras went up from Babylon, as a scribe, being very ready in the law of Moses, that was given by the God of Israel. *4*: And the king [Artaxerxes] did him honour: for he found grace in his sight in all his requests. *5*: There went up with him also certain of the children of Israel, of the priest of the Levites, of the holy singers, porters, and ministers of the temple, unto Jerusalem, [...] *68*: Now when these things were done, the rulers came unto me, and said, *69*: The nation of Israel, the princes, the priests and Levites, have not put away from them the strange people of the land, nor the pollutions of the Gentiles to wit, of the Canaanites, **Hittites**, Pheresites, Jebusites, and the Moabites, Egyptians, and Edomites.
- Ezra 9:1: Now when these things were done, the princes came to me, saying, The people of Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the people of the lands, doing according to their abominations, even of the Canaanites, the **Hittites**, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites.

References

[1] Mendenhall, George (1973). *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. ISBN 0801816548.

[2] Humble (http://www.knls.org/English/trascripts/humble03.htm).

[3] Speiser, E. A. (1964). *Genesis: Introduction, Translation and Notes*. The Anchor Bible. **1**. Doubleday & Co.. pp. 172. ISBN 0-385-00854-6.

[4] Bryce, Trevor (1998). *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 389–391. ISBN 0-19-814095-9.

[5] University of Virginia (http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/kjv.browse.html).

[6] Jones, Alfred (1990) [1856]. *Dictionary of Old Testament Proper Names*. Kregel Publications.

Books

• D. J. Wiseman, *Peoples of the Old Testament Times*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1973)

Syro-Hittite states

The states that are called **Neo-Hittite**, or more recently **Syro-Hittite**, were Luwian, Aramaic and Phoenician-speaking political entities of the Iron Age northern Syria and southern Anatolia that arose following the collapse of the Hittite Empire around 1180 BC and lasted until roughly 700 BC. The term "Neo-Hittite" is sometimes reserved specifically for the Luwian-speaking principalities like Milid and Carchemish, although in a wider sense the broader cultural term "Syro-Hittite" is now applied to all the entities that arose in south-central Anatolia following the Hittite collapse — such as Tabal and Quwê — as well as those of northern and coastal Syria.[1]

Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age transition

The collapse of the Hittite Empire is usually associated with the gradual decline of Eastern Mediterranean trade networks and the resulting collapse of major Late Bronze Age cities in the Levantine coast, Anatolia and the Aegean.[2] It is understood to have culminated in the final (apparently peaceful) abandonment of Hattusa, the Hittite capital, ca. 1180-1175 BC. Following this collapse of large cities and the Hittite state, the Early Iron Age in northern Mesopotamia saw a dispersal of settlements and ruralization, with the appearance of large numbers of hamlets, villages, and farmsteads.[3] Syro-Hittite states emerged in the process of such major landscape transformation, in the form of regional states with new political structures and cultural affiliations. David Hawkins was able to trace a dynastic link between the Hittite imperial dynasty and the "Great Kings" and "Country-lords" of Melid and Karkamish of the Early Iron Age, proving an uninterrupted continuity between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age at those sites.[4]

Some scholars have associated the collapse of Late Bronze Age palace economies with the so-called invasion of "Sea Peoples," attested in Egyptian texts at the time. Having found no reliable support from archaeological evidence, archaeologists and ancient historians now largely believe that the movement of the "Sea-Peoples" was probably the result rather than the cause of the collapse, involving unrelated populations around the Mediterranean who were dislocated by the decline of the exchange network.

Aside from literary evidence from inscriptions, the uninterrupted cultural continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age is now further confirmed by the recent archaeological work at the sites of Aleppo (Temple of the Storm God on the Citadel)[5] and Ain Dara (Temple of Ishtar-Shawushka),[6] where temples built in the Late Bronze Age continue into the Iron Age without hiatus, and those temples witness multiple rebuildings in the Early Iron Age.

List of Syro-Hittite states

The Syro-Hittite states may be divided into two groups: a northern group where Hittite rulers remained in power, and a southern group where Aramaeans came to rule from about 1000 BC. Although these states are considered somewhat unified, they were though to actually be disunified, even in seprate kingdoms.[7] [8]

The northern group includes:

- Tabal. It may have included a group of city states called the Tyanitis (Tuwana, Tunna, Hupisna, Shinukhtu, Ishtunda)
- Kammanu (with Melid)
- Hilakku
- Quwê (with a stronghold at modern Karatepe)
- Gurgum
- Kummuh

- Carchemish

Historical map of the Neo-Hittite states, ca. 800 BCE. Borders are approximate only.

The southern, Aramaic, group includes:

- Bit Gabbari (with Sam'al)
- Bit-Adini (with the city of Til Barsip)
- Bit-Bahiani (with Guzana)
- Unqi or Pattina (with the city of Kinalua, maybe modern Tell Tayinat[9])
- Ain Dara, a religious center
- Bit Agusi (with the cities of Arpad, Nampigi, and (later on) Aleppo)
- Hatarikka-Luhuti (the capital city of which was at first Aleppo, and then Hatarikka)
- Hamath
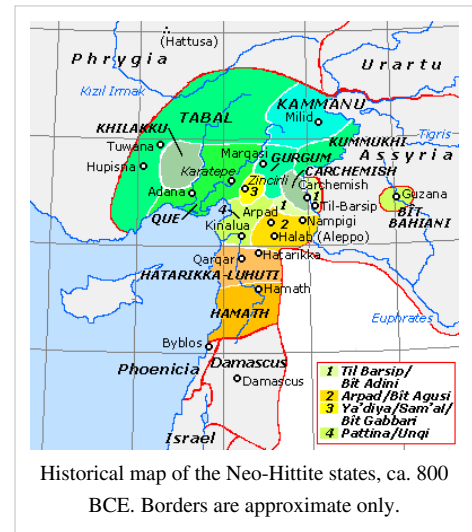
Inscriptions

Luwian monumental inscriptions in Anatolian hieroglyphs continue uninterrupted from the thirteenth-century Hittite imperial monuments to the Early Iron Age Syro-Hittite inscriptions of Karkamish, Melid, Aleppo and elsewhere.[10] Luwian hieroglyphs was chosen by many of the Syro-Hittite regional kingdoms for their monumental inscriptions, which often appear in bi or tri-lingual inscriptions with Aramaic, Phoenician or Akkadian versions. The Early Iron Age in Northern Mesopotamia also saw a gradual spread of alphabetic writing in Aramaic and Phoenician. During the cultural interactions on the Levantine coast of Syro-Palestine and North Syria in the tenth through eighth centuries BC, Greeks and Phrygians adopted the alphabetic writing from the Phoenicians.[11]

Notes

[1] Hawkins, John David; 1982a. "Neo-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia" in *Cambridge Ancient History* (2nd ed.) 3.1: 372-441. Also: Hawkins, John David; 1995. "The Political Geography of North Syria and South-East Anatolia in the Neo-Assyrian Period" in *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Mario Liverani (ed.), Università di Roma "La Sapienza," Dipartimento di Scienze storiche, archeologiche e anthropologiche dell'Antichità, Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5: Roma: Sargon srl, 87-101.

[2] See Hawkins, John David; 1994. "The end of the Bronze age in Anatolia: new light from recent discoveries," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 3: Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium*, Altan Çilingiroğlu and David H. French (eds.); The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 16: London, 91-94.

[3] See Wilkinson, Tony J.; 2003. *Archaeological landscapes of the Near East.* Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

[4] See "Karkamish" and "Melid" in Hawkins, John David; 2000. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions.* (3 vols) De Gruyter: Berlin. Also: Hawkins, John David; 1995b. "Great Kings and Country Lords at Malatya and Karkamis" in *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate*, Theo P.J. van den Hout and Johan de Roos (eds.), Istanbul: 75-86.

[5] Kohlmeyer, Kay; 2000a. Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo. Münster: Rhema.

[6] Abū Assaf, Alī; 1990. Der Tempel von ʿAin Dārā. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

[7] *Tübinger Bibelatlas / Tübingen Bible Atlas*. Siegfried Mittmann, Götz Schmitt (eds.), Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2001, Map B IV 13-14

[8] O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites*. Harmondsworth: Pelican, 2nd ed., 1976 = 1954. p. 39-46.

[9] See the Tayinat Website (http://www.utoronto.ca/tap/home.htm) by the Department of Near & Middle Eastern Civilizations at the University of Toronto

[10] Hawkins, John David; 1986b. "Writing in Anatolia: imported and indigenous systems," WA 17: 363-376.

[11] Brixhe, C. and M. Lejeune (1984). *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes*. Paris.

External links

- Neo-Hittite Monuments (http://www.hittitemonuments.com)

- http://www.bible-history.com/ancient_art/orthostat_relief_hunting_scene.html

Hittite sites

The geography of the Hittite Empire is known from Hittite texts on one hand, and from archaeological excavation on the other. Matching philology to archaeology is a difficult task, and only a handful of sites are identified with their ancient name with certainty.

The Hittite kingdom was centered around the lands surrounding Hattusa and Neša, known as "the land of the Hatti" (^{URU}*Ha-at-ti*). After Hattusa was made capital, the area encompassed by the bend of the Halys River (which they called the Marassantiya) was considered the core of the empire, and some Hittite laws make a distinction between "this side of the river" and

The Hittite Empire at its greatest extent under Suppiluliuma I(c.1350–1322) and Mursili II (c.1321–1295) showing cities and towns.

"that side of the river", for example, the reward for the capture of a runaway slave after he managed to flee beyond the Halys is higher than that for a slave caught before he could reach the river.

To the south of the core territory was the land of Kizzuwatna in the area of the Taurus Mountains. To the west, the confederacy of Arzawa. To the north, the mountain people of the "Kaskians". To the east, the Mitanni. After the incorporation or association of Arzawa and Mitanni (under Suppiluliuma I), the Hittite sphere of influence under Mursili II bordered on the "Hayasa-Azzi" to the east, on the "Ahhiyawa" and the newly-forming Assuwa league to the west, on Egypt-controlled Canaan to the south, and on Assyria to the south-east.

List of Hittite sites

- Acem Hüyük
- Tell Açana
- Adana
- Tell Ahmar
- Akar Çay
- Aksu Çayı
- Alaca Höyük
- Aleppo
- Alişar
- Amasya
- Andaval
- Antakya
- Antalya
- Arslantepe-Malatya
- Asarçık
- Bahçe
- Bakır Çey
- Bergama
- Beycesultan
- Beyköy
- Beyşehir Gölü
- Birecik
- Bobeypınarı
- Bodrum
- Boğazkale: Hattusa
- Bolkarmaden
- Bolu
- Bor
- Bursa
- Büyükmenderes Nehir
- Büyüknefes
- Çagdin
- Çalapverdi
- Çankırı in Paphlagonia
- Çekerek
- Ceyhan Nehir
- Çorum
- Darende
- Dazmana
- Delice Su
- Demirci-deresi
- Devrez Çayı
- Didim
- Divriği
- Efes
- Eflatun Pınar

- Eğirdir Gölü
- Eğrek
- Eğriköy
- Elbistan
- Emirgazi
- Ereğli
- Erkilet
- Ermenek
- Eskişehir
- Eskiyapar
- Tell al-Fakhariyeh
- Fasiler
- Fraktin
- Gâvur Kalesi
- Gaziantep
- Gediz Nehir
- Gilindere
- Giresun
- Gök Irmak
- Gök Su
- Gülnar
- Gürün
- Hama
- Hanyeri
- Hatip
- Havuzköy
- Hisarlık: Wilusa
- Hüseyindede Tepe
- Ilgaz Dağı
- Imamkulu
- İnandık
- Iskendenru
- Islâhiye
- Ispekçür
- Istanbul
- Ivriz
- Izgın
- İzmir
- İzmit
- İznik
- Jekke
- Jerablus
- Jubayl
- Karabel
- Karaburçlu
- Karaburna
- Karahüyük by Elbistan

- Karahüyük by Konya
- Karakuyu
- Karaman
- Karatepe
- Karga
- Kaş
- Kayalıpınar
- Kayseri
- Tell Kazel
- Kelkit Çay
- Kemah
- Kilise Tepe
- Kinet Hüyük
- Kızıl Irmak
- Kızıldağ
- Konya: Tarhuntassa?
- Korucutepe
- Kötükale
- Köylütolu
- Küçükmenderes Nehir
- Kültepe: Kaneš
- Kürtoğlu
- Kurubel
- Kuşaklı: Sarissa
- Lésvos
- Mahalıç
- Malkaya
- Manisa
- Mar'aş
- Maşat Hüyük
- Menderes Çayı
- Mersin
- Meskene
- Milet
- el-Mishrifeh
- Mitlini
- Mut
- Niğde
- Nur Dağları
- Ortaköy, Çorum: Sapinuwa
- Palanga
- Porsuk Çay
- Pozantı
- Qalat el-Mudiq
- Ras Shamra
- Restan
- Saida

- Sakarya Nehir
- Sakçagözü
- Samsat: Samosata
- Şar
- Sart
- Şebin Karahısar
- Selgin
- Seyhan Nehir
- Silifke
- Sipylus
- Sirkeli
- Sivas
- Sivasa
- Sivri Hisar
- Sultanhanı
- Tell Tainat
- Tarsus
- Tasçın
- Tekir
- Tell Nebi Mend
- Topada
- Torbalı
- Turhal
- Tuz Gölü
- Tyre
- Yağri
- Yazılıkaya
- Zile
- Zincirli

References

- Garstang & Gurney, *Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959)

External links

- Map of the Hittite Empire [1]
- Map of the Hittite Sites [2]
- Hittite sites with monuments [3]

References

[1] http://hittites.info/map.aspx#DisplayMap

[2] http://www.ancientanatolia.com/map02.htm

[3] http://www.hittitemonuments.com

Hittite texts

The corpus of texts written in the **Hittite language** is indexed by the *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (CTH, since 1971, edited by Emmanuel Laroche). Studies of selected texts are published in the StBoT series.

The CTH numbering is arranged as follows:

- Historical Texts (CTH 1-220)
- Administrative Texts (CTH 221-290)
- Legal Texts (CTH 291-298)
- Lexical Texts (CTH 299-309)
- Literary Texts (CTH 310-320)
- Mythological Texts (CTH 321-370)
- Hymns and Prayers (CTH 371-389)
- Ritual Texts (CTH 390-500)
- Cult Inventory Texts (CTH 501-530)
- Omen and Oracle Texts (CTH 531-582)
- Vows (CTH 583-590)
- Festival Texts (CTH 591-724)
- Texts in Other Languages (CTH 725-830)
- Texts of Unknown Type (CTH 831-833)

Selected texts

Hittite texts with dedicated Wikipedia articles

Old Kingdom

- Anitta text
- Hittite military oath
- Hittite laws
- Myth of Illuyanka

New Kingdom

- Kikkuli's horse training instructions
- Manapa-Tarhunda letter
- Milawata letter
- Tawagalawa letter
- Song of Kumarbi
- Story of Appu

References

- Gary M. Beckman, Harry A. Hoffner, *Hittite diplomatic texts*, volume 7 of Writings from the ancient world, Scholars Press, 1999, ISBN 9780788505515.

External links

- Hittite text concordance database [1]
- TITUS database [2]
- Selection of Hittite Texts in Translation [3]

References

[1] http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/

[2] http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm?/texte/texte2.htm#heth

[3] http://www.hittites.info/translations.aspx

Kikkuli

Kikkuli, "master horse trainer (*assussanni*, virtually Sanskrit *aśva-sana-*) of the land Mitanni" (LÚ*A-AŠ-ŠU-UŠ-ŠA-AN-NI ŠA* KUR URU*MI-IT-TA-AN-NI*) was the author of a chariot horse training text written in the Hittite language, dating to the Hittite New Kingdom (around 1400 BC). The text is notable both for the information it provides about the development of Indo-European languages and for its content.

Surviving texts

1. CTH 284, best preserved, Late Hittite copy (13th century BC)
2. CTH 285, contemporary Middle Hittite copy with a ritual introduction
3. CTH 286, contemporary Middle Hittite copy

CTH 284 consists of four well preserved tablets or a total of 1080 lines. The text is notable for its Mitanni (Indo-Aryan) loanwords, e.g. the numeral compounds *aiga-*, *tera-*, *panza-*, *satta-*, *nāwa-wartanna* ("one, three, five, seven, nine intervals"[1] , virtually Sanskrit *eka-, tri-, pañca- sapta-, nava-vartana*. Kikkuli apparently was faced with some difficulty getting specific Mitannian concepts across in the Hittite language, for he frequently gives a term such as "Intervals" in his own language (somewhat similar to Vedic Sanskrit), and then states, "this means…" and explained it in Hittite.[2]

Content and influence

"Thus speaks Kikkuli, master horse trainer of the land of Mitanni" (*UM.MA Ki-ik-ku-li* LÚ*A-AŠ-ŠU-UŠ-ŠA-AN-NI ŠA* KUR URU*MI-IT-TA-AN-NI*)[3] Thus begins the Kikkuli's text. The text contains a complete prescription for conditioning (exercise and feeding) Hittite war horses over 214 days.[4]

The Kikkuli Text addresses solely the conditioning, not education, of the horse.[5] The Mitannians were acknowledged leaders in horse training and as a result of the horse training techniques learned from Kikkuli, Hittite charioteers forged an empire of the area which is now Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Northern Iraq.[6] Surprisingly, the regime used 'interval training' techniques similar to those used so successfully by Three Day Eventers, Endurance riders and others today and whose principles have only been studied by equine sports medicine researchers in the past 30 years.[7] The Kikkuli programme involved "sports medicine" techniques comparable to modern ideas such as the principle of progression, peak loading systems, electrolyte replacement theory, fartlek training, intervals and repetitions. It was directed at horses with a high proportion of slow-twitch muscle fibres.[8]

As in modern conventional (as opposed to 'interval') training, the Kikkuli horses were stabled, rugged, washed down with warm water and fed oats, barley and hay at least three times per day. Unlike conventional horse training, the horses were subject to warming down periods.[9] Further, every example of cantering included intermediate pauses to relax the horse partially and as the training advanced the workouts include intervals at the canter.[10] This is on the same level as the Interval training we use in modern times. However, Kikkuli made much use of long periods leading the horses at the trotting and cantering gaits rather than harnessing them to a chariot.[11]

Between 1991-1992, Dr A. Nyland, then of the University of New England, Australia, carried out the experimental replication of the entire Kikkuli Text over the 7 month period prescribed in the Text with Arabian horses.[12]

References

[1] "intervals" after Dr A. Nyland, The Kikkuli Method of Horse Training, 1993, Kikkuli Research, Armidale, p. 34.

[2] Nyland, p. 11.

[3] The Kikkuli Text, Lines 1-4

[4] Dr A. Nyland, The Kikkuli Method of Horse Training Revised Edition, 2009, Maryannu Press, Sydney, p.9.

[5] Nyland, passim.

[6] Nyland, pp.11-17.

[7] Nyland, p. 10.

[8] Nyland, p. 38.

[9] Nyland, pp. 119-130.

[10] Nyland p. 40.

[11] Nyland pp.24-27.

[12] Nyland, pp.1-144.

Literature

- A. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia hethitica* (1962)

- Ann Nyland, "The Kikkuli Method of Horse Training," Kikkuli Research, Armidale, 1993.

- Ann Nyland, "The Kikkuli Method of Horse Training: 2009 Revised Edition," Maryannu Press, Sydney, 2009.

- Peter Raulwing, "Zur etymologischen Beurteilung der Berufsbezeichnung assussanni des Pferdetrainers Kikkuli von Mittani" Anreiter et al. (eds.), *Man and the Animal World, Studies in Archaeozoology, Archaeology, Anthropology and Paleolinguistics in memoriam S. Bökönyi*, Budapest (1996), 1-57.

- Frank Starke, *Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden, eine hippologisch orientierte Interpretation des Kikkuli-Textes*, StBoT 41 (1995).

External links

- Kikkuli, 1345 BCE: Training the Chariot Horse (English translation by Anthony Dent from French) (http://www.imh.org/history.php?chapter=16)

History of the Hittites

Hittites is the conventional English-language term for an ancient people who spoke an Indo-European language and established a kingdom centered in Hattusa (Hittite ^{URU}*Ḫattuša*) in northern Anatolia from the 18th century BC. In the 14th century BC, the **Hittite Kingdom** was at its height, encompassing central Anatolia, south-western Syria as far as Ugarit, and upper Mesopotamia. After 1180 BC, amid general turmoil in the Levant associated with the sudden arrival of the Sea Peoples, the kingdom disintegrated into several independent "Neo-Hittite" city-states, some of which survived until as late as the 8th century BC. The history of the Hittite civilization is known mostly from cuneiform texts found in the area of their kingdom, and from diplomatic and commercial correspondence found in various archives in Egypt and the Middle East.
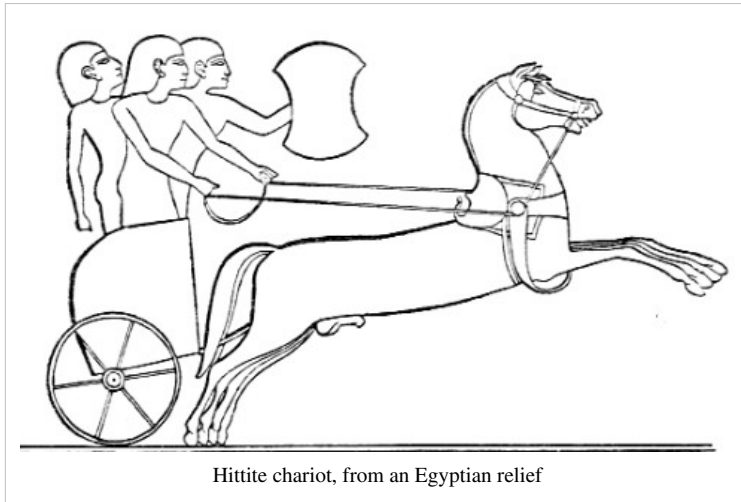
Hittite chariot, from an Egyptian relief

Hattians and Hittites

It is generally assumed that the Hittites came into Anatolia some time before 2000 BC. While their earlier location is disputed, there has been strong evidence for more than a century that the home of the Indo-Europeans in the fourth and third millennia was in the Pontic Steppe, present day Ukraine around the Sea of Azov. The Hittites and other members of the Anatolian family then came from the north, possibly along the Caspian Sea. Their movement into

Result of Hittites migration sometime around 1900 BC.

the region set off a Near East mass migration sometime around 1900 BC. The dominant inhabitants in central Anatolia at the time were Hattians. There were also Assyrian colonies in the country; it was from these that the Hittites adopted the cuneiform script. It took some time before the Hittites established themselves, as is clear from some of the texts included here. For several centuries there were separate Hittite groups, usually centered around various cities. But then strong rulers with their center in Boğazköy succeeded in bringing these together and conquering large parts of central Anatolia to establish the Hittite kingdom.[1]

Around 2000 BC, the region centered in Hattusa, that would later become the core of the Hittite kingdom, was inhabited by people with a distinct culture who spoke a non-Indo-European language. The name "Hattic" is used by Anatolianists to distinguish this language from the Indo-European Hittite language that appeared on the scene at the

beginning of the 2nd millennium BC and became the administrative language of the Hittite kingdom over the next six or seven centuries. As noted above, "Hittite" is a modern convention for referring to this language. The native term was *Nesili*, i.e. "In the language of Neša".

The early Hittites, whose prior whereabouts are unknown, borrowed heavily from the pre-existing Hattian culture, and also from that of the Assyrian traders — in particular, the cuneiform writing and the use of cylindrical seals.

Since Hattic continued to be used in the Hittite kingdom for religious purposes, and there is substantial continuity between the two cultures, it is not known whether the Hattic speakers — the Hattians— were displaced by the speakers of Hittite, were absorbed by them, or just adopted their language.

Origins of the Hittite Kingdom

The early history of the Hittite kingdom is known through tablets that may first have been written in the 17th century BC but survived only as copies made in the 14th and 13th centuries BC. These tablets, known collectively as the Anitta text,[2] begin by telling how Pithana the king of Kussara or Kussar (a small city-state yet to be identified by archaeologists) conquered the neighbouring city of Neša (Kanesh). However, the real subject of these tablets is Pithana's son Anitta, who continued where his father left off and conquered several neighbouring cities, including Hattusa and Zalpuwa (Zalpa).

