

مطالعات ایران کهن

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جایگاه درخت در باورهای اعتقادی و اسطوره‌ای ایرانی - بین‌النهرینی

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چکیده:

درخت زندگی درختی است نمادین که در میانه جهان قرار دارد. این درخت در اسطوره‌های ملل دارای جایگاه خاصی است و در فرهنگ‌های مختلف تکرار می‌شود. برای درخت در رویکردهای اسطوره‌ای و نمادین به سه مفهوم اصلی درخت کیهانی و درخت زندگی و درخت دانش اشاره شده است. از دوران پیش از تاریخ تصویر درخت و نمادپردازی آن در هنر ایران و بین‌النهرین دیده می‌شود. تداوم حیات درخت زندگی در هنر ایران نیز امری خودآگاه و میراث باستانی ذهن ایرانی است و به عنوان نماد حیات جاودانگی و سرچشمه زندگی یک کهن الگو است که همراه با سایر نماد وابسته به خودش که ردپای برخی از آنها در اسطوره به چشم می‌خورد همچنان بر آثار هنری حضور دارد. در این مقاله سعی خواهد شد پاسخ‌هایی برای این سوال‌ها یافت شود: الف- دیدگاه انسان در دوران باستان پیرامون مرگ و باززایی طبیعت چه بوده و این چرخه را چگونه در قالب اسطوره یا آیین باروری در پیوند با نقش درخت مقدس زندگی به تصویر کشیده است؟ ب- نقطه مشترک درخت در اعتقادات و اساطیر مردمان ایران باستان و بین‌النهرین چیست؟ فرضیات مطرح: نقش مایه درخت مقدس زندگی از اعتقادات مردم و افسانه‌ها و اساطیر رایج در آن زمان سرچشمه گرفته و در آفرینش‌های هنری هنرمندان دنیای باستان به ظهور رسیده است. در پژوهش فوق کوشش گردیده با روش توصیفی- تطبیقی تاریخی با هدف شناخت نقش مایه این درخت و نمادهای وابسته به آن در اعتقادات ایران و بین‌النهرین در راستای شناخت اجزا و نقش مایه‌های فرعی تر هماهنگ با این بن‌مایه و ظهور و تداوم حیات این کهن الگو با نمادهای وابسته‌اش در اعتقادات مردمان این دو سرزمین بررسی گردد.

کلید واژگان: درخت، اسطوره، نماد، باورهای دینی، ایران باستان، بین‌النهرین

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1- مقدمه

انسان برای انتقال آنچه در ذهن دارد ابزار گفتمان و نوشتار را به یاری می‌طلبد. زمان نیز مانند نوشتار مجموعه‌ای از نمادها را در بر می‌گیرد. نخستین کوشش‌های بشر برای انتقال مفاهیم در قالب نوشتار منجر به آفرینش تصاویری شد که هرچند برداشت‌های او به سبک انتزاعی است اما مفاهیمی منطبق با طبیعت را در بر می‌گیرد. بدین سان نخستین بارقه‌های ظهور تصویر یا به عبارتی آیگون شکل گرفت. همین نقوش، تصاویری نمادین را بر روی آثار هنری در دوره‌های تاریخی شکل دادند. اسطوره و نماد خاستگاه مشترکی دارند. در این ریشه مشترک همه مفاهیم جهان به هم پیوند می‌خورند. آنچه از طریق نماد به بیان می‌آید همان شیوه اسطوره‌ای تفکر است. در فرهنگ انسانی درخت و نمادهای وابسته به آن از عناصر مهم تأثیرگذار بر اندیشه آدمی بوده‌اند. ستایش درختان و گیاهان در همه دوران‌ها و در پدیده‌های دینی و جادویی به شکل وسیعی ریشه دوانیده است به طوری که این نوع ستایش، یک ویژگی الزامی و تکرار شونده در اغلب فرهنگ‌ها است. در پس این تکریم، مفاهیمی چون فراوانی، برکت و مضامین اصلی خلقت مانند آفرینش، مرگ و رستاخیز نهفته است. یکی از قدیم‌ترین وجوه درخت، تجسم جایگزینی اصل زندگی، نیروی حیات و نیروی رشد و نمو حیات گیاهی در آن، آمیخته با احساس‌هایی وهم‌آور است. اسطوره‌های اقوام مختلف در جای جای جهان از درختی یاد می‌کنند که در مرکز و یا ناف زمین واقع شده و محور جهان و سرچشمه زندگی است. از دوران‌های کهن تصویر درخت و نمادهای وابسته به آن بر اعتقادات دینی و اجتماعی نمایان گردید و این الگوی کهن که ردپای آن را می‌توان در اسطوره‌ها و باورهای تمدن‌های بزرگ پیدا کرد به صورت‌های مختلف درختی بر روی آثار مذهبی ظاهر می‌شود. در بین‌النهرین اقامتگاه خدای باروری و دانش‌های تمدن آفرین است و در مرکز آب‌ها قرار دارد (بلک و گرین، ۱۳۸۵: ۵۲) و در ایران به عنوان درخت زندگی و این گونه مطرح گردیده که از کیومرث که نمونه اولیه انسان است نطفه‌ای بر زمین ریخته می‌شود و بعد از گذشت چهل سال شاخه ریواسی از آن می‌روید. در نگاه دینی، زندگی بشر از باغ بهشت شروع می‌شود و با نزدیک شدن به درخت ممنوعه و خوردن میوه آن،

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در زمین خاکی ادامه می‌یابد و در آخر نیز در همان باغ موعود به جاودانگی می‌رسد. نمادهای وابسته به درخت مانند کوه، آب، ستون، پرنده، گاو، گوزن و ماهی را با اندک توضیحاتی می‌توان در منابعی که به آن‌ها به صورت کلی اشاره کرده‌اند به عنوان پیشینه مطالعاتی در نظر گرفت زیرا تاکنون بررسی مستقلی در رابطه با اساطیر و آیین‌های مربوط به درختان انجام نشده است از جمله می‌توان به: (James:1966, Barning:1991, Otmar:1997) و منابع فارسی مانند: دبوبوکور: ۱۳۸۷، مک کال: ۱۳۸۵، فرنیخ دادگی: ۱۳۸۵ و تفضلی: ۱۳۵۴) اشاره نمود که به ما کمک می‌کنند تا بتوانیم این نماد اسطوره‌ای را که در پس تاریخ گذشته به صورت کهن الگو ظاهر شده است را شناسایی کنیم.

تحقیق حاضر از نظر روش شناسی در رده تحقیقات توصیفی - تطبیقی با رویکرد تاریخی است که بر مبنای کتب در دسترس و شیوه کتابخانه‌ای صورت پذیرفته است. و فرضیه اصلی آن مفهوم نمادین درخت زندگی و تلقی آن به عنوان مرکز جهان، منشأ حیات و برکت در اسطوره‌های ایرانی و هماهنگی آن در همراهی با این مفاهیم با اسطوره‌های بین‌النهرینی و تداوم حیات آن‌ها در اعتقادات یکدیگر است.

2- بیان مسأله

درخت که یکی از کهن‌ترین و مکررترین نمادهای اسطوره‌ای در ایران است به شکل وسیعی در صورت‌های مختلف بر روی نقوش ظاهر گردیده است و مفهومی است که در علم، مذهب، فلسفه و اسطوره استفاده شده است، در این زمینه‌ها درخت زندگی به شکل درختی بر شاخه نشان داده می‌شود که نشان این ایده است که تمام حیات بر روی زمین به هم مرتبط است. این درخت انواع گوناگون دارد و بن‌مایه‌ای است در اسطوره‌های ایران و بین‌النهرین. یک مفهوم عرفانی است که به ارتباط متقابل تمام اجزای حیات بر روی سیاه زمین اشاره دارد و شادابی آن ضامن تداوم زندگی است. این نقش از جمله نقوش اساطیری مهمی است که راز و رمز به کارگیری آن توسط اسطوره پردازان و هنرمندان بزرگ تحریر شده است و دربردارنده رمز و

اکسیر جاودانگی است. در تاریخ ایران و بین النهرین موارد خاصی از درختان به دلیل برخی خصوصیات ذاتی دارای تقدس بیشتری بودند که این تقدس هنوز در باورها بقایایی دارد.

3- نماد و اسطوره

نماد از مقولاتی است که از آغاز مورد توجه قرار گرفته است. تاریخ نشان می‌دهد عناصر بسیاری می‌توانند مفاهیم نمادین یابند. عناصر طبیعی مانند: درخت، کوه، انسان، خورشید و یا آنچه به دست بشر ساخته می‌شود حتی اگر تجریدی باشد مانند نقاشی‌ها، اشکال و اعداد، ذهن انسان را به‌طور طبیعی به آفرینش نمادها متمایل می‌کند. مطالعه آثار هنری و اسطوره‌ها نشان می‌دهد این نوع تفکر نمادین که می‌تواند حالتی دینی به خود بگیرد چگونه ثبت می‌شوند. از طرفی اسطوره‌ها بیان‌گر ذهنیت فلسفی - دینی بشر است و در تعاریف مفاهیم نمادین راهگشاست. اما نماد چیست و چه تعریفی از آن را می‌توان ارائه داد؟ پیرس نماد را یکی از انواع سه گانه و اصلی نشانه می‌داند (احمدی، ۱۳۸۰: ۴۱). توماس فردریش نظر او را این‌گونه خلاصه کرده است: «یک نشانه می‌تواند با موضوع خود، شمایل، نمایه و نماد در ارتباط باشد. یک نماد نشانه‌ای است که ارتباط میان دال و مدلول را از طریق قرارداد ایجاد می‌کند مثلاً نشانه‌های زبانی» (مختاریان، ۱۳۸۷: ۴). به نظر جوزف کمپل باید میان نماد و نشانه تفاوت گذاشت در حالی که نشانه به واقعیت شناخته شده‌ای باز می‌گردد، نماد ارجاع بیرونی ندارد. یک نماد تولد مجدد ندارد و با شاخه صرف متفاوت است و به‌طور قطع نمی‌توان معنای روشن و مستدلی برای آن تعیین کرد (L.C, 1997: 15). نمادها را نمی‌توان تفسیر کرد زیرا همه تجلی‌های نمادین ناشناخته‌اند (Ibid: 16). احمدی نیز معتقد است در هنر و اسطوره بین محسوس و معنا فاصله است (۱۳۸۰: ۲۶۸). با توجه به موارد فوق به نظر می‌رسد نمادها در اسطوره‌ها ظهور می‌یابند. در واقع از طریق مطالعه اسطوره‌ها می‌توان روابط میان عناصر نمادین که شاکله یک اسطوره است را بررسی کرد. جوزف کمپل از نمادهای اسطوره‌ای سخن می‌گوید و متذکر می‌شود «اعصاب و روان ما با خود خاطراتی

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دارند که شکل دهنده سیستم عصبی ما است و این مراسم و شعایر تشکیل دهنده نمادهای اسطوره‌ای هستند» (L.C, 1997 :2).

اما منشأ اسطوره و نماد چیست؟ نظریه یونگ در این زمینه جالب است. نظریه کهن الگویی یونگ و ناخودآگاه جمعی وی که ریشه اسطوره و نماد تلقی گردیده مورد توجه است، وی در کتاب انسان و سمبول‌هایش از مفهوم نماد آغاز می‌کند و از آن تعریف ساده‌ای بیان می‌کند. برای او نماد اصطلاح نام یا نمایه‌ای است که افزون بر معانی قراردادی و آشکار روزمره خود دارای معانی متناقضی است (۱۳۸۶: ۱۵). به نظر او کهن الگوها، اسطوره‌ها و ادیان، فلسفه‌هایی را پدید می‌آورند که بر ملت‌ها و تمامی ادوار تاریخ تأثیر می‌گذارند (همان: ۱۱۲). همچنین ناخودآگاه انسان امروزی توانایی آخرین نمادهایی که در قدیم در آیین‌ها و باورهای انسان بدوی نمود پیدا می‌کرد را دارد و حلقه پیوند میان اسطوره‌های اولیه و باستانی با نمادهای آفریده شده به وسیله ناخودآگاه وجود دارد (همان: ۱۶۱).

لوی - استروس در مقاله بررسی ساختاری اسطوره به این عقیده یونگ که یک الگوی اسطوره‌ای کهن الگو - دارای معنی مشخصی است خرده می‌گیرد (۱۳۷۳: ۱۳۷). برای یونگ درخت جزو نماد طبیعی است و به شکل نمادین سرچشمه زندگی انسان است اما به این دلیل که رابطه انسان و طبیعت قطع شده نیروی عاطفی عمیق ناشی از این تماس که موجب روابط نمادین وی می‌شد از میان رفته است (یونگ، همان: ۱۳۷).

4- مفاهیم نمادین درخت در اسطوره

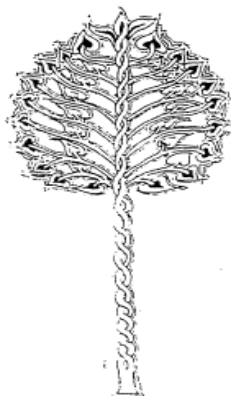
است. در زبان پهلوی Tree درخت یا درّ واژه‌ای است که معادل عربی آن شجر و انگلیسی آن به معنای درخت و اورور به معنای گیاه است (دهخدا، ۱۳۷۳: ۹۸۸۳). درخت را بسیاری Draxt از اقوام باستانی به عنوان جایگاه خدا یا در واقع خود خدا می‌پرستیدند. در ایران تقدس درخت بیشتر جنبه برکت بخشی را شامل می‌شده است (بهار، ۱۳۸۴: ۱۵۶). همچنین درخت نماد کیهان، که مارپیچ شاخه هر منبع باروری، نماد دانش و حیات جاودانی بود (هال، ۱۳۸۰: ۲۸۵). حرکت

از کیهان و کائنات پویای خلقت نماد می‌کند همواره پیدا گسترش بیرون به و شده آغاز مرکز از می‌آید (کوک، ۱۳۸۷: ۱۱). درخت جهانی، درخت زندگی و درخت شمار به خالق ثابت مرکز شناخت سه صورت مختلف از یک نماد است که در فرهنگ‌های مختلف ظاهر شده است و می‌توان سابقه ظهور این نماد را به عنوان یک کهن الگو در تمدن‌های مختلف پیگیری کرد. از این میان درخت کیهانی و درخت زندگی از نظر مفهومی بسیار نزدیک هستند. وجه مشترک این دو را می‌توان تلقی درخت به عنوان سرچشمه حیات و مرکز زندگی و جاودانگی دانست اما صورت سوم که درخت شناخت یا درخت خیر و شر نام دارد شکلی دینی شده از نماد درخت جاودانی است که میوه آن حیات بخش است و در تورات و قرآن به آن اشاره شده است. در ادبیات فارسی نیز اسامی فراوانی همراه با درخت زندگی در معانی آئینی به کار رفته‌اند که از آن جمله است: درخت آتشین و درخت سبز، درخت زندگی و درخت کیهانی، درخت روشنایی و مرگ (جوانی، ۱۳۷۳: ۳۶). درخت در نقش محور جهان، کوه و ستون و تمامی محورها را تداعی می‌کند. درخت همانند گور و کوهستان و سنگ و آب‌ها مظهر کل کیهان است (هال، ۱۳۸۰: ۱۴۳).

۴-۱- درخت کیهانی

یکی از کهن‌ترین توصیف‌های بازمانده از درخت بنا به آنچه که از آن در اسطوره‌های اولیه یاد شده درخت کیهان غول پیکری است که رمز کیهان و آفرینش کیهان است. نوک این درخت تمام سقف آسمان را پوشانده است و ریشه‌هایش سرتاسر زمین را در نور دیده و شاخه‌های پهن و بسترش در پهنه جهان گسترده است (تصویر ۱).

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(تصویر ۱) درخت کیهانی (James, 1966)

قلبش جایگاه آتش آذرخش است. خورشید و ماه و ستارگان در میان شاخ و برگ‌های این درخت همچون میوه‌های تابناک می‌درخشند (دوبوکور، ۱۳۸۷: ۴). در بین‌النهرین از درخت کیشکانو^۳ یاد می‌شود. لحظه گذار از مکان مقدس و تصویر عالم صغیر به درختی کیهانی که در عین حال خانه خدا نیز تصور شده و به نحو ستایش انگیزی در دعای بابلی محفوظ مانده است (تصویر ۲).



(تصویر ۲). لوح بابلی که به جایگاه کیشکانو اشاره دارد و نگرهبانانی که از آن محافظت می‌کنند (Curtis:1990).

در اریدو^۴ (از شهرهای قدیم بین‌النهرین سفلی) درخت کیشکانوی سیاهی روییده که در مکان مقدس آفریده شده فروغش فروغ لاجورد تابان است و به سوی دریای آپسو^۵ گردن می‌کشد (الباده، ۱۳۸۵: ۲۶۴). این درخت نمایشگر همه فضایل کیهانی است و در مرکز جهان واقع است و اقامتگاه خدای باروری و دانش‌های تمدن آفرین است (همان: ۲۶۴) و در حقیقت آمیزه‌ای از ویژگی‌های زندگی بخشی است که از آن به عنوان درخت کیهانی یاد و به عنوان جوهره خلاف هر چیزی می‌باشد (James, 1966:13). در بین‌النهرین نیز عقیده بر این بود که چشمه‌ها، چاه‌ها و نهرها و رودها و اقیانوس‌ها و همه آب‌هایی که از زمین سرچشمه می‌گیرند درخت کیهانی در مرکز آن‌ها قرار دارد (بلک و گرین، ۱۳۸۵: ۵۲). به‌طور کلی در تصاویر باز مانده از این درخت، توت‌ها و الهه‌های ناشناخته در اطراف مشاهده می‌گردد که مناسبات میان این تصاویر با دانش کنونی ما، به روشنی مشخص و آشکار نمی‌شود. کریمال می‌گوید: از آنجا که روایات در باب نقش‌های خاص هر یک از توت‌ها یا الهه‌های گوناگون اختلاف و تفاوت دارند، دشوار است بتوان میان این عوامل گوناگون سازگاری ایجاد کرد (کریمال، ۱۳۷۶: ۱۹). هم چنین در تصاویر، درخت کیهانی گاهی با شاخه‌های مقسم و در عین حال اتصال دهنده دیده شده است، یا دو تنه و یک ریشه دارد و شاخه‌های آن‌ها به هم متصل هستند. این تصاویر مظهر عالم، از وحدت به کثرت رسیدن و دوباره به وحدت بازگشتن و اتحاد آسمان و زمین است (کوپر، ۱۳۸۶: ۱۴۴).

۴-۲- درخت زندگی

درخت مقدسی که منشأ حیات و زندگی است و به همین جهت مقدس است که بر اثر داد و ستدهای متقابل میان تمدن‌ها درخت زندگی که مایه زندگی جاوید است به رمز محور جهان

2- uridu

3- apsu

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تبدیل شده است و به انواع و اقسام درختان قدسی دیگر پیوست (دوبوکور، ۱۳:۱۳۸۷). درخت زندگی مفهوم درخت کیهانی را در شکل‌های گوناگون به همراه دارد و باید این دو مفهوم با یکدیگر و با توجه به مفهوم کیهان‌شناسی بررسی شود (jeams, 1966: 129). به نظر می‌رسد درخت کیهانی که در ناف زمین روئیده از این جهت با درخت زندگی مشابه است که این درخت چون منشأ و مایه حیات همه آفریدگان است درخت مرکزی محسوب می‌شود. این درخت به عنوان شاه درختان توصیف می‌شود. در بیشتر موارد درخت زندگی با آب زندگی پیوند دارد و این آب به عنوان آب‌های حیات بخش و جاودان کننده شناخته می‌شود (مختاریان، ۱۳۸۶: ۴).

بندهش، آفرینش گیاه را چهارمین مرحله از مراحل آفرینش می‌داند (بخش ۱ بند ۱۷) «از آفریدگان مادی نخست آسمان و دیگر آب و سه دیگر زمین و چهارم گیاه و پنجم گوسفند و ششم مردم و هفتم خود هر مزد بود» (فرنیغ دادگی، ۱۳۸۵: ۳۷). سپس در بندهش نخستین گیاه را بی شاخه و بی پوست و خار و شیرین معرفی می‌کند (بخش ۲ بند ۲۵). این درخت همچون درخت کیهانی در مرکز یا میانه زمین قرار دارد و مانند درخت زندگی سرشت همه گیاهان در اوست. در بندهش درباره نبرد گیاه با اهریمن آمده است (بخش ۸ بند ۶۷) «نبرد را گیاه آغاز کرد آنگاه که خشک بشد امرداد امشاسپند^۶ که گیاه از آن اوست آن گیاه را نرم کرد با آبی که تیشتر^۷ بستد بیامیخت. از آن همه تخم گیاهان درخت بس تخمه^۸ فراز آفریده شد. در دریای فراخکرت^۹ فراز رست که همه نوع گیاه را تخم بدان درخت است و از او می‌رویند و نزدیک به آن درخت گوگرین^{۱۰} آفریده شد» (فرنیغ دادگی، ۱۳۸۵: ۶۵). در این متن به دو درخت بس تخمه (همه تخمه) و گوگرین (هوم)

^۶به معرله مقدسنا بی مږگ ی ا ج اولوان پاكسلت. آن ان طق فات پاك امور ږلای ن د.

5-tishtar

6- bas- tukhmeh

7- ریای فراخکرت ی اورکش دوپلس لتدر کن ار ل تبرز و قع است. م ع ایت ح ل ل فظی آن بزرگس ا ح ل و فراخکرت ا ر ل ن ت.