The Old Kingdom

The founding of the Hittite Kingdom is attributed to either Labarna I or Hattusili I (it is debated whether this is the same person), who conquered the area south and north of Hattusa. Hattusili campaigned as far as the kingdom of Yamkhad in Syria, where he attacked, but did not capture, its capital of Aleppo. His heir, Mursili I, conquered that city in a campaign conducted in 1595 BC.[3] Also in 1595 BC, Mursili I (or Murshilish I) conducted a great raid down the Euphrates River and captured Mari and Babylon.[4] However, the Hittite campaigns caused internal dissension which forced a withdrawal of troops to the Hittite homelands. Throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century BC, the Hittite kings were held to their homelands by dynastic quarrels and warfare with the Hurrians--their neighbors to the east.[5] Also the campaigns into Syria and Mesopotamia may be responsible for the reintroduction of cuneiform writing into Anatolia, since the Hittite script is quite different from the script of the preceding Assyrian Colony period.

Mursili continued the conquests of Hattusili. Mursili's conquests reached Mesopotamia and even ransacked Babylon itself in 1531 BC.[6] Rather than incorporate Babylonia into Hittite domains, Mursili seems to have instead turned control Babylonia over to his Kassite allies, who were to rule it for the next four centuries. This lengthy campaign, however, strained the resources of Hatti, and left the capital in a state of near-anarchy. Mursili was assassinated shortly after his return home, and the Hittite Kingdom was plunged into chaos. The Hurrians, a people living in the mountainous region along the upper Tigris and Euphrates rivers took advantage of the situation to seize Aleppo and the surrounding areas for themselves, as well as the coastal region of Adaniya, renaming it Kizzuwatna (later Cilicia).

Following this, the Hittites entered a weak phase of obscure records, insignificant rulers, and reduced area of control. This pattern of expansion under strong kings followed by contraction under weaker ones, was to be repeated over and over again throughout the Hittite Kingdom's 500-year history, making events during the waning periods difficult to reconstruct with much precision. The political instability of these years of the Old Hittite Kingdom, can be explained in part by the nature of the Hittite kingship at that time. During the Old Hittite Kingdom period prior to 1400 BC, the king of the Hittites was not viewed by the Hittite citizenry as a "living god," like the Pharaohs of Egypt. Rather the Hittite king was viewed as a first among equals.[7] Only in the later period of the Hittite Empire from 1400 BC until 1200 BC, did the kingship of the Hittites become more centralized and powerful.

The next monarch of any note following Mursili I was Telepinu (ca. 1500 BC), who won a few victories to the southwest, apparently by allying himself with one Hurrian state (Kizzuwatna) against another (Mitanni).

The Middle Kingdom

Telepinu's reign marked the end of the "Old Kingdom" and the beginning of the lengthy weak phase known as the "Middle Kingdom."[8] The period of the 15th century BC is largely unknown with very sparse surviving records.[9] The Middle Kingdom is not so much an independent phase of Hittite history as a period of transition between the Old and New Kingdoms.

Almost nothing is known about the History of the Hittites in this period.[10] The last monarch of the Old kingdom, Telepinu, reigned until about 1500 BC. The "Middle Kingdom" is the following period of obscurity, lasting for about 70 years, until the emergence of the New Kingdom. This period is called the "Hittite Empire period," proper, and dates from the reign of Tudhaliya I from ca. 1430 BC.

One innovation that can be credited to these early Hittite rulers is the practice of conducting treaties and alliances with neighboring states; the Hittites were thus among the earliest known pioneers in the art of international politics and diplomacy.

The New Kingdom

With the reign of Tudhaliya I (who may actually not have been the first of that name; see also Tudhaliya), the Hittite Kingdom re-emerges from the fog of obscurity. Hittite civilization entered the perioid of time called the "Hittite Empire period." Many changes were afoot during this time, not the least of which was a strengthening of the kingship. Settlement of the Hittites progressed in the Empire period.[11] However, the Hittite people tended to settle in the older lands of south Anatolia rather than the lands of the Aegean. As this settlement progressed, treaties were signed with neighboring peoples.[12] During the Hittite Empire period the kingship became hereditary and the king took on a "superhuman aura" and began to be referred to by the Hittite citizens as "My Sun." The kings of the Empire period began acting as a high priest for the whole kingdom—making an annual tour of the Hittite holy cities,

The Hittite Kingdom at the height of its power (red), bordering on the Egyptian Empire (green).

conducting festivals and supervising the upkeep of the sanctuaries.[13]

During his reign (c. 1400 BC), King Tudhaliya I, again allied with Kizzuwatna,

the vanquished the Hurrian states of Aleppo and Mitanni, and expanded to the west at the expense of Arzawa (a Luwian state).

Another weak phase followed Tudhaliya I, and the Hittites' enemies from all directions were able to advance even to Hattusa and raze it. However, the Kingdom recovered its former glory under Suppiluliuma I (c. 1350 BC), who again conquered Aleppo, reduced Mitanni to tribute under his son-in-law, and defeated Carchemish, another Syrian city-state. With his own sons placed over of all of these new conquests, Babylonia still in the hands of the Kassites, and Assyria only newly independent with the crushing of Mitanni, this left Suppiluliuma the supreme power broker outside of Egypt, and it was not long before even that country was seeking an alliance by marriage of another of his sons with the widow of Tutankhamen. Unfortunately, that son was evidently murdered before reaching his destination, and this alliance was never consummated.

After Suppiluliuma I, and a very brief reign by his eldest son, another son, Mursili II became king (c. 1330). Having inherited a position of strength in the east, Mursili was able to turn his attention to the west, where he attacked Arzawa and a

Tudhaliya IV (relief in Hattusa).

city known as Millawanda in the coastal land of Ahhiyawa. Many recent scholars have surmised that Millawanda in Ahhiyawa is likely a reference to Miletus and Achaea known to Greek history, though there are a small number who have disputed this connection.

Battle of Kadesh

Hittite prosperity was mostly dependent on control of the trade routes and metal sources. Because of the importance of Northern Syria to the vital routes linking the Cilician gates with Mesopotamia, defense of this area was crucial, and was soon put to the test by Egyptian expansion under Pharaoh Rameses II. The outcome of the battle is uncertain, though it seems that the timely arrival of Egyptian reinforcements prevented total Hittite victory.[14] The Egyptians forced the Hittites to take refuge in the fortress of Kadesh, but their own losses prevented them from sustaining a siege. This battle took place in the 5th year of Rameses (c.1274 BC by the most commonly used chronology).

Downfall and Demise of the Kingdom

After this date, the power of the Hittites began to decline yet again because of the rising power of the Assyrians.[15] The Assyrians had seized the opportunity to vanquish Mitanni and expand to the Euphrates while Muwatalli was preoccupied with the Egyptians. Assyria now posed just as great a threat to Hittite trade routes as Egypt ever had. Muwatalli's son, Urhi-Teshub, took the throne and ruled as king for 7 years as Mursili III before being ousted by his uncle, Hattusili III after a brief civil war. In response to increasing Assyrian encroachments along the frontier, he concluded a peace and alliance with Rameses II, presenting his daughter's hand in marriage to the Pharaoh.[16] The "Treaty of Kadesh", one of the oldest completely surviving treaties in history, fixed their mutual boundaries in Canaan, and was signed in the 21st year of Rameses (c. 1258 BC).Terms of this treaty included the marriage of one of the Hittite princesses to the Pharaoh Rameses.[17] [18]

Hattusili's son, Tudhaliya IV, was the last strong Hittite king able to keep the Assyrians out of Syria and even temporarily annex the island of Cyprus. The very last king, Suppiluliuma II also managed to win some victories, including a naval battle against the Sea Peoples off the coast of Cyprus. But it was too little and too late. The Sea Peoples had already begun their push down the Mediterranean coastline, starting from the Aegean, and continuing all the way to Philistia—taking Cilicia and Cyprus away from the Hittites en route and cutting off their coveted trade routes. This left the Hittite homelands vulnerable to attack from all directions, and Hattusa was burnt to the ground sometime around 1180 BC following a combined onslaught from Kaskas and Bryges. The Hittite Kingdom thus vanished from historical records.[19]

The Neo-Hittite Kingdoms

By 1160 BC, the political situation in Asia Minor looked vastly different from how it had only 25 years earlier. In that year, the Assyrians were dealing with the *Mushku* pressing into northernmost Mesopotamia from the Anatolian highlands, and the Gasga people, the Hittites' old enemies from the northern hill-country between Hatti and the Black Sea, seem to have joined them soon after. The *Mushku* or Mushki had apparently overrun Cappadocia from the West, with recently discovered epigraphic evidence confirming their origins as the Balkan "Bryges" tribe, forced out by the Macedonians.

Although the Hittites disappeared from Anatolia at this point, there emerged a number of so-called Neo-Hittite kingdoms in Anatolia and northern Syria. They were the successors of the Hittite Kingdom. The most notable Syrian Neo-Hittite kingdoms were those at Carchemish and Milid (near the later Melitene). These Neo-Hittite Kingdoms gradually fell under the control of the Assyrians, who conquered Carchemish during the reign of Sargon II in the late 8th century BC, and Milid several decades later.

A large and powerful state known as Tabal occupied much of southern Anatolia. Known as Gk. Τιβαρηνοί Tibarenoi, Lat. Tibareni, Thobeles in Josephus, their language may have been Luwian,[20] testified to by monuments written using Luwian hieroglyphics.[21]

Ultimately, both Luwian hieroglyphs and cuneiform were rendered obsolete by a new innovation, the alphabet, which seems to have entered Anatolia simultaneously from the Aegean (with the Bryges, who changed their name to Phrygians), and from the Phoenicians and neighboring peoples in Syria.

Bibliography

• Trevor R. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford (1998). (Also 2005 hard and softcover editions with much new material)

Footnotes

[1] http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/eieol/hitol-0-X.html Hittite Online by Winfred P. Lehmann and Jonathan Slocum

[2] ed. StBoT 18

[3] Carl Roebuck, *The World of Ancient Times* (Charles Schibner's Sons: New York, 1966) p. 93.

[4] Carl Roebuck, *The World of Ancient Times*, p. 93.

[5] Carl Roebuck, *The World of Ancient Times*, p. 93.

[6] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Penguin Books: Baltimore, Maryland, 1966) p. 23.

[7] Carl Roebeck, *The World of Ancient Times*, p. 94.

[8] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 25.

[9] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp.25-26.

[10] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 25.

[11] Carl Roebeck, *The World of Ancient Times*, p. 94.

[12] Carl Roebuck, *The World of Ancient Times*, p. 94.

[13] Carl Roebuck, *The World of Ancient Times*, p. 94.

[14] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 110.

[15] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 36.

[16] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 36.

[17] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 36.

[18] http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/ramses-hattusili-treaty.htm

[19] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* p. 39.

[20] Barnett, R.D., "Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age", *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II, Part 2* (1975) p. 422

[21] The Georgian historian Ivane Javakhishvili considered Tabal, Tubal, Jabal and Jubal to be ancient Georgian tribal designations, and argued that they spoke Kartvelian, a non-Indo-European language

External links

- Hittites.info (http://www.hittites.info)

Battle of Kadesh

The **Battle of Kadesh** (also *Qadesh*) took place between the forces of the Egyptian Empire under Ramesses II and the Hittite Empire under Muwatalli II at the city of Kadesh on the Orontes River, in what is now the Syrian Arab Republic.[1]

The battle is generally dated to 1274 BC.[2] It was probably the largest chariot battle ever fought, involving perhaps 5,000–6,000 chariots.[3]

Background

After expelling the Hyksos 15th dynasty, the native Egyptian New Kingdom rulers became more aggressive in reclaiming control of their state's borders. Thutmose I, Thutmose III and his son and coregent Amenhotep II fought battles from Megiddo north to the Orontes River, including the conflict with Kadesh.

Many of the Egyptian campaign accounts between c. 1400 and 1300 BC reflect the general destabilization of the region of the Djahi. The reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III were undistinguished, except that Egypt continued to lose territory to Mitanni in northern Syria.

During the late Egyptian 18th dynasty, the Amarna Letters[4] tell the story of the decline of Egyptian influence in the region. The Egyptians showed flagging interest here until almost the end of the dynasty. Horemheb, the last ruler of this dynasty, campaigned in this region, finally beginning to turn Egyptian interest back to this region.

This process continued in the 19th Dynasty. Like his father Ramesses I, Seti I was a military commander and set out to restore Egypt's empire to the days of the Tuthmosis kings almost a century before. Inscriptions on Karnak temple walls record the details of his campaigns into Canaan and Syria.[5] He took 20,000 men and reoccupied abandoned Egyptian posts and garrisoned cities. He made an informal peace with the Hittites, took control of coastal areas along the Mediterranean, and continued to campaign in Canaan. A second campaign led him to capture Kadesh (where a stela commemorated his victory) and Amurru. His son and heir Ramesses II campaigned with him. Historical records exist which record a large weapons order by Ramesses II the year prior to the expedition he led to Kadesh in his fifth regnal year.

However, at some point, both regions may have lapsed back into Hittite control. What exactly happened to Amurru is disputed. The Hittitologist Trevor Bryce suggests that, although it may have fallen once again under Hittite control, it is more likely Amurru remained a Hittite vassal state.[6]

The immediate antecedents to the Battle of Kadesh were the early campaigns of Ramesses II into Canaan. In the fourth year of his reign, he marched north into Syria, either to recapture Amurru[7] or, as a probing effort, to confirm his vassals' loyalty and explore the terrain of possible battles.[6] The recovery of Amurru was Muwatalli's stated motivation for marching south to confront the Egyptians. Ramesses marched north in the fifth year of his reign and encountered the Hittites at Kadesh.

Kadesh campaign

Ramesses' army crossed the Egyptian border in the spring of year five of his reign and, after a month's march, reached the area of Kadesh from the South.

The Hittite king Muwatalli, who had mustered several of his allies (among them Rimisharrinaa, the king of Aleppo), had positioned his troops behind "Old Kadesh", but Ramesses, misled by two spies whom the Egyptians had captured, thought the Hittite forces were still far off, at Aleppo, and ordered his forces to set up camp.

The contending forces

In the spring of the fifth year of his reign, in May 1274 BC, Ramesses II launched his campaign from his capital Pi-Ramesses (modern Qantir). Ramesses led an army of four

The Egyptian Empire under Ramesses II (green) bordering on the Hittite Empire (red) at the height of its power in ca. 1279 BC

divisions: Amun, Re (P're), Seth (Suteh) and the apparently newly formed Ptah division.[8] There was also a poorly documented troop called the *nrrn* (Ne'arin or Nearin), possibly Canaanite military mercenaries with Egyptian allegiance[9] or even Egyptians,[10] which Ramesses II had left in Amurru, apparently in order to secure the port of Sumur.[11] This division would come to play a critical role in the battle. Also significant was the presence of Sherden troops among the Egyptian army. This is the first time they appear as Egyptian mercenaries, and they would play an increasingly significant role in Late Bronze Age history, ultimately appearing among the Sea Peoples that ravaged the east Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age. Healy in *Armies of the Pharaohs* observes:

> "It is not possible to be precise about the size of the Egyptian chariot force at Kadesh though it could not have numbered less than 2,000 vehicles spread though the corps of Amun, P'Re, Ptah and Sutekh, assuming that approx. 500 machines were allocated to each corps. To this we may need to add those of the Ne'arin, for if they were not native Egyptian troops their number may not have been formed from chariots detached from the army corps."[12]

On the Hittite side, Ramesses II recorded a long list of 19 Hittite allies brought to Kadesh by Muwattallis. This list has excited considerable interest over the years because it has been a challenge to identify all of the locations, because it represents such a broad swath of the Hittite subject lands, and because of the appearance of several west Anatolian lands, apparently including the Dardanians mentioned by Homer. (For the complete list, see Appendix A.)

Battle

Ramesses II describes his arrival on the battlefield in the two principal inscriptions he wrote concerning the battle, the so-called "Poem" and the "Bulletin":

> (From the "Poem") Now then, his majesty had prepared his infantry, his chariotry, and the Sherden of his majesty's capturing,...in the Year 5, 2nd month of the third season, day 9, his majesty passed the fortress of Sile. [and entered Canaan] ... His infantry went on the narrow passes as if on the highways of Egypt. Now after days had passed after this, then his majesty was in Ramses Meri-Amon, the town which is in the Valley of the Cedar.
>
> His majesty proceeded northward. After his majesty reached the mountain range of Kadesh, then his majesty went forward...and he crossed the ford of the Orontes, with the first division of Amon (named) "He Gives Victory to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re". His majesty reached the town of Kadesh ....The division of Amon was on the march behind him; the division of Re was crossing the ford in a district south of the town of Shabtuna at the distance of one iter from the place where his majesty was; the division of Ptah was on the south of the town of Arnaim; the division of Seth was marching on the road. His majesty had formed the first ranks of battle of all the leaders of his army, while they were (still) on the shore in the land of Amurru.

> (From the "Bulletin") "Year 5, 3rd month of the third season, day 9, under the majesty of (Ramesses II)...The lord proceeded northward, and his majesty arrived at a vicinity south of the town of Shabtuna.[13]

As Ramesses and the Egyptian advance guard were about 11 kilometers from Kadesh, south of Shabtuna, he met two Shasu (nomads) who told him that the Hittites were "in the land of Aleppo, on the north of Tunip" 200 kilometers away, where, the Shasu said, they were "(too much) afraid of Pharaoh, L.P.H., to come south."[14] This was, state the Egyptian texts, a false report ordered by the Hittites "with the aim of preventing the

The Shasu spies shown being beaten by the Egyptians

army of His Majesty from drawing up to combat with the foe of Hatti."[14] Egyptian scouts then returned to his camp bringing two new Hittite prisoners. Ramesses II only learned of the true nature of his dire predicament when these spies were captured, beaten and forced to reveal the truth before him. Under torture, the second group of spies revealed that the entire Hittite army and the Hittite king were actually close at hand:

> When they had been brought before Pharaoh, His Majesty asked, 'Who are you?' They replied 'We belong to the king of Hatti. He has sent us to spy on you.' Then His Majesty said to them, 'Where is he, the enemy from Hatti? I had heard that he was in the land of Khaleb, north of Tunip [15].' They of Tunip replied to His Majesty, 'Lo, the king of Hatti has already arrived, together with the many countries who are supporting him... They are armed with their infantry and their chariots. They have their weapons of war at the ready. They are more numerous than the grains of sand on the beach. Behold, they stand equipped and ready for battle behind the old city of Kadesh.'[16]

In his haste to capture Kadesh, Ramesses II committed a major tactical error. He increased the distance between his Amun Division and the remaining Re, Ptah and Seth divisions, thereby splitting up his combined forces. When they were attacked by the Hittites, Ramesses II complained of the failure of his officials to dispatch scouts to discover the true location of the Hittites and reporting their location to him.[17] The pharaoh quickly sent urgent messengers to hasten the arrival of the Ptah and Seth divisions of his army, which were still some distance away on the far side of the River Orontes. Before Ramesses could organize his troops, however, Muwatalli's chariots attacked the Re division, which was caught in the open and almost destroyed. Some of its survivors fled to the safety of the Amun camp, but they were pursued by the Hittite forces.

The Hittite chariots attack the Re division.
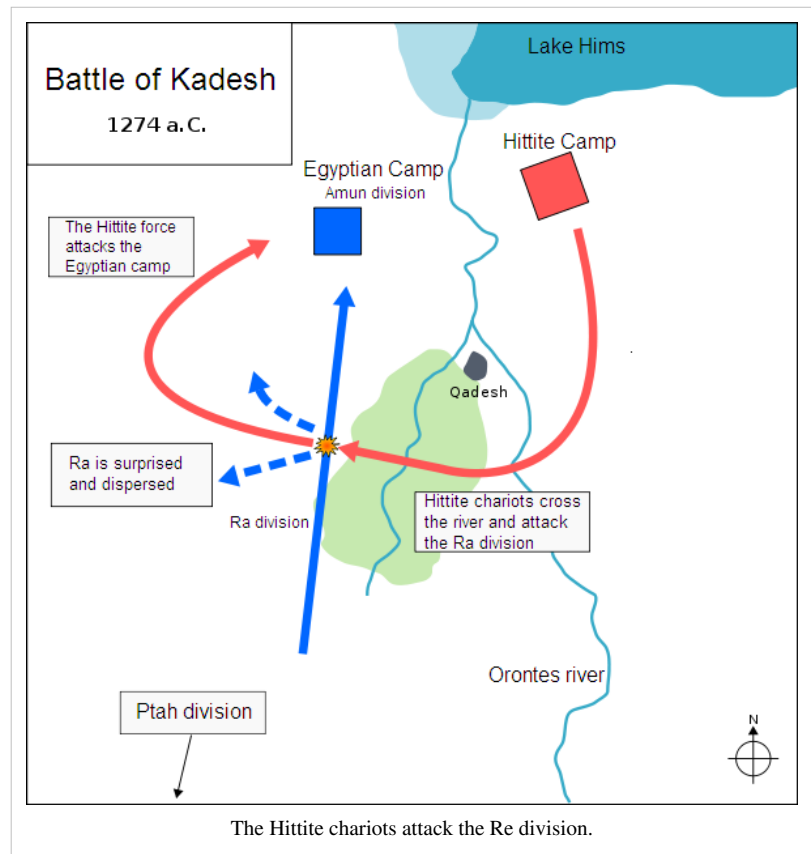
The Hittite chariotry crashed through the Amun camp's shield wall and began their assault. This created panic among the Amun troops as well. However, the momentum of the Hittite attack was already starting to wane, as the impending obstacles of such a large camp forced many Hittite charioteers to slow their attack; some were killed in chariot crashes.[18] In the Egyptian account of the battle, Ramesses describes himself as being deserted and surrounded by enemies:

"...*No officer was with me, no charioteer, no soldier of the army, no shield-bearer ...*"[19]

Only with help from the gods did Ramesses II personally defeat his attackers and return to the Egyptian lines:

"...*I was before them like Seth in his monument. I found the mass of chariots in whose midst I was, scattering them before my horses...*"

The pharaoh, now facing a desperate fight for his life, summoned up his courage, called upon his god Amun, and fought valiantly to save himself. Ramesses personally led several charges into the Hittite ranks together with his personal guard, some of the chariots from his Amun division and survivors from the routed division of Re,[18] and using the superior maneuverability of their chariots and the power and range of Egyptian composite bows, deployed and attacked the overextended and tired Hittite chariotry.

The Hittites, meanwhile, who understandably believed their enemies to be totally routed, had stopped to loot the Egyptian camp and, in doing so, became easy targets for Ramesses' counterattack. Ramesses' action was successful in driving the Hittites back towards the Orontes and away from the Egyptian camp,[20] while in the ensuing pursuit, the heavier Hittite chariots were easily overtaken and dispatched by the lighter, faster, Egyptian chariots.

Ramesses counterattacks.
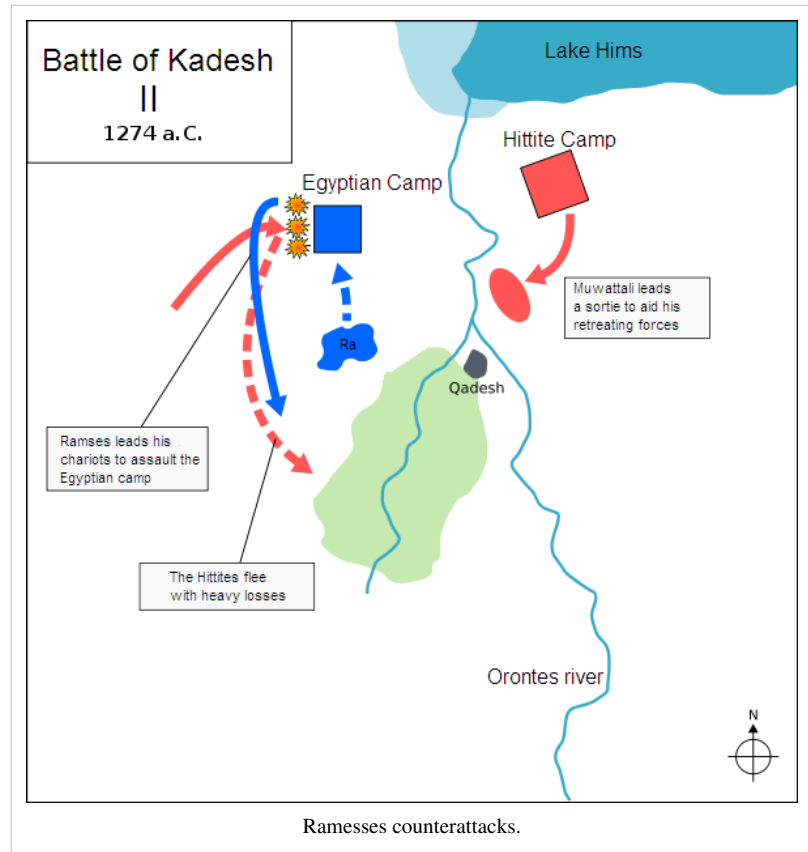
Although he had suffered a significant reversal, Muwatalli still commanded a large force of reserve chariotry and infantry plus the walls of the town. As the retreat reached the river, he ordered another thousand chariots to attack the Egyptians, the stiffening element consisting of the high nobles who surrounded the king. As the Hittite forces approached the Egyptian camp again, the Ne'arin troop contingent from Amurru suddenly arrived, this time surprising the Hittites. Ramesses had also reorganized his forces and, expecting the help, also attacked from the camp.

After six charges, the Hittite forces were almost surrounded, and the survivors were faced with the humiliation of having to swim back across the Orontes River to rejoin their infantry.[11] Pinned against the

final phase of the battle.

Orontes, the elements remaining of the Hittites not overtaken in the withdrawal were forced to abandon their chariots and attempt to swim the Orontes (This flight is depicted in Egyptian inscriptions as "hurried" to say the least—"as fast as Crocodiles swimming"), where many of them drowned.[3]

The next morning, a second, inconclusive battle was fought. Muwatalli is reported by Ramesses to have called for a truce, but this may be propaganda since Hittite records note no such arrangement. Neither side gained total victory. Both the Egyptians and the Hittites had suffered heavy casualties; the Egyptian army failed to break Kadesh's defenses, while the Hittite army had failed to gain a victory in the face of what earlier must have seemed certain success.[11]
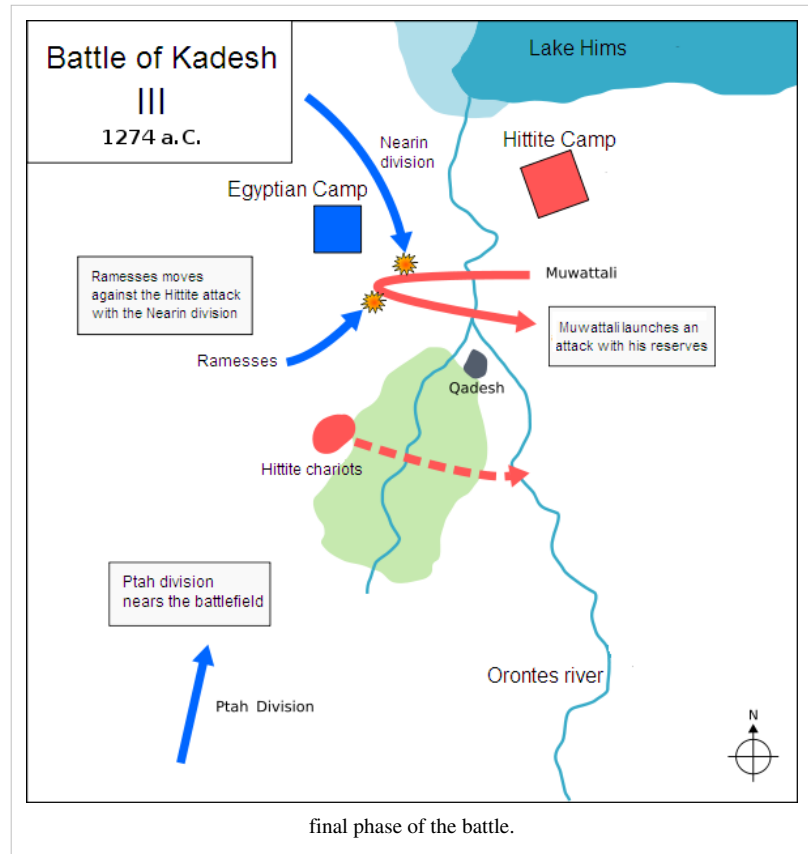
Disputes over the outcome

There is no consensus about the outcome or what took place, with views ranging from an Egyptian victory, a draw, and an Egyptian defeat (with the Egyptian accounts simply propaganda),[21] such as Iranian Egyptologist, Mehdi Yarahmadi.[22]

Aftermath

Logistically[23] unable to support a long siege of the walled city of Kadesh, Ramesses prudently gathered his troops and retreated south towards Damascus and ultimately back to Egypt. Once back in Egypt, Ramesses proclaimed that he had won a great victory, but in reality, all he had managed to do was to rescue his army since he was unable to capture Kadesh.[24] In a personal sense, however, the Battle of Kadesh was a triumph for Ramesses since,

The Siege of Dapur

after blundering into a devastating Hittite chariot ambush, the young king had courageously rallied his scattered troops to fight on the battlefield while escaping death or capture. The new lighter, faster, two-man Egyptian chariots were able to pursue and take down the slower three-man Hittite chariots from behind as they overtook them. The leading elements of Hittite's retreating chariots were thus pinned against the river and in several hieroglyphic inscriptions related to Ramesses II, said to flee across the river, abandoning their chariots, "swimming as fast as any crocodile" in their flight.[23]

Hittite records from Boghazkoy, however, tell a very different conclusion to the greater campaign, where a chastened Ramesses was forced to depart from Kadesh in defeat. Modern historians essentially conclude the battle was a draw, a great moral victory for the Egyptians, who had developed new technologies and rearmed[23] before pushing back against the years-long steady incursions by the Hittites, and the strategic win to Muwatalli II, since he lost a large portion of his chariot forces but sustained Kadesh through the brief siege.
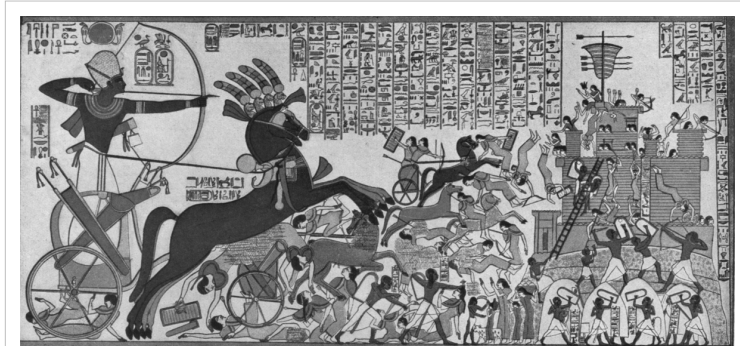
The Hittite king, Muwatalli II, continued to campaign as far south as the Egyptian province of Upi (Apa), which he captured and placed under the control of his brother Hattusili, the future Hattusili III.[25] Egypt's sphere of influence in Asia was now restricted to Canaan.[25] Even this was threatened for a time by revolts among Egypt's vassal states in the Levant, and Ramesses was compelled to embark on a series of campaigns in Canaan in order to uphold his authority there before he could initiate further assaults against the Hittite Empire.

In his eighth and ninth years, Ramesses extended his military successes; this time, he proved more successful against his Hittite foes when he successfully captured the cities of Dapur and Tunip,[26] where no Egyptian soldier had been seen since the time of Thutmose III almost 120 years previously. His victory proved to be ephemeral, however. The thin strip of territory pinched between Amurru and Kadesh did not make for a stable possession. Within a year, they had returned to the Hittite fold, which meant that Ramesses had to march against Dapur once more in his tenth year. His second success here was equally as meaningless as his first, since neither Egypt nor Hatti could decisively defeat the other in battle.[11]

The Kadesh peace agreement—on display at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum—is believed to be the earliest example of any written international agreement of any kind.[23]

The running borderlands conflicts were finally concluded some fifteen years after the Battle of Kadesh[23] by an official peace treaty in 1258 BC, in the 21st year of Ramesses II's reign, with Hattusili III, the new king of the Hittites.[27] The treaty that was established was inscribed on a silver tablet, of which a clay copy survived in the Hittite capital of Hattusa, in modern Turkey, and is on display at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. An enlarged replica of the Kadesh agreement hangs on a wall at the headquarters of the United Nations, as the earliest international peace treaty known to historians.[23] Its text, in the Hittite version, appears in the links below. An Egyptian version survives on a papyrus.

Documentation and disagreements

Although there is more evidence in the form of texts and wall reliefs for this battle than for any other battle in the Ancient Near East, almost all of it is from an Egyptian perspective, and indeed the first scholarly report on the battle, by James Henry Breasted in 1903, took the Egyptian evidence literally and assumed a great Egyptian victory. He was convinced that these sources allowed us to reconstruct "with certainty" the battle.[28] This has been replaced by a situation in which there are varying opinions on almost every aspect of the battle.

Recording the battle

The main source of information is in the Egyptian record of the battle, for which a general level of accuracy is assumed despite factual errors and propaganda.[29] The bombastic nature of Ramesses' version has long been recognized.[30] The Egyptian version of the battle of Kadesh is recorded in two primary forms, known as the *Poem* and the *Bulletin*. The *Poem* has been questioned as actual verse, as opposed to a prose account similar to what other pharaohs had recorded. Similarly, the *Bulletin* is itself simply a lengthy caption accompanying the reliefs.[31] These inscriptions are repeated multiple times (seven for the *Bulletin* and eight for the *Poem*, in temples in Abydos, Temple of Luxor, Karnak, Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum.)[32] In addition to these lengthy presentations, there are also numerous small captions used to point out various elements of the battle. Outside of the inscriptions, there are textual occurrences preserved in *Papyrus Raifet* and *Papyrus Sallier III*,[33] and a rendering of these same events in a letter from Ramesses to Hattusili III written in response to a scoffing complaint by Hattusili about the pharaoh's victorious

depiction of the battle.[34]

Hittite references to the battle, including the above letter, have been found at Hattusa, although no annals have been discovered that might describe it as part of a campaign. Instead, there are various references made to it in the context of other events. This is especially true of Hattusili III, for whom the battle marked an important milestone in his career.

Archaeologists have been unable to verify independently any of the events recounted in the Egyptian and Hittite records of the Battle of Kadesh. Knowledge of the battle is derived entirely from the accounts of Hittite and Egyptian records, which disagree with each other (each side claiming victory). Details of the battle are reconstructed with reasonable certainty by reconciling the conflicting accounts through harmonizing these contradictions. Generally speaking, the nature of the available evidence makes it possible to reconstruct the outcome as portrayed by the Hittites, while gleaning believable details from Ramesses' account wherever possible.

Appendix A - The Hittite allies

Sources: Goetze, A., "The Hittites and Syria (1300-1200 B.C.)", in *Cambridge Ancient History* (1975) p. 253; Gardiner, Alan, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (1975) pp. 57ff.; Breasted, James Henry, *Ancient Records of Egypt; Historical Records* (1906) pp. 125ff.; Lichtheim, Mirian, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. 2: The New Kingdom* (1978) pp. 57ff.

Egyptian Name	Location
Ḫt	Ḫatti (central Anatolia)
Nhrn	Nahrin = Mitanni
Irṯw	Arzawa (western Anatolia)
Pds	Pitassa (central Anatolia)
Drdny	Dardania (allies of the Trojans,[35] northwest Anatolia)
Ms	Masa (Mysia, northwest Anatolia)
Krkš	Karkisa (Anatolia)
Krkmš	Carchemish, in Syria
Qd	A poorly defined area in northern Syria
Qdš	Kadesh (in Syria)
Ꜣkrṯ	Ugarit (in north Syria)
Mwšꜣnt	Mushanet (Unknown)
Kškš	Kaska (northern Anatolia)
Lk	Lukka lands (Lycia and Caria, southwest Anatolia)
Qḏwdn	Kizzuwatna (Cilicia)
Nwgs	Nuḫḫašši (in Syria)
Irwnt (sic!)	Arawanna (In Anatolia)
Ḫlb	Ḫalba (Aleppo, in Syria. Led by its king, Talmi-Sarruma, grandson of Suppululiuma I.)
Ins	Inesa (Unknown)

In addition to these allies, the Hittite king also hired the services of some of the local Shasu tribes.

Appendix B - The Hittite fallen

Source: Gardiner, Alan, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (1975) pp. 39–41.

Name	Title
Spṭr	Brother of Muwattalli
Trgnns	Charioteer
Grbts	Shield-bearer
Trgtṭs	Troop-captain of those of *Qbsw*(?)
'Agm	Troop-captain
Kmyṯ	A head of *thr*-warriers (infantry?)
Ḥrpsr	royal scribe
Tydr	Chief of the bodyguard[36]
Pys	Charioteer
Smrts	Charioteer
Rbsnn	Troop-captain of *'Inns*.
Ḥmṭrm	Brother of Muwattalli
Tdr	Head of the *thr*-warriors
Ṭ..m	Shield-bearer(?)
Ṭwṭs	Troop-captain of *'Ins*
Bnq(?)	Charioteer
[?]	[One further name and title, lost]

References

[1]   Kitchen, K.A, "Ramesside Inscriptions", Volume 2, Blackwell Publishing Limited, 1996, pp.16-17

[2]   around "Year 5 III Shemu day 9" of Ramesses II's reign (BAR III, p.317<) or more precisely: May 12, 1274 BC based on Ramesses' commonly accepted accession date in 1279 BC.

[3]   "Ancient Discoveries: Egyptian Warfare" (http://www.history.com/schedule.do?action=daily&linkDate=200805141100& timeZone=EST#). . Retrieved 2004-05-15. "viewed=12:00 hrs EDST, 2008-05-14, History Channel Program: Ancient Discoveries: Egyptian Warfare with panel of three experts"

[4]   Moran, William L., "The Amarna Letters", Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992

[5]   (https://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/saoc42_2ed.pdf) W. J. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak. (Second Edition Revised), Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1990, ISBN 0-918986-67-2

[6]   Bryce, Trevor, The Kingdom of the Hittites, Oxford University Press, new edition 2005, ISBN 019927908Xm p.233

[7]   Grimal, Nicolas, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (1994) pp. 253ff.

[8]   Gardiner, Sir Alan (1964). *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Oxford University Press. pp. 260.

[9]   Goedicke, Hans (December 1966). "Considerations on the Battle of Kadesh" (http://jstor.org/stable/3855821). *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 52) **52**: 71–80. doi:10.2307/3855821. . Retrieved 2008-04-26.

[10] Schulman, A.R. (1981). "The Narn at Kadesh Once Again". *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* **11** (1): 7–19.

[11] The Battle of Kadesh in the context of Hittite history (http://www.hittites.info/history.aspx?text=history/Middle+Late+Empire.htm)

[12] Mark Healy, Armies of the Pharaohs, Osprey Publishing, 2000. p.39

[13] Pritchard, James B. (1969). Ancient Near Eastern Texts. Princeton, ISBN 978-0691035031. (ANET), "The Asiatic Campaigning of Ramses II," pp.255-256

[14] Wilson, John A, "The Texts of the Battle of Kadesh", The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Vol. 34, no. 4, July 1927, p.278

[15] http://www.specialtyinterests.net/map_syria.html

[16] Joyce Tyldesley, Ramesses II: Egypt's Greatest Pharaoh, Penguin Books, 2000. pp.70-71

[17] Santosuosso, Antonio, "Kadesh Revisited: Reconstructing the Battle Between the Egyptians and the Hittites " *The Journal of Military History*, Vol 60 no. 3, July 1996

[18] Mark Healy, op. cit., p.61

[19] Lichtheim, Miriam (1976). *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. **II:The New Kingdom**. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 65.

[20] Mark Healy, p.62

[21] Hasel, Michael G (1998). *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, 1300-1185 B.C. (Probleme Der Agyptologie)*. Brill Academic Publishers. pp. 155. ISBN 978-9004109841.

[22] اراحمدی, مهدی (2011). پاراودوکس قادش : پیروزی رامسس بزرگ ای پرتری متواتای دوم ؟. دانشگاه فردوسی مشهد: شماره 44 -45 صفحنامه تاریخ پژوهی. pp. 141–151.

[23] "Ancient Discoveries: Egyptian Warfare" (http://www.history.com/schedule.do?action=daily&linkDate=2008-05-141100& timeZone=EST#). . Retrieved 2004-05-15. "viewed=12:00 hrs EDST, 2008-05-14, the recently produced program details current thinking of three experts on the Battle of Qadesh, and the Peace of Qadesh (signed about) 15 years later."

[24] Nicholas Grimal, A History of Ancient Egypt, Blackwell Books: 1992, p.256

[25] Joyce Tyldesley, Ramesses: Egypt's Greatest Pharaoh, Penguin Books, 2000. p.73

[26] Tyldesley, p.75

[27] "Ramses/Hattusili Treaty" (http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/ramses-hattusili-treaty.htm). .

[28] J H Brested's A History of the Ancient Egyptians sect 305 http://www.zemlja2.webspace.virginmedia.com/history/kadesh-brested.html#305

[29] TG James, *Pharaoh's People: Scenes from Life in Imperial Egypt*, 2007. James says 'This romanticized record of the Battle of Qadesh cannot be treated as a truthful account of what happened, and I doubt whether many ancient Egyptians would have accepted it wholly as an historical record' (page 26). He notes however that the 'broad facts' are 'probably reported with a fair degree of accuracy' (page 27).

[30] Some of the harshest criticism of Ramesses has come from Egyptologists. "It is all too clear that he was a stupid and culpably inefficient general and that he failed to gain his objectives at Kadesh" (John A. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (1951) p. 247. Although Wilson does recognize the personal bravery of Ramesses, and the improvement of his skills in subsequent campaigns.)

[31] Gardiner, Alan, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (1975) pp.2-4. However, Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. 2: The New Kingdom* (1978) p. 58, maintains that the *Poem* is truly just that, contra Gardiner, and prefers to maintain the older tripartite division of the documentation.

[32] Lichtheim, Miriam (1976). *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. **II:The New Kingdom**. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 57.

[33] Breasted, James Henry, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents" (1906) p. 58*.

[34] Kitchen, Kenneth A., *Ramesside Inscriptions, Notes and Comments Volume II* (1999) pp. 13ff.

[35] "Review: Some Recent Works on Ancient Syria and the Sea People", Michael C. Astour, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 92, No. 3, (Jul. - September, 1972), pp. 447-459 writing about someone who identified the Dardanians with the Trojans: "Which is, incidentally, not so: the Iliad carefully distinguishes the Dardanians from the Trojans, not only in the list of Trojan allies (11:816-823) but also in the frequently repeated formula keklyte meu, Tr6es kai Dardanoi ed' epikuroi (e.g., III:456)

[36] A problematical name. Gardiner translates the title as "chief of suite of suite". If the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard is meant here, then that position was held by his brother Hattusili, who quite clearly did *not* die.

Further reading

- Roaf, Michael (1990). *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East*. Equinox. ISBN 0-8160-2218-6. includes information of the clash of the Egyptians and Hittites including the battle of Kadesh and maps of the regions controlled by the peoples named in the accounts.

- Healy, Mark (1993). *Qadesh 1300 B.C, Clash of the Warrior Kings* (http://books.google.com/ ?id=2GlVcfVebeUC&printsec=frontcover). Osprey Publishing. ISBN 9781855323001.

- Shaw, Ian (2003). *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Lichtheim, Miriam (1976). *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. **II:The New Kingdom**. Berkeley: University of California Press.

External links

- End of Egyptian–Hittite hostilities (http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/egyptian-hittite-peace-treaty.htm)
- Hittite version of the Peace treaty of 1258 BC (http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/ramses-hattusili-treaty.htm)
- The Battle of Kadesh in the context of Hittite history (http://www.hittites.info/history.aspx?text=history/Middle+Late+Empire.htm)
- Battle of Kadesh (http://www.historynet.com/magazines/military_history/3459391.html?page=1&c=y)
- The actual Battle of Kadesh (http://touregypt.net/featurestories/kadesh.htm)
- The Eternal treaty from the Hittite perspective (http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/research/publications/bmsaes/issue_6/bryce.aspx)

Assyria

Ancient Mesopotamia
Euphrates · Tigris
Sumer
Eridu · Kish · Uruk · Ur Lagash · Nippur · Girsu
Elam
Susa · Anshan
Akkadian Empire
Akkad · Mari
Amorites
Isin · Larsa
Babylonia
Babylon · Chaldea
Assyria
Assur · Nimrud Dur-Sharrukin · Nineveh
Hittites · Kassites Ararat / Mitanni
Chronology
Mesopotamia(Dynasty List)
Sumer (king list)
Kings of Elam Kings of Assyria Kings of Babylon
Mythology
Enûma Elish · Gilgamesh
Assyrian religion
Language
Sumerian · Elamite
Akkadian · Aramaic
Hurrian · Hittite

Assyria was a Semitic Akkadian kingdom centered on the Upper Tigris river, in northern Mesopotamia (present day northern Iraq), that came to rule regional empires a number of times through history. It was named for its original capital, the ancient city of Assur (Akkadian: 𒀸𒈾𒊒 *Aššūrāyu*; Arabic: أشور *Aššûr*; Hebrew: אַשּׁוּר *Aššûr*, Aramaic: ܐܬܘܪ *Aṯur*). Assyria was also sometimes known as Subartu, and after its fall as Athura, *Syria* and Assuristan. The term *Assyria* can also refer to the geographic region or heartland where these empires were centered. Their

descendants still live in the region today, and they form the Christian minority in Iraq.[1] [2]

After the fall of the Akkadian Empire circa 2080 BC, it eventually coalesced into two separate nations; Assyria in the north, and later Babylonia in the south.

Assyria was originally a minor Akkadian kingdom which evolved in the 23rd to 21st Centuries BC. Originally, the early Assyrian kings would certainly have been regional leaders only, and subject to Sargon of Akkad who united all the Akkadian speaking peoples of Mesopotamia under the Akkadian Empire which lasted from 2334 BC to 2154 BC. The Akkadian nation of Assyria (and later on also Babylonia) evolved from the dissolution of the Akkadian Empire. In the Old Assyrian period of the Early Bronze Age, Assyria had been a kingdom of northern Mesopotamia (modern-day northern Iraq), competing for dominance with its fellow Akkadian speaking southern Mesopotamian rival, Babylonia which was often under Kassite rule. During this period it established colonies in Asia Minor. It had experienced fluctuating fortunes in the Middle Assyrian period. Assyria had a period of empire under Shamshi-Adad I in the 18th and 17th Centuries BC, following this it found itself under short periods of Babylonian and Mitanni-Hurrian domination in the 17th and 15th Centuries BC respectively, and another period of great power and empire from 1365 BC to 1076 BC, that included the reigns of great kings such as Ashur-uballit I, Tukulti-Ninurta I and Tiglath-Pileser I. Beginning with the campaigns of Adad-nirari II from 911 BC, it again became a great power, overthrowing the Twenty-fifth dynasty of Egypt and conquering Egypt, Babylonia, Elam, Urartu/Armenia, Media, Persia, Mannea, Gutium, Phoenicia/Canaan, Aramea (Syria), Arabia, Israel, Judah, Palestine, Edom, Moab, Samarra, Cilicia, Cyprus, Chaldea, Nabatea, Commagene, Dilmun and the Hurrians, Sutu and neo Hittites, driving the Nubians, Kushites and Ethiopians from Egypt, defeating the Cimmerians and Scythians and exacting tribute from Phrygia, Magan and Punt among others.

Early history

In prehistoric times the region was home to a Neanderthal culture such as has been found at Shanidar. The earliest neolithic site in Assyria is at Tell Hassuna, the center of the *Hassuna culture*, circa 6000 BC. The city of Assur (Ashur) seems to have existed since at least the middle of the third millennium BC, although it appears to have been an administrative center at this time rather than an independent state. Of the early history of the kingdom of Assyria, little is positively known. The earliest king named Tudiya who was a contemporary of Ibrium of Ebla, appears to have lived in the 23rd century BC, according to the Assyrian King List. Ibrium concluded a treaty with Tudiya of Assyria for the use of a trading post officially controlled by Ebla. He was succeeded by Adamu and then a further thirteen rulers, about all of whom nothing is known. These early kings from the 23rd to late 21st centuries BC, who are recorded as *kings who lived in tents* were likely to have been semi nomadic pasturalist rulers who dominated the region and at some unknown point during this period became urbanised and founded the *city state* of Ashur. According to some Judaeo-Christian traditions, the city of Ashur (also spelled Assur or Aššur) was founded by Ashur the son of Shem, who was deified by later generations as the city's patron god, however there is absolutely no historical basis whatsoever for this tradition in Mesopotamian annals; Assyrian tradition itself lists an early Assyrian king named Ushpia as having dedicated the first temple to the god Ashur in the city in the 21st century BC, it is not known if he was the first fully independent ruler of Assyria as a *city state* however, as no records have yet been discovered regarding earlier kings. It is likely that the city was named in honour of the god of the same name. The upper Tigris River valley seems to have been ruled by Sumerians and later Akkad in early antiquity. The Akkadian Empire of Sargon the Great claimed to encompass the surrounding "four quarters"; the regions north of the Akkadian homeland had been known as Subartu. The name *Azuhinum* in Akkadian records also seems to refer to Assyria proper. The Akkadian Empire was destroyed by barbarian Gutian people in 2154 BC, then rebuilt, and ended up being governed as part of the Empire of the Sumerian 3rd dynasty of Ur founded in 2112 BC. The rulers of Assyria during the period between 2154 BC and 2112 BC may have been fully independent as the Gutians are only known to have administered southern Mesopotamia, however there is no information from Assyria bar the king list for this period. Prior to Ushpia, the city of Ashur was a regional administrative center of Akkadian rulers, implicated by

Nuzi tablets[3] , subject to their fellow Akkadian Sargon and his successors.