8- مهر دانبهار آنرا شاخگاو م ع ا کچن د) را شد م ح ل: 129:1385

اشاره شده که هر دو مفهوم درخت زندگی و درخت کیهانی را در بر دارند. از این بند می‌توان نتیجه گرفت که درخت بس تخمه که در میانه جهان قرار دارد درخت کیهانی و گوگرد که همان هوم درمان بخش است و باعث عمر جاودانی است درخت زندگی است. هر که برگ این درختان را بخورد جاودان گشته، به همین دلیل اینان را برگزیده و سرور گیاهان و درختان خوانند (کارنوی، ۱۳۸۳: ۲۸). در بین‌النهرین نیز درخت زندگی ترکیبی است از رستنی‌های گوناگون مانند درخت سرو، نخل (تصویر ۳)، تاک بن و خوشه‌های انگور و انار (تصویر ۴) (دوبوکور، ۱۳۸۷: ۱۳).



(تصویر ۳) درخت مقدس نخل آشوری (jeams:1966) (تصویر ۴) درخت مقدس انار آشوری (jeams:1966)

در اعتقادات سومری درخت زندگی سمبل نوسازی جهان بوده و درخت خرما نزد بابلی‌ها و درخت مو نزد آشوریان درخت زندگی محسوب می‌شد (تصویر ۵).



(تصویر ۵) آشوربانیپال زیر داربست مو (بریان: ۱۳۸۱)

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این درخت همیشه سبز و جوان و پابرجا بود که خود نمادی است از زندگی و بقای حیات (اکبری، ۱۳۷۴: ۴۷۶). درخت نخل در هنر هخامنشی (تصویر ۶) و ساسانی نیز درخت مقدس نامیده می‌شد که نمونه‌هایی از آن در گچ‌بری‌های کاخ بیشاپور موجود است (تصویر ۷). هر نخل دو جفت برگ خرما به شکل بال دارد که یکی بالای دیگری است. همچنین روی مهرهای ساسانی نقوش گیاهی مربوط به درخت نخل که مقدس بود و دو جانور شاخ‌دار دوسوی آن ایستاده‌اند دیده می‌شود (تصویر ۸).



(تصویر ۶) اثر مهر استوانه‌ای. یک سردار هخامنشی (تصویر ۷) درخت نخل در گچ‌بری بیشاپور (انصاری: ۱۳۶۶)

شاه مصری را تهدید می‌کند. درخت نخل در روی اثر دیده می‌شود (موزه ارمیتاژ)



(تصویر ۸) اثر مهر دوره ساسانی. تصویر دو جانور در دو سوی درخت زندگی (انصاری: ۱۳۶۶)

درخت زندگی و درخت کیهانی سمبلی مرتبط با آفرینش هستند که به صورت یک درخت عظیم با ریشه‌ها و شاخ و بن در دریا و یا در مرکز زمین یا در آسمان و در سراسر زمین تجسم می‌یابند. این گیاه زندگی بخش در بین‌النهرین در اسطوره گیل‌گمش مطرح می‌شود (James, 1966: 13). گیل‌گمش براساس رهنمود (اوت - نپیش تی)^{۱۱} یکی از رازهای خدایان که گیاه جوانی دوباره است را در قعر دریا پیدا می‌کند اما ماری این گیاه را از او می‌دزد (مک کال، ۱۳۸۵: ۶۵). این درخت در فرهنگ آشوری جایگاه نمایانی داشته است. دانشمندان به هنگام کاوش در شهرهای این دولت اغلب با نقش گاو بالدار مواجه می‌شدند که در برابر درخت‌های زندگی ایستاده یا زانو زده‌اند (jeams, 1966: 17). در آشور این درخت نگهدارنده‌ای داشته که به شکل نیم انسان و نیم حیوان بودند. از پلاک عاجی که در زیویه کشف شده نیز دو بز مشغول خوردن میوه درخت زندگی می‌باشند (تصویر ۹). در این جا درختی به شیوه درختان آشوری بوده و حالت بزها یادآور داستان گیل‌گمش است (ایونس، ۱۳۸۱: ۱۲۶).



(تصویر ۹) دو بز در طرفین درخت مقدس (jeams: 1966)

¹¹ - Ut - Napisti

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قدیمی‌ترین نقوشی که از این درخت به دست آمده در سومر بوده است که حیواناتی از آن نگهداری کرده یا آن را می‌چرند. نقش درخت زندگی زمانی نخل در بین‌النهرین و گاهی کاج و سرو بوده است (تصویر ۱۰) (jeams, 1966: 18).



(تصویر ۱۰) مهر استوانه ای بر روی گل ۵۰۰۰ ق.م. شیطان به صورت مار در پشت حوا دیده می‌شود و در میان آن‌ها درخت نخلی که درخت زندگی یا دانش است می‌باشد (موزه بریتانیا)

بر روی یک لوحه بسیار زیبا مکشوفه از لرستان که متاسفانه نیمی از آن از بین رفته درخت مزبور را دو گاو بالدار احاطه کرده‌اند. این درخت همان نخل مقدس سومری است. زیر پای گاو بالدار دو مار درهم پیچیده دیده می‌شود که اشاره‌ای است به داستان تورات و نیز الهه باروری ایشتار و یا آناهیتای ایرانی (گذار، ۱۳۵۸: ۵۷). در یک روکش تیردان که کنده کاری از جنس مفرغ است و مربوط به سُرْخ‌دُم لرستان در پایین‌ترین قسمت آن تصویر درختی است که دو طرف آن دو جاندار بالدار ایستاده‌اند (تصویر ۱۱). این تصویر از نمونه‌های اولیه درخت زندگی در ایران باستان است. در نهایت نقش درخت زندگی در بین‌النهرین جنوبی (تمدن سومر) و بعدها در هنر بابل، آشور، ایلام و به خصوص برنزکاران لرستان به عالی‌ترین شکل خود می‌رسد و در دوره هخامنشی، پارتی، ساسانی و در دوران اسلامی نیز به اشکال گوناگون در دست ساخته‌های مختلف دیده می‌شود (ریاضی، ۱۳۷۵: ۶۷).



(تصویر ۱۱) روکش تیردان مفرغ کاری لرستان. ۸۰۰ ق. م. موزه متروپولیتن (پوپ: ۱۳۸۷).

۴-۳- درخت خیر و شر در متون دینی

باور به اینکه درخت، حقیقت را در خود نهفته است باوری بسیار کهن است که در ادیان مختلف نیز قابل مشاهده است و توصیفی که از آن می‌شود نزدیک به توصیف درخت زندگی است. درخت ممنوع درختی است که مطابق با روایات متعدد به‌رغم منع پروردگار آدم و حوا از آن خوردند و از بهشت اخراج شدند. خداوند فرمود: «ای آدم خود و همسرت در این باغ سکونت گیر و از هر کجای آن خواهید فراوان بخورید و به این درخت نزدیک نشوید که از ستمکاران خواهید بود» (بقره، ۳۵). به روایت تورات این تهدید بدان سبب بود که مبادا آدم به درخت حیات دست درازی کند و جاودان گردد (نصر پیدایش، باب ۲، آیه ۱۶ و ۱۷). به گفته یاحقی در تورات آن را درخت معرفت و نیک و بد دانسته‌اند (۱۳۸۶: ۸۰۹). ابن‌عربی در رساله شجره الکون جهان را مانند درختی تصور می‌کند که از تخم کلمه به وجود آمده و رسول‌الله که نور حقیقت محمدیه است ریشه و میوه آن درخت جهانی است. این درخت اغلب به معنای

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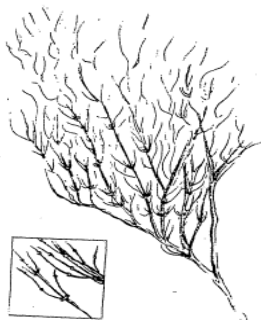
محور جهان در مرکز ناف زمین مستقر است (شایگان، ۱۳۸۶: ۳۲۸). در میان هندوان نیز درختی به نام انجیر را بودی^{۱۲} می‌نامند چرا که خدای شیوا برای خطبه‌های مذهبی زیر درخت بانیان می‌نشسته است. بودا نیز زیر درخت پیتال به وارستگی دست یافت (دادور، ۱۳۸۵: ۲۰۰). به نظر کوماراسوامی «درخت معرفت در اساتوپای سانچی در قالب اشکال نرده‌ای - معرف نیل به تصویر اشراقی است» (۱۳۸۲: ۷۴). در کتاب شکندگمانیک وزار، گزارش گمان‌شکن اثر کلامی ارزنده‌ای از مردان فرخ به نگارش درآمده است. در فصل اول این کتاب دین را به درختی تشبیه می‌کند که تنه آن پیمان است و دو شاخه اصلی آن انجام دادن و پرهیز کردن و سه شاخه کوچکتر آن اندیشه نیک، گفتار نیک و کردار نیک و چهار ساقه آن چهار طبقه اجتماعی یعنی موبدان، ارتشتاران، کشاورزان و پیشه‌وران است (آموزگار، ۱۳۸۷، ۴۶۹). در دین مانی نیز یکی از شرایط وارد شدن به کیش او، نیاز زدن درخت و گیاه است (جلالی نائینی، ۱۳۸۴: ۲۵۸). در وندیداد فرگرد پنجم بخش ۴ بند ۲۴ آمده است: «این داد دیو ستیز زرتشت در مهی و بهی و زیبایی در برابر دیگر دین‌ها چنان است که درختی تناور، گیاهان خرد، را در سایه سار خود بپوشاند.» (دولتخواه، ۱۳۸۱: ۷۰۸).

براساس این گزارشات می‌توان نتیجه‌گرفت اگرچه درخت در متون دینی ایرانی وارد شده و حتی در مراسم نیایش از اهمیت بسیاری برخوردار است و با نام درخت مزدا آفریده، ستایش می‌شود اما با آنچه که در تورات و روایات از درختی سخن گفته شده که میوه آن عمر جاودانی و معرفت به انسان می‌بخشد قدری متفاوت است. در متون زرتشتی از درخت مقدس یاد می‌شود و به نوعی قداست آن حفظ شده و بارها در اوستا از آن به هوم^{۱۳} (تصویر ۱۲) نام برده شده است. اما این نکته که میوه آن مایه معرفت شود در این گزارشات مطرح نشده است. در کتاب گاهان زرتشت آمده: «از جمله پیشکش‌هایی که برای همه ایزدان تقدیم می‌شود می‌توان به آمیزه‌ای از

10- budi

نیش و بوی مقدس اثری‌ره گیاهی افلندر. ای‌گی‌ای‌ه در لوی‌تل‌لطن‌فات دور‌دل‌ن‌ده مرگ، زگون، درختان
توصیف‌شده‌اس (بخش) عرف‌خرطی: 180:1367).

افشره هوم با گیاه خوشبوی هذائپتا^{۱۴} که اگر شیر را بدان درآمیزند پراهوم^{۱۵} خوانده می‌شود» نام برد (رایشلت، ۱۳۸۳: ۳۳۰).



(تصویر ۱۲) گیاه هوم (زرور) در کوه شاه باوران لرستان (میرشکرایی: ۱۳۷۹)

مفهوم درخت زندگی و کیهانی در اسطوره‌ها بسیار به هم نزدیکند و صورت دینی نماد درخت به شکل‌های مختلف در ادیان ظاهر می‌شوند و به نظر می‌رسد این نماد کهن در مذاهب مختلف تبدیل به درخت معرفت می‌گردد. رابطه دین و درخت رابطه‌ای عمیق است. بابلیان باور داشتند که در مدخل شرقی آسمان دو درخت است. یکی درخت حقیقت و دیگری درخت زندگی (الباده، همان: ۲۷۷).

5- درخت در اسطوره‌های آفرینش ایران - بین‌النهرین

اسطوره آفرینش کیهان در نظر باورمندان اسطوره از هر نظر کامل و آرمانی است و می‌تواند الگویی برای آفرینش و پدید آمدن هر چیز نو باشد. هر آفریده نو همچون پیدایی گیاه، جانور و...

14- نوع گیاهی که بوسه‌ت پهلوی آن بین‌اک بلت.

15- فن‌روگی‌اوم که با آب زومرو شهر آبی‌شده باشد.

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اسطوره‌ای در پی دارد. بنابراین ظهور پدیده‌های نو به اسطوره‌های ریشه و بن مربوط است که خود از اسطوره آفرینش نشأت می‌گیرد (اسماعیل پور، ۱۳۸۷: ۸۹). در اسطوره‌های ایرانی آفرینش کیهان چنان که در بندهش آمده است (بخش ۱، بند ۱۷) به ترتیب زیر انجام شده: «از آفریدگان مادی نخست آسمان دیگر آب سه دیگر زمین چهارم گیاه پنجم گوسفند، ششم مردم و هفتم خود هرمزد بود» (فرنبرگ دادگی، ۱۳۸۵: ۳۷). در اسطوره زرتشتی آفرینش جهان دوازده هزار سال به طول انجامید که سه هزار سال به خلق مینوی خرد گذشت. اورمزد، امشاسپندان، ایزدان و مینوهای جهان مادی، آسمان و آب و زمین و گیاه را آفرید (قلی زاده، ۱۳۸۸: ۴۹). گیاه و گاو نخستین و کیومرث در واقع نمونه‌های نخستین و منشا گیاه و مردم بودند که با نازش اهریمن در سه هزار ساله سوم هر دو می‌میرند. از نطفه کیومرث مشی و مشیانه به هیات ریواس زاده می‌شوند و از اندام او فلزات هشت‌گانه به وجود آمدند (تصویر ۱۳). این دو با هم درختی را تشکیل می‌دادند که حاصل آن ده نژاد بشر بود، سرانجام وقتی به صورت انسان درآمدند، اورمزد مسئولیت‌هایشان را به آنان آموخت (هیلنز، ۱۳۸۷: ۹۱).



(تصویر ۱۳). مشی و مشیانه. آثارالباقیه مکتب ایلخانی ۷۰۷ ه.ق (کتابخانه ادینبورو)

در بندهش (بخش ۸ بند ۷) چنین آمده است: «از آنجا که تن کیومرث از فلز ساخته شده بود از تن وی هفت گونه فلز پیدایی آمد. از آن تخم که در زمین رفت به چهل سال مشی و مشیانه

برستند که از این ایشان رونق جهان و نابودی دیوان و از کار افتادگی اهریمن بود» (فرنبغ دادگی، همان: ۶۶) و در آغاز هزاره هفتم در پی نازش اهریمن بر زمین و آسمان ایزدی به نام تیشتر با جام ابر از آب‌هایی که در آغاز آفریده شده بود آب برداشت و به همراهی باد و باران بزرگ زمین را نمناک کرد. در پایان این سه هزار ساله زردشت ظهور کرد (قلی زاده، همان: ۵۰).

دیگر اسطوره‌های آفرینش به نوعی کشته شدن غول نخستین و آغاز آفرینش و نیز ارتباط گیاه و آفرینش جهان را مطرح می‌کنند. به‌عنوان مثال در بین‌النهرین پس از کشته شدن غول خدای نخستین تیامت^{۱۶} است که مردوخ جهان مادی را خلق می‌کند و از اندام‌های او زمین و آسمان و کوه‌ها و دیگر چیزها را می‌آفریند (بهار، ۱۳۸۱: ۳۹۸) و ازدواج مقدس اینانا^{۱۷} و تموز^{۱۸} نمونه دیگر آفرینش جهان است (بلک و گرین، ۱۳۸۵: ۹۴).

۶- درخت زندگی در بهشت ایرانی - بین‌النهرینی

بهشت با چشمه‌ای مرکزی و چهار رود جاری در چهار جهت مرکز معنویت اولیه و خاستگاه تمام مذاهب است. در سراسر جهان آن را محل جاودانگی می‌پندارند. این مرکز تغییر ناپذیر در قلب جهان نقطه ارتباط میان آسمان و زمین است (شوالیه گری: ۱۳۸۷: ۱۳۵). در مرکز کیهانی ارتباط کامل بین خدا، انسان‌ها و همه موجودات زنده وجود دارد و جایگاه بی‌مرگی است (کوپر، ۱۳۸۶: ۶۳). در مرکز همه باغ‌های بهشت دو درخت حیات و معرفت و مرگ و بی‌مرگی وجود دارد. از ریشه‌های درخت حیات رودی می‌جوشد که در چهار جهت اصلی جاری هستند (همان، ۶۴).

واژه بهشت از ریشه ایرانی و باستانی پردیس است و به معنای باغی محصور و به‌ویژه گردشگاه یا شکارگاه سلطنتی است (وارنر، ۱۳۸۷: ۵۹). در مینوی خرد (بخش ۶ بند ۸) بهشت در سه طبقه

11-tiyamat

12- inana

13- tamuz

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بنا شده است. مینوی خرد پاسخ داد بهشت از ستاره پایه تا ماه پایه، دوم از ماه پایه تا خورشید و سوم از خورشید پایه تا گروتمان اونجا که آفریدگار اورمزد برنشیند و بهشت نخست اندیشه نیک، گفتار نیک و کردار نیک است (تفضلی، ۱۳۵۴: ۲۰). پارسیان در بهشت آسوده از پیری و مرگ، غم و آسیب‌اند (همان ۲۱). در بهشت درختی است که یمه زیر آن با خدایان به نوشیدن می‌پردازد در حالی که نوای نی خوش، گوش را می‌نوازد. این درخت انجیری است که خدایان در آسمان سوم در زیر آن زندگی می‌کنند (قلی زاده، ۱۳۸۸: ۱۳۹). معنای بهشت ارتباط با حیات پس از مرگ دارد و مانند باغی با درختان و گیاهان مقدس توصیف می‌شود که به مفهوم هند و اروپایی آن برمی‌گردد (James, 1966: 69). به نظر جیمز «مفهوم بهشت در ایران مرتبط با مفهوم هوم زرد است که اهورمزدا آن را بر روی کوه هراثیتی در البرز کاشت و این گیاه نمونه اولیه گئوگرن (تیغ سفید) بخشنده حیات ابدی است. هئوما‌ی ایرانی در دیگر گیاهان دارویی نیز یافت می‌شود. آن‌ها در آب‌های دریاچه (وروکش) هستند (قلی زاده، همان: ۷۹).

بهشت دیلمون در خلیج فارس، جنوب ایلام، جزیره‌ای در بحرین فرض شده است. درخت سدر سیاه یا سدر آزاد در آن جا مطرح می‌شود. چشم‌انداز آن سرزمین ناب خدایان است. جایی که پاکی و سعادت غالب بود و درخت زندگی در آن رشد می‌کرد (jeams ibid: 68).

به نظر می‌رسد این اسطوره‌ها مقدمه برپایی بهشت بابلی شد. در بهشت، فرشتگان، نگهبان ابدی هستند. مفهوم بهشت در بین‌النهرین همراه با رودخانه‌های جاری و درخت زندگی و گیاهان شفابخش در دوره‌های بعد به قلمرو حکومتی بهشتی تبدیل شد. بهشتی که جایگاه خدایان بود. دیلمون و باغ عدن، باغ پر از نور همراه با کوه مقدس، آب‌های تازه و سنگ‌های جادویی، میوه‌های اعطا کننده، فرزاندگی الهی و نامیرایی است (تصویر ۱۴) (James, 1966: 60).



(تصویر ۱۴) درخت زندگی و درخت دانش در باغ بی مرگی، مهر سومری، ۲۵۰۰ ق.م (Baring, 1991, 104)

7- نمادهای مشترک درخت ایرانی - بین النهرینی

۱-۷ - شهریار - درخت

فریزر معتقد است: «شاهان باستان عموماً کاهن نیز بوده‌اند. در آن ایام الوهیتی که در شاه متجلی است از اعتقادی ژرف بر می‌خاست. شاه نه فقط به عنوان کاهن یعنی واسطه بین انسان و خدا بلکه به عنوان خدا حرمت داشت و می‌توانست موهبت‌هایی را به رعایا و بندگان ارزانی دارد. بدین ترتیب اغلب از شاهان انتظار می‌رفت که محصول برویاند» (۱۳۸۶: ۸۴). همانگونه که خدایان در درخت مسکن می‌گزیدند یا بر روی آب‌های اولیه تولد می‌یافتند تجدید حیات سالیانه او در درخت و حیات گیاهی تجسم می‌یافت. شاهان ارتباط تنگاتنگی با درخت داشتند. برای مثال آجر قالبی مربوط به تزئینات بدنه دیوار خارجی معبد این - شوشیناک در شوش حاوی تصاویر یک مرد و زن در کنار درخت نخل انتزاعی است. نقش مرد به صورت اسطوره‌ای است (تصویر ۱۵) (صراف، ۱۳۸۷: ۹۹).

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(تصویر ۱۵) مرد و زن در کنار درخت نخل (شوش) (shahbazi, 138:2001)

در ایران باستان شاه را می‌توان منشأ برکت و فراوانی تلقی کرد. در یشت‌ها آمده است: «جمشید خوب رمه، آن فره‌مندترین مردمان، آن هورچهر، آن که به شهریاری خویش جانوران و مردمان را بی‌مرگ و آب‌ها و گیاهان را نخشکیدنی و خوردنی‌ها را نکاستنی ساخت» (رایشلت، ۱۳۸۳: ۱۹۵). در ایران باستان درخت منتسب به اهورامزدا بود (پور داود، ۱۳۴۷: ۴۵) و مهر خدای ایرانی در بطن درخت با نیلوفر ظهور می‌یافت (ملک زاده، ۱۳۸۶: ۲۷۳) و به فرمان جمشید جن و شیاطین به غرس اشجار (کاشت درخت) پرداختند (صدیقیان، ۱۳۸۶: ۸۲).

در میان‌رودان درخت زندگی به صورت‌های مختلف در معماری کاخ‌ها و اشیاء باستانی کاربرد داشت. از این رو در پایتخت‌های کهن بین‌النهرین، سرستون‌های اورشلیم، سامره، بر امواب راحل در حد فاصل اورشلیم و بیت‌الحم این نقش‌مایه به کار رفته است. بر نقش برجسته‌های عاج تخت خواب شهریاری یافت شده از راس الشمره دیده می‌شود که در نقش‌های این تخت موتیف درخت زندگی با نیلوفر آبی ترکیب شده است (گری، ۱۳۷۸: ۷۲). بدین سان درخت زندگی یکی از نمادهای تندرستی و سعادت شهریار و فراهم شدن سعادت اجتماعی توسط شاه بود.