Old Assyrian Period

The Assyrian King List mentions rulers going back to the 23rd and 22nd century BC, however little is known of these kings, although Tudiya who reigned in the 23rd century BC appears to have established relations with Ibrium, king of Ebla. These early kings were more than likely local Akkadian rulers subject to the Akkadian Empire and later Sumerian domination. The first inscriptions of Assyrian rulers appear in the late 21st Century BC. Assyria then consisted of a number of city states and small Semitic Akkadian kingdoms. The foundation of the first true urbanised Assyrian monarchy was traditionally ascribed to Ushpia a contemporary of Ishbi-Erra of Larsa[4] circa 2025 BC. He was succeeded in succession by Apiashal, Sulili, Kikkiya and Akiya of whom nothing is known.

In around 2000 BC Puzur-Ashur I founded a new dynasty, and his successors such as Shalim-ahum, Ilushuma, Erishum I and Sargon I left inscriptions regarding the building of temples to Ashur, Adad and Ishtar in Assyria. Ilushuma in particular appears to have been a powerful king who made many raids into southern Mesopotamia between 1953 BC and 1935 BC, attacking the independent city states of the region and founding colonies in Asia Minor. This was to become a pattern throughout the history of ancient Mesopotamia with the future rivalry between Assyria and Babylonia. However, Babylonia did not exist at this time, but was founded 1n 1894 BC by an Amorite prince named Sumuabum during the reign of Erishum I. The Amorites had overrun southern Mesopotamia from the mid 20th century BC, deposing native Sumero-Akkadian dynasties and setting up their own kingdoms, but were repelled by the Assyrian kings of the 20th and 19th centuries BC.

The city-state of Ashur had extensive contact with cities on the Anatolian plateau in Asia Minor. The Assyrians established colonies in Cappadocia, (*e.g.,* at Kanesh (modern Kültepe) from 1920 BC to 1740 BC. These colonies, called *karum*, the Akkadian word for 'port', were attached to Anatolian cities, but physically separate, and had special tax status. They must have arisen from a long tradition of trade between Assyria and the Anatolian cities, but no archaeological or written records show this. The trade consisted of metal (perhaps lead or tin; the terminology here is not entirely clear) and textiles from Assyria, that were traded for precious metals in Anatolia.

Like many city-states in Mesopotamian history, Assur was, to a great extent, an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. Authority was considered to lie with "the City", and the polity had three main centres of power — an assembly of elders, a hereditary ruler, and an eponym. The ruler presided over the assembly and carried out its decisions. He was not referred to with the usual Akkadian term for "king", *šarrum*; that was instead reserved for the city's patron deity Assur, of whom the ruler was the high priest. The ruler himself was only designated as "the steward of Assur" (*iššiak Assur*), where the term for steward is a borrowing from Sumerian *ensi(k)*. The third centre of power was the eponym (*limmum*), who gave the year his name, similarly to the archons and consuls of Classical Antiquity. He was annually elected by lot and was responsible for the economic administration of the city, which included the power to detain people and confiscate property. The institution of the eponym as well as the formula *iššiak Assur* lingered on as ceremonial vestiges of this early system throughout the history of the Assyrian monarchy.[5]

Empire of Shamshi-Adad I

In 1813 BC the native Akkadian king of Assyria Erishum II was deposed, and the throne of Assyria was usurped by Shamshi-Adad I (1813 BC − 1791 BC) in the expansion of Amorite tribes from the Khabur River delta. Although regarded as an Amorite, Shamshi-Adad is credited with decendancy from the native ruler Ushpia in the Assyrian King List. He put his son Ishme-Dagan on the throne of a nearby Assyrian city, Ekallatum, and maintained Assyria's Anatolian colonies. Shamshi-Adad I then went on to conquer the kingdom of Mari on the Euphrates putting another of his sons, Yasmah-Adad on the throne there. Shamshi-Adad's Assyria now encompassed the whole of northern Mesopotamia and included territory in Asia Minor and northern Syria. He himself resided in a new capital city founded in the Khabur valley, called Shubat-Enlil.

Ishme-Dagan inherited Assyria, but Yasmah-Adad was overthrown by a new king called Zimrilim in Mari. The new king of Mari allied himself with king Hammurabi, who had made the recently created state of Babylon a major power. Hammurabi was also an Amorite. Assyria now faced the rising power of Babylon in the south. Ishme-Dagan responded by making an alliance with the enemies of Babylon, and the power struggle continued without resolution for decades. Ishme-Dagan, like his father was a great warrior, and in addition to repelling Babylonian attacks, campaigned successfully against the Turukku in Ekallatum (successors of the Gutians and Lullubi), and against Dadusha, king of Eshnunna and Iamhad (modern Aleppo)

Assyria under Babylonian domination

Hammurabi after first conquering Mari, Larsa and Eshnunna eventually prevailed over Ishme-Dagan's successors, and conquered Assyria for Babylon in 1756 BC. With Hammurabi, the various *karum* colonies in Anatolia ceased trade activity ― probably because the goods of Assyria were now being traded with the Babylonians. The Assyrian monarchy survived, however the three Amorite kings succeeding Ishme-Dagan; Mut-Ashkur (who was the son of Ishme-Dagan and married to a Hurrian queen), Rimush and Asinum were vassals, dependent on the Babylonians for a few decades.

Assyrian independence

Babylonia seems to have lost control over Assyria during the reign of Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna. A period of civil war ensued after the deposition of the Amorite vassal king of Assyria Asinum, who was a grandson of Shamshi-Adad I, by a native Akkadian vice regent named Puzur-Sin. A native Akkadian king Ashur-dugul seized the throne, and a period of civil war ensued with five further kings (Ashur-apla-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ipqi-Ishtar and Adad-salulu) all reigning in quick succession. Babylonia seems to have been too powerless to intervene. Finally, a native Akkadian king named Adasi came to the fore circa 1720 BC and completely freed Assyria from the pretence of Babylonian dominance. This also brought to an end the Amorite presence in Assyria, although they were to remain in power in Babylon until 1595 BC. Adasi drove the Babylonians and Amorites from northern Mesopotamia during the late 18th century BC and Babylonian power began to quickly wane in Mesopotamia as a whole.

Adasi was succeeded by Bel-bani (1700-1691 BC). Little is known of many of the kings that followed such as; Libaya (1690-1674 BC), Sharma-Adad I (1673-1662 BC), Iptar-Sin (1661-1650 BC), Bazaya (1649-1622 BC), Lullaya (1621-1618 BC), Shu-Ninua (1615-1602 BC), Sharma-Adad II (1601-1599 BC), Erishum III (1598-1586 BC), and Shamshi-Adad II (1585-1580 BC). However Assyria seems to have been a relatively strong and stable nation, existing undisturbed by its neighbours such as the Hittites, Hurrians, Amorites, Babylonians or Mitanni for well over 200 years. When Babylon fell to the Kassites in 1595 BC, they were unable to make inroads into Assyria and there seems to have been no trouble between the first Kassite ruler of Babylon, Agum II and Erishum III of Assyria, and a treaty was signed between the two rulers. Similarly, Adad-nirari I (1547-1522 BC) seems not to have been troubled by the newly founded Mitanni kingdom, the Hittite empire or Babylon during his 25 year reign. Puzur-Ashur III (1521-1498 BC) of Assyria and Burna-Buriash I the Kassite king of Babylon, signed a treaty defining the borders of the two nations in the late 16th nation century BC. Puzur-Ashur III, undertook much rebuilding work in Assur, the city was refortified and the southern quarters incorporated into the main city defenses. Temples to the moon god Sin (Nanna) and the sun god Shamash were erected in the 15th century BC.

Assyria under Mitanni domination

The emergence of the Mitanni Empire in the 16th century BC eventually led to a period of Mitanni-Hurrian domination in the 15th Century. Some time after the death of Puzur-Ashur III in 1498 BC, Saushtatar, king of Hanilgalbat (Hurrians of Mitanni), sacked Ashur and made Assyria a largely vassal state. This event is most likely to have happened during the reign of Enlil-nasir I or his successor Nur-ili. The Mitanni appear not to have interfered in Assyrian internal affairs, for example the son of Nur-ili, Ashur-shaduni was deposed by his uncle Ashur-rabi I and

similarly, Ashur-nadin-ahhe I was deposed by his own brother Enlil-nasir II in 1420 BC. Assyrian kings seemed to have been free of this dominance regarding international affairs at times also, as evidenced by the treaty between Ashur-bel-nisheshu and Kariandash of Babylon in the late 15th century. By the reign of Eriba-Adad I (1392 BC - 1366 BC) Mitanni influence was on the wane.

There are dozens of Mesopotamian cuneiform texts from this period, with precise observations of solar and lunar eclipses, that have been used as 'anchors' in the various attempts to define the chronology of Babylonia and Assyria for the early second millennium (i.e., the "high", "middle", and "low" chronologies.)

Middle Assyrian period - Assyrian resurgence

Scholars variously date the beginning of the "Middle Assyrian period" to either the fall of the Old Assyrian kingdom of Shamshi-Adad I, or to the ascension of Ashur-uballit I to the throne of Assyria.

Assyrian expansion and empire

Assyria paid tribute to Hanilgalbat until Mitanni power collapsed from Assyrian pressure from the east and Hittite pressure from the north-west, enabling Ashur-uballit I (1365 BC − 1330 BC) to completely throw off any remaining Mitanni domination and again make Assyria a fully independent and imperial power at the expense of Kassite Babylonia, the Mitanni, Hurrians and the Hittites; and a time came when the Kassite king in Babylon was glad to marry the daughter of Ashur-uballit, whose letters to

Map of the Ancient Near East during the Amarna Period, showing the great powers of the day: Egypt (green), Hatti (yellow), the Kassite kingdom of Babylon (purple), Assyria (grey), and Mitanni (red). Lighter areas show direct control, darker areas represent spheres of influence. The extent of the Achaean/Mycenaean civilization is shown in orange.

Akhenaten of Egypt form part of the Amarna letters. This marriage led to disastrous results, as the Kassite faction at court murdered the Babylonian king and placed a pretender on the throne. Assur-uballit promptly marched into Babylonia and avenged his son-in-law, deposing the king and installing Kurigalzu of the royal line king there. Ashur-uballit I defeated Mattiwaza the Mitanni king despite attempts by the Hittite king Suppiluliumas attempting to preserve his throne with military support. The lands of the Mitanni were duly appropriated by Assyria, making it a large and powerful state.

Enlil-nirari succeeded Ashur-uballit I. He described himself as a "Great-King" (*Sharru rabû*) in letters to the Hittite kings. He was immediately attacked by Kurigalzu of Babylon, but succeeded in defeating him and repelling Babylonian attempts to invade Assyria, appropriating Babylonian territory in the process. The successor of Enlil-nirari, Arik-den-ili (c. 1307-1296 BC), consolidated Assyrian power, and successfully campaigned in the Zagros Mountains against the Lullubi and Gutians. He was followed by Adad-nirari I who made Kalhu (Biblical Calah) his capital, and continued expansion to the northwest, mainly at the expense of the Hittites and Hurrians, conquering Hittite territories such as Carchemish and beyond. Adad-nirari I made gains to the south, forcing the Kassite rulers of Babylon into accepting a new frontier agreement in Assyria's favour.

In 1274 BC Shalmaneser I ascended the throne. He proved to be a great warrior king. During his reign he conquered the powerful kingdom of Urartu in the Caucasus Mountains and the fierce Gutians of the Zagros Mountains. He then attacked the Hurrians, defeating both King Shattuara and his Hittite and Aramean allies, and finally destroying the

Hurrian kingdom in the process. Assyria was now a major threat to Egyptian and Hittite interests in the region, and was perhaps the reason that these two powers made peace with one another.

Shalmaneser's son and successor, Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244 BC -1208 BC), conquered Babylonia, deposing Kashtiliash IV and ruled there himself as king for seven years, taking on the old title "King of Sumer and Akkad" first used by Sargon of Akkad. Tukulti-Ninurta I became the first native Mesopotamian to rule the state of Babylonia, its founders having been Amorites, succeeded by Kassites. In the process he defeated the Elamites, who had themselves coveted Babylon. However, Tukulti-Ninurta I was murdered by his own sons in a palace revolt and was succeeded by Ashur-nadin-apli. Another unstable period for Assyria followed, it was riven by periods of internal strife and the new king only made token and unsuccessful attempts to recapture Babylon, whose Kassite kings had taken advantage of this and freed themselves from Assyrian rule. However, Assyria itself was not threatened by foreign powers, and appears to have stabilised by the reign of Ashur-Dan I who ruled for an unusually long period of 46 years, from 1179 BC to 1133 BC.

As the Hittite empire collapsed from the onslaught of the Phrygians (called Mushki in Assyrian annals), Babylon and Assyria began to vie for Amorite regions (in modern Syria), formerly under firm Hittite control. When their forces encountered one another in this region, the Assyrian king Ashur-resh-ishi I met and defeated Nebuchadnezzar I of Babylon. Assyria then invaded and annexed Hittite controlled lands.

Tiglath-Pileser I, vies with Shamshi-Adad I and Ashur-uballit I among historians as being regarded as the founder of the first Assyrian empire. The son of Ashur-resh-ishi I, he ascended to the throne in 1115 BC, and became one of the greatest of Assyrian conquerors.[6]

His first campaign in 1112 BC was against the Phrygians who had occupied certain Assyrian districts in the Upper Euphrates; he then overran the Luwian kingdoms of Commagene, Cilicia and Cappadocia, and drove the Hittites from the Assyrian province of Subartu, northeast of Malatia.

In a subsequent campaign, the Assyrian forces penetrated Urartu, into the mountains south of Lake Van and then turned westward to receive the submission of Malatia. In his fifth year, Tiglath-Pileser attacked Commagene and Cilicia in Cappadocia, and placed a record of his victories engraved on copper plates in a fortress he built to secure his Cilician conquests.

The Aramaeans of northern Syria were the next targets of the Assyrian king, who made his way as far as the sources of the Tigris.[6] The control of the high road to the Mediterranean was secured by the possession of the Hittite town of Pethor at the junction between the Euphrates and Sajur; thence he proceeded to conquer the Canaanite/Phoenician cities of (Byblos), Sidon, and finally Arvad where he embarked onto a ship to sail the Mediterranean, on which he killed a *nahiru* or "sea-horse" (which A. Leo Oppenheim translates as a narwhal) in the sea.[6] He was passionately fond of hunting and was also a great builder. The general view is that the restoration of the temple of the gods Ashur and Hadad at the Assyrian capital of Assur (Ashur) was one of his initiatives.[6] He also invaded and defeated Babylon twice, assuming the old title "King of Sumer and Akkad", forcing tribute from Babylon, although he was unable to actually depose the actual king in Babylonia, where the old *Kassite Dynasty* had now succumbed to an Elamite one.

Assyria in the Ancient Dark Ages

After Tiglath-Pileser I in 1076 BC, Assyria was in *comparative* decline for the next 150 years. The period from 1200 BC to 900 BC was a dark age for the entire Near East, North Africa, Caucasus, Mediterranean and Balkan regions, with great upheavals and mass movements of people. Despite the apparent weakness of Assyria, at heart it in fact remained a solid, well defended nation whose warriors were the best in the world. Assyria, with its stable monarchy and secure borders was in a stronger position during this time than potential rivals such as Egypt, Babylonia, Elam, Phrygia, Urartu, Persia and Media[7] Kings such as Ashur-bel-kala, Eriba-Adad II, Ashur-rabi II, Ashurnasirpal I, Tiglath-Pileser II and Ashur-Dan II successfully defended Assyria's borders and upheld stability during this tumultuous time. This long period of isolation ended with the accession in 911 BC of Adad-nirari II. He firmly

subjugated the areas previously under only nominal Assyrian vassalage, conquering and deporting troublesome Aramean, neo Hittite and Hurrian populations in the north to far-off places. Adadinirari II then twice attacked and defeated Shamash-mudammiq of Babylonia, annexing a large area of land north of the Diyala river and the towns of Hit and Zanqu in mid Mesopotamia. He made further gains over Babylonia under Nabu-shuma-ukin later in his reign. He was succeeded by Tukulti-Ninurta II in 891 BC, an energetic ruler who further consolidated Assyria's position and expanded northwards and eastwards into Asia Minor and the Zagros Mountains during his short reign.

Society in the Middle Assyrian period

Assyria had difficulties with keeping the trade routes open. Unlike the situation in the Old Assyrian period, the Anatolian metal trade was effectively dominated by the Hittites and the Hurrians. These people now controlled the Mediterranean ports, while the Kassites controlled the river route south to the Persian Gulf.

The Middle Assyrian kingdom was well organized, and in the firm control of the king, who also functioned as the High Priest of Ashur, the state god. He had certain obligations to fulfill in the cult, and had to provide resources for the temples. The priesthood became a major power in Assyrian society. Conflicts with the priesthood are thought to have been behind the murder of king Tukulti-Ninurta I.

The main Assyrian cities of the middle period were Ashur, Kalhu (Nimrud) and Nineveh, all situated in the Tigris River valley. At the end of the Bronze Age, Nineveh was much smaller than Babylon, but still one of the world's major cities (population ca. 33,000). By the end of the Neo-Assyrian period, it had grown to a population of some 120,000, and was possibly the largest city in the world at that time.[8] All free male citizens were obliged to serve in the army for a time, a system which was called the *ilku*-service. The Assyrian law code, notable for its repressive attitude towards women in their society, was compiled during this period.

Neo-Assyrian Empire

The Neo-Assyrian Empire is usually considered to have begun with the accession of Adad-nirari II, in 911 BC, lasting until the fall of Nineveh at the hands of the Babylonians, Medes, Scythians and Cimmerians in 612 BC.[9]

In the Middle Assyrian period, Assyria had at times been a strong kingdom and imperial power based in northern Mesopotamia, competing for dominance with Babylonia to the south and with the Hittites and Arameans to the west, the Hittite empire and the Phrygians to the north, and the Elamites to the east. Beginning with the campaigns of Adad-nirari II (911-882 BC), Assyria once

Map of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and its expansions.

more became a great power, growing to be the greatest empire the world had yet seen. Adad-nirari II expanded Assyrian territory to include all of northern Mesopotamia, north eastern Aramea, parts of south eastern Asia Minor (at the expense of the Arameans and neo Hittites) and annexing swathes of Babylonian territory.

His successor, Tukulti-Ninurta II (891-884 BC) consolidated Assyria's gains and expanded into the Zagros Mountains in modern Iran, subjugating the newly arrived Persians and Medes as well as pushing into central Asia Minor. Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) was a fierce and ruthless ruler who advanced without opposition through Aram (modern Syria) and Asia Minor as far as the Mediterranean and conquered and exacted tribute from Aramea,
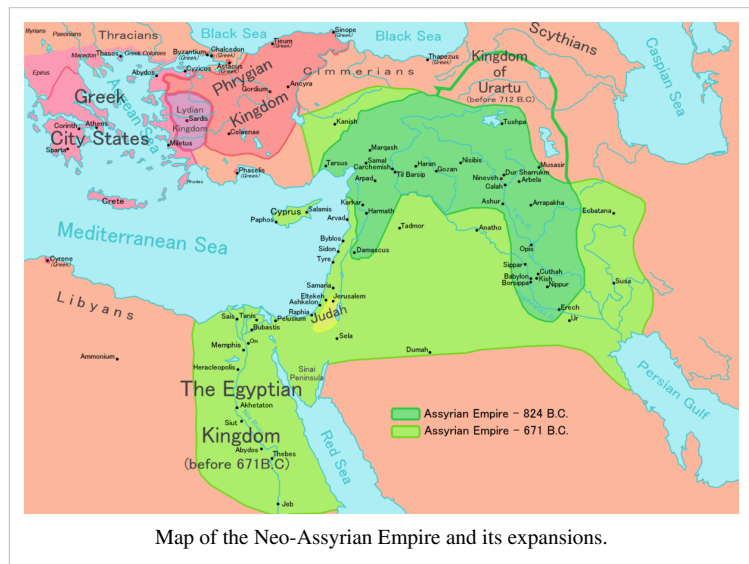
Phrygia and Phoenicia. Ashurnasirpal II also repressed revolts among the Medes and Persians in the Zagros Mountains, and moved his capital to the city of Kalhu (Calah/Nimrud). The palaces, temples and other buildings raised by him bear witness to a considerable development of wealth, science and art.

Shalmaneser III (858–823 BC) attacked and reduced Babylonia to vassalage, and defeated Aramea, Israel, Urartu, Phoenicia and the neo Hittite states, forcing all of these to pay tribute to Assyria. Shamshi-Adad V (822-811 BC) inherited an empire beset by civil war which he took most of his reign to quell. He was succeeded by Adad-nirari III who was merely a boy. The Empire was thus ruled by the famed queen Semiramis until 806 BC. In that year Adad-nirari III took the reins of power. He invaded the Levant and subjugated the Arameans, Phoenicians, Philistines, Israelites, neo Hittites and Edomites. He entered Damascus and forced tribute upon its king Ben-Hadad III. He next turned to Iran, and subjugated the Persians, Medes and Manneans, penetrating as far as the Caspian Sea. He forced Babylonia to pay tribute. His next targets were the Chaldean and Sutu tribes of south eastern Mesopotamia who he conquered and reduced to vassalage, and the Arabs were forced to pay tribute. After his premature death, Assyria failed to expand further during the reigns of Shalmaneser IV (782-773 BC), Ashur-dan III (772-755 BC) and Ashur-nirari V (754-746 BC).

Tiglath-Pileser II (745-727 BC) initiated a renewed period of Assyrian expansion; Urartu, Persia, Media, Mannea, Babylonia, Arabia, Phoenicia, Israel, Judah, Samaria, Palestine, Nabatea, Chaldea and the Neo-Hittites were subjugated, Tiglath-Pileser II was declared king in Babylon and the Assyrian empire was now stretched from the Caucasus Mountains to Arabia and from the Caspian Sea to Cyprus. Shalmaneser V (726-723 BC) consolidated Assyrian power during his short reign, and repressed Egyptian attempts to gain a foothold in the near east. Tiglath-Pileser II introduced eastern Aramaic as the *Lingua Franca* of Assyria and its vast empire.

Sargon II (722-705 BC) maintained the empire, driving the Cimmerians and Scythians from Iran, where they had invaded and attacked the Persians who were vassals of Assyria. Mannea, Cilicia Cappadocia and Commagene were conquered, Urartu was ravaged, and Babylon, Aram, Phoenicia, Israel, Arabia, Phrygia and Cyprus paid tribute.

Sennacherib (705-681 BC) defeated the Greeks who were attempting to gain a foothold in Cilicia, and defeated and drove the Egyptians from Israel and Phoenicia where they had fermented revolt against Assyria. Babylon revolted, and Sennacherib laid waste to the city, defeating its Elamite and Chaldean allies in the process. Esarhaddon expanded Assyria still further, campaigning deep into the Caucasus Mountains in the north, and invading and conquering Egypt in the south, driving its foreign Nubian/Kushite and Ethiopian rulers out in the process. He expanded the empire as far south as Dilmun (modern Bahrain or Qatar). Esarhaddon rebuilt Babylon during his reign, bringing peace to Mesopotamia as a whole. The Elamites, Cimmerians and Urartu were vanquished and Assyria's empire was kept secure.

Under Ashurbanipal (669-627 BC) its domination spanned from from the Caucasus Mountains in the north to Nubia, Egypt and Arabia in the south, and from Cyprus and Antioch in the west to Persia in the east. Ashurbanipal destroyed Elam and smashed a rebellion led by his own brother Shamash-shum-ukim who was the Assyrian king of Babylon, exacting savage revenge on the Chaldeans, Nabateans, Arabs and Elamites who had supported him. Persia and Media were regarded as vassals of Ashurbanipal. He built vast libraries and initiated a surge in the building of temples and palaces.

At its height Assyria conquered the 25th dynasty Egypt (and expelled its Nubian/Kushite dynasty) as well as Babylonia, Chaldea, Elam, Media, Persia, Ararat (Armenia), Phoenicia, Aramea/Syria, Phrygia, the Neo-Hittites, Hurrians, northern Arabia, Gutium, Israel, Judah, Moab, Edom, Corduene, Cilicia, Mannea and parts of Ancient Greece (such as Cyprus), and defeated and/or exacted tribute from Scythia, Cimmeria, Lydia, Nubia, Ethiopia and others.