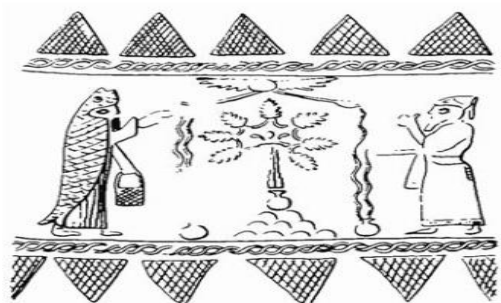
در نقاشی دیواری یکی از کاخ‌های آشوری یافت شده در ماری در کناره فرات، شاه در حالت خلعت گرفتن از ایشتار خدای بابلی با نماد ویژه‌ای یعنی شیر مشخص شده است (تصویر ۱۶). دو درخت خرما به شکل قرینه در این فرسک درخت زندگی است و دو کریپ^{۱۹} آنها را پاسداری می‌کنند و این واژه همان کروپ عبری در کتاب مقدس است (سفر پیدایی، ۳: ۳۴). کریپ پاسدار درخت زندگی است (گری، همان: ۱۰۴)



(تصویر ۱۶) نقاشی دیواری، کاخ زیمری لیم در ماری، هزاره‌ی دوم ق.م (بلک و گرین، ۱۳۸۵: ۳۶)

در شماری از مهرهای آشوری نیز درخت زندگی همراه با رفتار آئینی با خدای آشور و یا سمبل خورشیدی اش دیسک بالدار ارتباط دارد. خدا در حلقه بالدار بر فراز درخت مجسم می‌شود و دیسک بالدار نشان آسمان و حامی ستون مقدس بود (تصویر ۱۷) (James, 1966:4).

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(تصویر ۱۷) مهر آشوری کوه کیهانی و درخت کیهانی را نشان می‌دهد (kell, 1997, 29)

شاه چون واسطه باروری و حاصلخیزی از طریق ازدواج مقدس با یک خدای بانوی باروری است پاسدار زندگی است و در نقش برجسته آشوری شاه گویی در حال بارورکردن درخت زندگی است (گری، ۱۳۷۸: ۱۰۱).

۷-۲- خورشید - درخت

در بیشتر سنت‌ها خورشید پدر و ماه مادر عالم است. خورشید هم نماد زندگی و هم مرگ و هم تجدید حیات پس از مرگ است. نمادهای خورشید عبارتند از: چرخ گردان، دیسک، دایره با نقطه مرکزی و صلیب شکسته (کوپر، ۱۳۸۶: ۱۳۲). گاهی خورشید به شکل میوه روی درخت حیات تصویر شده است. نماد درختی که در آسمان سه شاخه‌اش گسترده است و شاخه‌های سه خورشید را دربر گرفته‌اند. در حالی که چهارمین خورشید، خورشید بزرگی است که در پشت تنه درخت قرار گرفته است. جایی که شاخه‌ها تقسیم می‌شوند و نماد خدای شیوا و یَشنو در بین‌النهرین است (Alviella, 1984: 61).

ارتباط میان خورشید و درخت به شکل ظریفی در مهریشت بیان شده است (کرده ۳۵، بند ۱۴۵) و این ارتباط جایی است که در ستایش خورشید برسم به دست گرفته می‌شود. مهر و اهورمزدای

بزرگ فنا ناپذیری مقدس را ما می‌ستائیم، ستارگان و ماه و خورشید را نزد گیاه برسم و آن مهر را که سرور سراسر مملکت است ما می‌ستائیم (پور داود، ۱۳۴۷: ۵۰۳).

۷-۳- ماه - درخت

ماه کنترل کننده جزر و مد، باران، آب‌ها، سیل‌ها و همه زندگی است. در دوره نئولیتیک ماه هنوز تصور اولیه‌ای از تولد، رشد، تباه شدن و مرگ است (Baring, 1991: 19). چهار فصل بازتابی از چهار مرحله تکامل ماه بود. صلیب چهار شآن ماه بود که بعدها تبدیل به سواستیکا یا نگاره چهار یا هشت بازویی شد (ibid:49). هلال ماه در دست الهه لاسل و بر روی سر آستارته بابلی دیده می‌شود که نماد اوست (ibid:45). اکرم‌ن ماه را اولین خدای تمدن‌های اولیه ایران و ایلام می‌دانند (صمدی، ۱۳۶۷: ۱۶۵). در آیین زرتشتی ماه فزاینده گیاهان است. بنابر بندهش (بخش ۱۱ بند ۱۶۵) ماه فره بخش جهان است و پانزده روز افزایش و پانزده روز کاهش یابد. درختان نیز بر آن هنگام بهتر رویند و میوه‌ها بیشتر رسند (فرنبح دادگی، ۱۳۸۵: ۱۱۰). در خرده اوستا بند ۷ از ماه با عنوان «آن سودمند گیاه رویاننده آباد کننده یاد شده است» (رایشلت، ۱۳۸۳: ۲۳۵). بنابراین گزارشات ماه و درخت ارتباط تنگاتنگی با هم دارند.

۷-۴- اسب - درخت

یکی از نمادهایی است که در آثار هنری به تنهایی یا همراه با سوارش در کنار درخت دیده می‌شوند. این نماد به دلیل ارتباط آن با حیات گیاهی، باران‌آوری و الهه مادر قابل توجه است. در هوم شیت (هات ۱۱ بند ۱) چنین آمده است: «بی‌گمان پاکان سه گانه‌اند، گاو، اسب و هوم نفرین خوانند، گاو زوت را، اسب سوار را و هوم نوشنده را» (دوستخواه، ۱۳۸۱: ۱۵۱). در بین‌النهرین نیز کاسی‌ها در ۱۸۰۰ ق.م الهه پرورش اسب به نام میرمیزیر^{۲۰} را ستایش می‌کردند.

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گاه در آثار بین‌النهرینی اسب با نشانه گیاهی همراه است که نماد نقش نمادین او در آیین های فصلی باروری و تجدید حیات قدرت زندگی است (Baring, 1991: 31).

۷-۵- بز - درخت

رابطه بز و درخت در ایران در یک متن نوشته شده به پهلوی آمده است. این کتاب از آثار اشکانی بوده و در زمان ساسانیان بازنویسی شده است (تسلیمی، ۱۳۸۹: ۲۲). منظومه درخت آسوریک در شمار اندک متون غیر دینی است که برجای مانده است که در آن شاهد گفتمان درخت آسوری و بز هستیم که در فرجام به برتری بز می‌انجامد. شاید بتوان بز را نماینده دین زرتشت و درخت آسوریک را نماینده دین چندگانه‌پرستی آشور دانست. در خور نگرش است که در آیین دینی آشوریان درختی خشک به کار می‌رفته که آن را با زر و زیور ساختگی می‌آراستند و بی‌پروا و خشن بودن بز را هم در گفتگو با درخت می‌توان دلیل بر برتری اجتماعی مزدپرستان دانست. برخی، نگاره‌های بز را نماد آ‌ خدای فرزان که یادگار سومری‌هاست می‌دانند که به بابلی‌ها رسیده و آن را الهه آب شمرده که در آبگیری می‌چرخد (بختورتاش، ۱۳۸۰: ۶۱).

۷-۶- مار - درخت

مار مظهر طبیعت غریزی آغازین، جوشش ناگهانی و بدون کنترل و تفکیک نشده قوه حیات و روح بخش است و واسطه زمین و آسمان، زمین و آب و خصوصاً درخت کیهانی است (کوپر، ۱۳۸۶: ۳۳۰). مار چون کشنده است خطر ویرانی و مرگ است و چون پوسته اندازی می‌کند به مفهوم زندگی و رستاخیز است و در مواردی سمبل مار نقش منفی می‌پذیرد. مار کیهانی با چمبره‌هایش پایه ستون کیهان را می‌فشرد و تمام خدای بانوان طبیعت با مار همراهند (شوالیه و گبران، ۱۳۸۷: ۷۵). در بندهش (بخش ۵ بند ۴۳) مار و اژدها از جانوران اهریمنی است (فرنبرگ دادگی، ۱۳۸۵: ۵۲). در اسطوره‌های بین‌النهرینی نامو الهه مار عظیمی است که در عمق زمین قرار دارد و زایش را به زمین و آسمان می‌دهد (الیاده، ۱۳۸۵: ۶۴). در داستان گیل‌گمش نیز از سکونت مشترک یک مار و یک پرنده در یک درخت تبریزی حکایت می‌کند (مک کال، ۱۳۸۵:

۸۴). در داستان سومری گیل‌گمش و درخت هلوب از سکونت مشترک یک مار و یک پرنده در یک درخت تبریزی حکایت می‌کند (همان: ۸۴). در بین‌النهرین مار با خدایان نیز در ارتباط است (بلک و گرین، ۱۳۸۵: ۲۷۶).

۷-۷- ماهی - درخت

ماهی نماد عنصر آب و مرتبط با مفهوم تولید یا تجدید دوره است (شوالیه و گربران، ۱۳۸۷: ۱۴۰). ماهی نماد زندگی و باروری است. در بین‌النهرین ماهی علامت مشخص آا و تموز است و اگر تداعی گرايشتار باشد مظهر تائيث و عشق و باروری است (تصویر ۱۸) (کوپر، ۱۳۸۶: ۳۴۳).



(تصویر ۱۸) الهه مادر یا ماهی در رحم (barning, 1991: 69)

آا خدای سومری آب‌های تازه دارای شکل ماهی یا بزی با دم ماهی است (اصل و منشاء برج جدی است). کاهنان آن در دوره نو آشوری جامه‌های به صورت ماهی به تن داشتند. ماهی نقش محافظ را نیز ایفا می‌کند. پیکر گاو مرد ریش‌دار که پوست ماهی بر تن دارد اولین بار در هنر دوره کاسی پدیدار گشت و سپس به آشور رسید و در هنر دوره نو بابلی - آشوری متداول گردید. حضور این نوع پیکره در دروازه‌های دربار آشوری و کنده‌کاری معبد نشانگر طبیعت و محافظ جادویی آن است (هال، ۱۳۸۰: ۱۲۲). در اسطوره‌های ایرانی به این نقش ماهی اشاره شده

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است. در بندهش، (بخش ۹ بند ۱۵۰) چنین توصیف شده است که: «گوید به دین که هوم سپید که گوگرد درخت خوانند، در دریای فراخکرد، بدان دریای ژرف، رسته است برای فرشگردسازی دریابد، زیرا انوشکی را از او آریند. اهریمن به دشمنی با او، در آن ژرف آب، وزغی آفریده است که آن هوم را از میان برده باز داشتن آن وزغ را، هر مزد دو ماهی کر آن جا بیافریده است، که پیرامون هوم همواره می‌گردند. یکی از آن‌ها ماهیان را همیشه سر به سوی وزغ است. جایی است که آن ماهی را ارزماهی نوشته است (فرننج دادگی، ۱۳۸۵: ۱۵۱).

۷-۸- آب - درخت

در دنیای باستان آب از عناصر بود و ماده اصلی و سرچشمه حیات تمام موجودات به‌شمار می‌رفت و گاهی به شکل اقیانوس به گرد زمین می‌چرخید و دنیا را به چهار بخش تقسیم می‌کرد. این آب‌ها رودهای زندگی بودند و نقش آن‌ها که اغلب بر روی ظروف دوران باستان دیده می‌شود بر روی سفالینه‌های سومری مکشوفه بین‌النهرین نیز این توصیف به تصویر کشیده شده است (خوانساری، ۱۳۸۳: ۳۵). در کهن‌ترین مرحله خط تصویری سومری خط موج آ، آب یعنی رودخانه‌ها را می‌رساند. بعدها به علائم خط تصویری در وسط نوار موج ماهی و یا در کنار آن گیاه افزودند. بر روی لوحی به خط بدوی ایلامی نیز گیاه و ماهی به آب افزوده شده است (هرتسفلد، ۱۳۸۱: ۴۳). در شوش A این علامت مفهوم آب یا رودخانه جاری را می‌رساند. نماد گیاه یا درخت نیز که کنار آب روئیده از نقوش شوش A است (همان: ۴۴).

براساس توصیفات اسطوره‌ای درخت کیهانی ریشه بر آب‌های کیهانی دارد، در نقوش مانوی و متنی که آن را توصیف می‌کند آمده است: «در کنار آبگیر کیهانی درخت کیهانی می‌روید که بر یک سویش خرداد و سوی دیگرش مرداد زانو بر زمین زده است» (پوپ، ۱۳۸۷: ۱۰۸۵). توصیف درخت در کنار آب کیهانی نیز در سفالینه‌ای از میان‌رودان به تصویر کشیده شده است (بختورتاش، ۱۳۸۰: ۶۰). در میان آثار مفرغی لرستان تعدادی فنجان به شکل ساغر دیده می‌شود که اغلب نقش مایه‌های آن‌ها تأثیرات آشوری را نشان می‌دهد. روی یکی نخل مقدسی است که

برگرفته از برگ نخل آشوری است که در گلدانی کروی قرار گرفته و نمونه دیگر گلدان را با دو نهر آب بدون نخل همراه اسفنجکس‌های نر و ماده نشان می‌دهد (پوپ، ۱۳۸۷: ۳۳۷). لازم به ذکر است که درخت قرار گرفته در سبو همراه با آب مختص ایران نبوده و در قصر سلطنتی شاه زیمری لیم در ماری هزاره دوم ق.م نیز به چشم می‌خورد. به‌طور کلی در فرهنگ اساطیری درخت و نمادهای وابسته به آنچه در اساطیر ایرانی چه بین‌النهرینی تأثیرگذار بر اندیشه آدمی بوده‌اند. ستایش درختان در همه دوران‌ها و در پدیده‌های دینی و جادویی به شکل وسیعی ریشه دوانیده است به‌طوری که این نوع ستایش یک ویژگی الزامی و تکرار شونده در اغلب فرهنگ‌هاست. در پس این تکریم مفاهیمی چون فراوانی و برکت و آفرینش و مرگ و رستاخیز نهفته است.

نتیجه‌گیری

در اسطوره‌های جهان سه صورت کلی مرتبط با نماد درخت ظاهر می‌شود. این صورت‌ها که می‌توان از آن‌ها به عنوان کهن‌الگوی یادکرد به‌عنوان یک بن‌مایه در اسطوره‌ها و آثار هنری تمدن‌ها و فرهنگ‌های مختلف ظاهر می‌شود که مفهوم جاودانگی، سرچشمه حیات، تجدید حیات و رستاخیز، مفاهیم اصلی مرتبط با این بن‌مایه‌ها است. از این میان می‌توان از کهن‌الگوی درخت کیهانی نام برد و آن درختی است که در میانه جهان قرار دارد و با نام درخت مرکز و ستون کیهانی شناخته می‌شود. این درخت واسط میان زمین و آسمان است و درخت بس تخمه در ایران و درخت کیشکانو در بین‌النهرین از این نمونه‌اند. مفهوم دوم را می‌توان کهن‌الگوی درخت زندگی نامید. درختی که سرچشمه حیات است و میوه آن بی‌مرگی و جاودانگی است. این درخت به صورت‌های مختلف در اسطوره‌های ایرانی - بین‌النهرینی تکرار می‌شود. درخت هوم در ایران و گیاه جوانی در اسطوره گیل‌گمش در بین‌النهرین به‌عنوان درخت زندگی مطرح می‌شوند. نماد درخت در قالب یک نماد دینی نیز ظاهر می‌شود. مطابق آنچه در قرآن و تورات به آن اشاره شد این درخت در مرکز بهشت واقع شده است. درخت زندگی که درختی حیات بخش است نمادی است از مادر الهه بزرگ که منشأ و سرچشمه حیات است. بر روی آثار کهن،

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این الهه در حالی به تصویر کشیده شده است که گیاهی در دستانش دارد. آنچه مسلم است درخت زندگی و درخت کیهانی و یا نخستین گیاه چه در اعتقادات ایرانیان و چه بین‌النهرین یکی از نمونه‌های اصلی و از سرچشمه‌های حیات در اسطوره‌ها است و بازتاب آن را می‌توان در اسطوره‌های مربوط به بهشت و توصیف درخت زندگی واقع در مرکز آن جستجو کرد. نمادها نیز با درخت مرتبط هستند و آن‌ها را می‌توان در رویش حیات گیاهی جستجو کرد. آنچه مسلم است این نمادها زنده‌اند و مفهوم نهفته در پس آن‌ها را می‌توان از طریق پیگیری تطور تاریخی شان با مراجعه به اسطوره‌ها بهتر درک کرد و این موضوعی است که در بررسی هر دو تمدن ایران و بین‌النهرین کاملاً مشاهده می‌گردد. وجود آیین‌های گوناگون و اعتقادات مختلف باعث گردیده که گونه‌ای از آن به سمت و جهت طبیعت گرایش پیدا کند و بعضاً به جهت مددخواهی و ضعف خود نیز هم که شده دست به دامان طبیعت می‌شود که مظهر زیبا و پر قدرت آن گاهی درختان می‌شوند و همین امر در طی گذشت زمان در ذهن حقیقت جوی بشر پرورش می‌یابد و تبدیل به قداست درختانی خاص می‌گردد با آیین‌ها و اعتقادات مختلف. البته از طرفی باید به تشابهات ساختاری و فرمی درخت زندگی در مناطق مختلف از هردو تمدن نیز اشاره کرد که می‌توان آن را دال بر هم فکری و هم ریشگی تمدن‌ها و مراودات مختلفی دانست که از در کنار هم زندگی کردن مردمان بین‌النهرین و ایران به وجود می‌آمده است.

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of the Tree of Life in Iranian Mesopotamian beliefs and mythology

Abstract:

Tree of Life is a symbolic tree located in the middle of the world. This tree has a special place in the myths of nations and is repeated in different cultures. For the tree in mythological and symbolic approaches, the three main concepts of the cosmic tree and the tree of life and the tree of knowledge are mentioned. From prehistoric times, the image of the tree and its symbolism can be seen in Iranian and Mesopotamian art. The survival of the tree of life in Iranian art is also a matter of self-awareness and the ancient heritage of the Iranian mind. In this article, we will try to answer to these questions: 1- What was man's view in ancient times about the death and rebirth of nature and how did he depict this cycle in the form of myth or fertility ritual in connection with the role of the sacred tree of life? 2- What is the common point of the tree in the beliefs and myths of the people of ancient Iran and Mesopotamia? Hypotheses: The motif of the sacred tree of life originated from the beliefs of the people and the myths and legends common at that time and has emerged in the artistic creations of the artists of the ancient world. In the above research, an attempt has been made with a descriptive-comparative historical method with the aim of recognizing the motifs of this tree and its related symbols in the beliefs of Iran and Mesopotamia in order to identify the components and more sub-motifs in harmony with this theme and the emergence and continuity of this life. Examine the archetype with its related symbols in the beliefs of the people of these two lands.

Keywords: Tree, Myth, Symbol, Religious Beliefs, Ancient Iran, Mesopotamia

بررسی نحوه به قدرت رسیدن و حکومت‌داری برخی زنان فرمانروا در تمدن‌های ایران،

میانرودان و مصر باستان (حدود هزاره ۳ ق.م تا ۷م)

طیبه خواجه^۱

چکیده

حاکمیت ملکه‌های باستان نمونه بارز مقاومت و مبارزه برای نگاهداشت قبضه قدرت در خاندان شاهی بود. این به قدرترسیدن، نشان از حاکمیت و کارایی فرمانروایان زن در امور سیاسی داشت. این پژوهش توصیفی-تحلیلی، بر پایه منابع کتابخانه‌ای؛ در پی یافتن چرایی و چگونگی کسب قدرت و مواجه شدن با شرایط موجود پیش و پس از موضع قدرت، در امر حکومتداری برخی زنان فرمانروا در تمدن‌های باستانی ایران، میانرودان و مصر باستان است. در ایران، به منظور دور کردن جانشین سلطنت و مراقبت از وی در زمانهای پرخطر؛ پوشاندن ضعف شاهزادگان و نیز مقاومت در برابر سرکشی مدعیان نوحاسته به تاج و تخت، پادشاه-زنانی بر تخت نشستند. ملکه میانرودان، با شاه نو در سلطنت شریک شد. وی زنی بود از تبار خدایان؛ و از منظر اسطورهای و تاریخی، بیباک در نبرد با متجاوزان سرزمینش. ملکه‌های مصر با وجود تزلزل شاهزادگان و برخوردار از مشروعیت جانشینی، راه رسیدن بر اریکه قدرت را بر خود هموار دیدند. نابودی عاصیان به تاج و تخت، از میان بردن رقبای سلطنتی و با اقتدار، بر نابسامانیها غلبه کردن، از اقدامات ایشان بود. شرایطی باعث شد چند زن، خارج از محدوده اندرونی با امور سیاسی، لشکری و کشوری دست و پنجه نرم کنند و میزان توانایی و درایت خویش را با وجود قوانین و اعتقادات مردانه و جامعه‌های سنتزده، بر پایه جنسیت-زدگی آشکار سازند. آنچه اساس قدرت زنان را در ازمنه باستان پیریزی کرد، بهره‌گیری زنان از تواناییهای معنوی خویش در کسب قدرت بود.