Downfall, 626-605 BC

Assyria was severely crippled following the death of Ashurbanipal in 627 BC — the nation descending into a prolonged and brutal series of civil wars involving three rival kings, Ashur-etil-ilani, Sin-shumu-lishir and Sin-shar-ishkun.

Ashur-etil-ilani was deposed after four years of bitter fighting by Sin-shumu-lishir, an Assyrian general who had also claimed Babylon briefly. In turn, Sin-shumu-lishir was deposed after a year of warfare by Sin-shar-ishkun — who was then himself faced with constant rebellion in the Assyrian homeland, coupled with wholesale revolution in Babylon and aggression from former Assyrian colonies to the east and north. Many of Assyria's vassal states and colonies took advantage of this situation to free themselves from Assyrian rule.

By 620 BC, Nabopolassar, a member of the Chaldean tribe from the far southeast of Mesopotamia, had claimed Babylonia. Sin-shar-ishkun was unable to reconquer Babylonia, being hampered by rebellion in Assyria; similarly, Nabopolassar was unable to make inroads into Assyria, being repelled at every attempt. However, Nabopolassar entered into an alliance with the Median king Cyaxares, who had taken advantage of the upheavals in Assyria to free his people from Assyrian vassalage and unite the Iranic Medes and Persians, and the remnants of the Elamites and Manneans, into a powerful Median-dominated force. The Babylonians and Medes, together with the Scythians and Cimmerians, attacked Assyria in 616 BC. After bitter fighting, Nineveh was finally sacked in 612 BC, after a prolonged siege, Sin-shar-ishkun was killed in the process. The last known Assyrian king, Ashur-uballit II, held out at Harran from 612 BC until 609 BC, but was overrun by the Babylonians and Medes. Final resistance seems to have ended in 605 BC, with the defeat of an Assyrian-Egyptian relief force at Carchemish. It is not known whether Ashur-uballit II perished at Harran, Carchemish, or simply disappeared.

Assyria after the Empire

Assyria was ruled by Babylon from 605 BC until 539 BC, and in a twist of fate, Nabonidus the last king of Babylon was himself an Assyrian from Harran, however apart from plans to dedicate religious temples in that city, Nabonidus showed little interest in rebuilding Assyria. Nineveh and Kalhu remained in ruins, conversely a number of towns and cities such as Arrapkha and Harran remained intact, and it is not certain if Assur and Arbela were completely destroyed. However, although the Biblical accounts of Assyria's total distruction were far fetched, Assyria spent much of this period in a state of devastation following its fall. After this, it was ruled by the Persian Achaemenid Empire (as Athura) from 539 BC to 330 BC. Assyria seems to have recovered somewhat, and flourished during this period. It became a major agricultural and administrative centre of the Achaemenid Empire, and its soldiers were a mainstay of the Persian Army.[10] In fact Assyria even became powerful enough to raise a full scale revolt against the empire in 520 BC. The Persians had spent centuries under Assyrian domination, and Assyrian influence can be seen in Achaemenid art, infrastructure and administration. Early Persian rulers saw themselves as successors to Ashurbanipal, and Mesopotamian Aramaic was retained as the *lingua franca* of the empire for over two hundred years.[11] In 330 BC, Assyria fell to Alexander the Great, the Macedonian Emperor from Greece and became part of the Seleucid Empire and was renamed Syria, a Hurrian, Luwian and Greek corruption of **Assyria**.[12] It is from this period that the later *Syria* Vs *Assyria* naming controversy arises, the Seleucids applied the name to Assyria itself but also to the lands to the west which had been part of the Assyrian empire. When they lost control of Assyria itself, the name *Syria* survived and was applied to the land of Aramea to the west that had once been part of the Assyrian empire. By 150 BC, it was under the control of the Parthian Empire as Athura where the Assyrian city of Ashur seems to have gained a degree of autonomy, and temples to the native gods of Assyria were resurrected. A number of neo-Assyrian states arose, namely Adiabene, Osroene and Hatra. In 116 AD, under Trajan, it was taken over by Rome as the Roman Province of Assyria. The Assyrians began to convert to Christianity from Ashurism during the period between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD. Romans and Parthians fought over Assyria and the rest of Mesopotamia until 226 AD, when it was taken over by the Sassanid (Persian) Empire. It was known as Asuristan during this period, and became a main centre of the Church of the East (now the Assyrian Church of the East), with a

flourishing Syriac (Assyrian) Christian culture which exists there to this day. Temples were still being dedicated to the national god Ashur in his home city and in Harran during the 4th century AD, indicating an Assyrian identity was still strong. After the Arab Islamic conquest in the 7th Century AD Assyria was dissolved as an entity. Under Arab rule Mesopotamia as a whole underwent a process of *Arabisation* and *Islamification*, and the region saw a large influx of non indigenous Arabs, Kurds, and later Turkic peoples. However a percentage of the indigenous Assyrian population resisted this process, Assyrian Aramaic language and Church of the East Christianity were still dominant in the north, as late as the 11th and 12th centuries AD[13] . The 14th century AD massacres by Tamurlane massively reduced the population, however they exist to this day as the modern Assyrians (aka Chaldo-Assyrian Christians), who still retain Mesopotamian ethnicity, heritage, identity, names and Mesopotamian Aramaic dialects as mother tongues. An Assyrian war of independence was fought during World War I following the Assyrian Genocide suffered at the hands of the Ottomans and their Kurdish allies. Further persecutions have occurred since, such as the Simele Massacre, al Anfal campaign and Baathist and Islamist persecutions.

Language

During the third millennium BC, there developed a very intimate cultural symbiosis between the Sumerians and the Akkadians, which included widespread bilingualism.[14] The influence of Sumerian on Akkadian (and vice versa) is evident in all areas, from lexical borrowing on a massive scale, to syntactic, morphological, and phonological convergence.[14] This has prompted scholars to refer to Sumerian and Akkadian in the third millennium as a *sprachbund*.[14]

Akkadian gradually replaced Sumerian as the spoken language of Mesopotamia somewhere around the turn of the 3rd and the 2nd millennium BC (the exact dating being a matter of debate),[15] but Sumerian continued to be used as a sacred, ceremonial, literary and scientific language in Mesopotamia until the 1st century AD.

In ancient times Assyrians spoke a dialect of the Akkadian language, an eastern branch of the Semitic languages. The first inscriptions, called Old Assyrian (OA), were made in the Old Assyrian period. In the Neo-Assyrian period the Aramaic language became increasingly common, more so than Akkadian — this was thought to be largely due to the mass deportations undertaken by Assyrian kings, in which large Aramaic-speaking populations, conquered by the Assyrians, were relocated to Assyria and interbred with the Assyrians. The ancient Assyrians also used the Sumerian language in their literature and liturgy, although to a more limited extent in the Middle- and Neo-Assyrian periods, when Akkadian became the main literary language.

The destruction of the Assyrian capitals of Nineveh and Assur by the Babylonians, Medes and their allies ensured that much of the bilingual elite were wiped out. By the 7th century BC, much of the Assyrian population used Eastern Aramaic and not Akkadian. The last Akkadian inscriptions in Mesopotamia date from the 1st Century AD. However Eastern Aramaic dialects still survive to this day among Assyrians in the regions of northern Iraq, southeast Turkey, northwest Iran and northeast Syria that constituted old Assyria.

After 90 years of effort, the University of Chicago has published an Assyrian Dictionary, whose form is more encyclopedia in style than dictionary.[16]

Arts and sciences

Assyrian art preserved to the present day predominantly dates to the Neo-Assyrian period. Art depicting battle scenes, and occasionally the impaling of whole villages in gory detail, was intended to show the power of the emperor, and was generally made for propaganda purposes. These stone reliefs lined the walls in the royal palaces where foreigners were received by the king. Other stone reliefs depict the king with different deities and conducting religious ceremonies. Many stone reliefs were discovered in the royal palaces at Nimrud (Kalhu) and Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin). A rare discovery of metal plates belonging to wooden doors was made at Balawat (Imgur-Enlil).

Relief from Assyrian capital of Dur Sharrukin, showing transport of Lebanese cedar (8th century BC)

Assyrian sculpture reached a high level of refinement in the Neo-Assyrian period. One prominent example is the winged bull *Lamassu*, or shedu that guard the entrances to the king's court. These were apotropaic meaning they were intended to ward off evil. C. W. Ceram states in *The March of Archaeology* that *lamassi* were typically sculpted with five legs so that four legs were always visible, whether the image were viewed frontally or in profile.

Since works of precious gems and metals usually do not survive the ravages of time, we are lucky to have some fine pieces of Assyrian jewelry. These were found in royal tombs at Nimrud.

There is ongoing discussion among academics over the nature of the Nimrud lens, a piece of quartz unearthed by Austen Henry Layard in 1850, in the Nimrud palace complex in northern Iraq. A small minority believe that it is evidence for the existence of ancient Assyrian telescopes, which could explain the great accuracy of Assyrian astronomy. Other suggestions include its use as a magnifying glass for jewellers, or as a decorative furniture inlay. The Nimrud Lens is held in the British Museum.[17]

The Assyrians were also innovative in military technology with the use of heavy cavalry, sappers, siege engines etc.

Legacy and rediscovery

Achaemenid Assyria (539 BC - 330 BC) retained a separate identity (Athura), official correspondence being in Imperial Aramaic, and there was even a determined revolt of the two Assyrian provinces of Mada and Athura in 520 BC. Under Seleucid rule (330 BC — Approx 150 BC), however, Aramaic gave way to Greek as the official administrative language. Aramaic was marginalised as an official language, but remained spoken in both Assyria and Babylonia by the general populace. It also remained the spoken tongue of the indigenous Assyrian/Babylonian citizens of all Mesopotamia under Persian, Greek and Roman rule, and indeed well into the Arab period it was still the language of the majority, particularly in the north of Mesopotamia, surviving to this day among the Assyrian Christians.

Between 150 BC and 226 AD Assyria changed hands between the Parthians and Romans Roman Province of Assyria until coming under the rule of Sassanid Persia in 226 AD - 651 AD, where it was known as Asuristan.

A number of at least partly neo Assyrian kingdoms existed in the area between in the late classical and early Christian period also; Adiabene, Hatra and Osroene.

Classical historiographers had only retained a very dim picture of Assyria. It was remembered that there had been an Assyrian empire predating the Persian one, but all particulars were lost. Thus Jerome's *Chronicon* lists 36 kings of the Assyrians, beginning with Ninus, son of Belus, down to Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians before the empire fell to Arbaces the Median. Almost none of these have been substantiated as historical, with the exception of the Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian rulers listed in Ptolemy's Canon, beginning with Nabonassar.

The modern discovery of Babylonia and Assyria begins with excavations in Nineveh in 1845, which revealed the Library of Ashurbanipal. Decipherment of cuneiform was a formidable task that took more than a decade, but by 1857, the Royal Asiatic Society was convinced that reliable reading of cuneiform texts was possible. Assyriology has since pieced together the formerly largely forgotten history of Mesopotamia. In the wake of the archaeological and philological rediscovery of ancient Assyria, Assyrian nationalism became increasingly popular among the surviving remnants of the Assyrian people, and has come to strongly identify with ancient Assyria.

Notes and references

[1] name="H.W.F. Saggs">Saggs, *The Might That Was Assyria*, pp. 290, "The destruction of the Assyrian empire did not wipe out its population. They were predominantly peasant farmers, and since Assyria contains some of the best wheat land in the Near East, descendants of the Assyrian peasants would, as opportunity permitted, build new villages over the old cities and carry on with agricultural life, remembering traditions of the former cities. After seven or eight centuries and various vicissitudes, these people became Christians.

[2] http://www.jaas.org/edocs/v18n2/Parpola-identity_Article%20-Final.pdf

[3] Malati J. Shendge (1 January 1997). *The language of the Harappans: from Akkadian to Sanskrit* (http://books.google.com/books?id=Xb6CZMmwo00C&pg=PA46). Abhinav Publications. p. 46. ISBN 9788170173250. . Retrieved 22 April 2011.

[4] According to the Assyrian King List and Georges Roux-Ancient Iraq

[5] Larsen, Mogens Trolle (2000): The old Assyrian city-state. In Hansen, Mogens Herman, A comparative study of thirty city-state cultures : an investigation / conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre. P.77-89

[6] The encyclopædia britannica:a dictionary of arts, sciences, literature and general information, Volume 26, Edited by Hugh Chrisholm, 1911, p. 968

[7] According to George Roux p282-283.

[8] see historical urban community sizes. Estimates are those of Chandler (1987).

[9] Chart of World Kingdoms, Nations and Empires — All Empires (http://www.allempires.info/article/index.php?q=AE_Chart)

[10] mainstay of the Persian Army (http://www.nineveh.com/Assyrians after Assyria.html)

[11] Georges Roux-Ancient Iraq

[12] http://www.aina.org/articles/ttaasa.pdf

[13] According to George Roux and Simo Parpola

[14] Deutscher, Guy (2007). *Syntactic Change in Akkadian: The Evolution of Sentential Complementation* (http://books.google.com/?id=XFwUxmCdG94C). Oxford University Press US. pp. 20–21. ISBN 9780199532223. .

[15] Woods C. 2006 "Bilingualism, Scribal Learning, and the Death of Sumerian". In S.L. Sanders (ed) *Margins of Writing, Origins of Culture*: 91-120 Chicago (http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/OIS2.pdf)

[16] Ancient world dictionary finished — after 90 years, Associated Pressm published by Yahoo! News on-line, June 4, 2011 (http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20110604/ap_on_re_us/us_postcard_the90_year_dictionary_project)

[17] Lens (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=369215&partid=1), British Museum.

This article incorporates text from Easton's Bible Dictionary *(1897), a publication now in the public domain.*

Literature

- Ascalone, Enrico. *Mesopotamia: Assyrians, Sumerians, Babylonians (Dictionaries of Civilizations; 1)*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007 (paperback, ISBN 0-520-25266-7).
- Grayson, Albert Kirk: *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (**ABC**), Locust Valley, N.Y.; Augustin (1975), Winona Lake, In.; Eisenbrauns (2000).
- Healy, Mark (1991). *The Ancient Assyrians* (http://books.google.com/?id=Hodh6fgx-DMC&printsec=frontcover&dq=isbn=1855321637). London: Osprey. ISBN 1855321637. OCLC 26351868.
- Leick, Gwendolyn. *Mesopotamia*.
- Lloyd, Seton. *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia: From the Old Stone Age to the Persian Conquest*.
- Rosie Malek-Yonan (2005). *The Crimson Field* (http://books.google.com/?id=tMpAAAAACAAJ&dq=the+Crimson+Field). Pearlida Publishing. ISBN 0977187349. OCLC 2005906414.
- Nardo, Don. *The Assyrian Empire*.
- Nemet-Nejat, Karen Rhea. *Daily Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*.
- Oppenheim, A. Leo. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*.

- Parpola, Simo (2004). "National and Ethnic Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Assyrian Identity in Post-Empire Times" (http://www.jaas.org/edocs/v18n2/Parpola-identity_Article -Final.pdf) (PDF). *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* **18** (2).
- Roux, Georges. *Ancient Iraq*. Third edition. Penguin Books, 1992 (paperback, ISBN 0-14-012523-X).
- Saggs, H. W. F., *The Might That Was Assyria*, ISBN 0-283-98961-0
- Virginia Schomp (2005). *Ancient Mesopotamia: The Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians*. New York: Scholastic Library Pub. ISBN 0531167410. OCLC 60341786.
- Spence, Lewis. *Myths and Legends of Babylonia and Assyria*.

External links

- Assyria on Ancient History Encyclopedia (http://www.ancient.eu.com/assyria/)
- Assyrian administrative letters (http://web.archive.org/web/20040416132927/www.bol.ucla.edu/~szuchman/hist312.htm)
- Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria: its remains, language, history, religion, commerce, law, art, and literature* (http://fax.libs.uga.edu/DS71xJ39C/), London: Lippincott (1915) — a searchable facsimile at the University of Georgia Libraries; also available in layered PDF format (http://fax.libs.uga.edu/DS71xJ39C/1f/civilization_of_babylonia_and_assyria.pdf)
- "Assyrian Legacy", Prototype Productions (video) (http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-4066140085264233173)
- "Assyria", *LookLex Encyclopedia* (http://lexicorient.com/e.o/assyria.htm)
- Robert William Rogers, *The History of Assyria* in "btm" format (http://www.third-millennium-library.com/readinghall/UniversalHistory/THE_OLD_WORLD/ASSYRIA/Door.html)
- Theophilus G. Pinches, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* in "btm" format (http://www.third-millennium-library.com/readinghall/UniversalHistory/THE_OLD_WORLD/Religion-Babilonia-Assyria/THEOPHILUS_G_PINCHES/1-Foreword.html)
- "The Library at Ninevah", *In our Time — BBC Radio 4* (http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/inourtime/inourtime_20080515.shtml)
- "Assyrians in Arzni-Armenia", Website of the Abovyan city (http://www.abovyan.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=204&Itemid=2)
- "Assyria". *Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. 1913.
- Chisholm, Hugh, ed (1911). "Babylonia and Assyria". *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Eleventh ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Medes

Mādai	
Median Empire or Median Confederation	
728 BC–549 BC	

A map of Median Empire; based on Herodotean

Capital	Ecbatana
Language(s)	Old Iranian; Median language
Religion	Zoroastrianism
Government	Monarchy
King	
- 625-585 BC	Cyaxares (first)
- 589-549 BC	Astyages (last)
Historical era	Golden Age
- Cyaxares united Median tribes[1]	728 BC
- Cyrus the Great	549 BC

The **Medes**[2] (from Old Persian *Māda-*) were an ancient Iranian people[3] who lived in Iran in an area known as Media and spoke a northwestern Iranian language referred to as the Median language. Their arrival to the region is associated with the first wave of Iranian tribes in the late second millennium BCE (the Bronze Age collapse) through the beginning of the first millennium BCE.

In the 7th century BCE a unified Median state was formed which together with Babylonia, Lydia, and Egypt became one of the four major powers of the ancient Near East. An alliance with the Babylonians helped the Medes to capture Nineveh in 612 BCE which resulted in the collapse of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The Medes were subsequently able to establish their Median kingdom (with Ecbatana as their royal centre) beyond their original homeland (central-western Iran) and had eventually a territory stretching roughly from northeastern Iran to the Halys river in Anatolia. The Median kingdom was conquered in 550 BCE by Cyrus the Great who established the next Iranian dynasty—the Achaemenid Empire.

A few archaeological sites (discovered in the "Median triangle") and textual sources (from Assyrians and also Greeks) provide a brief documentation of the history and culture of the Median state. These architectural, religions

temples, and literary references show the importance of Median lasting contributions (such as the Safavid-Achaemenid-Median link of the tradition of "columned audience halls") to the Iranian culture. A number of still-in-use words from Median language are left and there are languages being geographically and comparatively traced to the northwestern Iranian language of Medlian.

Besides Ecbatana modern Hamedan, the other cities existing in Media were Laodicea, modern Nahavand[4] and the mound that was the city of Rhages (also called Rey), is on the outskirts of Shahr Rey, near Tehran.

Name

The original source for different words used to call the Median people, their language and homeland is a directly transmitted Old Iranian geographical name which is attested as the Old Persian "Māda-" (sing. masc.).[5] The meaning of this word is not precisely established.[5] [6] The linguist W. Skalmowski proposes a relation with the proto-indoeuropean word "med(h)-" meaning "central, suited in the middle" by referring to Old Indic "madhya-" and Old Iranic Avestan "maidiia-" both carrying the same meaning.[5]

They also appear in many ancient texts: According to Histories of Herodotus "The Medes were called anciently by all people Aryans; but when Medea, the Colchian, came to them from Athens, they changed their name. Such is the account which they themselves give".[7] He had also listed the names of six Median tribes: "Thus Deioces collected the Medes into a nation, and ruled over them alone. Now these are the tribes of which they consist: the *Busae*, the *Paretaceni*, the *Struchates*, the *Arizanti*, the *Budii*, and the *Magi*."[8]

The geographical name "Media" survives in the Modern Iranian geographical name "Māhīdašt" (*lit.* "the Median plain," with "Māh < Māda-") in Kermanshah province.[9]

Historical geography of Media

The original population area of median people was western Iran and named after them as "Media". At the end of the 2nd millennium BCE the median tribes, as one of Iranian tribes to do so, arrived in the region which they later called Media. These tribes expanded their control over larger areas subsequently and over a period of several hundred years the boundaries of Media moved.[10]

Ancient textual sources

The earlier description of the territory of Media by the Assyrians dates from the end of 9th century until the beginning of the 7th century BCE. The southern border of Media, in that period, is named as Elamite region of Simaški in presend day Lorestan, from west and northwest it was bounded by Zagros mountains and from east by Dašt-e Kavir. In summary the region of Media known to Assyrian and recorded by them "extended along the Great Khorasan Road from just east of Harhar to Alwand, and probably beyond. It was limited on the north by Mannea, on the south by Ellipi."[11] The location of Harhar is suggested to be "the central or eastern" Mahidasht in Kermanshah province.[12]

On the east and southeast of Media, as described by Assyrians, another land with the name of "Patušarra" appears. This land was located near a mountain range with what Assyrian mention as "Bikni" and describe as "Lapis Lazuli Mountain". There are various opinion on the location of this mountain. Damavand of Tehran and Alvand of Hamadan are two proposed identification of that location. This location is the most remote eastern area that the Assyrians knew or reached during their expansion until the beginning of 7th century BCE.[13]

In the sources from Achaemenid Iran and specifically from the inscription of Darius I (2.76, 77-78) the capital of Media is named as "Hamgmatāna-" in Old Persian (and as Elamite "Agmadana-", Babylonian "Agamtanu-", etc.). The classical authors transmitted this as Ecbatana. This site is the modern Hamadan province.[14]

Archaeological evidence

The Median archaeological sources are rare. The discoveries of Median sites happened only after 1960s.[15] For sometime after 1960 the search for Median archeological sources has been for most parts focused in an area known as the "Median triangle," defined roughly as the region bounded by Hamadān, Malāyer (in Hamdan province) and Kangāvar (in Kermanshah province).[15] Three major sites from central western Iran in the Iron Age III period (i.e. 850-500 BCE) are[16]

Excavation from ancient Ecbatane, Hamadan, Iran

- Tepe Nush-i Jan (a primarily religious site of Median period),

    The site is located 14 km west of Malāyer in Hamadan province.[15] The excavations started in 1967 with D. Stronach as the director.[17] The remains of four main buildings in the site have "the central temple, the western temple, the fort, and the columned hall" which according to Stronach were likely to have been built in the order named and predate the latter occupation of the first half of the 6th century BCE.[18] According to Stronach, the central temple, with its stark design, "provides a notable, if mute, expression of religious belief and practice".[18] A number of ceramics from the Median levels at Tepe Nush-i Jan have been found which are associated with the time (the second half of the 7th century BCE) of the Median consolidation of their power in the Hamadān areas. These findings show four different wares known as "Common ware" (buff, cream, or light red in color and with gold or silver mica temper) including jars in various size the largest of which is a form of ribbed pithoi. Smaller and more elaborate vessels were in "grey ware", (these display smoothed and burnished surface). The "Cooking ware" and "Crumbly ware" are also recognized each in single handmade products.[18]

- Godin Tepe (its period II: a fortified palace of a Median king or tribal chief),

    The site is located 13 km east of Kangāvar city on the left bank of the river Gamas Āb". The excavations, started in 1965, were led by T. C. Young, Jr. which, according to D. Stronach, evidently shows an important Bronze Age construction that was reoccupied sometime before the beginning of the Iron III period. The excavations of Young indicate the remains of a part of a single residence of a local ruler which later became quite substantial.[15] This is similar to those mentioned often in Assyrian sources.[16]

- Baba Jan (probably the seat of a lesser tribal ruler of Media).

    The site is located in northeastern Luristan with a distance of roughly 10 km from Nūrābād in Lurestan province. The excavations were conducted by C. Goff in 1966-69. The level II of this site probably dates to 7th century BCE.[19]

These sources have both similarities (in cultural characteristics) and differences (due to functional differences and diversity among the Median tribes).[16] The architecture of this archaeological findings that can probably be dated to the Median period show a link between the tradition of columned audience halls seen often in Achaemenid Iran (for example in Persepolis) and also in the Safavid Iran (for example in "the hall of forty columns" from 17th century CE) and the Median architecture.[16]

The materials found at Tepe Nush-i Jan, Godin Tepe, and other sites located in Media together with the Assyrian reliefs show the existence of urban settlements in Media in the first half of the first millennium BCE which had functioned as centres for production of handicraft and also of an agricultural and cattle-breeding economy of a secondary type.[20] For other historical documentation, the archaeological evidence, though rare, together with cuneiform records by Assyrian make it possible, regardless of Herodotus accounts, to establish some of the early history of Medians.[21]

Rise to power

Pre-dynastic history

Iranian tribes were present in western and northwestern Iran at least from 12-11th century BCE. The significance of Iranian elements in these regions were established from beginning of the second half of the 8th century BCE.[22] By this time the Iranian tribes were the majority in what later become the territory of Median kingdom and also the west of Media proper.[22] A study of textual sources from the region show that in Neo-Assyrian period, the regions of Media and further west and northwest had a population with Iranian speaking people as majority.[23]

In western and northwestern Iran and in areas west to these and prior to the Median rule there were previously political activities of powerful societies of Elam, Manna, Assyria and Urartu/Ararat (Armenia).[22] There are various and up-dated opinions on the positions and activities of Iranian tribes in these societies and prior to the "major Iranian state formations" in 7th century BCE.[22] One opinion (of Herzfeld, *et al.*) is that the ruling class were "Iranian migrants" but the society was "autochthonous" while another opinion (of Grantovsky, *et al.*) holds that both the ruling class and basic elements of the population were Iranian.[24]

Median dynasty

The list of Median rulers and their dates compiled according to A: Herodotus who calls them "kings" and associates them to the same family and B: Babylonian Chronicle which in "Gadd's Chronicle on the Fall of Nineveh" gives its own list, ist: Deioces (reign 700-647 BCE), Phraortes (reign 647-625 BCE), Scythian (reign 624-597 BCE), Cyaxares (reign 624-585 BCE) and Astyages (reign 585-549 BCE): a total of 150 years.[25] Not all of these dates and personalities given by Herodotus match the other near eastern sources[25]

In Herodotus (book 1, chapters 95-130), Deioces is introduced as the founder of a centralized Median state. He had been known to Median people as "a just and incorruptible man" and when asked by Median people to solve their possible disputes he agreed and put the condition that they make him "king" and build a great city at Ecbatana as the capital of Median state.[26] Judging from the contemporary sources of the region and disregarding[27] the account of Herodotus puts the formation of a unified Median state during reign of Cyaxares or later.[28]

Median culture and society

In Greek references to "Median" people there is no clear distinction between the "Persians" and the "Medians"; in fact for a Greek to become "too closely associated with Iranian culture" was "to become medianized, not persianized".[] The Median kingdom was a short-lived Iranian state and the textual and archaeological sources of that period are rare and little could be known from the Median culture which nevertheless made a "profound, and lasting, contribution to the greater world of Iranian culture".[16]

Modern artistic drawing of Costumes of ancient Mede nobility.

Language

Median people spoke Median language that was an Old Iranian language. Strabo(63/64 BC − ca. AD 24) in his "Geography", mentions the affinity of Mede with other Iranian languages: "The name of *Ariana* is further extended to a part of Persia and of Media, as also to the Bactrians and Sogdians on the north; for these speak approximately the same language, with but slight variations".[29]

No original text written in Median language and during the rule of Median kingdom has been found. It is suggested that similar to later Iranian practice of keeping archive of written documents in Achaemenid Iran, there was also a maintenance of archives by Median government in their capital Ecbatana. There are examples of "Median literature" found in later records. One is according to Herdotus that the Median king Deioces, appearing as a judge, made judgement on causes submitted in writing. There is also a report by Dinon on existence of "Median court poets".[30] Median literature is a part of the "Old Iranian literature" (including also Saka, Old Persian, Avestan) as this Iranian affiliation of them is explicit also in ancient texts, such as Herodotus's account[7] that many peoples including Medes were "universally called Iranian".[31]

Words of Median origin appear in various other Iranian dialects, including Old Persian. A feature of Old Persian inscriptions is the large number of words and names from other languages and the Median language takes in this regard a special place for historical reasons.[32] The Median words in Old Persian texts, whose Median origin can be established by "phonetic criteria",[32] appear "more frequently among royal titles and among terms of the chancellery, military, and judicial affairs".[32]

For example, Herodotus mentions the word *Spaka* (dog), still found in Iranic languages such as Talyshi. Other words also thought to be of Mede origin (I.M Diakonoff, Medes) include

- *Farnah*: Divine glory; (Avestan: *khvarənah*)
- *Paridaiza*: Paradise, (as in Pardis پردیس)
- *Vazraka*: Great, (as Modern Persian *Bozorg* بزرگ),
- *Vispa*: All, (as in Avestan),
- *Xshayathiya* (royal, royalty): This Median word (xšaθra-pā-) is an example of words whose Greek form (known as romanized "satrap" from Gk. "satrápēs - σατράπης") mirrors, as opposed to the tradition[33] , a Median rather than an Old Persian form of an Old Iranian word.[]

The Medes are sometimes considered by Kurdish nationalists to be one of the ancestors of the Kurds based on linguistic and geographic claims.[34] This conjecture is, however, challenged by other scholars who consider central Iranian dialects, mainly those of Kashan area and Tati as the only direct offshoots of Median language.[35] [36] Moreover, although some medieval Armenian authors refer to Kurds as *mark* or *azgn marac* (the tribe of the marks),

this is considered as part of a literary tradition of identifying modern ethnic groups with the unrelated ancient people.[37] Moreover linguistic evidence shows the ancestor of the Kurds lived to the south of the Medes and departed from the South to the North.[38]

Religion

From the names in the Assyrian inscriptions, it appears they had already adopted the religion of Zoroaster.[39]

The revival of Zoroastrianism, enforced everywhere by the Sassanids, completed this development. Atropatene, already center of the fire cult during Parthian times (see Takht-i-Suleiman) now became the site of one of the legendary Great Fires. Under the patronage of Kartir, the 'priest of priests' of the early Sassanid kings, Arsacia/Rhagae advanced to become one of the two (the other being Ishtakhr, ancestral seat of the Sassanid priest-kings) centers of the Zoroastrian priesthood.

Media in later periods

Achaemenid Persia

In 553 BC, Cyrus the Great, King of Persia, rebelled against his grandfather, the Mede King, Astyages son of Cyaxares; he finally won a decisive victory in 550 BC resulting in Astyages' capture by his own dissatisfied nobles, who promptly turned him over to the triumphant Cyrus.[40]

After Cyrus's victory against Astyages, the Medes were subjected to their close kin, the Persians.[41] In the new empire they retained a prominent position; in honor and war, they stood next to the Persians; their court ceremony was adopted by the new sovereigns, who in the summer months resided in Ecbatana; and many noble Medes were employed as officials, satraps and generals. Interestingly, at the beginning the Greek historians referred to the Achaemenid Empire as a *Median* empire.

After the assassination of the usurper Smerdis, a Mede Fravartish (Phraortes), claiming to be a scion of Cyaxares, tried to restore the Mede kingdom, but was defeated by the Persian generals and executed in Ecbatana (Darius I the Great in the Behistun inscr.). Another rebellion, in 409 BC, against Darius II (Xenophon,

Modern artistic drawing of Median and Persian noblemen.

Hellen. ~. 2, 19) was of short duration. But the Iranian[42] tribes to the north, especially the Cadusii, were always troublesome; many abortive expeditions of the later kings against them are mentioned.[43]

Under Persian rule, the country was divided into two satrapies: the south, with Ecbatana and Rhagae (Rey near modern Tehran), Media proper, or Greater Media, as it is often called, formed in Darius I the Great's organization the eleventh satrapy (Herodotus iii. 92), together with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantians; the north, the district of Matiane (see above), together with the mountainous districts of the Zagros and Assyria proper (east of the Tigris) was united with the Alarodians and Saspirians in eastern Armenia, and formed the eighteenth satrapy (Herod. iii. 94; cf. v. 49, 52, VII. 72).

When the Persian empire decayed and the Cadusii and other mountainous tribes made themselves independent, eastern Armenia became a special satrapy, while Assyria seems to have been united with Media; therefore Xenophon in the *Anabasis* always designates Assyria by the name of "Media".[43]

Seleucid rule

Following Alexander's invasion of the satrapy of Media in the summer of 330 BC, he appointed as *satrap* a former general of Darius III the Great named Atropates (Atrupat) in 328 BC, according to Arrian. In the partition of his empire, southern Media was given to the Macedonian Peithon; but the north, far off and of little importance to the generals squabbling over Alexander's inheritance, was left to Atropates.

While southern Media, with Ecbatana, passed to the rule of Antigonus, and afterwards (about 310 BC) to Seleucus I, Atropates maintained himself in his own satrapy and succeeded in founding an independent kingdom. Thus the partition of the country, that Persia had introduced, became lasting; the north was named Atropatene (in Pliny, *Atrapatene*; in Ptolemy, *Tropatene*), after the founder of the dynasty, a name still said to be preserved in the modern form 'Azerbaijan'.

The capital of Atropatene was Gazaca in the central plain, and the castle Phraaspa, discovered on the Araz river by archaeologists in April 2005.

Atropatene is that country of western Asia which was least of all other countries influenced by Hellenism; there exists not even a single coin of its rulers. Southern Media remained a province of the Seleucid Empire for a century and a half, and Hellenism was introduced everywhere. Media was surrounded everywhere by Greek towns, in pursuance of Alexander's plan to protect it from neighboring barbarians, according to Polybius (x. 27). Only Ecbatana retained its old character. But Rhagae became the Greek town *Europus*; and with it Strabo (xi. 524) names Laodicea, Apamea Heraclea or Achais. Most of them were founded by Seleucus I and his son Antiochus I.

Arsacid rule

In 221 BC, the satrap Molon tried to make himself independent (there exist bronze coins with his name and the royal title), together with his brother Alexander, satrap of Persis, but they were defeated and killed by Antiochus the Great. In the same way, the Mede satrap Timarchus took the diadem and conquered Babylonia; on his coins he calls himself the great king Timarchus; but again the legitimate king, Demetrius I, succeeded in subduing the rebellion, and Timarchus was slain. But with Demetrius I, the dissolution of the Seleucid Empire began, brought about chiefly by the intrigues of the Romans, and shortly afterwards, in about 150, the Parthian king Mithradates I conquered Media (Justin xli. 6).

From this time Media remained subject to the Arsacids or Parthians, who changed the name of Rhagae, or Europus, into *Arsacia* (Strabo xi. 524), and divided the country into five small provinces (Isidorus Charac.). From the Parthians, it passed in 226 to the Sassanids, together with Atropatene.

Notes

[1]   Encyclopædia Britannica Online Media (ancient region, Iran) (http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/372125/Media)

[2]   from OED's entry: "Mede < *classical Latin Mēdus (usually as plural, Mēdī) < ancient Greek (Attic and Ionic) Μῆδος (Cypriot ma-to-i Μᾱδοι, plural) < Old Persian Māda*"OED Online "entry Mede, n.". (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/115629?rskey=kViil4&result=4):

[3]   A)"..and the Medes (Iranians of what is now north-west Iran).." *EIEC* (1997:30). B) "Archaeological evidence for the religion of the Iranian-speaking Medes of the .." (Diakonoff 1985, p. 140). C) ".. succeeded in uniting into a kingdom the many Iranian-speaking Median tribes" (from Encyclopedia Britannica). D) "Proto-Iranian split into Western (Median, ancient Persian, and others) and Eastern (Scythian, Ossetic, Saka, Pamir and others)..." (Kuz'mina, Elena E. (2007), *The origin of the Indo-Iranians*, J. P. Mallory (ed.), BRILL, p. 303, ISBN 9789004160545) ...

[4]   http://books.google.com/books?id=Al0jpyRDGe8C&pg=PA93&dq=Laodicea+nahavand&hl=en&ei=YF6UTdPcGsmEOtrL-KQH& sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CCgQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Laodicea%20nahavand&f=false

[5]   (Tavernier 2007, p. 27)

[6]   (Diakonoff 1985, p. 57)

[7]   (Herodotus 7.62.1 (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+7.62.1))

[8]   Herodotus 1.101 (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+1.101.1)

[9]   (Windfuhr 1991, p. 242)

[10] (Diakonoff 1985, pp. 36–41)

[11] (Levine 1974, p. 119)

[12] (Levine 1974, p. 117)

[13] (Levine 1974, pp. 118–119)

[14] (Levine 1974, pp. 118)

[15] (Stronach1982, p. 288)

[16] (Young 1997, p. 449)

[17] (Stronach 1968, p. 179)

[18] (Stronach 1982, p. 290)

[19] (Henrickson 1988, p. ?)

[20] (Dandamayev & Medvedskaya 2006, p. ?)

[21] (Young 1997, p. 448)

[22] (Dandamaev et al. 2004, pp. 2–3)

[23] (Zadok 2002, p. 140)

[24] (Dandamaev et al. 2004, p. 3)

[25] (Diakonoff 1985, p. 112)

[26] (Young 1988, p. 16)

[27] (Young 1988, p. 19)

[28] (Young 1988, p. 21)

[29] Geography, Strab. 15.2.8 (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0239:book=15:chapter=2:section=8)

[30] (Gershevitch 1968, p. 2)

[31] (Gershevitch 1968, p. 1)

[32] (Schmitt 2008, p. 98)

[33] "..a great many Old Persian lexemes...are preserved in a borrowed form in non-Persian languages – the so-called "collateral" tradition of Old Persian (within or outside the Achaemenid Empire).... not every purported Old Iranian form attested in this manner is an actual lexeme of Old Persian."(Schmitt 2008, p. 99)

[34] John Limbert, "The Origins and Appearance of the Kurds in Pre-Islamic Iran", *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Spring 1968. Excerpt: "Although some scholars have dismissed the Kurds' claim of Median descent, linguistic and geographical evidence supports these claims. All Kurdish dialects have maintained the basic characteristics of Kurdish despite the wide dispersion of the tribes. This fact suggests that there was an ancient and powerful language from which the dialects evolved, which cannot be proved to be Median".

[35] G. Asatrian, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Kurds*, Iran and the Caucasus, Vol.13, pp.1-58, 2009. (p.21)

[36] Borjian, Habib. 2009. "Median Succumbs to Persian after Three Millennia of Coexistence: Language Shift in the Central Iranian Plateau". Journal of Persianate Studies. 2 (1): 62-87.

[37] G. Asatrian, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Kurds*, Iran and the Caucasus, Vol.13, pp.1-58, 2009. (pp.21-22) Excerpt:"In the late Armenian sources, especially in the colophons of the manuscripts, the Kurds are sometimes referred to as mark or azgn marac. Namely this phenomenon in the Armenian written tradition is declared by the protagonists of the mentioned idea (e.g. Minorsky, *Les origines des Kurds*, Actes du XXe Congrès international des orientalistes, Louvain: 143-152, 1940). However, the labeling of the Kurds as Medians by the Armenian chroniclers is a mere literary device within the tradition of identifying the contemporary ethnic units with the ancient peoples, known throughout the Classical literature. Tatars, e.g., were identified with the Persians, *azgn parsic*; Kara-qoyunlu Turkmens were called "the tribe of the Scythians", *azgn skiwt'ac'woc'*.

[38] Kreyenbroek, Philip G., and Stefan Sperl. ١٩٩٢. The Kurds: a contemporary overview. Routledge/SOAS contemporary politics and culture in the Middle East series. London: Routledge. p.7·

[39] Mary Boyce, *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* (Chicago: Univ. Of Chicago Press, 1990) (http://www.books.google.com/books?vid=ISBN0226069303&id=ZPlmnX7AgMEC&pg=PA7&lpg=PA7&ots=h9MaU8-X0h&dq=medes+zoroastrian&sig=dYYIouBWvJ4IaiPQOMFfUa0k1dM)

[40] From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire, Pierre Briant, Eisenbrauns, 2006, p. 31

[41] Herodotus, *The Histories*, p. 93.

[42] Rudiger Schmitt, "Cadusii" in Encyclopedia Iranica (http://www.iranica.com/newsite/index.isc?Article=http://www.iranica.com/newsite/articles/unicode/v4f6/v4f6a027.html)

[43] The encyclopædia britannica: a dictionary of arts, sciences, literature and general information, Volume 18, Edited by Hugh Crisholm, University Press, 1911, p. 21

References

Literature cited

- Dandamayev, M.; Medvedskaya, I. (2006), "Media" (http://www.iranica.com/articles/media), *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online Edition*
- Henrickson, R. C. (1988), "Baba Jan Teppe" (http://www.iranica.com/articles/baba-jan-tepe), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, **2**, Routledge & Kegan Paul, ISBN 9780933273672
- Tavernier, Jan (2007), *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.): Linguistic Study of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Peeters Publishers, ISBN 9042918330
- Dandamaev, M. A.; Lukonin, V. G.; Kohl, Philip L.; Dadson, D. J. (2004), *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, pp. 480, ISBN 9780521611916
- Diakonoff, I. M. (1985), "Media", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, **2** (Edited by Ilya Gershevitch ed.), Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, pp. 36–148, ISBN 0521200911
- Gershevitch, I. (1968), "Old Iranian Literature", *Iranian Studies*, Hanbuch Der Orientalistik - Abeteilung - Der Nahe Und Der Mittlere Osten, **1**, 1-30: Brill, ISBN 9789004008571
- Levine, Louis D. (1973-01-01), "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros: I", *Iran* **11**: 1–27, doi:10.2307/4300482, ISSN 05786967, JSTOR 4300482
- Levine, Louis D. (1974-01-01), "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros-II", *Iran* **12**: 99–124, doi:10.2307/4300506, ISSN 05786967, JSTOR 4300506
- Young, T. Cuyler, Jr. (1988), "The early history of the Medes and the Persians and the Achaemenid empire to the death of Cambyses" (http://histories.cambridge.org/extract?id=chol9780521228046_CHOL9780521228046A002), in Boardman, M.; Hammond, N. G. L.; Lewis, D. M. et al., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, **4**, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–52, doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521228046.002
- Young, T. Cuyler (1997), "Medes", in Meyers, Eric M., *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*, **3**, Oxford University Press, pp. 448–450, ISBN 9780195112177
- Zadok, Ran (2002), "The Ethno-Linguistic Character of Northwestern Iran and Kurdistan in the Neo-Assyrian Period", *Iran* **40**: 89–151, doi:10.2307/4300620, ISSN 05786967, JSTOR 4300620
- Schmitt, Rüdiger (2008), "Old Persian", in Woodard, Roger D., *The Ancient Languages of Asia and the Americas*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 76–100, ISBN 9780521684941
- Stronach, David (1968), "Tepe Nush-i Jan: A Mound in Media", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series **27** (3): 177–186, doi:10.2307/3258384, ISSN 0026-1521, JSTOR 3258384
- Stronach, David (1982), "Archeology ii. Median and Achaemenid", in Yarshater, E., *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, **2**, Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 288–96, ISBN 9780933273672
- Windfuhr, Gernot L. (1991), "Central dialects", in Yarshater, E., *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, pp. 242–51, ISBN 9780939214792

Further reading

Encyclopaedic Articles

- " Mede (http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9051719)." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2008. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 16 January 2008.
- Dandamayev, M.; Medvedskaya, I. (2006), "Media" (http://www.iranica.com/articles/media), *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online Edition*

Book chapters

- Gershevitch, Ilya (1985), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, **2**, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, ISBN 0521200911

- Dandamaev, M. A.; Lukonin, V. G.; Kohl, Philip L.; Dadson, D. J. (2004), *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, pp. 480, ISBN 9780521611916
- Young, T. Cuyler, Jr. (1988), "The early history of the Medes and the Persians and the Achaemenid empire to the death of Cambyses" (http://histories.cambridge.org/ extract?id=chol9780521228046_CHOL9780521228046A002), in Boardman, M.; Hammond, N. G. L.; Lewis, D. M. et al., *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean C. 525 to 479 B.C* (Cambridge Histories Online ed.), Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–52, doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521228046.002

External links

- Article Median Empire (http://www.iranchamber.com/history/median/median.php) from Iran Chamber Society.

Ariana

Ariana, the Latinized form of (Greek: ἡ 'Αρειανή/**Arianē**),[1] [2] inhabitants: **Ariani** (Greek: Αρειανοί/**Arianoi**),[3] was a geographical term used by non-native classical authors of ancient period for an area bounded from the east by Indus river and from the west by what they called Persis.[4]

It included modern-day Afghanistan (Bactria, Aria, Drangiana, Arachosia, and the Paropamisadae), east and southeast Iran (Carmania and Gedrosia), most of Tajikistan (Sogdiana), south Turkmenistan (Margiana), south Uzbekistan (parts of Sogdiana) and extending to the Indus River in Pakistan.[5]
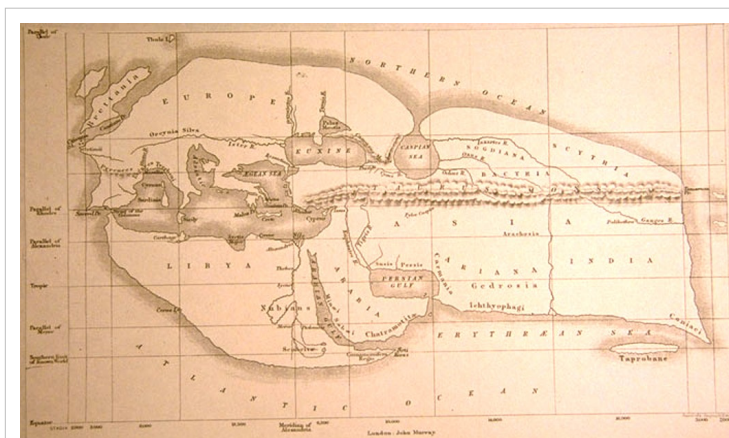
The name **Ariana** can be seen in this 19th century reconstruction of world map by Eratosthenes, c.194 BC.

At various times, the region was governed by the Persians, Macedonians and Indians.[6] The land was inhabited by different tribes such as Pactyans, Bactrians and others. The exact limits of Ariana are laid down with little accuracy in classical sources, and it seems to have been often confused (as in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, book vi, page 23) with the small province of Aria.[7]

As a geographical term, Ariana was introduced by Eratosthenes,[8] and as such its borders were defined by the Indus River in the east, the sea in the south, a line from Carmania to the Caspian Gates in the west, and the so-called Taurus Mountains in the north. This large region included almost all of the countries east of Media and ancient Persia, including south of the great mountain ranges up to the deserts of Gedrosia and Carmania,[9] i.e. the provinces of Carmania, Gedrosia, Drangiana, Arachosia,[10] Aria, the Paropamisadae; also Bactria was reckoned to Ariana and was called "the ornament of Ariana as a whole" by Apollodorus of Artemita.[11]

After having described the boundaries of Ariana, Strabo writes that the name Αρειανή could also be extended to part of the Persians and the Medes and also northwards to the Bactrians and the Sogdians.[12] A detailed description of that region is to be found in Strabo's *Geographica*, Book XV – "Persia, Ariana, the Indian subcontinent", chapter 2, sections 1-9.[13]

Rüdiger Schmitt, the German scholar of Iranian Studies, writes in the *Encyclopædia Iranica*:

Eratosthenes' use of this term (followed by Diodorus 2.37.6) is obviously due to a mistake, since, firstly, not all inhabitants of these lands belonged to the same tribe and, secondly, the term "Aryan" originally was an ethnical one and only later a political one as the name of the Iranian empire (for all North Indians and Iranians designated themselves as "Aryan"), thus comprising still other Iranian tribes outside of Ariana proper, like Medes, Persians or Sogdians (so possibly in Diodorus 1.94.2, where Zarathushtra is said to have preached Ahura Mazdā's laws "among the Arianoi").[6]

—R. Schmitt, 1986

The Greek term is based upon Old Iranian *Āryana-* (Avestan: *Airiiana-*, esp. in Airiianəm vaēǰō, the name of the Aryans' mother country, whose localization is disputed),[6] which is connected with the Avestan term *Airya-*, the Old Persian term *Ariya-* and the Sanskrit term *Arya-*, "noble", "excellent" and "honourable" (esp. in Āryāvarta, Sanskrit: आर्यावर्त, "abode of the Aryans").[14]

References

[1] Sabahuddin, Abdul (2008). *History of Afghanistan* (http://books.google.com/books?id=XfDYtxfOvTYC&lpg=PP1&pg=PA15#v=onepage&q&f=false). Global Vision Publishing Ho. p. 15. ISBN 8182202469. . Retrieved 2010-09-23.

[2] Strabo

[3] Pliny, Naturalis Historia, book vi., page 23

[4] *Geographica*, Strabo, Book XV − "Persia, Ariana, the Indian subcontinent", chapter 2, sections 1-9

[5] The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, 2008

[6] Encyclopædia Iranica, ARIA (2. Ariane) (http://www.iranica.com/articles/aria-region-in-the-eastern-part-of-the-persian-empire), by Rüdiger Schmitt. December 15, 1986.