واژه‌های کلیدی: زن، حکومتداری، ایران، میانرودان، مصر

^۱ کولشن اسرار شد طراشون اس یگر طر شرت ای خ، ننگاه ش عیداهنر کرامن

مقدمه

سه تمدن باستانی و کهن ایران، میانرودان و مصر را باید نخستین بارانداز اساطیری، اعتقادی و تاریخی شمرد؛ با نگاهی اجمالی به سرگذشت زنان فرمانروا در این سه تمدن، نباید از «فرّه»ی ایرانی، «کا»ی مصری و «ملمو»ی میانرودانی که شاخصه تمایز و برتری قومی و تباری است که اقبال ایزدی را شامل می‌شود، غافل شد. پژوهش حاضر به زندگی برخی زنان فرمانروا می‌پردازد که در برهه‌ای زمام امور را به دست گرفتند. در ایران، «همای»، «پوراندهخت» و «آزرمیدخت»، از دودمان کیانند و رسمیت یافته دستگاه شاهی برای بر تخت نشستن؛ در برابر عصیان و نافرمانی مدعیان تاج و تخت. در میانرودان، ملکه سمیرامیس، تباری ایزدی دارد و با سلطنت پیوند می‌خورد چراکه زاده خدایان است و پرورده میدان نبرد؛ و در دیگر سو، شاهزاده‌ای ضعیف و بی‌تجربه. در مصر، برخی ملکه‌ها، اصالت ایزدی و شاهی را توأمان دارند و برخوردار از مشروعیتی کهن در امر جانشینی. ملکه‌ها بر پایه باور به حفظ تبار و نژادی اصیل، بر تخت می‌نشستند؛ یا تن به ازدواجی دور از عرف حاضر می‌دادند. به قدرت رسیدن زنان در جوامع مختلف با وجود خصایص جنسی، جسمی و روحی خالی از تطور در نحوه اعمال قدرت نبوده است. در این پژوهش، نحوه و دلایل کسب قدرت توسط این ملکه‌ها، و نیز، حکومت برآمده از نشستن بر اریکه سلطنت - بر پایه اشتراکات و تفاوت‌ها - مورد بررسی قرار می‌گیرد. پرداختن به اینکه این زنان، چگونه و تحت چه شرایطی بر تخت نشستند، با چه مسائل و عوامل بازدارنده یا سازنده‌ای مواجه شدند و در نحوه سلطنت و حکومت‌داری جامعه‌ای که در آن می‌زیستند، تا کجا با باورها و سنن عصر و زمانه خویش همساز، همسو، مشترک یا متفاوت بوده‌اند. بنابراین ابهامات و مسائل مهم در این پژوهش بر آن است که دریابد:

- این زنان چرا به قدرت رسیدند و نحوه کسب قدرت چگونه صورت گرفت؟

- چه تشابهات و تفاوت‌هایی در به قدرت رسیدنشان دخیل بوده است؟

— آیا این فرمانروایان زن موفق به اعمال قدرت و تحقق خواسته‌ها در امر حکومت‌داری و بهبود اوضاع شده‌اند؟

از پژوهش حاضر چنین برمی‌آید که، نبود مدعی یا دورکردن مدعی سلطنت، درک موقعیت، مقاومت و مبارزه برای حفظ جایگاه، پاسداشت تباری نژادها و سامان بخشیدن به اوضاع، از اهم موارد است. در این سه تمدن، برای جانشینی زن محدودیتی وجود نداشت و به ایشان این امکان را داد تا آشوب و عصیان را فرو نشانند و در برابر آنچه در امر حکومتشان خلل ایجاد می‌کرد مقتدرانه برخورد کرده، با دوران‌دیشی و تواضع در امر مُلک و ملت بر ناملایمات غلبه کنند. هرچند بحث جنسیت در برخی موارد مانع بود. جدای از این قضیه، ملکه باید پاسدار قلمرو و مردمان خویش نیز می‌بود؛ با اینکه سرکشی، جنگ، خیانت، انتقام و ... جزء لاینفک قدرت بود پس می‌بایست، روحیه‌ای جنگاور و ستیزه‌جو می‌داشتند تا بتوانند اغتشاشات دربار و سرزمینشان را فرو نشانند. آنچه در سه تمدن رازگونه است مسأله جنسیت‌زدگی بر پایه معتقدات فرهنگی و شرایط اجتماعی است که موقعیت ملکه‌های سه تمدن را متمایز می‌سازد. شایان ذکر است که به دلیل پرداختن به اهمیت جایگاه ملکه‌ها با توجه به تفاوت در مکان، زمان، فرهنگ و نوع حکومتشان، بازه زمانی طویل و از هزاره سوم ق.م تا ۷ م، است که این مورد خللی در پیشبرد تحقیق و بازگویی مطالب ایجاد نمی‌کند، چراکه دلیل انتخاب این ملکه‌ها، نام‌آوری و تهور آنان نسبت به سایرین است.

پیشینه پژوهش

در باب نحوه به قدرت رسیدن و حکومت‌داری زنان فرمانروای عهد باستان در سه تمدن ایران، میانرودان و مصر تا کنون تحقیق مستقلی ارائه نشده است. (Abbott(1902 در کتاب «Cleopatra» به تاریخ و اقلیم مصر باستان، از قرون نخستین تا یورش اسکندر به مصر و شکل‌گیری حکومت بطالسه و زندگی کلئوپاترا می‌پردازد. (Farmer(1807 در کتابش «Girls' Book of Famous Queens» به سرگذشت شانزده ملکه می‌پردازد؛ که از سمیرامیس به

ملکه ویکتوریا ختم می‌شود. (Mark(2017) نیز در مقاله‌ای تحت عنوان «Great Female Rulers of Ancient Egypt» نگاهی گذرا دارد به زندگی چند نفر از زنان نامدار مصر از دوره میانی تا کلتوپاترا. نویسندگانی چون زرین کوب(۱۳۹۲) «تاریخ مردم ایران قبل از اسلام جلد ۱»، کریستن سن(۱۳۴۵) «ایران در زمان ساسانیان» و اومستد(۱۳۸۳) «تاریخ شاهنشاهی هخامنشی» چون دیگر مورخان در لابه‌لای نقل روایات تاریخی از آغاز ورود آریاییان به ایران تا سرانجام ساسانیان، از زنان دارای قدرت در ایران و ترجیحاً، تمدن‌های دیگر در صورت لزوم و گذرا سخن به میان آورده‌اند. ضمن آنکه این آثار، اطلاعاتی از زندگی و موقعیت اجتماعی زنان در خانه و دربار ارائه می‌دهند. جمع‌آوری و دسته‌بندی مفاهیم و عناوین، در قالب اشتراکات و تفاوت‌های مؤثر در نحوه کسب قدرت و حکومت‌داری، نکته‌ای است که نوآوری این پژوهش محسوب می‌شود و آن را از کارهای پیشین متمایز می‌سازد. پژوهش پیش رو بر آن است تا ضمن زدودن خلأ حاصله، با نگاهی ژرف موضع قدرت برخی زنان فرمانروا در تمدن‌های باستانی ایران، میانرودان و مصر را واکاوی نماید.

بحث و بررسی

الف. دلایل قدرت‌گیری

درک موقعیت

برای دستیابی به هدف، ضمن تلاش و توجه به شرایط باید موقعیت حاصله دریافت شده و زنانی که خواستار به دست‌گیری قبضه قدرت بودند، آنرا دریافتند. بدین‌گونه بود که در ایران عهد اشکانی و ساسانی، زنان قدرتمند در حیطه سیاست به عنوان «ملکه‌ملکه‌ها، شهبانوی-شهبانوان» با تلفظ باستانی اش «بان‌بیشنان بان‌بیشن»^۲ (Sundermann, 1988: 678-679)

² - bānbišnān bānbišn-

بام‌بیشن، کن‌زی، 307:1373)

پذیرفته و ملقب شدند. نخستین زن که بر تخت سلطنت جلوس کرد بنا بر کهن‌ترین روایات ایرانی، «همای»^۳ چهارآزاد است. وی اریکه سلطنت را زمانی از آن خود کرد که جانشین شاهی هنوز متولد نشده بود (ن.ک: ایرانشاه‌بن‌ابی‌الخیر، ۱۳۷۰: ۱۳۲-۱۳۹؛ مجله‌التواریخ والقصص، ۱۳۷۸: ۲۶-۲۷؛ طرسوسی، ۲۵۳۶: ۶-۹؛ Hanaway, 2011: 8-9؛ Doostkhah, 2012: 436-437). در این قدرت‌گیری، «همای» نقش زن و شاه را به عنوان دو مرکز قوی، در یک چهره فراهم آورده است (حاجی‌رحیمی، ۱۳۹۹: ۸۹). وی در مقام یک مادر دریافت که شرایط پیش‌آمده چندان به صلاح فرزند نیست و برای مصونیت فرزندش، زمام امور را به دست می‌گیرد. این تدبیر زمانی اندیشیده می‌شود که ایران در شرایط دشوار و بحرانی بسر می‌برد و خطر نابودی، کودکش را تهدید می‌کند چراکه «در کارزار با آرجاسب بسیاری از ایرانیان و انیران از میان رفتند و در پادشاهی بهمن، ایرانشهر ویران شد» (بندهش، ۱۳۹۵: ۱۴۰). ویرانی و نابودی بر ایرانشهر غلبه کرده و تولد جانشین در آن اوضاع بی‌سر و سامان بسیار بحرانی است؛ چنین شرایطی اقتضا می‌کند که همای با دور کردن فرزند، او را از مرگ برباند. دیگر ملکه ایرانی که از موقعیت پدیدآمده استفاده کرد «دینگ»، همسر یزدگرد دوم بود که در زمان اختلاف میان پسرانش، در مقام امانتدار سلطنت، مدتی زمام امور را در دست داشت (۴۵۷-۴۵۹م) (زرین‌کوب، ۱۳۹۲: ۱/۶۶۲-۶۶۵؛ کریستن‌سن، ۱۳۴۵: ۳۱۳؛ Gignoux, 2011: 282) و پس از رفع اختلافات و بر تخت نشستن یکی از شاهزادگان، کناره گرفت. «پوران‌دخت»^۴ و «آزرمیدخت»^۵ نیز در موقعیتی مناسب مدعیان سلطنت را، مغلوب و با مقاومت تخت شاهی را حفظ کردند (زرین‌کوب، ۱۳۹۲: ۱/۵۲۹؛ ابن‌بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۲۶۴-۲۶۶-۵۲۲). در آن برهه افزون بر تاج‌خواهی و تاج‌گزینی، رقابت و دشمنی سرداران ساسانی با یکدیگر برای کسب مقام و قدرتی

3- Homāy

Humāy مکنزی، 1373: 322)

4 - Bōrān duxt

5 - Āzarmīgduxt

والا تر و برتر، از عمده‌ترین مسائلی بود که سرزمین و دربار ساسانیان را در آشفتگی و سردرگمی فرو می‌برد (کاویانی‌پویا، ۱۳۹۷: ۲۴۷ و ۱۰۵).

در میان‌رودان، ملکه «سمیرامیس»^۶ آشوری- در روایت اساطیری- در خلأ وجود همسرش (نینوس) قدرت را به دست گرفته و دست به کارهای خارق‌العاده زده، به دوردست‌ها لشکرکشی می‌کند که معمولاً از توان یک زن خارج است (Farmer, 1807: 1-9؛ هرودوت، بی- تا: ۲۵۹/۱) و در روایت تاریخی پس از فوت همسرش (شمشی‌آدآد پنجم ۸۲۴-۸۱۱ ق.م) به گونه- ای اشتراکی با پادشاه جدید در قدرت سهیم شد اما موقعیت را به نفع خویش تصاحب کرد و امور با رأی و تدبیر او پیش رفت. حکومت یک زن اثر زیادی بر تمام مردم همسایه که به نظم پدرسالارانه امور عادت کرده بودند، بخشید و افسانه «سمیرامیس» مدت‌های طولانی شهرت گسترده‌ای یافت (گرشویچ، ۱۳۹۰: ۱۳۳-۱۳۴).

سلسله‌های طویل در مصر نیز یادواره‌ای از انبوه ملکه‌های خود را ارائه می‌دهند؛ کهن‌ترینشان ملکه «نیتوکریس»^۷ (۲۱۸۱-۲۱۸۴ ق.م) بحث برانگیزترین ملکه مصر سلسله ششم است. البته «نیتوکریس»، ملکه میان‌رودانی نیز اگرچه وجود خارجی نداشت اما کارهای بزرگی چون، ساخت کاخ‌های معلق بابل و مقبره‌ای در بالای دروازه شهر را بدو نسبت می‌دهند. (هرودوت، بی‌تا: ۱۷۸، ۲۶۲/۱). ملکه مصر اما توسط کاهنان از بین ۳۳۰ پادشاه به عنوان تنها زن بومی ملکه شد و پس از قتل برادر، تخت شاهی را از آن خود کرد (هرودوت، بی‌تا: ۲/ ۱۸۴ و ۱۸۵). ملکه «نفرتی- تی»^۸ نیز از قانون دریافت نام و لقب به نفع خویش استفاده کرد و با انتخاب نام «سمنخکارع»^۹ به عنوان برادر جوان‌تر پادشاه در طول دو یا سه سال جانشین او شد (دروش نوبل‌کور، ۱۳۸۵:

6 - semiramis

7 - Nitocris

8 - Nefertiti

9- Smenkhkare

۱۴۸-۱۴۹). شاهزاده خانم «هتشیپسوت»^{۱۰} (۱۴۷۹-۱۴۵۸ ق.م) جدای از اینکه از فرعون و ملکه نخست بود، به عنوان نایب‌السلطنه توت‌موس سوم (۱۴۲۵-۱۴۵۸ ق.م) حکومت کرد و به مقام همسرخدای آمون رسید و برای ثبات قدرت با برادر ناتنی خویش ازدواج کرد و به عنوان یکی از قدرتمندترین و موفق‌ترین فراعنه، بیشتر زمان حکومت خود را به صورت و ظاهر یک مرد بر مصر حکومت کرد (Mark, 2017: unpage). ملکه دیگر مصر از تباری یونانی، «کلئوپاترا»^{۱۱} (۳۰-۵۱ ق.م) نام داشت. وی مایل نبود که قدرت در دستان همسرش قرارگیرد. وی از نظر قدرت شخصیتی و نفوذی که در اطرافیان کسب کرده بود پیشرفت کرد. زیبایی، موفقیت‌های شغلی و جذابیت وصف ناپذیری که همه رفتارهای او را فرا گرفته بود، به او قدرت شخصی زیادی می‌بخشید (Abbott, 1902: 120-119, 88) به گونه‌ای که پس از قتل همسر، قدرت را به دست گرفت و بر تخت نشست (Farne, 1807: 70-72).

جلوگیری از هرج و مرج

متأسفانه در اکثر داستان‌های مربوط به بر تخت نشستن زنان، به اواخر دوران پادشاهی می‌رسیم که بر اثر تزلزل وی یا جانشینانش در امور، دولتمردان مجبور می‌شدند زنان را به سلطنت گمارند: «چون پادشاهی به بهمن اسفندیاران رسید (ایران‌شهر) ویران شد. ایرانیان به دست خود نابود شدند و از تخمه شاهی کس نماند که شاهی کند، ایشان «همای» دخت بهمن را به شاهی نشانند» (بندهش، ۱۳۹۵: ۱۴۰) و مشابه این قضیه در اواخر عهد ساسانی است که هرج و مرج و آشفتگی در کار حکومت رخ داد و از آنجا که «شیرویه» با قساوت تمام فرزندان ذکور خاندان شاهی را کشته بود، بنابراین «در این ایام فرمانروایی واقعی در دست موبدان و نجبا بود که زنان و کودکان را همچون بازیچه‌ای بر صحنه می‌آوردند و خود از پشت پرده آنها را به میل خود به حرکت درمی‌آوردند» (زرین‌کوب، ۱۳۹۲: ۵۲۹/۱). چنین شد که ابتدا «پوران‌دخت» و سپس «آزمیدخت»

10 - Hatshepsut

11 - Cleopatra

با وجود سرکشی سرداران‌شان و برای فرو نشانیدن اغتشاشات و دفاع سرسختانه از حق سلطنت خویش زمام امور را به دست گرفته و بر تخت نشستند (مجم‌التواریخ و القصص، ۱۳۷۸: ۳۲؛ ابن‌بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۲۶۴-۲۶۶)

«هتشیپوت» نیز در ایام زمامداری به عنوان ملکه مصر بر آشفتگی‌ها چیره شد و مصر از یک دوره طولانی اضمحلال قدم بیرون گذاشت. در دوران پادشاهی جدید مصر شاهد به حکومت رسیدن ملکه «آهوتپ اول»^{۱۲} (۱۵۳۰-۱۵۷۰ ق.م) هستیم که شورش «هی‌کسوس»‌ها را با درایت سرکوب کرد. وی از جانب ارتش مصر بسیار قابل احترام بود و به صورت مستقل و موفقیت‌آمیز به ارتش مصر فرمان می‌داد (Mark, 2017: unpage). بدیهی است ملکه آشور نیز از آن‌رو که شاه جدید، جوان و ناآزموده بود برای ممانعت از سرکشی و آشوب، اشتراک در امر شاهی را لازم دید.

برخوردار از روحیه‌ای مبارز

دست‌یابی به اهداف در جهت تحقق آرمان‌ها نیاز به روحیه‌ای مبارز و نستوه دارد. در معتقدات ایرانیان آموخته از متون دینی، آفرینش انسان به منظور یاری رساندن به اهورامزدا در امر پیکار با اهریمن است و در این پیکار فرقی میان زن و مرد نیست (اوستا، ۱۳۸۵: ۱/۲۵۴، ۲۰۶، ۵۶؛ مینوی-خرد، ۱۳۶۴: ۹۶-۹۷). در مصداق این سخن نه تنها ملکه‌های ایران، که میانرودان و مصر نیز به دور از توجه به جنسیت، برخوردار از بی‌باکی، برای دست‌یابی به قدرت و حفظ آن و سرزمینشان، این مرحله را گذراندند. «همای» به منظور حفظ مقام و مُلک، با متجاوزان به اریکه قدرتش به نبرد پرداخت (دینوری، ۱۳۷۱: ۵۱-۵۲؛ ثعالی، ۱۳۸۵: ۱۸۰) و دشمنان را از دست‌اندازی به شهرهای خویش باز داشت (ابن‌اثیر، ۱۳۷۱: ۱/۱۵۲-۱۵۵) و چون مرگ پدر موجب هرج و مرج و

خواری فرزند می‌شد این مادر سرسخت و برخوردار از روحیه‌ای مقاوم درد فراق را به جان می‌خرد تا فرزند را از خطر دور کند اما، فرزند را جانشین واقعی و به حق می‌خواند:

به سی و دو سال آنکه کردم به رنج

سپر دم بدو پادشاهی و گنج

شما شاد باشید و فرمان برید

ابی‌رأی او یک نفس نشمرید (فردوسی، ۱۳۸۹: ۳۳۲). «پوران‌دخت» و «آزمیدخت» را با تبرزین و شمشیر وصف کرده‌اند (حمزه اصفهانی، بی‌تا: ۴۸؛ مجمل‌التواریخ و القصص، ۱۳۷۸: ۳۲). فرمانروایی این دو نیز برای حفظ موقعیت به دور از نبرد و نزاع نبود (ثعالبی، ۱۳۸۵: ۳۵۵؛ نولدکه، ۱۳۷۸: ۴۱۰؛ مجمل‌التواریخ و القصص، ۱۳۷۸: ۳۲، پیرنیا؛ آشتیانی؛ بهنام‌فر، ۱۳۹۰: ۲۴۰ و ۲۴۱)، خصوصاً ملکه «پوران‌دخت»، که دوران پادشاهی او یکی از سخت‌ترین دوران ساسانیان است. چرا که هم کشور درگیر کشمکش‌های درونی بود و هم پیکار با رومیان و اعراب وی را آزار می‌داد. مهم‌ترین واقعه سلطنت وی اعزام سفیر به امپراتور «هراکلیوس» (Chaumont, 1989: 366) بازگرداندن چلیپای چوبین (نولدکه، ۱۳۷۸: ۴۱۰؛ مجمل‌التواریخ و القصص، ۱۳۷۸: ۳۲) و صلح با «هرقل» بود (پیرنیا؛ آشتیانی؛ بهنام‌فر، ۱۳۹۰: ۲۴۰ و ۲۴۱). این دو ملکه با خدعه و نیرنگ سرداران‌شان، که هوای تاج و تخت داشتند مواجه شدند اما برای احقاق حق خویش و حمایت از خاندان شاهی تا پای جان ایستادگی کردند و کشته شدند (ابن بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۸۸؛ نولدکه، ۱۳۷۸: ۴۱۳).

«سمیرامیس» را باید غیورترین ملکه تاریخ دانست؛ که در هر دو وصف حال اسطوره‌ای و تاریخی‌اش با مقوله نبرد و مانورهای محیرالعقول، سهم بیشتری از شهامت و بی‌باکی یک فرمانروا را از آن خود کرد؛ در بحبوحه نبرد و زخمی شدن همسرش با تغییر لباس، فرماندهی سپاه را به عهده می‌گیرد و پس از مرگ همسرش بر تخت می‌نشیند تا مناطق بیشتری از آسیا را فتح

و مقتدرانه حکومت کند. (Farmer, 1807: 1-9؛ Goodrich, undated: 13-25) و زمانی در مقام بیوه شاه این ملکه آشوری نه تنها به دنبال از بین بردن تجاوز احتمالی «اورارتو» بود، بلکه درصدد فتح «ماد» نیز برآمد و بیش از شش عملیات نظامی در «سرزمین مادها» انجام داد و گویا به بلخ نیز رسید (گرشویچ، ۱۳۹۰: ۱۳۳-۱۳۴؛ هرودوت، بی تا: ۲۵۹/۱).