[7] Dictionary of Greek and Roman geography, William Smith, 1870, pp. 210, Aria'na http://www.archive.org/stream/dictionaryofgree01smituoft#page/210/mode/1up]

[8] Strabo 2.1.22f

[9] Strabo 2.5.32

[10] especially Strabo 11.10.1

[11] Strabo 11.11.1

[12] *The "Aryan" Language*, Gherardo Gnoli, Instituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Roma, 2002, page 86

[13] *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ARIA (2. Ariane), R. Schmitt

[14] Dictionary of Greek and Roman geography, William Smith, 1870, pp. 210, Aria'na

Further reading

- Horace Hayman Wilson, Charles Masson, *Ariana Antiqua: a Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan*, 1841
- Henry Walter Bellew, *An inquiry into the ethnography of Afghanistan*, 1891
- Tomaschek in Pauly-Wissowa, II/1, cols. 619f., and 813f.
- G. Gnoli, Postilla ad Ariyō šayana, RSO 41, 1966, pp. 329–34.
- P. Calmeyer, AMI 15, 1982, pp. 135ff.

External links

- Encyclopaedia Iranica ARIA region in the eastern part of the Persian empire (http://www.iranica.com/articles/aria-region-in-the-eastern-part-of-the-persian-empire)
- Ariana antiqua: a descriptive account of the antiquities and coins of Afghanistan By Horace Hayman Wilson, Charles Masson (http://books.google.com.pk/books?id=w3kWAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Ariana+antiqua:+a+descriptive+account+of+the+antiquities+and+coins+of+...+By+Horace+Hayman+Wilson,+Charles+Masson&cd=1#v=onepage&q&f=false)

Avestan geography

Avestan geography, is the geographical references in the Avesta, which are limited to the regions on the eastern Iranian plateau up to Indo-Iranian border.[1] It was common among the Indo-Iranians to identify concepts or features of traditional cosmography—mountains, lakes, rivers, etc.—with their concrete historical and geographical situation as they migrated and settled in various places.

The main Avestan text of geographical interest is the first chapter of the Vidēvdād. This consists of a list of sixteen districts (*asah-* and *šōiθra-*) created by Ahura Mazdā and threatened by a corresponding number of counter-creations that Angra Mainyu set up against them (*paityāra-*).

Vendidad references

The main Avestan text of geographical interest is the first chapter of the Vidēvdād. This consists of a list of sixteen districts (*asah-* and *šōiθra-*) created by Ahura Mazdā and threatened by a corresponding number of counter-creations that Angra Mainyu set up against them (*paityāra-*).

The list is as follows:

1. *Airyana Vaēǰah* = the homeland of Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, near the provinces of Sogdiana, Margiana, Bactria, etc., listed immediately after it;[2] [3]
2. *Gava* = Sogdiana;
3. *Mōuru* = Margiana;
4. *Bāxδī* = Bactria;
5. *Nisāya* = a district between Margiana and Bactria, perhaps Maimana;[4]
6. *Harōiva* = Areia, Herat;
7. *Vaēkərəta* = Gandhāra;[5]
8. *Urvā* = probably the Ghazni region;[6]
9. *Xnənta* = a region defined as vəhrkānō.šayana- "the dwelling place of the Vəhrkāna," where Marquart placed the Barkánioi of Ctesias,[7] an ethnicon analogous with that of Old Persian Varkāna, the inhabitants of Hyrcania, the present Gorgān or, less probably, Hyrcania;[8]
10. *Haraxᵛaitī* = Arachosia;
11. *Haētumant* = the region of Helmand roughly corresponding to the Achaemenian Drangiana (Zranka);[9]
12. *Raɣa* = a district north of Haraxᵛaitī and Haētumant in the direction of the district of Čaxra,[10] to be distinguished, given its position in the list[11] from Median Ragā and probably also from Raɣa zaraθuštri- of Yashts 19.18;[12]
13. *Čaxra* = Čarx between Ghaznī and Kabul, in the valley of Lōgar,[13] not Māzandarān, as Christensen thought;[14]
14. *Varəna* = Bunēr,[15] the Varṇu of the Mahāmāyūrī, the ʿAornos of Alexander the Great, the homeland of FerΘraētaona/Frēdōn/Afrīḏūn;[16]
15. *Hapta Həndu* = Sapta Sindhavaḥ, the land of seven rivers knowns as the region of Panjab;[17]
16. *Raŋhā* = Rasā in Vedic geography, at times mentioned together with Kubhā (Kabul) and Krumu (Kurram),[18] a river situated in a mountainous area,[19] probably connected with the Indus, not with the Jaxartes or with the Volga.[20]

Yasht references

There is further geographical interest to be found in another passage from the Avesta Yasht 10.13-14, where the whole region inhabited by the Aryans (airyō.šayana-) is described. The description begins with Mount *Harā*, the peak of which is reached by Mithra as he precedes the immortal sun: The entire Aryan homeland, according to this passage, consisted of the districts of *Iškata* and *Peruta*, Margiana and Areia, Gava, Sogdiana, and Chorasmia. The names of Sogdiana, Sux'əm, and Chorasmia, Xᵛāirizəm, appear here, in Medo-Iranian forms; this suggests that they were later additions. The geographical extension of Mihr Yasht, covered the eastern part of the Iranian territory, the central part being occupied by the regions of the Hindu Kush, represented by Mount Harā, Iškata (Kūh-e Bābā?), Paruta (Ghūr?), the district of Herodotus's Aparútai (3.91) or Ptolemy's Paroûtai or Párautoi (6.17.3).

Like the Mihr Yasht, the Farvardīn Yasht also contains some passages of use in the reconstruction of Avestan geography, in particular Yt. 13.125 and Yt. 13.127, where some characters are mentioned because of their venerable fravashi. For each of these the birthplace is given: *Mužā*, *Raoždyā*, *Tanyā*, *Aŋhvī*, *Apaxšīrā*. Only the first of these place-names can perhaps be identified because Mužā recalls the Sanskrit *Mūjavant*, which should be in a region between the Hindu Kush and the Pamir. But it should be borne in mind that the character related to the land of *Apaxshīrā*, *Parshaṯ.gav*, may be connected with a Sīstāni tradition and that the passage in Yt. 13.125 is dedicated to the fravashi of members of the family of Saēna, the son of Ahūm.stūṯ, who also had connections with Sīstān.

The Zamyād Yasht, dedicated to *Xᵛarənah*, is of very great importance for Avestan geography as it provides a surprisingly well-detailed description of the hydrography of the Helmand region, in particular of Hāmūn-e Helmand. In Yt. 19.66-77 nine rivers an mentioned: *Xᵛāstrā*, *Hvaspā*, *Fradaθā*, *Xᵛarənahvaitī*, *Uštavaitī*, *Urvaδā*, *Ɉrəzī*, *Zurənumaitī*, and *Haētumant*; six of these are known from the Tārīkh-e Sīstān. Other features of Sīstāni geography recur in the same yasht, like the *Kąsaoya* lake (Pahlavi *Kayānsih*) or Mount *Uši.'ām* (Kūh-e Khᵛāǰa), both closely bound up with Zoroastrian] eschatology, so that with the help of comparisons with Pahlavi and classical sources, mainly Pliny and Ptolemy, we can conclude that the Zamyād Yasht describes Sīstān with great care and attention. In Avestan geography no other region has received such treatment. There is an echo of Sīstān's importance in Avestan geography in the brief Pahlavi treatise Abdīh ud sahīgīh ī Sagastān.

Yet another reference to Sīstān is to be found it another passage of the great yashts, Yt. 5.108, in which Kavi Vīštāspa, prince and patron of Zoroaster, is represented in the act of making sacrifice to Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā near *Frazdānu*, the *Frazdān* of Pahlavi literature, that is, one of the wonders of Sīstān; it can probably be identified with Gowd-e Zera.

Conclusion

If we compare the first chapter of the Vidēvdād with the passages of geographical interest that we come across mainly in the great yashts, we can conclude that the geographical area of Avesta was dominated by the Hindu Kush range at the center, the western boundary being marked by the districts of Margiana, Areia, and Drangiana, the eastern one by the Indo-Iranian frontier regions such as Gandhāra, Bunēr, the land of the "Seven Rivers." Sogdiana and, possibly, Chorasmia (which, however, is at the extreme limits) mark the boundary to the north, Sīstān and Baluchistan to the south.

One of the old, thorny problems in studies on Avestan geography is represented by *Airyana Vaēǰah* (Pahlavi: *Ērānwēz*), "the area of the Aryans" and first of the sixteen districts in Vd. 1, the original name of which was *airyanəm vaēǰō vaŋhuyā dāityayā*, "the Aryan extension of Vaŋuhī Dāityā", where *Vaŋuhī Dāityā* "the good Dāityā" is the name of a river connected with the religious "law" (*dāta-*). The concept of Airyana Vaēǰah is not equivalent to that of *airyō.šayana-* in Yt. 10.13, or to the group of *airyā daiŋhāvā* "the Aryan lands" which is recurrent in the yashts; this, in fact, refers to just one of the Aryan lands, as the first chapter of the Vidēvdād clearly shows. It does not designate "the traditional homeland" or "the ancient homeland" of the Iranians. These definitions perpetuate old interpretations of the Airyana Vaēǰah as "Urheimat des Awestavolkes" (Geiger, op. cit., p. 32), "Urland" of the

Indo-Iranians (F. Spiegel, Die arische Periode und ihre Zustände, Leipzig, 1887, p. 123), "Wiege aller iranischen Arier" (J. von Prášek, Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung I, Gotha, 1906, p. 29), drawing from the texts more than the contents really warrant. Airyana Vaēǰah is only the homeland of Zoroaster and of Zoroastrianism. According to Zoroastrian tradition Ērānwēz is situated at the center of the world; on the shores of its river, *Weh Dāitī* (Av. *Vaŋuhī Dāityā*), there were created the *gāw ī ēw-dād* (Av. *gav aēvō.dāta*) "uniquely created bull" and *Gayōmard* (Av. *Gayō.marətan*) "mortal life," the first man; there rises the *Chagād ī Dāidīg*, the "lawful Summit," the Peak of Harā, in Avestan also called *hukairya* "of good activity"; the Chinvat Bridge is there, and there too, Yima and Zoroaster became famous. Taken all together, these data show that Zoroastrianism superimposed the concept of Airyana Vaēǰah onto the traditional one of a center of the world where the Peak of Harā rises. The fact that Airyana Vaēǰah is situated in a mountainous region explains its severe climate (Vd. 1.2.3) better than does its supposed location in Chorasmia (Markwart, Ērānshahr, p. 155). This is not surprising if we consider the analogy between the Iranian concept of the peak of Harā with the Indian one of Mount Meru or Sumeru. The Manicheans identified *Aryān-waižan* with the region at the foot of Mount Sumeru that Wishtāsp reigned over, and the Khotanese texts record the identification of Mount Sumeru in Buddhist mythology with the Peak of Harā (*ttaira haraysä*) in the Avestan tradition. All this leads us to suppose that the concept of Airyana Vaēǰah was an invention of Zoroastrianism which gave a new guise to a traditional idea of Indo-Iranian cosmography. At any rate, identifications of Airyana Vaēǰah with Chorasmia are quite unfounded, whether this is understood to refer to Khwārazm itself or to a "greater Chorasmia". As for the river of Religious Law, it is not at all easy to identify: The most likely hypotheses seem to be those that identify it with the Oxus, or rather the Helmand, which at times appears to be in a curious "competition" with the Oxus in the Zoroastrian tradition.

Notes

[1] G. Gnoli, "AVESTAN GEOGRAPHY," Encyclopaedia Iranica.

[2] Encyclopaedia Iranica: ĒRĀN-WĒZ. By D. N. MacKenzie: By late Sasanian times Ērān-wēz was taken to be in Western Iran: according to Great Bundahišn (29.12) it was "in the district (kustag) of Ādarbāygān." But from Vendidad 1 it is clear that it has to be sought originally in eastern Iran, near the provinces of Sogdiana, Margiana, Bactria, etc., listed immediately after it. (http://www.iranica.com/articles/ eran-wez)

[3] [http://www.iranica.com/articles/zoroaster-ii-general-survey Encyclopaedia Iranica: ZOROASTER ii. GENERAL SURVEY. By W. W. Malandra: In the Avesta, the geography of the Vendīdād and of the Yashts make it clear that these texts locate themselves in eastern Iran. Even though there are later traditions which place him in Azerbaijan and Media, it is more reasonable to locate Zoroaster somewhere in eastern Iran along with the rest of the Avesta. Further, the two Avestan dialects belong linguistically to eastern Iran

[4] W. Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum, Erlangen, 1982, p. 31 n. 1

[5] S. Levi, "Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī," JA 5, 1915, pp. 67ff.; Christensen, op. cit., p. 28; W. B. Henning, "Two Manichaean Magical Texts," BSOAS 12, 1947, pp. 52f.

[6] Christensen, op. cit., pp. 33f.; Gnoli, Zoroaster's Time and Homeland, pp. 26-39

[7] Photius, Bibliotheca, Cod. 72, 36b-37a

[8] Gnoli, Zoroaster's Time and Homeland

[9] G. Gnoli, Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico, Rome, 1967, p. 78 and n. 3

[10] Gnoli, ibid., pp. 65-68, 77-78; idem, Zoroaster's Time and Homeland, pp. 23-26, 64-66

[11] I. Gershevitch, "Zoroaster's Own Contribution," JNES 23, 1964, pp. 36f

[12] Boyce, Zoroastrianism II, pp. 89 and cf. pp. 40, 42, 66, 254, 279; G. Gnoli, "Ragha la zoroastriana," in Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce, Leiden, 1985, I, pp. 226ff

[13] Gnoli, Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico, pp. 72-74; idem, Zoroaster's Time and Homeland, pp. 42-44; D. Monchi-Zadeh, op. cit., pp. 126-27

[14] op. cit., pp. 47-48

[15] S. Levi, art. cit., p. 38; Henning, art. cit., pp. 52f.; but cf. also Monchi-Zadeh, op. cit., pp. 127-30

[16] Gnoli, Zoroaster's Time and Homeland, pp. 47-50

[17] Monchi-Zadeh, op. cit., p. 130; but cf. also H. Humbach, "Al-Bīrunī und die sieben Strome [sic] des Awesta," Bulletin of the Iranian Culture Foundation I, 2, 1973, pp. 47-52

[18] Gnoli, Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico, pp. 76f.; idem, Zoroaster's Time and Homeland, pp. 50-53; and cf. also H. Lommel, "Rasā," ZII 4, 1926, pp. 194-206

[19] Monchi-Zadeh, op. cit., p. 130, who associates it with the Pamir

[20] Geiger, op. cit., pp. 34ff.; Nyberg, op. cit., p. 323) or with the Volga (J. Markwart, Wehrot und Arang, ed. H. H. Schaeder, Leiden, 1938, pp. 133ff.

References

Further reading

- G. Gnoli, "Airyō.šayana," RSO 41, 1966.
- G. Gnoli, Zoroaster's Time and Homeland, Naples, 1980.
- G. Gnoli, Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico, Rome, 1967.
- G. Gnoli, De Zoroastre à Mani. Quatre leçons au Collège de France, Paris, 1985.
- R. N. Frye, The History of Ancient Iran, Munich, 1984.
- M. Boyce, A HISTORY OF ZOROASTRIANISM, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden, 1975.
- A. Christensen, Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes, Copenhagen, 1943.
- M. Witzel, "THE HOME OF THE ARYANS.", Harvard University.
- M. Witzel, "Early Eastern Iran and the Atharvaveda," Persica 9, 1980.
- W. B. Henning, Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-doctor?, London, 1951, pp. 44f.
- W. B. Henning, "Two Manichaean Magical Texts," BSOAS 12, 1947, pp. 52f.
- W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," BSOAS 11, 1943, pp. 68f.
- J. Markwart, A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr, ed. G. Messina, Rome, 1931.
- J. Markwart, Wehrot und Arang, ed. H. H. Schaeder, Leiden, 1938.
- D. Monchi-Zadeh, Topographisch-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos, Wiesbaden, 1975.
- W. Eilers, Geographische Namengebung in und um Iran, Munich, 1982.
- W. Eilers, "Der Name Demawend," Archiv Orientální 22, 1954.
- I. Gershevitch, The Avestan Hymn to Mithra, Cambridge, 1959.
- I. Gershevitch, "Zoroaster's Own Contribution," JNES 23, 1964.
- E. Benveniste, "L'Ērān-vēž et l'origine legendaire des iraniens," BSOAS 7, 1933-35, pp. 269f.
- E. Herzfeld, Zoroaster and His World, Princeton, 1947.
- E. Herzfeld, "Zarathustra. Teil V. Awestische Topographie," AMI 2, 1930.
- H. S. Nyberg, Die Religionen des alten Iran, German tr. H. H. Schaeder, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 324ff.
- J. Marquart, Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenacʿi, Berlin, 1901.
- J. Marquart, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran I, Göttingen, 1896, II, Göttingen, 1905.
- J. Marquart, Die Assyriaka des Ktesias, Göttingen, 1892.
- H. W. Bailey, Indo-Scythian Studies. Khotanese Texts IV, Cambridge, 1961.
- H. W. Bailey, Dictionary of Khotan Saka, Cambridge, 1979, p. 467.
- H. W. Bailey, "Iranian Studies I & IV," BSOAS 6, 1930-32.
- P. Tedesco, Dialektologie der westiranischen Turfantexte," Le Monde Oriental 15, 1921, pp. 184ff.
- G. Morgenstierne, Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, Oslo, 1926, pp. 29f.
- K. Hoffmann, "Altiranisch," in HO I, 4: Iranistik 1, Linguistik, Leiden and Cologne, 1958, p. 6.
- W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt, Bonn and Leipzig, 1920, pp. 1ff., 178ff., 208ff.
- G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. A. Grantovskij, De la Scythie à l'Inde. Ēnigmes de l'histoire des anciens Aryens, French tr. Ph. Gignoux, Paris, 1981.
- B. Utas, "The Pahlavi Treatise Avdēh u sahīkēh ī Sakistān," Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 28, 1983, pp. 259-67.
- Vayu I, Lund, 1942, pp. 202ff.
- M. Molé, "La structure du premier chapitre du Videvdat," JA 229, 1951, pp. 283-98.
- F. Altheim, Geschichte der Hunnen IV, Berlin, 1975, 2nd ed., pp. 166-82.

- W. Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum, Erlangen, 1982, p. 31 n. 1.
- S. Levi, "Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī," JA 5, 1915, pp. 67ff.
- Photius, Bibliotheca, Cod. 72, 36b-37a.
- H. Humbach, "Al-Bīrunī und die sieben Strome [sic] des Awesta," Bulletin of the Iranian Culture Foundation I, 2, 1973.
- H. Lommel, "Rasā," ZII 4, 1926.
- T. Burrow, "The Proto-Indoaryans," JRAS, 1973.
- A. Stein, "Afghanistan in Avestic Geography," Indian Antiquary 15, 1886.
- A. V. W Jackson, Zoroastrian Studies, New York, 1928.
- F. Spiegel, Die arische Periode und ihre Zustände, Leipzig, 1887, p. 123.
- J. von Prášek, Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung I, Gotha, 1906, p. 29.
- F. Justi, Beiträge zur alten Geographie Persiens, Marburg, 1869.
- W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien," Sb. d. Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 102, 1883, pp. 146-231; 108, 1885, pp. 583-652 (repr. Osnabrück, 1972).
- W. Geiger, "Geographie von Iran," in Geiger and Kuhn, Grundr. Ir. Phil. II, 3, pp. 371-94.
- H. Lommel, "Anahita-Sarasvati," in Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 15-32.
- H. Humbach, "Die awestische Landerliste," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens 4, 1960, pp. 34-46. Idem, "Ptolemaios-Studien," ibid., 5, 1961, pp. 68-74.
- G. Gnoli, "Ἀριανη. Postilla ad Airyō.šayana," RSO 41, 1966, pp. 329-34. Idem, "More on the Sistanic Hypothesis," East and West 27, 1977, pp. 309-20.
- H. Humbach, "A Western Approach to Zarathushtra," Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute 51, Bombay, 1984, pp. 15-32.
- W. Barthold, Istoriko-geograficheskiĭ obzor Irana, Moscow, 1971;
- Eng. tr. S. Soucek, An Historical Geography of Iran, Princeton, New Jersey, 1984.

Article Sources and Contributors

Indo-Aryan superstrate in Mitanni *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=431406300 *Contributors*: Aoseksd3uu, Can't sleep, clown will eat me, Dbachmann, Future Perfect at Sunrise, Into The Fray, J04n, Jagged 85, Jeff G., Nijgoykar, Panscient, Park3r, Pbahramian, Richard Keatinge, Sindhutvavadin, Sumerophile, Torahjerus14, Tripping Nambiar, Utcursch, Zaheen, 20 anonymous edits

Mitanni *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=432332880 *Contributors*: .marc., A. Parrot, Alaexis, Aldux, Alex earlier account, Alphasinus, Angr, Aoseksd3uu, Ararat arev, Aregakn, Arianfire, Artaxiad, Aryamahasattva, Athenean, Attilios, AzaToth, BRUTE, Babur, Baristarim, Barticus88, Blimet, Bradeos Graphon, Briangotts, Brusk u Trishka, Byrial, CALR, Caerwine, Categorystuff, Charles Matthews, Codex Sinaiticus, Colonies Chris, D4niel11, Damion, DanMS, Davo88, Dbachmann, Derek Ross, Diyako2000, Dougweller, Dpv, Dzied Bulbash, Ebaali, Edcolins, EliasAlucard, Ellenois, Ellipi, Eric Forste, Ettrig, Eupator, Folantin, Foreverknowledge, Forsts23, Gaius Cornelius, Ghirlandajo, GoonerDP, Gow, Gveret Tered, Hanay, HappyCamper, Haturakani, Helikophis, Heron, Hmains, Hongooi, Hosnnan38, IZAK, IansAwesomePizza, IceKarma, Israelite9191, Izzedine, J04n, JForget, Jagged 85, Jake Wartenberg, Javierfv1212, Jill St. Crux, JoeSmack, John K, Jorge Stolfi, Kazvorpal, Keraunos, Ketiltrout, Khoikhoi, Kintetsubuffalo, Kurdalo, Kurdology1, Ladnavfan, Leoboudv, Llywrch, Lovindo, MSGJ, Macrakis, Makalp, Malatayaw, Mashkin, Mathae, Maximus Rex, Meowy, Meursault2004, Michael Hardy, Mikenassau, Mmcannis, Modernist, Moilleadóir, Moosh88, Moreschi, Mzajac, Nakh, Naphureya, Nebuchadnezzar o'neill, Nepaheshgar, Nicklausse, Nicolasmange, Nijgoykar, Nishkid64, Ntsimp, Obradovic Goran, Oneiros, Panairjdde, Pascal666, Pasquale, Paul Barlow, PaulHeggarty, Peter Greenwell, Ploversegg, Poppy, Raven in Orbit, Ray Radlein, Razimpatel, Riana, Rixon45, Rktect, RoboflectoBA, Rosiestep, Rudrasharman, Rursus, Saforrest, SamuelTheGhost, Seb az86556, Sethoeph, Severo, Shunpiker, Siddiqui, Sindhutvavadin, Sinharib99, Slatersteven, Smarkflea, Soukrot, Speysider, Srkris, Steelmate, Stephan Schulz, Thanatosimii, The Famous Movie Director, Theelf29, Threeafterthree, Til Eulenspiegel, Tkandell, Torahjerus14, Tripping Nambiar, Tutmoses8, Twofistedcoffeedrinker, User32, Varanwal, Vekoler, Vsmith, Vvarkey, Wetman, WhiteDragon, Wikid77, Yak, Yuber, ZanLJackson, Zandweb, Zestauferov, Zoeperkoe, 310 anonymous edits