در مصر، ملکه «نیتوکریس» برای سرکوب اغتشاشات و عصیان‌ها و انتقام برادر، در نبردی داخلی با تدبیر یا به نوعی نیرنگ، جمع کثیری از مصریان را که به ضیافت مشغول بودند با رها کردن آب نیل هلاک کرد اگرچه پس از این اقدام خودکشی کرد (هرودوت، بی تا: ۲/ ۱۸۴ و ۱۸۵). نیز ملکه «آهوتپ» که به صورت مستقل و موفقیت‌آمیز شورش‌ها را سرکوب و به ارتش فرمان می‌داد. ملکه «هتشیپسوت» هم با لشکرکشی‌های نظامی بیشتر زمان حکومت خود را سپری کرد (Mark, 2017: unpage). ملکه «کلئوپاترا»، برای دست‌یابی به موقعیتی برتر، به نبرد روی آورد، در ابتدا با برادرش جنگید و او را در رود نیل خفه کرد سپس خواهرش را هم که رقیب فرض می‌کرد، روی پله‌های معبدی در روم ترور کرد (Farmer, 1807: 70-72)؛ اگرچه سال‌ها بعد در نبرد شکست خورد و خودکشی کرد (Ibid, 1807: 90-93) اما هیچ‌یک از اینها نمی‌تواند روحیه جسور و ستیزه‌جوی این ملکه باریک‌اندام و برازنده را که در ۲۱ سالگی برای ملاقات با سزار تنها و با کمترین تعداد همراهان، در امتداد ساحل به اسکندریه راه یافت و پیچیده در تکه‌ای از فرش در پیش پای سزار بر زمین نهاده شد (ن.ک: Abbott, 1902: 133-134؛ Farmer, 1807: 68) مخدوش نماید.

پیشینه‌ای ویژه؛ فَرّه

اندیشه بهره‌مندی از اقبال ایزدی به اشخاص برگزیده این امکان را می‌داد تا جایگاهی والا نسبت به سایرین برای خود و خاندانشان قائل شوند. در ایران ترکیب «فَرّه» با واژگانی چون: شاهی، ایزدی، ایرانی، موبدی و پهلوانی بیشتر دیده می‌شود. بر همین اساس مشروعیت شاهان بیشتر بسته به فره‌مندی ایشان بود و این «فَرّه» متعلق به ایرانیان پاک است و با کژی، خودپسندی و

دروج (دروغ) از بین می‌رود. در کتیبه شاهان باستان با این القاب زیاد مواجه می‌شویم که به تبع برخورداری از این جایگاه پیروزی‌های خویش و اجدادشان را نشانه‌ای از دستگیری ایزدان می‌دانند (جاماسب‌آسانا، ۱۳۷۱: ۷۰ و ۱۲۵). در کتیبه شاهان ساسانی چون شاپور اول (کعبه زرتشت)، شاپوردوم و شاپور سوم (طاق بستان)، این گونه عنوان شده است: «شاپور شاهان‌شاه، شاه ایران و انیران که چهر از ایزدان دارد» (عریان، ۱۳۹۲: ۱۴۸، ۱۴۴، ۷۰). «همای» بازمانده عصر و نسل حماسه و پهلوانی ایرانشهر است. پهلوانانی نیمه اساطیری و تاریخی که از دیرباز در روایات مذهبی و حماسی مشهور و مشهود بوده‌اند. به هر حال همه این داستان‌ها بدیهی است که در دوره ساسانیان ساخته شده‌اند تا شواهدی بر حقانیت دارا و فرزندان وی ارائه دهند (Khaleghi-Motlagh, 2011: 489-490). پدر و همسر وی «بهمن» پوراسفندیار و جد وی «کی‌گشتاسب» است که دین زرتشت را پذیرفت و به مدد زرتشت یکی از پسرانش (پشوتن) در زمره جاودانان درآمد و دیگری (اسفندیار) رویین‌تن گشت (بهرام‌پژدوه، ۱۳۳۸: ۷۴-۷۳؛ آموزگار؛ تفضلی، ۱۳۷۰: ۵۲). این پیشینه خانوادگی، «همای» را بیش از سایر ملکه‌های باستان نام‌آور کرده است. به‌گونه‌ای که نام و لقب او «چهرآزاد» را در سطوح مختلف نوشتاری، لفظی و معنایی دوران باستان، میانه و نو ذکر کرده‌اند (Doostkhah, 2012: 436-437)؛ و yarshater, 1983: 359-477؛ مجمل‌التواریخ والقصص، بی‌تا: ۹۲؛ گردیزی، ۱۳۶۳: ۵۵) و نیز داستان ازدواج او با پدرش که چندان با عقاید دوران پس از اسلام همخوانی ندارد، به همین منظور روایتی دیگر ساخته و پرداخته شد (ایران‌شاه‌ابن‌ابی‌الخیر، ۱۳۷۰: ۱۳۲-۱۳۹؛ مجمل‌التواریخ والقصص، ۱۳۷۸: ۲۶-۲۷؛ طرسوسی، ۲۵۳۶: ۶-۹؛ Hanaway, 2011: 8-9) آن‌هم به دلیل عدم تمایل به ثبت ازدواج نامحرمانه، که این یک تابو بسیار جدی در اسلام است و در حماسه بهمن‌نامه، یک تبار متفاوت برای همای ارائه شد (Doostkhah, 2012: 436-). ۴۳۷؛ طرسوسی، ۲۵۳۶: ۶-۹). «پوران‌دخت» و «آزرمیدخت»، جدشان «ساسان»، منتسب به «بهمن» نواده «کی‌گشتاسب» است. آنان برای مشروعیت بخشیدن به سلطنت، خود را از سلاله شخصیت‌های اساطیری می‌دانستند که صاحب «فرّه» و نژاد بودند (مسعودی، ۱۳۶۵: ۹۳؛ ابن‌اثیر، ۱۳۷۱:

۱۵۲/۱-۱۵۳). سه واژه «وَرَج»، «وَوَخَش» و «بَغ» مفهوم «فَرّ» را دربرمی‌گیرند که «وَرَج» به معنای نیروی حیات و قوت، «بَغ» سهم و اقبال و نیز بخشاینده بخت و «وَوَخَش» نیز به معنی وحی، کشف و الهام و پرتو بزرگی که خداوند بر دل پیغمبران تابد، تعریف شده‌اند (معروف؛ داداشی، ۱۳۹۶: ۱۳۸-۱۴۰).

آیین به تخت نشستن پادشاه- زن در میانرودان، نیاز به خاندانی نامور داشت که سلاله پادشاهی را نسل به نسل منتقل سازند و برگرفته از «مَلَم و نی»^{۱۳} است که دو واژه سومری هستند و «نی» به معنی تأثیر نیروی «مَلَم» (مَلَموی^{۱۴} اکدی) روی بشر است. آن در واقع جادویی مشعشع و مرئی است که توسط خدایان، قهرمانان، گاهی پادشاهان و همچنین از معابد بسیار روحانی و نمادها و نشان‌های خدایان تأیید می‌شود. «مَلَم» به گونه‌ای پدیده نور، مهیب و الهامی پر هیبت نیز است که خدایان «مَلَم» خود را مانند تن پوش با تاجی پوشیده و می‌توانستند آن را از بدن درآورند. «مَلَم» در صورت کشته شدن پادشاه ناپدید می‌شد. (بلک؛ گرین، ۱۳۸۳: ۲۱۶) که درباره ملکه «سمیرامیس» به خوبی این نیاز رفع شد و با استفاده از نام «سامورامت»^{۱۵} (هدیه دریا) و پیشینه‌اش برای مدتی (حدود ۸۱۱ تا ۸۰۸ ق.م) بر یکی از بزرگ‌ترین امپراتوری‌های دنیای باستان سلطنت کرد (کاظمی، ۱۳۹۸). براساس افسانه‌ها، مادرش یک الهه در هیبت پری دریایی و پدرش انسان بود. مادر پس از تولد «سمیرامیس»، او را رها و خود را غرق می‌کند. «سمیرامیس»، توسط کبوترها تغذیه می‌شود تا اینکه چوپان دربار او را می‌یابد و به قصر می‌برد (Farmer, 1807: 1-9; Goodrich, undated: 13-25) و پس از آن دست سرنوشت برای این الهه‌زاده مسیری دیگر مهیا می‌کند.

13- Melam&Ni

14 -Melammu

15- Sammu-ramat

در مصر، ملکه «هتشیپسوت» به عنوان ایزدزاده و کسی که «خنوم»^{۱۶} کوزه‌گر خدایان، روی چرخ کوزه‌گری خود با خاک نیل، جسم نوزاد و نیز جسم «کای او» (نشأت خدایی) را که به محض تولد، روی زمین باید همراه او باشد، شکل می‌دهد؛ نام او «خنمت‌ایمن‌هات‌شپست» (سرآمد بانوان آزاده) از جانب پدرش خدای «آمون» بر او نهاده می‌شود تا، وظیفه خطیر و احسانگر شاهانه را در سراسر کشور به اجرا درآورد و با نیروی آمون و تمام نام‌هایش، بر تخت «هوروس» زندگان سلطنت کند (ن.ک: دروش نوبلکور، ۱۳۸۵: ۱۷۴). وی که دختر تنی فرعون و ملکه نخست بود برای مشروعیت بخشیدن به سلطنت برادر ناتنی خویش با او ازدواج کرد تا به زوج خود قدرت فرعون را منتقل سازد (همان، ۱۳۸۵: ۵۷-۵۶). کلئوپاترا نیز با نام کامل «کلئوپاترای هفتم تی‌فیلوپارتور» است که در زبان یونانی به معنای «الهه پدردوست» نشان از نسب این ملکه یونانی تبار با ایزدان یونان و مصر دارد و مدعی بود که روح «ایزیس»^{۱۷} در او حلول کرده است (Tyldesley, 2023, unpage)

بحث و نتیجه‌گیری

ب. اشتراکات در قدرت‌گیری

نیود مدعی یا دورکردن مدعیان سلطنت

زنان در روزگاری پر تشویش از نابرابری، قدرت را به دست گرفتند. شاید اگر جانشینی از جنس مردانه ظهور می‌کرد راه برای قدرت‌نمایی زنان هموار نمی‌شد. حتی اگر مدعی یافت می‌شد در برخی موارد، جانشین سلطنت را کنار نهاده یا سلطنت را با او شریک می‌شدند. بر همین اساس در برخی روایات و برداشت‌ها از طرد فرزند توسط «همای» (ن.ک: طرسوسی، ۲۰۳۶: ۱۱-۱۴؛ مقدسی، ۱۳۷۴: ۵۰۷-۵۰۸) چنین استنباط می‌شود که وی به سبب جاه‌طلبی کودک را از

16- khnum

1- Isis

سرزمینش دور می‌کند؛ اما به فحوای متون ادبی چون شاهنامه، واقعیت امر جور دیگری است. در این داستان نسبت‌هایی به وی داده‌اند که چندان روا و شایسته این زن مقتدر نبود. «همای» هشت ماه کودک را نهانی نگه می‌دارد و سپس او را به آب می‌افکند:

نهادش به صندوق در نرم نرم

به چینی پرندش بپوشید گرم

ببردند صندوق را نیمه شب

یکی بر دگر نیز نگشاد لب

ز پیش همایش برون تاختند

به آب فرات اندر انداختند (فردوسی، ۱۳۸۹: ۳۲۸).

شاید اگر شرایط مناسب بود این کار را نمی‌کرد و اگر نیتی شوم در سر داشت، هشت ماه فرزند را نگه نمی‌داشت. وی را باید زنی امانتدار و دانا دانست که با زیرکی و فراست با یاری‌گرانی از تبار آزادگان، پاک‌مغزان، پُرمایگان و پُرشَرمان، به تسلسل دودمان شاهی کمک می‌کند. مرکب این کودک سلطنتی با نهایت ظرافت و دقت ساخته می‌شود تا آسیبی به کودک نرسد. بر بازوی این کودک شاهوار بازوبندی گوهرنشان بسته می‌شود تا روزی نشان از هویت وی گشاید. درون صندوق را مملو از جواهرات می‌سازند تا آینده‌اش تأمین باشد و مردانی را در پی صندوق می‌فرستد تا خطرات احتمالی را از کودک دفع کنند (همان، همانجا). آن صندوق نه یک تابوت که کشتی نجات این قهرمان کوچک شاهانه بود و همه اینها نشان از مهر یک مادر به فرزند دارد که حکایت این فراق اجباری را در خلال سال‌های شاهی‌اش با اندوه می‌سراید و پس از ۳۲ سال، بار امانت را به فرزند می‌سپارد:

به سی و دو سال آنکه کردم به رنج

سپر دم بدو پادشاهی و گنج (فردوسی، ۱۳۸۹: ۳۳۲).

در این داستان نشانی از قدرت طلبی دیده نمی‌شود و این بانوی رازدار به میل خویش، تاج بر سر فرزند می‌نهد. «دینگ» نیز در مقام زنی بسیار قدرتمند و بانفوذ با نادیده گرفتن اختلافات میان جانشینان سلطنت، در تیسفون سلطنت کرد (دریایی، ۱۳۸۳: ۴۰؛ زرین کوب، ۱۳۹۲: ۱/۴۶۲-۴۶۵) و به نام خویش مهر زد که مشخصات ظاهری‌اش با عنوان «بانبشنان بانبشن» بر مهر نمایان است (کریستن سن، ۱۳۴۵: ۳۱۳) و این گونه حکومت را در دربار یزدگرد دوم تثبیت کرد. «پوراندهخت» هم در آن دوران پر آشوب و گذر از گرداب سرداران مدعی قدرت، مقتدرانه و به عنوان بیست و هشتمین فرمانروای ساسانی با عنوان «شهبانوی شهبانوان» بر تخت نشست که سکه‌های بازمانده از او شاهد این ماجراست (بیانی، ۱۳۴۸: ۱۹-۳۴). خواهرش «آزمیدخت» نیز بی توجه به اینکه مقارن جلوسش سپاهیان شاهزاده‌ای را بر تخت نشانند، در برابر اسپهبد خویش که خواست با عقد «آزمیدخت» مدعی سلطنت شود ایستادگی و او را هلاک کرد و دچار انتقام پسر او گشت (ابن بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۲۶۴-۲۶۶؛ زرین کوب، ۱۳۹۲: ۱/۵۲۹). متأسفانه این دو ملکه به‌رغم درایت، مقبولیت و موفقیت، توسط سرداران مدعی زمان خویش کشته شدند.

در میانرودان، با اینکه جانشین واقعی بر تخت بود اما وجود اشتراک سلطنت با شاه جدید، حاکم واقعی، ملکه بیوه «سمیرامیس» بود (هرودوت، بی تا: ۱/۲۵۹). در مصر ملکه «هتشیپسوت» با اقتداری مردانه قدرت را به دست گرفت و مشروعیت سلطنت را به همسر داد (دروش نوبلکور، ۱۳۸۵: ۵۷-۵۶). «آهوتپ» نیز سوای وجود جانشین، مهم‌ترین بخش قدرت یعنی ارتش را تحت کنترل درآورد و بالاترین مقام سیاسی و مذهبی را تصاحب کرد. «نفرتی‌تی» با اخذ لقب، خود را جانشین بلافصل خواند، در مسائل دولتی صاحب نظر بود (Mark, 2017: unpage). «کلئوپاترا» هم با نابودی شرکای سلطنت زمام امور را به دست گرفت (Farmer, 1807: ۷۲-۷۰). اگر به‌گفته قضیه دقت شود قدرت ذهنی، توانایی جسمی و مبارزه با جنسیت‌زدگی در کردار این ملکه‌ها مشهود است.

آفرینش تباری نژاده

مشروعیت شاهانه به جز «فرّه» باید شاخصه دیگری می‌داشت تا به رسمیت درآید و آن «نژاد» بود. در اندیشه سیاسی ایرانی، «نژاد» پس از «فرّ» حائز اهمیت است. «نژاد» همچون «فرّ» هویتی است ذاتی نه اکتسابی. در این اندیشه تنها کسی که از نژاد و **تخمه** شاهان باشد شایستگی احراز مقام سلطنت را دارد (زمانی، ۱۳۸۶: ۱۲۹). در بخش بیستم بندهش تبار شاهی به تفصیل برشمرده شده است (بندهش، ۱۳۹۵: ۱۴۹-۱۵۲). اهمیت نژادگی موجب پیدایش وظیفه مهم تبارشناسی در دربار شاهان ایران باستان شد. حفظ دودمان و تبار به عنوان اصلی‌ترین عامل ثبات و قوام طبقات اجتماعی در همه سطوح و مراتب اجتماعی پاس داشته می‌شد. در «نامه‌تنسر» این تعصب نژادگی در جامعه ساسانی چنین بیان شده است؛ اردشیر گوید: «و من بازداشتم از آن که هیچ مردم‌زاده (= اصیل، بزرگ‌زاده) زن عامه خواهد، تا نسب محصور ماند و هر که خواهد، میراث بر آن حرام کردم.» (نامه تنسر، ۱۳۵۴: ۶۵). برشمردن تبار و تفاخر و تأکید بدان جدای از پادشاهان پیشدادی و کیانی و متون اساطیری در دوران تاریخی در سنگ‌نوشته‌های پادشاهان باستانی به ویژه هخامنشیان مدام تکرار شده است؛ چنان که کوروش پس از فتح بابل (مرادی غیاث آبادی، ۱۳۸۹: ۲۱-۲۲؛ انصاری، ۱۴۰۰: ۷۱) و داریوش در کتیبه بیستون (kent, 1953: 116) بر دیرینه بودن **تخمه** شاهی خود تأکید کردند (فروه‌وشی، ۱۳۷۹: ۸۴).

بدین ترتیب، جایگاه اندیشه بهره‌مندی از نژاد برتر به شاهان و فراعنه این امکان را می‌داد تا جایگاهی والا نسبت به سایرین برای خود و خاندانشان قائل شوند. در سایه این بهره‌مندی قوانین و اعتقاداتی وضع و اجرا می‌شد. بر این اساس ازدواج‌های درون خانواده به وفور دیده می‌شود. ملکه‌ها بر پایه باور به حفظ تباری پاک و نژادی اصیل، تن به ازدواجی دور از عرف حاضر می‌دادند تا در رشته قدرت گسستگی حاصل نشود و در رگ‌های تبار شاهی، خون پالوده از اغیار نسل به نسل ادامه یابد. به درستی دلیل این رسم مشخص نیست و منظور از آن تا به امروز درک نشده اما می‌توان دلایل مذهبی را پررنگ دانست که در جو جامعه‌ای خداگونه اثبات بر جوهر فوق‌زمینی - پادشاه - لازم بود. زیرا اکاسره و فراعنه، رب‌النوعی زمینی محسوب می‌شدند. مراسم

ازدواج «بهمن» و «همای» دارای نمونه‌های بغانه است نوعی زناشویی بشری، نکاح مقدس ایزدان و به ویژه پیوند ازلی زمین و آسمان را تجدید می‌کند (حاجی رحیمی، ۱۳۹۹: ۹۶). در خصوص آیین ازدواج با محارم، ایران و مصر مشترکند. در مستندات ایرانی خویشکاری زن در پذیرش ازدواج درون خانواده و زایش و حفظ اصالت تبار اینجا مشخص می‌شود که شاهان گرچه از سایر سرزمین‌ها دختر به همسری می‌ستاندند اما «...هرگز هیچ دختر را بدیشان ندادندی. دختران- را جز با کسانی که از اهل بیت ایشان بودند مواصلت نکردندی» (ابن بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۲۴۱). بر بنیاد اصل خویشکاری از آموزه‌های دینی و اجتماعی ایران باستان، همه طبقات اجتماعی پذیرفته بودند که تنها کسی می‌تواند به شهریاری برسد که از **تخمه** شاهان باشد، به طوری که حتی پهلوانان و بزرگانی که از موقعیت و محبوبیت برخوردارند، به جای داعیه سلطنت، پاسدار حریم آنند، زیرا به تفکیک پایگاه پهلوانی و شهریاری آگاه و باورمندند (زمانی، ۱۳۸۶: ۱۳۰). زمانی که مردم از کاوه آهنگر خواستند به شاهی نشیند گفت: «من سزای پادشاهی نیستم اما یکی از فرزندان جمشید طلب باید کردن و به پادشاهی نشاندن و فریدون به تخت نشست.» (ابن بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۱۱۰).

در میانرودان نیز، ازدواج شاه با «سمیرامیس» ایزدزاده به منظور پیدایش دودمانی برخوردار از الوهیت ماورایی نمونه‌ای از مساعی در امر نژادگی و سلطنت است. مصریان نیز برای تداوم خون شاهی و اتصال به الوهیت ازلی، این نوع ازدواج را ستودند و آیین کردند. در درازنای تاریخ مصر باستان، تنها هنگامی که سلطنت مطرح بود- یعنی نهادی مقدس که می‌بایست آن را حفظ کرد- خانواده سلطنتی در خطوط اصلی خود و زمانی که ضروری بود، به این رسم وفادار باقی ماندند و بر همین اساس با ازدواج میان پدر و دختر و خواهر و برادر این مرده‌ریگ فرعون‌ی و خدایی را حفظ کردند (دروش نوبلکور، ۱۳۸۵: ۵۶-۶۳).

صیانت از کشور و بهبود اوضاع

در باور مردمان آریایی که با آموخته‌های زرتشت نمو یافتند قدرت نیک باید در دستان کسی قرار می‌گرفت که «کشور را آبادان و درویشان را آسوده از ستم و داد و آیین درست نگاه دارد» (مینوی‌خرد، ۱۳۶۴: ۳۰ بند ۱۴). در این متن سخنی از جنسیت نیست. اهورامزدا نیز نگاهبانی و پاسبانی خانه و کشور را به ایزد «آناهیتا» می‌سپارد (اوستا، ۱۳۸۵: ۱/ ۲۹۷). از این روی در ایران «همای جداً به انجام تکالیف سلطنت و اصلاح امور کشور و عمران و آبادی ایالات مرکزی و سرحدی پرداخته بهتر از اکثر نیکوترین سلاطین سلف به اداره امور مملکت مبادرت کرد» (ثعالبی، ۱۳۸۵: ۱۷۹-۱۸۰)، شهرهایی بنا کرد (دریایی، ۱۳۸۸: ۴۱؛ گردیزی، ۱۳۶۳: ۵۶) و دشمنان را از دست اندازی به شهرهای خویش باز داشته و خراج را کاهش داد (ابن‌اثیر، ۱۳۷۱: ۱/ ۱۵۲-۱۵۵) و طریق عدل سپرد (ابن‌بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۱۵۹) و گروهی از معماران اسیر را برای ساخت بنا به ایران آورد (دینوری، ۱۳۷۱: ۵۱-۵۲؛ ثعالبی، ۱۳۸۵: ۱۸۰). «پوران‌دخت» برای حفظ حدود و ثغور سرزمین و رفاه حال مردمانش سفرایی را نزد امپراتور «هراکلیوس» روانه (Chaumont, 1989: 366) و چلیپای چوبین را برای قیصر پس فرستاد (نولدکه، ۱۳۷۸: ۴۱۰؛ مجمل‌التواریخ‌والقصص ۱۳۷۸: ۳۲) و به منظور نگاهداشت قسمتی از خاک ایران تن به صلح داد (پیرنیا؛ آشتیانی؛ بهنام‌فر، ۱۳۹۰: ۲۴۰ و ۲۴۱) و طریق عدل گسترد (ابن‌بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۲۶۴). نیکی به رعیت، ضرب سکه، مرمت ابنا، معافیت از خراج، از دیگر کارهای اوست (نولدکه، ۱۳۷۸: ۴۰۸-۴۱۰). «آزرمیدخت» نیز چون به قدرت رسید «عدل و داد کرد و پادشاهی خویش نگاه داشت به رأی و تدبیر خود» (طبری، ۱۳۷۸: ۲/ ۸۴۷؛ گردیزی، ۱۳۶۳: ۱۰۲). وجود وی با شواهد سکه‌ها تأیید می‌شود. وی همچنین با تأسیس آتشکده در «آبخاز» و قلعه‌ای در «اسدآباد» اعتبار دارد و عنوان او، «عادل» بود (Gignoux, 2011: 190).

ملکه میان‌رودانی، «سمیرامیس»، شهر بابل را بازسازی کرد و دستور ساخت یک دیوار بلند آجری برای حفاظت از شهر صادر کرد (Goodrich, undated: 13-25) و سد‌هایی از خاک و گل در دشت احداث کرد؛ قبل از اینکه او این سد‌ها را بسازد غالباً سراسر دشت در زیر آب‌های رود مستور می‌شد (هرودوت، بی‌تا: ۲۵۹/۱).

«هتشیپسوت» نیز با رونق در تجارت، لشکرکشی‌های نظامی و احداث بناهای با شکوه مصر را به شکوه و عظمت رساند (Mark, 2017: unpage).

پ. تفاوت‌ها

جنسیت زدگی

متأسفانه بنا به باور و فرهنگ حاکم در ازمینه باستان (و حتی عصر حاضر) جایگاهی که برای زن و توانایی‌های او در نظر گرفته شده فرودستی و نقش ثانویه را در اذهان تداعی می‌کند. در قاموس تاریخی، اندیشه برآن بود که تبارنامه شاهان، سلاله مردان را شامل شود و زنان را با سیاست و سلطنت کاری نباشد، زن در حرمرسا با دسیسه‌های آن مکان پر ازدحام و فتنه سرکند و آنان را «با البسه ابریشمین و قصرهای منیف و رانین و کلاه و صید و آنچه آیین اشراف است» (نامه- تنسر، ۱۳۵۴: ۶۹-۷۰). مشغول دارند. در هر سه تمدن با پدیده مادرتباری و ایزدبانوان آن هم به دلیل تأسی از نیروی باروری طبیعت و واقعیات طبیعی مواجهیم. در آن برهه که زایش و پرورش انسان مدنظر قرار گرفت، تمدن بر پایه کشت و زرع و باروری زمین شکل گرفت و بر وفق خصلت «مادرتباری»، «خدای اعظم» مادینه تلقی شد (معصومی، ۱۳۸۷: ۳۰). در ایران، ایزدبانو «آناهیتا» ایزد آب و باروری، که به او نیایش برده شده است (اوستا، ۱۳۸۵: ۶۰۱-۶۰۲/۲؛ اوستا، ۱۳۸۵: ۲۹۷/۱). الهه‌گان میانرودانی، «ایشتار» الهه عشق و محبت که در داستان طوفان (شی‌یرا، ۱۳۷۵: ۱۹۲) و اسطوره گیلگمش به عنوان الهه‌ای قدرتمند ظاهر می‌شود (اسمیت، ۱۳۸۳: ۵۰؛ Dalley, 2000: 53-54; Heidel, 1963: 6) و نیز «نین‌تو» الهه‌مادر، «بانوی تولد و زایش» (بلک؛ گرین، ۱۳۸۵: ۲۳۵). در مصر، الهه «نئیت» که به عنوان مبدأ خلقت تلقی می‌شد (دروش نوبلکور، ۱۳۸۵: ۲۰). حتی با وجود این اسناد بارز، باز هم سلطه مردانه بر پایه عدالتی سرد و سخت بر قدرت شفقت زنانه پیشی گرفت.

در مصر، موقعیت زن-ایزد در اساطیر مصر نماد خاصی از والانگری زنانه را القا می‌کند. در این سرزمین با بهبود نسبی اوضاع مواجهیم. چنین پیداست که زن مصری شهروند خوشبخت

کشوری بود که در آن تساوی میان مرد و زن گویی از همان ابتدا، چون موضوعی طبیعی و عمیقاً ریشه‌دار تلقی می‌شده و هرگز مسأله‌ای ایجاد نکرده است به‌گونه‌ای که در نظام نامگذاری نیز تأثیر خود را بر جا نهاد به نحوی که ممکن بود گاهی نام خاص واحدی به طور مساوی به زن یا به مرد اطلاق شود (دروش نوبلکور، ۱۳۸۵: ۲۳۴-۲۳۵). زن حتی به مقام فرعون می‌رسید؛ به عنوان «مدیر ارشد، رئیس ارتش و فرمانروای کل. واژه فرعون، از ریشه قبطی «پرا» به معنای «خانه بزرگ» است؛ اشاره‌ای به این واقعیت که فرعون‌ها خود را پناهگاه مردم می‌دانستند» (خدادادیان، ۱۳۸۸: ۲۴۰). جدای از مسأله حاکمیت، زن حتی به مقام همسر-خدای می‌رسید که این مقام با ترکیب قدرت، وی را به یکی از قدرتمندترین مقام‌های سیاسی و مشاغل مذهبی در کشور تبدیل می‌کرد. «همسر خدای آمون زنی بود هم ردیف با کاهن اعظم؛ وی می‌توانست به داخل معبد و جایگاه مقدس خدا وارد شود، برای خدا قربانی کرده و در مراسم مقدس شرکت کند (Mark, 2017: unpage). دیگر آنکه ملکه‌های مصر وارث سلطنت بودند و از ابتدا تا پایان موعده سلطنت بر مسند تکیه می‌زدند بی‌آنکه برکنار یا به قتل رسند و تنها در برخی موارد به دست خویش کشته می‌شدند؛ چون «نیتوکریس» و «کلئوپاترا» (هرودوت، بی‌تا: ۱۸۴/۲ و ۱۸۵؛ Farmer, 1807: 90-93) و چنین بود که ملکه مصری نقش سیاسی و مذهبی را با قدرتی موروثی عجین کرد.

در نزد مردمان میانرودان، تا مدت‌های مدید زنان در هیئت ایزد و الهه و حتی پزشک، مورد قبول همگان بودند (بلک؛ گرین، ۱۳۸۳: ۲۳۴-۲۳۲؛ شی‌یرا، ۱۳۷۵: ۱۸۲-۱۸۱)، از همین نظر زنان که نماینده و همجنس این ایزدان محسوب می‌شدند نیز از اعتبار خاصی برخوردار شده و بر حسب توانایی خویش به مقام پادشاهی می‌رسیدند؛ چون ملکه «سمیرامیس». حتی زن روسپی داستان گیلگمش که از او با عناوین «زن مقدس» و «کنیزک مقدس خدا» نام برده می‌شود

(اسمیت، ۱۳۸۳: ۲۴-۲۶) در نقش آگاهی‌دهنده، بیدارگر و ناجی مردمان شهر «اوروک»^{۱۸} پدیدار می‌شود.

در ایران، با وجود مستندات بر پایه اینکه در تمدن بومی ایران تبار شاهی از زن ستانده می‌شد و سلطنت پادشاهان بر اساس پیوند با عنوان یک زن مشروعیت پیدا می‌کرد، (کمرون، ۱۳۶۵: ۶۲-۶۶ و ۱۸) ملکه‌های این سامان، باید دارای شرایط و ضوابطی می‌بودند تا آنها را سرآمد دیگر زنان سازد. در متون پهلوی نشانی از زنان نیکو، پاک نژاد و آزاده ذکر و به خصوصیات ظاهری و زیبایی آنها اشاره شده است (جاماسب‌آسانا، ۱۳۷۱: ۷۹ و ۹۱)، جالب اینکه در روایات باستانی از عقلانیت، ذکاوت و توانایی زن وصفی نیست. «همای» را مادری جاه‌طلب تصویر کرده‌اند که برای حفظ قدرت فرزندش را از خود می‌راند (دینوری، ۱۳۷۱: ۵۱-۵۲؛ ثعالبی، ۱۳۸۵: ۱۸۰) حتی شاه پرآوازه و قدرتمندی چون «کی‌گشتاسب» برای تهییج سپاهیان دخترش را با وصف زیبایی‌اش پیشکش می‌کند (یادگارزیران، ۱۳۹۲: ۳۲). اگرچه برخی مورخان از ملکه‌های ایران به نیکی یاد می‌کنند:

دگر دختری داشت نامش همای

هنرمند و با دانش و نیک رای (فروسی، ۱۳۸۹: ۳۲۸) و نیز عاقل و عادل و نیکوسیرت (ابن- بلخی، ۱۳۷۴: ۲۶۴) برشمرده‌اند و به کمالات اخلاقی و توصیفات شخصیتی پرداختند، اما نگاهی به سرگذشت ملکه‌های اواخر عصر ساسانی و پایان غم‌انگیزشان، نمونه‌ای از تبعیض میان جنسیت زنانه و مردانه هویدا می‌شود. مردانی در مقام نازل‌تر از جایگاه ملکه چنان به باده قدرت مست‌اند که شاهدختان را از این سرمستی امنیتی نیست و با وجود ایستادگی در برابر خواسته ناحق آنان، جرعه شوکران مرگ در کامشان ریخته می‌شود. متأسفانه این جنسیت‌زدگی در کتب مذهبی که به اواخر دوران ساسانی و پس از آن بازمی‌گردد نیز آشکار است و اهورامزدا از

18- Uruk

آفرینش زن اظهار پشیمانی می‌کند: «از من تو را یاری است، زیرا مرد از تو زاده شود با وجود این مرا که هرمزدم بیازاری. اما اگر مخلوقکی را می‌افتم که مرد را از او گنم، آنگاه هرگز تو را نمی‌آفریدم.» (بندهش، ۱۳۹۵: ۸۳). گویا تقدیر و هویت زن تنها با آفرینش مرد معنا می‌یابد!

نتیجه

تسلسل وقایع تاریخی، سبب شد در نحوه قدرت‌گیری و حکومت‌داری برخی زنان فرمانروا، تحولاتی شکل گیرد و تفاوت‌ها و تشابهاتی عیان شود. ابتدا در تحول اسطوره، ایزد زنان، کالبد زمینی یافتند و در هیئت زنانه با ویژگی‌های ایزدی در نقش حاکم و فرمانروا به حیات ادامه دادند و عهده‌دار نقش‌هایی چون شهریاری، زادن تباری نژاده و حفظ یک راز سر به مهر، میدان‌دار صحنه سیاست شدند. ایشان این نقش‌ها را به خوبی ایفا می‌کنند و به فرجام می‌رسانند؛ اما در تحلیل و تفسیر انگیزه واقعی و نهفته این رموز سر به مهر زنانه، پرده از فلسفه فعل آنان برداشته می‌شود و ایشان را در زمره زنانی قرار می‌دهد که در حماسه و اسطوره نقش‌آفرین و کارسازند. در ایران، قوی‌ترین جلوه حضور زن در پایان پادشاهی پادشاهانی است که تفاوتی میان جانشین دختر و پسر قائل نمی‌شوند. در مصر، ظهور فرمانروای زن، امری عادی و موروثی است. در میان‌رودان، با وجود ضعف در جانشینی، سلطنت مشترک امری بایسته و پذیرفته شده است. ایستادگی در برابر عاصیان و مدعیان در امر حکمرانی از خصایص شایان ایشان است. برخورداری از پیشینه‌ای بزرگ‌منشانه، در امر سلطنت هر سه تمدن مشهود و ملزوم است؛ اگرچه بحث جنسیت‌زدگی در سه تمدن مشابه نیست اما با وجود این، حکمرانان زن برای تصدی مقام سلطنت می‌بایست، هاله الوهیت و قدرت ماورایی را دارا می‌بودند. ازدواج درون‌خاندان اگرچه در ایران و مصر پسندیده بود در میان‌رودان اما دیده نشده است. اهتمام به بهبود اوضاع مُلک و ملت، از اهداف فرمانروایان زن هر سه تمدن است. ایشان با مقاومت و کسب قدرت، به باور سستی مرد در فرادست و زن در فرودست و ماهیت مردسالارانه و قبضه قدرت مردانه پایان دادند. قدرت-گیری زنان در آن دوران چونان قایقی از امید شناور در دریای عدم اطمینان بود.

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Abstract

This is a historical article about women's empowerment in the ancient civilisations of Iran, Mesopotamia and Egypt. The rule of ancient queens was a clear example of resistance and struggle to maintain power in the royal family, and this coming to power was a sign of the rule and efficiency of female rulers in political affairs. This is descriptive-analytical research, based on library sources, seeks to know the position of power and how to face the existing conditions before and after the position of power in the governance of some ruling women. In Iran, to remove the successor of the monarchy and take care of him in dangerous times; Covering the weakness of the princes in tolerating each other as well as resisting the rebelliousness of the new claimants to the throne, female kings sat on the throne. The queen of Mianrudani shared the kingdom with the new king. The queens of Egypt, despite the shakiness of the princes and having the legitimacy of the succession, found a way to reach the seat of power smoothly. Destruction of rebels to the throne; It was to eliminate the royal rivals and overcome their actions with the authority of one man. Circumstances caused some women to struggle with political, military, and national affairs outside of the internal boundaries and to reveal their ability and tact despite the traditional male and societal rules and beliefs based on sexism. What made the shape and basis of women's power in ancient times was that women could gain power by using their spiritual abilities.

Keywords: woman, governance, Iran, Mesopotamia, Egypt

استعمارگران جهان باستان - بخش دوم - خاستگاه ها و مهاجرت های اولیه^۱

گیامپیترو فابری^۲

مترجم منصورحمداللهزاده^۳

چکیده

در بخش دوم این پژوهش، مهاجرت‌های اصلی اقوام تبار سوپارستها و سواگواتاها در آسیا و اروپا از هزاره دوم قبل از میلاد تا دهم پس از میلاد بازسازی شده است. نقش اقوام خویشاوند اتروسک در تکامل ملل و زبان‌های هندواروپایی بررسی و برجسته می‌شود.

در بخش اول این مطالعه، نام سوپارستها برای نیاکان مردمانی که به زبان نیای هندواروپایی صحبت می‌کنند، پارستاس و سواگواتاس، و سوپاراها و تیرگواوناس‌های مربوط به آنها بازسازی شده است. با تجزیه و تحلیل اقوام و تبار و گواهی‌های تاریخی بر روی آنها، رگه‌هایی از آداب و رسوم و مذهب پیشینیان برجسته شده است. علاوه بر این، مهاجرت‌های اولیه اقوام در آسیا و اروپا بازسازی شده است. در این بخش دوم، میراث مردمانی را که از هزاره دوم قبل از میلاد در آسیا و اروپا پراکنده شده‌اند، تحلیل خواهیم کرد.

کلید واژه‌ها: سوپارستاس، سواگواتاس، دنیای باستان، هند و اروپایی، آریاییها

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تنگوی تلیخ، پڑ شوگر و مدرس در دانشگاه آزاداس ی

BY DANIEL HALL and SIVA CHIVUKURU
 Co-authors of the Ancient World

Part II - Late Migration

Language (2011)

ABSTRACT: In the second part of this study the early migration of the people descending from *Saparethas* and *Thyrsos* are reconstructed in Asia and Europe from the second millennium BC to the tenth AD. The role of Persians relative to the evolution of Indo-European nations and languages is investigated and established.

INTRODUCTION

In the first part of this study the name *Saparethas* has been reconstructed for the ancestors of the people speaking the Proto-Indo-European language. *Crastus* and *Thyrsos* (later and their mixed *Saparethas* and *Thyrsosians*) by analyzing the languages of the aboriginal peoples and the archaeological excavations in their lands of the Caucasus and colonies of the proprietary have been established. Moreover, the early colonizations of the descendant peoples in Asia and Europe have been reconstructed. In this second part we will analyze the heritage of the people they diffused to Asia and Europe starting from the second millennium BC.

MIGRATIONS IN ASIA

In the first part of this study we recognized a migration wave of *Thyrsosians* that passed Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia following western *Thyrsosians* at the end of third millennium BC. After few centuries a new migration wave crossed from India as well as Persia and India (Fig. 1).

Araxes

At the beginning of the second millennium BC, clearly after *Crastus*, *Thyrsosians* passed through Mesopotamia from the northern mountains and took the power around the middle of the millennium. In this regard the kingdom of *Assurians* was weakened by the attack of *Thyrsosians*, *Hittites* and *Elamites*. *Assurians* determined the invaders coming from the southern mountains under the name *Araxes*, translated into by *Araxes* (Phoenician: α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , η , θ , ι , κ , λ , μ , ν , ξ , \omicron , π , ρ , σ , τ , υ , ϕ , χ , ψ , ω). *Araxes* settled in the southern part of Mesopotamia (Babylon), eventually the word *Araxesians* (Phoenician: α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , η , θ , ι , κ , λ , μ , ν , ξ , \omicron , π , ρ , σ , τ , υ , ϕ , χ , ψ , ω) represented the Indo-European nation. In the names of the King *Shalmaneser*, *Assur* and *Assurians* and of the god *Assur* we find additional references to *Thyrsosians* and *Araxes*.

The fact that the invaders from North *Thyrsosians* and *Araxes* were distinguished with terms coded to the word *Araxes* indicates that the invaders were not the *Thyrsosians*, descended and diffused to Mesopotamia and was characteristic of a clearly distinct people. In addition to cow breeding, *Araxes* involvement in Mesopotamia the horses, the first employed for pulling was present

Therefore, it is probable that *Abraham* and *Eber* were eponymous heroes of a tribe of **Hubras* (> *Hebrews*), namely **Hubaras* (< **Subaras* < **Suparas*), coming from a "settlement of **Hubaras*" (> **Hubr* > *Ur*, cf. Lat. urbs) in the territory occupied by **G^oaltas* (**Swag^oautas*). In the western semitic languages the name **Hubra* became *Heb/vrai*, translated in Gr. Ἑβραῖος and Engl. *Hebrew*. It is a diffused opinion that the names *Abraham*, *Eber*, and *Hebrew*, as well as *Subari* and *Habiru*, derive from the Semitic root *avr/evr/vr* which means "overcome", "pass beyond" and then "cross", "wander", "to be nomad". However, in the first part of this study, we demonstrated that this root, in the original meaning indeed, is connected to the Indo-European adverb **supar*, from which **Hubra* comes.

At the time of *Abraham*, southern Mesopotamia, where the Sumerian city of *Ur* is located, was not yet inhabited by *Chaldeans* speaking a Semitic language (Pettinato 2005: 14), but from *Elamites* and *Proto-Kassites* **G^oaltas*. However, it is more probable that the *Ur* whence *Abraham* came was situated in the territory occupied by the **G^oaltas* north of Mesopotamia, from which is likely to stop in *Harran* traveling to the land of *Canaan*. *Ur Kasdim* has then been identified by Issar (Issar 2013: 67) with the city of *Urkesh* or *Urkish* in current northeastern Syria. This identification is supported by the fact that the term *kešish* can be connected with Old Pers. *guš* and Sum. *gud*, identifying *Urkish* as a city (*Ur*) of cow (*kish*) breeders.

Therefore, in the biblical genealogy the progeny of *Shem* would not represent Semitic-speaking peoples, who are to be included as *Canaanites* among the descendants of *Ham*, but **Suparas*/**Subaras*/**Hubaras*, while the the progeny of *Japheth* would represent **Swag^oautas* (**Swag^oaut* > **Safat* > *Japhet*) and **Parsthas*. Among the ancestors of *Abraham*, however, the name of *Arpachshad* also appears, closely connected to the horse breeder activity, language and mythology of **Swag^oautas* (cf. *Arpoxais* in first part of this study). *Abraham* would then descend from a **Hubaras* tribe, in which a **Swag^oauta* branch (cf. **G^oaus-tas* and **Kas-dim*) would have been inserted. He would have spoken a **Suparstha* origin language, derived from a mixture of those spoken by **Subaras* and **Swag^oautas*, while the Semitic language would have been assumed by *Jews* as a consequence of the rape of the *Canaanite* women (it is known that when an invading people generates offspring with indigenous women, the progeny assumes the language from the mather, as in the case of Vikings and Normans).

Hurrians and Mitanni

The tribe of *Abraham* migrated to southern Syria probably because of the pressure of the *Swag^oautas* migration wave that led *Kassites* in Mesopotamia. At the beginning of the second millennium BC, other **Swag^oautas* peoples coming from **Matan* (country of **Matas*) invaded the land of **Hubras* (the *Subartu/Urartu*) and thence later penetrated Mesopotamia and Syria. As we assumed in the first part of this study, the *Akkadians* called them *Mitanni* and *Hurru* probably because they came from the land of **Matas* and **Hubras*. However, the kingdom that later they created between northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia was also known as *Hanigalbat* or *Khanigalbat*, terms that reveals the **Swag^oauta* origin. Such a name can in fact be connected to the location "*G^oaunas G^oaudg^oauat*", that means "**G^oaunas* coming from country of **G^oaudg^oaunas*, people who once, as we saw, pressed the *Akkadians* (< **Sarchatas* < **Thyrg^oautas*) into Mesopotamia. The sequence *g^oauna-g^oaula-g^oaua* recalls those that *Sumerians* inserted in the name of *Gilgamesh*, king coming from a foreign people, called by several names similar each other. It is possible that *Mitanni* just crossed the country of **Matas* attracted by the riches of Mesopotamia. However, it is more probable that they first interacted with **Matas* and then were guided by them to the conquest of Mesopotamia.