Hittites *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=429527718 *Contributors*: (, 213.153.175.xxx, 2fort5r, AABell, ABF, ACC1216GC, Aaroncrick, Abc518, AbcXyz, Aburnham11, Adam Bishop, Adam Keller, Ahoerstemeier, Alansohn, Alasian, Alchemist Jack, Aldis90, Alsace38, Alsandro, AnakngAraw, Anawrahta, Anittas, Antandrus, Anthon.Eff, Aremith, Artaxiad, Asim Led, Assassimon, Athenean, AtilimGunesBaydin, AxelBoldt, B'er Rabbit, BD2412, Bachrach44, Badanedwa, Baristarim, Ben4mn, Bender235, Benwbrum, Bertilvidet, Big Smooth, Big smith 123, Bigdottawa, Bob rulz, Bobby D. Bryant, Bobo192, Bobsled9999, Bobzchemist, Bornintheguz, Bradeos Graphon, Brandizzi, Brando130, Brian Geppert, BridgetDS, Bsaleem, CDN99, Callmarcus, Can't sleep, clown will eat me, Canadian-Bacon, Carl.bunderson, Carrionluggage, Categorystuff, CeeGee, Chris G, Christianus, ClamDip, Cleduc, Closedmouth, Codex Sinaiticus, Confession0791, Conversion script, DARTH SIDIOUS 2, DB.Gerry, DVdm, Dadude3320, DanielDeibler, Dankuwaz, Danny, Darth Panda, Davewild, David Cheater, Davout, Dbachmann, Ddd0dd, Deeptrivia, Dekimasu, Delldot, Denbaby, Denizz, DerHexer, Derek Ross, Discospinster, DopefishJustin, Dosseman, Dppowell, Egil, El Greco, EliasAlucard, Epbr123, EricJay, Eroica, Esowteric, Falcon8765, FayssalF, Filmwallah, Future Perfect at Sunrise, Gardar Rurak, Gekritzl, Geog1, GeorgeStepanek, Gilgamesh, Gjd001, Glenn, GraemeL, Grafen, Gugutis, H2g2bob, Halibutt, Hannes Hirzel, Hargrimm, Heathhunnicutt, Heron, Hertz1888, Historynerd17, Hmusseau, Homsar2, Hrgirl1701, Hydrogen Iodide, IZAK, IansAwesomePizza, IceUnshattered, Igiffin, Ihcoyc, IndoHistorian, Iridescent, Itai, Izzedine, J.delanoy, JNW, Jadtnr1, JamieS93, Janejellyroll, Javierfv1212, Jeffrey Mall, JeremyA, JesseW, Jheald, JimD, JoJan, JoergenB, John K, Johnleemk, Jorge Stolfi, Josh Cherry, Josh Grosse, KJS77, KLafong, Kahrbela, Kanonkas, Kate, KathrynLybarger, Kbh3rd, Keilana, Khoikhoi, KnightRider, Koavf, Kostisl, Kpjas, Kuratowski's Ghost, Kvent, Kwamikagami, Kwiki, KyLeClYnE, Kyren lord, Leoboudv, Leonardo Alves, Leuko, Liamcrouse1, Limideen, Limner, Lincolnsav, Linnormlord, Lir, Llywrch, Luna Santin, Lycianhittite, Macukali, Mallag, Manishearth, Marauder40, Massimo Macconi, Mathae, Mattisse, Mav, Meaghan, Medeis, Melsaran, Mephistophelian, Metb82, Mhockey, Michael Hardy, MichaelBillington, MichaelpSchmidt, MichealMulholland, Mimihitam, Minimac's Clone, Mmcannis, Moanzhu, Moonriddengirl, Mountwolseley, Mukadderat, Myanw, Mygerardromance, Naddy, Nasz, NawlinWiki, Neddyseagoon, Nedim Ardoğa, NekoDaemon, Ntsimp, O0pyromancer0o, Od Mishehu, Oguzhan620, Omnipedian, Osarius, Otterboy1992, Pascal.Tesson, Patstuart, Paul Barlow, Per Honor et Gloria, Peter Isotalo, Petri Krohn, Pgan002, Philg88, PiCo, Piano non troppo, Pigman, Ploversegg, Pokee2222, Pol098, Publik, Quendus, Quintote, Qwyrxian, Ranahki, Raoul NK, Raven in Orbit, Rawling, Reach Out to the Truth, Rich Farmbrough, RickK, Robin S, Romanm, Ronzo228, RossenV, Ruszewski, SDC, Sacit38, SamEV, Samuelsen, SchuminWeb, Seaphoto, Shadowjams, Shilkanni, SimonP, Skoglund, Slotrooper, Slowking Man, Smack, Snowolf, SpectrumDT, Stealth cat, Steven J. Anderson, Stevertigo, Stevey7788, Storm Rider, Sumerophile, Sunilsrivastava, Sweetmoose6, THEN WHO WAS PHONE?, Takwish, Talessman, TangentCube, Tapir Terrific, Tbarron, Tbhotch, The Rambling Man, The Thing That Should Not Be, Theelf29, Thingg, Tiggerjay, Til Eulenspiegel, Tommiks, Treisijs, Trit, Tropylium, Trusilver, TutterMouse, Unschool, Unyoyega, Urfaaacccee, Uriyan, Utcursch, Van helsing, Vanished user 03, Versus22, Vicki Rosenzweig, VictorAnyakin, Vonones, Vrenator, Vsmith, WBardwin, Wetman, Whizzkidd202, Wikiscribe, WilliamThweatt, Wilson44691, Woohookitty, Wymo77, Yak, YellowTurban, Yms, Zapvet, Zestauferov, Zhouyiian, ZjarriRrethues, Александър, 610 anonymous edits

Biblical Hittites *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=432039859 *Contributors*: Angela, BD2412, Bornintheguz, Bradeos Graphon, Briangotts, Clarke64, Cmdrjameson, Codex Sinaiticus, DARTH SIDIOUS 2, David Cheater, Dbachmann, DopefishJustin, Dpv, Eliyak, Falphin, Fayenatic london, Fischersc, Good Olfactory, Graham87, Haham hanuka, Herbertxu, IZAK, Jade Knight, Jmhudlow, Jorge Stolfi, Keith H., Kiore, Koavf, Komusou, LovesMacs, Marauder40, Maximus Rex, Mhiji, Mlpearc, Neelix, Nehrams2020, NekoDaemon, Quayshake9, Qwertyus, Rav Yehuda, SamuelTheGhost, Sumerophile, Til Eulenspiegel, TreasuryTag, Vanished user 03, Wetman, Woohookitty, Zerida, 28 anonymous edits

Syro-Hittite states *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=425802988 *Contributors*: Anas Salloum, Artene50, Asclepius, Atisketatasket, Barneca, Cataloguer, Categorystuff, CharlotteWebb, Codex Sinaiticus, DBaba, Dachannien, Dbachmann, Dmitri Lytov, Edgar181, Elkman, Evertype, Gilliam, Gurgumian, Hans van Deukeren, IansAwesomePizza, Izzedine, Jewpedia, Jewpedia1, Kenyon, Killing Vector, Kwamikagami, Marek69, Milton Stanley, Nedim Ardoğa, Ntsimp, QueenCake, Sumerophile, T.woelk, Theelf29, Validboats, VirtualDelight, Wareh, Warpalawas, Wetman, Yipperson, Zandweb, Zozo2kx, 21 anonymous edits

Hittite sites *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=423860140 *Contributors*: BD2412, Categorystuff, Chapultepec, CharlotteWebb, Dbachmann, Gavrant, Hadrianheugh, Historicpastime, IansAwesomePizza, Javierfv1212, JohnCD, Mhockey, Nick Number, Nishkid64, Rich Farmbrough, Slakr, Steven J. Anderson, Tourguide, Twofistedcoffeedrinker, 5 anonymous edits

Hittite texts *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=425300379 *Contributors*: Dbachmann, Izzedine, Kupirijo, Rambam rashi, Rich Farmbrough, Thewildblueyonder, Twofistedcoffeedrinker, 6 anonymous edits

Kikkuli *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=428201941 *Contributors*: AnonMoos, ArséniureDeGallium, Auntof6, BananaFiend, Dana boomer, Dbachmann, Ghirlandajo, HorsemansWiki, Jagged 85, Jwells, Kikkuli2001, Mendaliv, Montanabw, Ntsimp, Paul Barlow, Rich Farmbrough, Rjwilmsi, Spinach Dip, Sumerophile, Tad Lincoln, The Behnam, Thewildblueyonder, Tuviya, User32, 11 anonymous edits

History of the Hittites *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=431189113 *Contributors*: A. Parrot, Abc518, Alborztv, Alensha, Andi d, AnnaP, ArglebargleIV, Artene50, BD2412, BRUTE, Billposer, Carlsotr, CecilWard, Cleduc, Codex Sinaiticus, Crispmuncher, Crohan, Da monster under your bed, Dbachmann, Dduff442, Dejvid, DuncanHill, Dzubint, Eluchil404, Epbr123, Ergative rlt, Esemono, Fatman13, Favonian, FinnWiki, Flamarande, Fuhghettaboutit, Goustien, Historian999, Igiffin, Iridescent, JLaTondre, Javierfv1212, JoJan, Kf4bdy, Lapsed Pacifist, Laszlovszky András, Law Lord, LlywelynII, Mandarax, Marco polo, Marhault, Markh, Mattis, Mild Bill Hiccup, Mindstalk, Moisesencyclopedia, Monty845, Naufragar, Netsnipe, New Babylon 2, OttomanReference, PANDA(PersonAmendingNumerousDefectiveApostrophes), Pezanos, Pmarshal, Publik, R'n'B, Reaper Eternal, RepliCarter, SDC, Shoeofdeath, Sonyack, Sumerophile, Szajci, Tabletop, Takinzinnia, Talessman, Talljawa, Targovishtenec bg, Tchoutoye, The Ogre, Thewildblueyonder, Tommiks, Tommy2010, Twofistedcoffeedrinker, Ursache, VPliousnine, Varlaam, ViolinGirl, Vsmith, Waggers, WellsSouth, Wetman, Woohookitty, Wrelwser43, Yjfstorehouse, Zerida, Zoz, ასდფგ, 106 anonymous edits

Battle of Kadesh *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=431798202 *Contributors*: A D Monroe III, Adam Bishop, Adam Zivner, Alvestrand, Andi d, AnnekeBart, Architeuthis, Aris Katsaris, Arosiene, Artaxiad, AtilimGunesBaydin, Autobogg, Avoided, BD2412, Bachrach44, Bakilas, Bobo192, Bold Italic, Bongwarrior, Brando130, Brian Boru, Briangotts, Burschik, Cacycle, Caran Varr, Categorystuff, CharlesGillingham, Chinchilla7, Ciphers, Crassus219, Dana boomer, Dbachmann, Dduff442, Dejvid, Deror avi, Dimadick, DopefishJustin, Dougweller, Downwards, Dvdme, Ealdgyth, Egyptzo, EmreDuran, Epbr123, Everyking, Excirial, Fabartus, Fuckjasperho, Gdr, Glaxerbro, Golgofrinchian, Gradboat, Grafen, Gregg02, Gryffindor, Gurch, Hajor, Hydrophobophobia, Iamspartan88, Igiffin, Iridescent, JLaTondre, Jaraalbe, Javierfv1212, Jeph paul, Jguk 2, Jimp, Jkl, John K, John254, JohnTechnologist, Joyous!, Kabbak, Kaptar, Karl-Henner, Kirill Lokshin, Kizor, Kostisl, Kwamikagami, KyraVixen, Lapisphil, Leandros, Leoboudv, Leszek Jańczuk, Llywrch, Lysandros, Markh, Mbruck, Mimihitam, Mmcannis, Monz, Moshe Constantine Hassan Al-Silverburg, Mr. Lefty, Neddyseagoon, Nick Number, Nightworker, Omicronpersei8, Omnipaedista, One last pharaoh, Onorem, Oo7565, Oreo Priest, Pajfarmor, Paul August, Paul Barlow, Peter Karlsen, Pion, Ploversegg, Poccil, Poolshark173, Prodego, Publik, Ranjith221, Ravenswing, Renassault, Rich Farmbrough, Richard Keatinge, Ricky81682, Rjwilmsi, Rktect, Rune.welsh, RxS, Rádiológ, Salvio giuliano, SamEV, Scott123456789, SimonP, SpeedyGonsales, Spencer, Spoonkymonkey, Sumerophile, Super Knuckles, Taiwan boi, Tbhotch, Thanatosimii, TheLeopard, TheProject, Theda, Thewildblueyonder, Ti2008, Toddy1, Valley2city, ViolinGirl, Woody, Xiahou, Yosy, Yuber, Yuval Y, Zane1337, Zaparojdik, Zerida, Zozo2kx, 설총, 280 anonymous edits

Assyria *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=432568186 *Contributors*: .marc., 157.178.1.xxx, 24630, 2D, 334a, 64.105.112.xxx, A2raya07, ACR1491, Acroterion, Adashiel, Addshore, Adimovk5, AgadaUrbanit, Ahrarara, Aitias, Alai, Albertgabriel, Alensha, AlexiusHoratius, Alexthurleyratcliff, Alpha Quadrant, Alphasinus, Amizzoni, Anasl001, Andonic, Andre Engels, AndreniW, AndrewHowse, Anonymous44, Antandrus, Aram-van, ArnoldPettybone, Arthena, Assyria 90, Assyrio, Ataru, Aude, Aurochs, Awesomeus prime, Aziz1005, BD2412, Babajobu, Bachrach44, Badagnani, Ballhead59, Balthazarduju, Barbatus, Baristarim, Baronnet, Ben-Zin, Benne, BenyaminMoshe, Beyond silence, Biebersfault, Bigman11, Bkobres, Bluemask, Bob Burkhardt, Bobo192, Bokpasa, Boxed, Brianu6999, BrokenSegue, Brooklynmuseum, Brownsteve, Brutannica, Bryan Derksen, Bryan H Bell, Bsimmons666, CALR, CQJ, CalicoCatLover, Caltas, Calton, Can't sleep, clown will eat me, CanadianLinuxUser, Capricorn42, CarbonCopy, Carbuncle, Casper2k3, Ccacsmss, Chaizzilla, Chaldean, Cheezyp18, Chester Markel, Chris, Chris

G, Chzz, Ckruschke, Claireisasav, Classical Esther, Closedmouth, Codex Sinaiticus, CompRhetoric, Conversion script, Couglinetde, Cristo raul, Cuchullain, DARTH SIDIOUS 2, DO'Neil, DVD R W, DaL33T, Danielbannoura, Dark fennec, Dawn Bard, Dbachmann, Dduff442, Der Golem, DerHexer, Dgartner, Di Stroppo, Discospinster, Djnjwd, Dlyons493, Dogru144, Dreadstar, Dustimagic, Dvavasour, Dweekly, Dyslexic agnostic, Ebrap, Edward, Egil, El C, EliasAlucard, Ellmist, Emc2, Emo muzik sux, Emrrans, EoGuy, Epbr123, EstebanF, Everyking, Evlekis, Excirial, Executor Tassadar, F.chiodo, Fabfab1, Fconaway, Feedintm, Figma, Fleminra, Francs2000, Funandtrvl, FunkMonk, Gabr-el, Gadfium, Garzo, Gcle2003, Gemini1980, Gilgamesh he, Gilliam, Glen, Glenn, Gogo Dodo, GoingBatty, Golgofrinchian, Gomm, GoonerDP, Graham87, Greekdude14, Gswarriors8, Gurch, HD86, HGB, Haddiscoe, Hadon, HelloAnnyong, Henrygb, Heron, Hertz1888, HexaChord, Hirohisat, Historicpastime, Hmains, Hmusseau, Horselover Frost, Hosnnan38, Hu, Hydrargyrum, IZAK, Icairns, Igiffin, Igorwindsor, InvisibleK, Iranway, Iraqirealone, Izzedine, J.delanoy, JRSP, JaGa, Jaakobou, Jagged 85, JamesHas047, JamieS93, Jeffq, Jiddisch, Jimmy Fleischer, Jj137, Jncraton, Joelholdsworth, Joey Roe, John K, JohnWittle, Johnbrownsbody, Josh Grosse, Jpbowen, Julesd, Jyril, KGasso, Kaisershatner, Kansas Bear, Karweenie, Keilana, Khoikhoi, Killajones923, Kimse, Kintetsubuffalo, Kiosacoup, Kirrages, Klompje7, KnowledgeOfSelf, Knutux, Konsulromanum, Ksyrie, Kubra, L Kensington, Labiblia, Lahiru k, Lalskdj, LarryBH, Laurinavicius, Leandrod, LeaveSleaves, Leszek Jańczuk, Lethaniol, Levantmajesty, Lights, LilHelpa, Lionslayer, Llywrch, Luuva, Lwbmop3, MPerel, Madman2001, Magister Mathematicae, Magnamax, Mandarax, Mani1, Marcika, Marcodeo, Martarius, Martial75, Matthew Yeager, Matthewcock, Mattis, Mattisse, Mattmans123, Measure, Michael Hardy, Mike s, Mimihitam, Mirv, Mister C4, Mkmkrs, Mnmx, Modulatum, Mohammed Awny Dabbour, Montrealais, Moonriddengirl, Morgan Riley, Mr. Stradivarius, MrOllie, Mussav, Nameburner, Naphureya, NekoDaemon, Nick C, NickCT, Nineveh 209, Ningyou, Nishkid64, Noon, Nuno Tavares, Oda Mari, Olivier, Oop, PBS-AWB, Pasquale, PatoMilan, Pax:Vobiscum, Per Honor et Gloria, Peter Karlsen, Pfalstad, Philip Trueman, PiCo, Piano non troppo, Plasticup, Ploversegg, Podge, Prodego, Prolog, Pylambert, Qxz, R'n'B, Ran, Raryel, Raso mk, Rausch, Raven in Orbit, Reade, RedMC, Res2216firestar, Rgordey, Ribbentrop, Rich Farmbrough, Ricky81682, Rigel1, Rjwilmsi, Rob117, Robartin, Roberta F., Robogun, Roux, Roux-HG, Royalguard11, Rursus, Rádiológ, SEWilco, SMC, Sander123, Sargonious, SchfiftyThree, Sdornan, Sdrawkcab, Seba, Selket, Shadowjams, Sharrana, Shenme, Shilkanni, Shmayo, Shoeofdeath, SidP, Silverfish70, SimonP, Sinharib99, SiobhanHansa, Sitenl, Skatewalk, Skinsmoke, Skoglund, Slakr, Slowdeath2007, Smyth, Snigbrook, Some jerk on the Internet, SpaceToast, Spartan-James, Srleffler, StAnselm, Stateful, Stephenb, Steven J. Anderson, Stevertigo, Streetrider, Sumitkachroo, Summer Song, Supine, Sweetmoose6, Symane, Taivo, Tbhotch, Template namespace initialisation script, TexasAndroid, Thamis, The Dark Peria, The Thing That Should Not Be, The TriZ, Theelf29, Thehelpfulone, Til Eulenspiegel, Tiptoety, Tisqupnaia2010, Todd Vierling, Tommy2010, TonyLoco23, Torahjerus14, Trengarasu, Trevor MacInnis, Triwbe, Trumen, Unukorno, Usedforstudy, Vanished user 03, Vanka5, Venerable Bede, Village Explainer, Vonones, Wahabijaz, Wetman, Wgh001, Whatever2009, Widefox, Wikipeditor, Will Beback, Wisco, Woohookitty, World, X!, Xanzzibar, Xnquist, Yak, Yamamoto Ichiro, Yorkshirian, ZamorakO o, Zasimon, Zayya, Zenzee, Zieng, Zoeperkoe, Šarukinu, طلذبد, 800 anonymous edits

Medes *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=431410957 *Contributors*: 100110100, 3210, AMAR420, ANE.Scholar, Adam Bishop, Adamrce, Adi4094, Adrian.benko, Ahrarara, Akulo, Aldux, Alefbe, Alexemanuel, AlistairMcMillan, Amir85, Anthony Appleyard, Arad, Arakunem, Aristophanes68, Artaxiad, Aryan Khadem, Aryanan, Aschillez, Asoyrun, Asraramiz, Assyria 90, Atabəy, B'er Rabbit, Babakexorramdin, Bahast, Batman2010, Behkar, Berdiau, Big Adamsky, Billw2, Blueberrybuttermilkpancakes, Bobak, Bokpasa, BomBom, Bookofjude, Brainyiscool, BraneJ, Briangotts, Brusk u Trishka, Burntsauce, CIreland, CalicoCatLover, Carmichael95, Catgut, Centrx, Chae jung, Chase me ladies, I'm the Cavalry, Chris G, ChrisCork, Cocnous, Codex Sinaiticus, CodexVaticanus, Cointyro, Colonies Chris, CommonsDelinker, Courcelles, CreazySuit, Cyrus abdi, Cyxares, DBaba, DJ Clayworth, DanMS, Darkred, David Gerard, Dbachmann, Deb, Dejvid, Denisutku, Derfrent, Deville, Ditanditan, Ditictur, Diyako, Diyako2000, Donnie Love, Dougweller, Downwards, Dpr, Dpv, Dr. Persi, Dre2453w, E235, EliasAlucard, Ellipi, Enkyklios, Eranshahr, Eugene van der Pijll, Eupator, Fabartus, Fabullus, Farshadrbn, Firat, Firespeaker, Fishal, Folantin, Fornadan, Freedomwrighter, Frietjes, Fullstop, FunkMonk, Future Perfect at Sunrise, Fvw, Geoff.powers, George955, Ghazne, Gilgamesh he, Gob Lofa, Gurch, Gwen Gale, Hajatvrc, Hajji Piruz, Headbomb, Hede2000, Helikophis, Hendorupa, HeviyaJiyan, Historicpastime, Houshyar, Ian Pitchford, IansAwesomePizza, Iberieli, J04n, JASpencer, JIP, Jagged 85, Jamshid-Shah, Jang bogo67584, Japo, Jargoness, Jauhienij, Je suis de, Jguk, Jjzeidner, John K, Josh Grosse, Joy, Jpbrenna, Jyril, Kain Nihil, Kakhajir, Karenjc, Keldan, Kelson, Kerkuklu2, Khoikhoi, Khorshid, Khosrow II, Kimse, Kintetsubuffalo, Kiumars, Kostisl, Kubigula, Kurdo777, Kurdology1, Kwame Nkrumah, Kwamikagami, LACongress, La Pianista, Laurinavicius, Leovizza, Lithoderm, Look2See1, Lostcashis, Lwbmop3, Lzur, MER-C, Mackay 86, Mahanchian, Mani1, ManiF, Manoj Verman, Mardavich, Matianee, Mav, Mazdakabedi, Maziargh, Mbell, Medes1, Mehrshad123, Memorymike, Meowy, MercZ, Michael Hardy, Mike Rosoft, Mikenassau, Mkeranat, Mohammad adil, Motabalver, Mr Adequate, Mrkaffen, Multihunter Tame, Nat32, Nautilyus, NawlinWiki, Nepaheshgar, Nicke L, Nightstallion, Nimrud, Nishkid64, Nk, Nomore, Noorgostar, Nuno Tavares, Nunquam Dormio, Oghuz turkish, Olivier, Optimist on the run, OttomanReference, PPerviz, Pahlavannariman, Pajoohesh, ParthianPrince, ParthianShot, Pasquale, Patrick Schwemmer, Pearle, Persia2099, Phlegat, Pietdesomere, Pinkhageo, Pjacobi, Prashidi, R'n'B, R1000R1000, RScheiber, Raffeal, RandomCritic, Rasillon, Reconsider the static, Reshbelek, Retau, Rich Farmbrough, Richard Keatinge, Rob117, Robert Guiscard, Robin klein, Roozbeh, Rosenknospe, Ryulong, SD6-Agent, Sashhenka, Semolo75, Separesh, Severo, Sfdan, Shadow1, Shahriar 1989, ShapurIII, Shauni, Shoeofdeath, Sky Attacker, Slakr, Soapyyy, SohrabeDelavar, Sonance, Sorena.firouzi, SouthernComfort, Spartiatus, Sponsianus, StaticGull, Stepheng3, Stevean, Stevertigo, Sumerophile, Sunray, Supertask, Sverdrup, SwatiAfridi, T.goodband, Tajik, Tbhotch, Teeninvestor, Template namespace initialisation script, The Minister of War, The wub, TheFeds, TheSuave, Theda, Theelf29, Til Eulenspiegel, TimBentley, Togrol, Topbanana, Trevor MacInnis, Twofistedcoffeedrinker, Umedard, VampWillow, VatooVatoo, Vekoler, Vina, WIMYV, Wahlin, Warrior4321, Wayiran, Waynei, WellsSouth, Wifione, Wiki1609, Wikiborg, Woohookitty, Xashaiar, Yahel Guhan, Yak, Zereshk, Zestauferov, Zora, Zscout370, ينام, 551 anonymous edits

Ariana *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=431788440 *Contributors*: 1993 Saleen Mustang, Ahmed shahi, Aikenware, Alborz Fallah, AndrewHowse, Artacoana, Aruton, AtticusX, BD2412, Chamkanai, CofetaIkh, Colonies Chris, Courcelles, Ditanditan1, Donbali, Future Perfect at Sunrise, Graham87, Intothefire, Iranian2010, Javidjamae, Keraunos, Kintetsubuffalo, Mandarax, MatthewVanitas, Mephistophelian, Pajoohesh, Pmlineditor, RafaAzevedo, Seair21, Shirik, StAnselm, Str1977, Turian, Walid serat, Watevabich, White Trillium, WikiDao, Woohookitty, Xashaiar, یکیو یلع, 52 anonymous edits

Avestan geography *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=420314561 *Contributors*: Artacoana, MatthewVanitas, Pmanderson, QadeemMusalman, Utcursch, Wayiran, Xashaiar, 3 anonymous edits

Image Sources, Licenses and Contributors

License