Upon the arrival of the first *Mitanni* some *Hurrians* migrated to southern Syria and Egypt. Among these was probably also *Abraham*. However, most of *Hurrians* integrated with *Mitanni*, who constituted the ruling class of the kingdom which was formed towards the middle of the millennium. According to Helck (Helck 1993), *Hyksos* (Gr. Ἰκνώος < Egypt. *Heka khasut*) were

Hurrians who tried to penetrate into Egypt in successive waves. Among them were probably also *Mitanni* and other *Swag^wautas tribes.

In Syria, many toponyms, already existing in the second millennium BC, can be traced back to *Swag^wautas. These are perhaps traces of the language originally spoken by *Hethaeans*, *Canaanites* and *Hebrews* (*Jewes*), or derive from *Cimmerians* descended from Anatolia, or *Kassites* ventured, as to the north *Mitanni*, up to the Mediterranean coast, or *Mitanni* themselves, or *Hyksos*. To these *Swag^wautas, the names of *Gaulanitis* or *Golam* (< *G^waulana), *Golgota* (Aram. *Gūlgaltā* < *G^waulg^waulata), *Sogane* (da *Swagauna) are owed, which later were reinterpreted in Semitic languages. Probably, also the *Scythian* elements of *Beit She'an*, the Hellenist *Scythopolis*, are actually connected with them. Moreover, the Biblical cities of *Sodom* (< *Swag^wauma) and *Gomorrah* (< *G^waumara) could have originally been settlements of *Swag^wautas *Cimmerians*.

Hittites and Kaskas

The Swag^wautas migration wave occurred at the beginning of the second millennium BC brought to Anatolia other *G^wautas tribes who overlapped those immigrated shortly after western *Thyrg^wauas* and contributed to constitute the peoples of *Hittites* and *Kaskians*. All these incomers, having arrived in tight migration waves laeding large herds of cows, well integrated with *Hattas and *Subaras, devotees to deities having oxen attributes.

The people of the *Hittites* (Akk. *Kheta* < *G^wautas), which has been already mentioned in the first part, developed in central Anatolia and reached its maximum state organization towards the middle of the millennium. Its ability to integrate people of different origins and cultures is demonstrated by the fact that *Hittites* vaunted to worship a thousand gods (Lehman 1977: 249).

The people of the *Kaskians* (Hitt. *Kaskas*, Hurr. *Kasku*, also *Gasgas* < *G^wausg^waus) developed on the Anatolian coast of Black Sea. At its formation probably contributed also *G^wunmaras (*Proto-Cimmerians*) and other *Swag^wautas from the area around Black Sea, pressed to south by the migration wave of the beginning of the second millennium BC. *Kaskians* went down in history shortly after the middle of the millennium contrasting the *Hittite* Empire and later, together with the *Phrygians*, were cause of its fall.

Aryans

During the penetration of *Kassites* in Mesopotamia other *Swag^wautas peoples migrated from Central Asia to South, crossed the territories occupied by *Parsas, interacted with them and partly reached India, where they subjugated the *Dravidian* and *Vedda* population. They were not distinguished by names related to the cow breeding, but with the term *Arya*, probably derived from the name *Parsa (> *Arsa > *Ar'a > *Arya*). However they worshipped cows, and references to breeding and sacrifices of oxen occur in their religious hymns (*Rig Veda*). Therefore, they probably were breeders of small cow herds related to *Swag^wautas of Sogdiana.

Arsi, Agathyrsi, Aorsi, and Alanorsi

In the basin of the Tarim River, in the Chinese province of Xinjiang, manuscript fragments dating mainly to the seventh and eighth centuries have been found. They were written in two distinct varieties of a more ancient Indo-European language, that differs from those commonly defined Iranian because it has not palatalised the velars (Villar 2011: 592). In the manuscripts the people who lived in the Tarim Basin is distinguished by the name *Arsi*. This term seems derived from *Parsas (> *Arsa > *Arsi*).

It is unclear when *Arsi* settled in Xinjiang. It is possible (hypothesis A) that *Swag^wautas, who stopped in the mountainous territory during expansion eastward, separated from the other Iranian peoples before these attained the palatalisation of the velars. Moreover, by the nature of sites, they

reduced the activity of cow breeder and returned to develop others such as hunting. They were then indicated no longer as cow breeders but by the original name. It is also possible (hypothesis B) that *Arsi* were a distinct **Parsas* descendent population, who already occupied the territory before the development of cow breeding and came in contact with **Swag^wautas* during their expansion to the east and south.

It is probably that a first flow of **Swag^wautas* related, the western **Thyrg^wauanas*, already arrived in the region in the third millennium BC, and a second flow arrived as a part of the migration wave of the beginning of the millennium. In the languages of **Thyrg^wauanas* peoples we can find velars which have been aspirated, palatised, changed to sibilants, or muted. The name of **Thyrg^wauanas* itself change to **Thyrghunas*, **Thyrshunas*, **Sunas* and **Hunas*, but also to **Turkas* and **Tarchnas*. It is possible that the tendency to palatise the velars was not yet developed in the third millennium BC **Thyrg^wauanas* and had not yet taken root in early following millennium **Swag^wautas*.

We can find evidence of the fusion of **Swag^wautas* with *Arsi* in the names of *Agathyrsi* (< **Sagatar*si or **SagaThyr*Arsi), *Alanorsi* (< **G^waulan*arsi), and *Aorsi* (< **G^wau*arsi). These people are attested from the age of Herodotus (450 BC) and the first centuries of the Christian era (Herodotus: IV, 100; Strabo: XI, 5, 8; Ptolemaeus: VI, 14, 9-13; Marcellinus: XXXI, 2, 14) in the territory between the Danube and the Caspian Sea, where they had established as a consequence of the repeated westwards pressures, produced by sinanthropoid populations of Mongolia and China. It is not clear whether the fusions of peoples, if separate (hypothesis B), or names, if referring to the same people (hypothesis A), occurred in the mountain territory bordering on China or after the backflow in Turanian grasslands.

**G^wau*nasthas, **G^waul*asthas, *Thessalians*, *Thracians*, *Trojans*, *Phrygians*, **Sg^wetas*, **Sg^wy*tas and **G^wun*maras

The migration wave of the beginning of the second millennium BC was probably caused by a backflow of a northeastern branch of **Thyrg^wauanas*, due to the expansion of Mongol peoples. This backflow pressed a part of **Swag^wautas* to move from the original territory to the south and west, and also, as we said, to Xinjiang, where a southeastern branch of **Thyrg^wauanas* previously settled. Moreover, from Central Asia a series of minor migrations, that involved the whole area between the Balkans and the Caspian Sea, was triggered, succeeded for most of the millennium, and culminated in the great migration of the XII and XIII century BC.

In the course of these migrations the tribes of *Thessalians*, *Thracians* and *Phrygians*, passing north of Black Sea, ventured towards the Aegean coast, pressing *Sicani-Ascani* and *Siculi-Ascali*, whom we discussed in the first part of this study, towards the Adriatic and northwestern Aegean coasts and also letting them to flow back eastwards. Successively the **Swag^wautas* concentrated north of Black Sea and probably already indicated by the contracted and vowel changed names **Sg^wetas* and **Sg^wy*tas progressively descended toward the coast, settling in the territory already occupied by **G^wun*maras (later *Cimmerians*), obligating the latter partly to a forced cohabitation and partly to move to Thrace (southwest), Armenia (southeast) and Central and Southern Europe. **Sg^wetas* (later *Getae*, Gr. *Γέται*; Herodotus: IV, 93-96]) settled by the western coast of Black Sea and **Sg^wy*tas (later *Scythians*) by the northern. *Thessalians*, *Thracians* and *Phrygians* were pressed by **G^wun*maras towards Anatolia and Central and Northwestern Greece.

Sicani-Ascani and *Siculi-Ascali* migrated to Italy, Illyria and Greece and flowed back to the east. They were probably the same people, called by different names. The tribes who had become sedentary probably remained mostly in the territories occupied by *Thracians* and *Thessalians*, thus constituting together with previous inhabitants the indigenous class of **G^wau*nasthas and **G^waul*asthas (**G^wau*nas e **G^waul*as stable or stayed, later *Penastae* and *Pelasgians*; Gr. *Πελασται*; Aristoteles: II, 9, 3; and Gr. *Πελασγοί*; Herodotus: I, 57, 2). The nomadic tribes more easily migrated, looking for new spaces. *Ascani* penetrated western Anatolia and overlapped to **Sardanas*

and **Tarhunas*, who had been pressed to this region by the progressive arrival of *Hittite* tribes. *Ascali* moved along the Anatolian and Syrian coast, trying to settle in southern Syria, where the city of *Ashkelon* was located, founded, as seen in the first part of this study, by relative people, with whom they had maintained maritime trade relations.

Together with *Ascani*, *Phrygians* settled in western Anatolia. According to Herodotus, *Phrygians* (Gr. *Φρύγες*), before migrating to Asia, lived together with *Macedonians* and were called *Brigians* (Gr. *Βρίγες*; Herodotus: VII, 73). This name may be derived from a more archaic **Boríγες* (< **G^waurajas*, "who lead cows") and thus be linked to the activity of cow breeders. However, the ancient Macedonian language had a tendency to mutate the labial aspirate consonants in occlusive (e.g. Gr. *Κεφαλή* < Mac. *Κεβλή*). It is therefore possible that the original name was *Phrygians* and had been deformed by Macedonians in *Brigians*. In this case, considering the fact that the people lived peacefully in contact with **Thyrg^waura* origin populations, we can assume that the *Phrygians* name derives by metathesis from a more archaic **Φύργες* (< **Thyrg^wauas*). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that in the Iliad the eponymous leader of *Phrygians* is called *Forcys* (*Φόρκυς*; Homer: II, 862), with antecedent sonant vocalization. We can therefore conclude that *Phrygians* had a **Thyrg^waura* origin, while *Ascani*, their allies in the Trojan war, were a distinct **Swag^wauta* origin people (the two peoples have been confused because of an incorrect interpretation of the cited Iliad line). Pressed by **G^wunmaras*, *Phrygians* migrated to Anatolia, where they kept the original name, and towards the Adriatic coast, where they were called *Brigi* by *Macedonians*. In Anatolia they contrasted *Hittites*, causing the collapse of their empire in the twelfth century BC.

In a similar manner from the name of *Thracians* (Gr. Att. *Θράκες*, Gr. Ion. *Θρηίκες*, Gr. Hom. *Θρηίκες*), by metathesis and antecedent sonant vocalization, we can go back to a more archaic form **Θάρκες*/**Θηίρες* that we can easily derive from **Thyrg^wauas*. The name of *Thessalians* (Gr. *Θεσσαλοί*) can instead be derived from **Thyrg^waulas* through the intermediate form **Thersalas* by consonant assimilation (cf. *Thyssagetae* < **Thyrsagatas* < **Thyrswag^wautas*). Therefore, *Thracians* and *Thessalians* had a **Thyrg^waura* origin, as well as *Phrygians*. However, in the name of the latter we find the aspired dental to aspired labial change, which is characteristic of the Latin language. This leads to think that *Phrygians*, unlike *Thracians* and *Thessalians*, had been in contact for a long time with the ancestors of *Latins*, probably in the area between Volga River and Fergana (< **Thyrg^waura*) Valley. Therefore, they were the last to arrive in the territory west of Black Sea, preceded by *Thracians*. In turn preceded by *Thessalians*, as the geographical location of the places where they settled leads to think.

According to Josephus (Josephus 94: I, 6) *Thracians* descended from *Thiris* (Gr. *Θείρης*), son of *Japhet* (< **Swag^waut*) and originally were called *Thiri* (Gr. *Θείρες* or *Θείροι*). *Thiris* is evidently the eponymous hero of **Thyras*, whom we discussed in the first part of this study and whose name can also be considered an abbreviation of the names **Thyrswag^wautas*, **Thyrg^wauas*, or **Thyrg^wauas*. The Greek names *Θείρης* and *Θείρες* can be easily derived from the above mentioned intermediate form **Θάρκες*/**Θηίρες*, considering the tendency of **Thyrg^wauas* and their descendants to aspirate or not pronounce the velars. Due to the same tendency, from **Thyrg^wauas* through the intermediate form **Θάρκες*, also the name of *Trojans* (Gr. *Τρώες* or *Τρώες* < **Τρῶρες* < **Θάρρες* < **Thyrg^wauas*) can be derived. In the Iliad (Homer: X, 434-435) the *Thracians* are allies of the *Trojans* and come from *Thrace*. Their king is *Rheso* (Gr. *Ρήσος*), son of *Eioneus* (Gr. *Ήιονῆος*), a name linked to the city of *Eion* at the mouth of the Strymon (Struma) River in western Thrace. However, it is more probable that, at the time of the Trojan War, original *Thracians* (**Thyrg^wauas*) were a minority in Thrace, then occupied mostly by tribes of **G^wunmaras* and *Sg^wetas*. The migration of *Thracians* in Asia Minor is attested by Herodotus who reports that the *Thracians* who lived on the banks of the Strymon were chased off to Anatolia by *Mysians* (Gr. *Μυσοί*) and *Teucrians* (Gr. *Τευκροί*), migrated from Anatolia itself to Thrace through Bosphorus (Herodotus: VII, 20). In Anatolia *Thracians* were called *Bithyni* (Herodotus: VII, 75; < **Bi-thyrg^wauas*). However, it is very improbable that the hunted fled in the direction from which the hunters came. It is more likely that the people who hunted the *Thracians* from Strymon were instead *Moesi* (Gr.

Μοισοί). According to Strabo (Strabo: VII. 3. 2). *Moesi* were once called *Mysians*, were *Thracians* and partially migrated from Balkans to Anatolia. as *Medobithyni*, *Bithyni* and *Thyni* (< *Thyrg^w *au*nas) did. We can lastly observe that the name *Rheso* (< *Raz^wa < *Arz^wa < *Tarz^wa < *Thyrg^w *au*a) is probably an endonym of *Thracians*, which can be derived through the same transformations of that of Etruscan *Thyrg^w *au*nas (*Razna*), which we show below.

By the Anatolian coast *Thessalians* were known as *Iysini* (Gr. Ἰϋσῖνοι < *Thyrg^w *au*nas; Herodotus: I, 94). The people was in fact indifferently indicated by the names *Thyrg^w *au*las and *Thyrg^w *au*nas. This is demonstrated by Strabo (Strabo: V, 1, 7), who attributes to the *Thessalians* (*Thyrg^w *au*las) the founding, on the northwestern Adriatic coast, of the city of *Ravenna*, whose name, as we shall see, clearly derives from the endonym of Etruscan *Thyrg^w *au*nas (*Razna*). According to Herodotus, *Thessalians* were colonists of *Thesprotians* (Gr. Θεσπρωτοί; Herodotus: VII, 176), who lived by the *Epirus* coast in northwestern Greece. It is however more likely that *Thesprotians* were *Thessalians* migrated toward the Adriatic coast or a distinct tribe of *Thyrg^w *au*nas pressed westward as well as *Thessalians* during the great and the previous minor migrations. It is possible that the name *Tesprotians* derives from the union of the names *Thessalians* and *Epirotos*. However it is more probable that the names of *Epirus* (Gr. Ἠπειρος) and *Tesprotians* derive from *Thyrg^w *au*la (> *Therspaula > *Thespaura > *Espaira > Ἠπειρος; *Thespaura > *Thespaurlas > *Thespraulas > Θεσπρωτοί; cf. PIF. *aq^w as > Old Pers. *aspa*).

When Thessaly and Thrace were invaded by *Cimmerians*, *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, the *Thyrg^w *au*nas tribes (the original *Thessalians* and *Thracians*) who remained in the territory were included in the class of *Penastae* and *Pelasgians*. An attestation of the original language of the *Thessalians/Iysini* remains in a stele and ceramic fragments found on the island of Lemnos in the northeastern Aegean Sea. The language of the inscriptions of these remains, dating from the sixth century BC, has an affinity with the Etruscan (Villar 2011: 493). The Lemnos island remains are the only evidence we have received of the Eastern *Thyrg^w *au*nas language in the Aegean area. At the time when writing diffused again after the Greek Middle Ages, the language of the Eastern *Thyrg^w *au*nas was probably spoken only in a few areas, where, as we shall see, *Pelasgian* or *Penastae* populations were confined and still attested in the fifth century BC (Herodotus: I, 57, 2; Thucydides: IV, 109, 4).

Sea Peoples

Due to the overcrowding of western Anatolia, **Sardanas* repeatedly tried to settle in Syria by conquering the lands under the control of the Egyptians. In their incursions they allied to *Siculi-Ascali* and other peoples concentrated by the northern Aegean coast, assembling a confederation known as "Sea Peoples". Under the name *Shardana* or *Sherden*, they are mentioned in the letters of Amarna (EA 61, 122, 123; 1350 BC approximately), the stele of Tani (1250 BC approximately) and the inscription at Karnak (rows 13 and 15; 1200 BC approximately). In the latter, also **Swag^w au*las (*Siculi*), **Thyrg^w au*as (*Thracians* or *Arzawa*), and **Swag^w au*as (*Achaean*s, see below) appear as confederates under the names *Shekelesh*, *Teresh*, and *Ekwesh*, respectively.

Among the *Sea Peoples*, also *Deinie*, *Theker*, *Peleset*, and *Weshesh* were mentioned (Great Inscription on the Medinet Habu Second Pylon). We have already observed how in **Thyrg^w au*nas the labiovelar g^w result in dental z or d (cf. *Razna*, *Arzawa*, *Shardana*). The name of *Deinie* can then be associated with the term **G^w au*nas, that we find with dentalised labiovelar in the name of **Sardana* and other **Thyrg^w au*nas in Anatolia and Balkan area. Among these we remind *Dauni*, an Illyrian tribe that, in the first millennium BC, lived on eastern and western Mediterranean coasts. The name of the *Theker* probably derives from **Thyrg^w au*las (> **Thergalas* > **Thekaras*) and then indicated *Thessalians*. A **G^w au*lg^w *au*na origin can instead be attributed to *Peleset* (< *Pelest* < **Pelastas* < **G^w au*lasthas) and *Weshesh* (< **G^w au*sas; cf. *Ekwesh* < **Swag^w au*s).

The first incursions of *Sea Peoples* did not succeed. The ships at their disposal should in fact follow the coast making several stopovers and thus being easily countered by people by the ground under

the Egyptian control. The situation improved for the confederates, when they had available keel ships, able to sail not only having wind at back and to cover long distances offshore, and ground troops in sufficient force to protect supplies. Keel ships should have already been in use in the mid-thirteenth century BC. In the stele of Tami, in fact, it is written that *Shardana* arrived with their warships from the center of the sea, that is not following the coast. However, only when the *Phyrgians* beat the Hittite Empire, the multitude of people who had massed in western Anatolia poured out into the central and western part of the peninsula and descended along the Syrian coast on oxcarts, upsetting all the states that they crossed (Lehmann 1977: 275).

Since the keel ships appeared in northern Aegean Sea at a time of several migrations, it is possible that this innovation was imported from another site. Since the main migration flow was oriented from northeast to southwest to the Balkans and thence to northwest, and its cause was the return of eastern *Thyrg^Wauanas* from Mongolia and northern China, it is logical to think that the innovation can have arrived from the Pacific coast. Some historians believe that the keel ships were invented in Denmark and imported from there towards the Aegean Sea in counterflow with respect to main migrations (Herm 1974: 63 and 73). It is therefore possible, as we shall see, that the primitive *Danes* (< **G^Wauanas*), like *Daini*, were *Thyrg^Wauanas* and had migrated along the Danube and Elbe towards the Cimbric peninsula, whence they brought the new naval technology flowing back towards the Aegean Sea. However, it is more probable that the technology was conceived in the east and thence forwarded to the North Sea.

Dardanians, Mygdones, and Mycenaeans

Among the **Thyrg^Wauanas* peoples whose name has dentalised labiovelar, we find in Anatolia at the time of the Trojan war also *Dardanians* and *Mygdones*. The name of *Dardanians* (Gr. *Δαρδάνοι* (Homer: III, 456) is derived from **Thyrg^Wauanas* through the intermediate form **Tardanas* by consonant assimilation. It is then an alternative form equivalent to **Sardana*. The name of *Mygdones* (Gr. *Μυγδόνας*; Strabo: VII, 3, 2) probably derives from **Mykg^Wauanas*, term indicating a mixed people of **G^Waulg^Wauanas* and **Thyrg^Wauanas*. Both *Dardanians* and *Mygdones* had corresponding peoples in the Balkan area, who are attested in the first millennium BC as *Daydanei* or *Dardanii* (Gr. *Δαρδανεύς* and *Δαρδάνιοι*; Polybius: IV, 66, 1 and 6) and *Macedonians* (Gr. *Μακεδόνες*; Polybius: IV, 3, 2), respectively. It is possible that in **G^Waulg^Wauanas* dialects the name **Mykg^Wauanas* resulted in **Mykwainas* and then in Gr. *Μυκῆναι*, *Mycenae*, whence the homonymous city that was the cradle of the culture from it called *Mycenaeae*.

Dardanians inhabited a territory close to the Troad, by the Anatolian shore of Dardanelles strait, which takes its name from them and their eponymous hero *Dardanus* (Gr. *Δαρδανός*). In the Iliad they are often mentioned together with *Trojans* (Hom: III, 456). In the Trojan war, the head of *Dardanians* was *Aeneas*. According to the legends gathered by Virgil (Vergilius), after the war *Aeneas*, directed towards Italy, was diverted by a storm to *Carthage* in current Tunisia, where he was welcomed by Queen *Dido* (Lat. *Dido-Didonis* < **Thyrg^Wauana*; Gr. *Διδώ-Διδώδης*, < **Thyrg^Waus*), who had settled there after fleeing from Tyre. According to Josephus (Herm 1974: 198) a Tyrian queen named *Elisha* (Gr. *Ελισσα*), identifiable with *Dido*, fled to *Carthage* in the late ninth century BC, actually long after the Trojan War. Therefore, in the myth of *Aeneas*, two distinct events are probably condensed: the founding of *Carthage* by the *Dardanians* and the subsequent flight of the *Tyrians*, threatened by emerging Middle Eastern empires. When they had available keel ships, *Dardanians/Shardana* not only tried to settle by the Syrian coast, but also probably founded colonies on the African coast, and from there they headed to *Sardinia* (Lat. *Sardinia* < **Sardania* < **Thyrg^Wauania*) and western Mediterranean Sea. Near modern Tunis they founded an initial nucleus which was called *Byrsa* (< **Phyrsa* < **Thyrg^Waus*). With the same name, we can find in Anatolia the city of *Bursa* (< Prusa < **Phyrsa* < **Thyrg^Waus*), which is said to be founded by the king of Bithynia *Prusia I*, whose name actually is evidently derived by that of a previous settlement. The city that grew up around the African nucleus was probably indicated by the names

Dardana*/Tartana*/**Thargona* and from these later **Thariagona* or **Thariadona*. When fleeing *Tyrians* were welcomed among their relatives settled on the African coast, they reinterpreted the city name, having previously assumed the Semitic language, as *Qart-hadašt*, new city, from which the names Lat. *Carthago*, Gr. *Καρχηδών* e Etr. *Carthaza* (where the original labiovelar typically results in *z*) are derived. We can find remains of the original *Carthage* name in those of other *Dardanian*/**Tartanas* colonies such as *Tartessos* (Lat. *Tartessus*, Gr. *Τάρτησος* < **Tartaghus* < **Thyrthyrg^waus*), which has been identified with Strabo *Turditania* (Gr. *Τουρθητανία*; Strabo: III, 2, 1; < **Thyrtdania* < **Thyrtdania* < **Thyrthyrg^waumia*).

Cimmerians, Scythians, Issedones, Arimaspians, Huns and Medes

As we saw, the arrival of **Sg^wetas*/**Sg^wytas* in the area north of Black Sea caused **G^wummaras* to partly migrate and partly share the land with the newcomers. The cohabitation was probably quite peaceful until the time when new migrations caused an overcrowding. During the eighth century BC a new great migratory process occurred, probably caused by the expulsion of southeastern **Thyr^waumias* from China. The overcrowding of the territories north of Black Sea then caused strong contrasts between **G^wummaras* and **Sg^wytas*, whose names at that time had already changed to **Kimmeras* and **Skytas*, namely *Cimmerians* e *Scythians*. Between the end of the eighth century BC and the beginning of the seventh, *Cimmerians* burst into Asia Minor chased by *Scythians*. Herodotus (Herodotus: IV, 12) reports that *Cimmerians* (Gr. *Κιμμέριοι*) crossed the Caucasus passing along the western coast, while the *Scythians* (Gr. *Σκύθαι*), moving further east, clashed with *Medes*. *Cimmerians* penetrated Anatolia, sacking the kingdoms of Phrygia and Lydia (Herodotus: I, 15-16).

Herodotus (Herodotus: IV, 13) explains that *Scythians* moved toward *Cimmerian* because they were pressed by *Issedones* in turn pressed by *Arimaspians*, who lived further north. Claudius Ptolemy (Ptolemaeus: VI, 16, 7) mentions a city named *Issedon Serica* identifiable with the current *Khotan* in the Chinese province of *Xinjiang*. It can then be deduced that *Issedones* (Gr. *Ισηδόνας* < **(S)hirsagonas* < **Thyrswag^waumias*) were **Thyr^waumias* coming from this area and *Arimaspians* (Gr. *Αριμασπιοι*, < **Aramaspas* = **(P)ar(s)as* horse breeders; cf. Avcs. *aspa* and PIE **markos*, horse), were **Swag^wautas aspanas*.

At the beginning of the first millennium BC, the terms **Sunas* and **Hunas* diffused as abbreviations of **Thyrshunas* (<**Thyr^waumias*) to indicate eastern **Thyr^waumias* who flowed back westward from China and Mongolia and started penetrating Iranian territories, through which they would reach the Indian borders before the middle of the millennium. In the early Buddhist writings the presence of the people of *Suni* in mountainous areas north of India is already attested (De Lorenzo 1981: 374).

Due to the infiltration of *Huns* and related peoples, in the first half of the first millennium BC **Parsas* descended from the Iranian highlands toward Mesopotamia. The tribes ruled by the priestly caste, the *Medes* (< **Matas*), concentrated on the border with Assyrians, and, as reported by Herodotus (Herodotus: I, 95-102), united and revolted against them. They were followed by the other peoples on which Assyrians exert their supremacy. Afterwards, *Medes*, having power on all **Parsas*, began to subject the Middle Eastern peoples.

Herodotus relates (Herodotus: I, 103-106) that after having chased the *Cimmerians* through Caucasus, clashed with *Medes* besieging the Assyrian city of Nineveh and won them. *Scythians* broke into Asia venturing up to Palestine. Here Pharaoh Psammetichus convinced them to retreat offering gifts and tributes. While coming back along the Mediterranean coast *Scythians* passed near the city of *Ashkelon*. Most of the army continues without plundering the city, perhaps recognizing and respecting its **Swag^waula* origins, while a few stopped to sack the temple of Aphrodite Urania.

Pasargadae and Sagartians

Medes took 28 years to chase *Scythians* out from the Middle East and to reduce this under their control (Herodotus: I, 106). Shortly after, the tribe of *Pasargadae* (Gr. Πασαργάδαι, Herodotus: I, 125), allied with others including that of nomad *Sagartians* (Gr. Σαγάρτιοι, Herodotus: ibidem), rebelled against Medes, assumed power on all **Parsax* and began to constitute the Persian Empire. We can recognize **Swag^oautas* evidences in the names of *Pasargadae* and their city *Pasargadae* (Gr. Πασαργάδαι, Old Pers. *Batrakatai* and *Pāthragāda*, probably from **Parst^hag^o autas*) and of *Sagartians* (Old Pers. *Asagartiya*, Babyt. *Sa-ga-ar-ta-a-a*, probably from **Sagas [P]arsitas*).

Tocharians and Sakarauli

The Persian Empire organization restrained the migrations through the northeastern borders. However, these started again during the Macedonian regency, also because of the strengthening of Mongolian and northwestern China's populations. Strabo (Strabo: XI, 8, 2) reports that the Macedonian kingdom of Bactria was invaded and devastated by a confederation of four tribes: *Asii* (Ἄσιοι), *Pasiani* (Πασιανοί), *Tocharians* (Τόχθοροι) and *Sakarauli* (Σακάραυλοι). The names *Asii* and *Pasiani* seem derived from the common term **(P)arsias*, while *Sakarauli* is more clearly connected with **Swag^oautas*, probably derived from **Sagas *ghaulas* (<**Swag^oau-ta-s *g^oaulas*). The name *Tochari* has been instead put in relation with *Arsi* of Xinjiang. In particular, F. W. K. Müller (Müller 1907) in a fragment of a manuscript found in this same region, observed that the *Arsi* language was indicated by the term *Toççi*, or *Tuççi*. Therefore, he suggested that the *Arsi* population could have been also called *Tocharians*. Such hypothesis induced modern linguists to call the *Arsi* language *Tocharian*. The name *Tochari* has also been associated to *Ithaguri* of *Mount Thagurus*, cited by Ptolemy among the peoples of Serica (Ptolemaeus: VI, 16, 5), but (distinctly from *Tocharians* of Bactria (Ptolemaeus: VI, 16, 28). Carefully considered, the term *Tochari* seems derived from the mixing of the names **Thyrg^oauas* and **(P)arsias*, through the forms **Thyrg^oari* and **Tyrçari*, from which the apocopated and metathesed forms **Thyrç*, *Tuççi*, *Toççi*, and *Toçari* could derive. It is also possible that the term *Tochari* is connected with the activity of archers (cf. Gr. τόξοντης τόξονης). In mountainous territories, **Swag^oautas* would have reduced the cow breeding, dedicated to hunting, developed the the archery, and distinguished themselves as **Towarsi*. In this regard, Strabo (Strabo: XI, 5, 8) reports that *Aorsi* (< **Gaursi*) were skilled archers on horseback.

Kushanas

The territory occupied by the confederation of *Asii*, *Pasiani*, *Tocharians* and *Sakarauli* was indicated by the name *Kushani*, namely "(country) of cows (breeders)" (cf. *gush* in Darius inscriptions at Behistun: col. 1, row 6) and was the heart of the kingdom known as Kushan Empire. According to Chinese chronicles, in the second century BC the Indo-European people of *Yuezhi*, who lived in the Tarim river basin, was pressed westward by the Mongolian people of *Xiongnu*. Among the five tribes which composed the *Yuezhi* people, that of *Guishuang* took the command over the others and constituted a kingdom, that has been known in the West as the Kushan Empire. It is evident that the Chinese name *Guishuang* is connected to Iranian terms *gous* > *gush* > *kush*, also attested in the name of the aforementioned city of *Kasha* (*Kucha*) in the Tarim river basin. Therefore, *Guishuang* was an Iranian tribe of cow breeders, namely **Swag^oautas*. A different interpretation of the term *kush* connects it with Modern Pers. *koh*, which means mountain. However, this term can in turn derive from **g^oaus* and indicate the place from which the cows came, since in Mesopotamia and Iran **Swag^oautas*, from *Gau* to *Kushanas*, came with their cows through the mountains.

Afghans and Kafirs

The Kushan Empire in its maximum extension included the valleys of Ganges and Indus rivers, Bactria, Sogdiana, and the Tarim river basin. It was a polyethnic empire, mainly composed of Indians, Macedonians, Persians, Huns, and other peoples descending from *Swag^Waltas. In its territories we can find connections with cow breeding in many toponyms and ethnonyms also resulting from previous centuries *Swag^Waltas migrations. We find for example connections with the term *g^Waus in the names of *Hindu Kush* (the Indian *Caucasus* < *G^Waug^Waus), *Kashmir* and *Kosala*. In this latter region the city of *Saketa* (current Ayodhya) is located, whose name, as that of the city of *Sagata*, situated further north, is clearly connected with *Swag^Waltas. We can also mention the names of *Afghans*, which probably derives from *(G^Waug^Wauna (> *Ghavghana > *Hafghana), and *Cafiri*, probably an Arabic reinterpretation, meaning "infidels", of an original *G^Wau-airya (> *Kauira). The latter consider themselves descendants of the Macedonians, but they speak an Iranian language. Probably, they derived from a mix of Macedonians and tribes coming directly from the *Swag^Waltas homeland.

Sakas

At the same time when *Kushanas* settled in Bactria other *Swag^Waltas tribes, known as *Sakas*, settled further south, in the border area between Persia and India, that from them was called *Sakastan*. Hence they went to India, where they founded kingdoms and interacted with *Indo-Greeks* and *Kushanas*.

*Swag^Waltas migrating to India during the first millennium BC found there the descendants of *Aryans*, who still spoke a language very similar to their one and had maintained separate from the Dravidian and Vedda substrate. Recognising the common origin and the benefit of integrating *Aryans* in the administrative and religious ruling class of their kingdoms, they adopted the Hindu religion and reconstructed a common language for the state administration and religious cults. The language thus "elaborated" (Sans. *samskr̥tam*), the Sanskrit, was used almost exclusively by the caste of princes and priests, while the other castes continued to utilise local dialects (*prākṛta*). The grammatical system of Sanskrit was codified by Pāṇini, who lived in the Gandhāra region. Some date back his work to the fifth century BC. Others believe the work impossible without the use of writing that diffused in Gandhāra during the third century BC, and then postpone it dating to the last centuries end of the I millennium BC, that is during the immigration of *Sakas*.

Hepthalites

The migrations of the Iranian peoples to India in the first millennium BC were caused, as it has been said, by the intrusion of *Huns*. *Swag^Waltas and *Hunas* alternated in occupying territories, interacted and probably joined together into the people of *Huns Hepthalites* (gr. Ἐφθαλίτες < *Hafthalas < *Ghautalas < *G^Wautalas), who diffused in India in the fifth century AD. *Hepthalites* were also known in India as *Svitas Hunas* (White Huns), probably an Indian reinterpretation of Gr. Σκόθαι Χούνοι (< *Sg^Wytas *g^Waurus).

MIGRATIONS IN EUROPE

The infiltrations in Europe of peoples descending from *Suparsthas during the second millennium BC were the result of a process that culminated in the great migration of the XII and XIII century BC. In this process, as we saw, the cow breeder who had settled in Mongolia and western China, the *Thyrg^Waurus, were forced to flow back westward, pressing in the same direction tribes of

From the Alpine region *Sg^wetas e *Sg^wytas descended on Italy, diffusing through *Swag^wautas previously immigrated. The totemic animal that distinguished them, a calf, was called *Sg^wytulus (cf. Lat. *vitulus*, Umb. *vitlu*), whence probably the Lat. names *Itali* and *Italia* (Italics and Italy; Gellius: XI, 1; cf. Osc. *Viteliu*; Devoto 1931: 116). *Sg^wetas settled mainly in Tuscany and Lazio, that from them was probably said *swetus. The term became synonym of archaic, and resulted in Lat. *vetus* (cf. *Latium vetus* < *Latiā or *Latiān *swetus < *Gr^waulatā or *Gr^waulatān *Sg^wetas, see below). From the name of *Sg^wetas probably derives those of the cities of *Vetulonia* (< *Sg^wetalanas; later called *Colonnata* or *Colonna* < *G^waulanas), *Orvieto*, and *Viterbo* (*Iubras *Sg^wetas, "settlement of *Sg^wetas"). *Sg^wytas reached southern Italy and were mentioned in the founding myths of Calabria (see below).

Scatinavi, Scani, Gothi and Sveti

As *G^wumbras previously, *Sg^wetas and *Sg^wytas reached the coast of the North Sea from the Alpine area, following the course of Elbe and Rhine rivers. The forms *Sg^we^ytas probably changed by vowel variation also in *Sg^wotas already in the Alpine and Central Europe. By the North Sea, also as a consequence of subsequent migrations of *Skytas, the variants *Skotas and *Skatas were generated by change of labiovelar in voiceless velar and additional vowel variation. Talking about the frozen sea that *Cimbrians* called with the mentioned name *Morimarusam* and that probably was part of the North Sea, Pliny the Elder (Plinius: IV, 94) cites an island a day away from *Scythiam Bauonia* (< *G^waunonia) and later calls the Scandinavian Peninsula *Scatinavia*, thus attesting the presence of *Skatas in Scandinavia. From the form *Skatas the name of the eponymous goddess *Skadi* derives.

In Scandinavia, we also find attested the change of labiovelar in aspirated voiced labial, already developed in the Alpine area, in the name of *Sveti* (< *Sg^wetas; also *Svetidi*; Jordanes: III, 23) or *Sueoni* (< *Sg^waunas or *Sg^wauas; also *Suiones*; Tacitus: XLIV), whence the name of *Sweden* (Lat. *Svetia/Svecia*).

Between Denmark and Sweden, the fall of initial s occurred in the name *Sg^wo^ytas, originating the name of *Goths* (Lat. *Gutae*, *Gothi*, *Gothones* or *Gotones*, Old Nor. *Gotar* and *Gutar*), also by assimilation to the adjective *g^wautas. Ptolemy (Ptolemaeus: II, 10, last table) situates *Goths* in the south of *Scandia* (Scandinavia). The name *Scandia* is probably derived from a mix of the names *Skatas (< *Swag^wautas or *Gausgautas) and *Scanas (< *Swag^waunas or *Gausg^waunas), whence the name *Scania*.

It is possible that in Scandinavia *Skatas / *Sg^wetas / *G^wautas, with caucasoid somatic morphology, assimilated the language of neighbouring Proto-Germanic peoples with depigmented sinanthropoid morphology. It is also possible that they were indeed the ones who Indo-Europeanised the northern Europe sinanthropoid peoples creating the Germanic dialects. However it is more probably that the Germanic languages were generated only a long time after the first migrations of *Sg^we^ytas in Denmark and Sweden. The Germanic language of the first attestations, that are the runic inscriptions of the third century and the Ulfila's Bible of the fourth century, still appears in fact very homogeneous and then recently formed. As we will see, *Thyrg^waunas probably contributed to the genesis of the Germanic people and their languages.

Scots and Picts

From the coast of the North Sea, *Skytas and *Skotas crossed the English Channel and reached Britannia. Thence, they ventured to the north of the island and to Ireland, changing their name respectively to *Skittas > *Kittas > *Pittas (*Picts*, Lat. *Picti*) and to *Skottas (*Scots*, Lat. *Scotti* or *Scoti*). Romans reinterpreted the name of *Pittas as *Picti*, namely painted, because the latter had the custom of painting their body (Taylor 1864: 87). The name of *Skytas, later merged with that of *G^waulatas, also evolved through the forms *Kytas *G^waultas > *Kyltas > *Pyltas > *Pyras, wich

probably were confused and mixed with the forms **Pitas* and **Pyrdas*. The latter was perhaps derived from **Thyrg^wauanas* (**Thyrg^waus* > **Phyrdas* > **Pyrdas*) who probably reached Scotland, as we will see, at the end of the second millennium BC. From Ireland, **Skottas/Scoti* migrated to Scotland in the sixth century.

In Britain and Ireland the **Sg^we/ytas* language remained closer to the original form than the Scandinavian one and came under the influence of Germanic languages only after the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons (fifth and sixth centuries) and Vikings (ninth to eleventh centuries).

Baltics, Latins, and Veneti

Shortly after the arrival of **Sg^wetas* and **Sg^wytas*, central Europe was reached by **G^wauanas*, **G^waulatas* and **G^waulatanas*. It is possible that, pressed by **G^waulg^wauanas* and **Thyrg^wauanas*, **G^waulatas* divided in two branch, one of which directed toward central and southern Europe and one northward. From the contract name **G^waulas*, the name of *Balis* (Lith. *Baltai*) derives, whence the Baltic Sea was named, whence in turn the terminology derives, by which some populations who lived on the southern coast of that sea are designated, namely the *Baltics* or *Baltic* peoples .

The Baltic languages, particularly *Lithuanian*, show similarities in the lexicon with Latin. This leads us to think that the names of *Latvians*, *Lithuanians* and *Latins* may have a common origin from the form **G^waulatanas*. It is important to observe that in these three names no trace remains of the root **g^wau*. However, it is reasonable to suppose the derivation from that root by analogy with the names of other peoples, as well as for Latin term *lactis* we can assume the derivation from the same root **g^wau* by analogy with Gr. γάλα-γάλακτος. It is then possible that Italic **G^waulatanas* separated from *Baltics* soon in the same area where early **G^waulatas* settled and which was called **G^waulatan* or later in the *Baltic* area.

Among the names of *Baltic* peoples, in those of *Galindi*, *Semigallians*, and *Latgolic* we find a clear connection with the adjective **g^waulas*. It is a diffused opinion (Villar 2011: 406) that these names are derived from Balt. *galas*, which means border. However, it is natural that when **G^waulas* migrated in the Baltic region and partly began to settle devoting to agriculture, villages and later towns arose near the houses of the farmer, while the cows breeders continued to pasture their herds in the surrounding areas while keeping commercial and cultural relations with those who became sedentary. In this situation, the adjective **g^waulas* was used to indicate the peripheral territories populated by farmers and thus acquired the meaning of periphery and border.

In the Baltic area, we also find the forms **G^waulas* and **G^waulanas* with labiovelar unvoicing in the name of *Poles* (< **Kaulas* < **G^waulas*. Pol. *Polacy*. Lat. *Poloni* < **Kaulanas* < **G^waulanas*). The same labiovelar unvoicing appears in the name of the city of *Kaunas* (< **G^wauanas*) and further south, in *Pannonia*, in the names of Celtic *Cotini* (**Kaulanas* < **G^waulatanas*) and *Pannonians* (I. at. *Pannoni* < **Kaunanas* < **G^wauanas*) themselves.

The connection between Baltic and Italic **G^waulatanas* was probably the people of *Veneti*, that in ancient times settled between the Danube river and Central Europe areas. The ancient Italic Venetic is in fact one of the languages closest to the Latin. It is probable that a part of the ancient *Veneti* people contributed to the genesis of the *Gallie* people, whence the *Armorican Veneti* (Caesar: III, 8), another merged with the Italic peoples, whence the *Adriatic Veneti* (Herodotus: V, 9), and the remainder, the *Venedi*, stationed near Vistula river (Plinius: IV, 97; Tacitus: XLVI), integrated with subsequently immigrated **Swagautas* and much more recently was absorbed by Slavic peoples, whence the *Wends* (Ger. *Wendes*: Martinet 1987: 109).

The name of *Veneti* probably derives from the term **G^wauanas*, through a process (**G^wauanas* > **G^wuanas* > **Hunel/das* > **Unel/das* > **Venel/das*) that left an intermediate attestation in the name of the Romanian district *Hunedoara* (< **Hunedarum*) of the city of Sarmizegeteusa, mentioned in the first parte of this study. The Italic **G^waulatanas*, the *Latins*, crossing the Adriatic *Veneti* territory, settled among Italic **Sg^wetas* in a region that from them was called **G^waulatan* or

*G^waulatia *Sg^wetas, whence Lat. *Latium Vetus*. An attestation of the term *G^waulatia remains in the name of the city of *Collatia*, located nearly 5 km east of Rome.

Celts, Gauls, and Galatians

Reached central and Alpine Europe, *G^waulatas merged with *Hubaras and the previously immigrated *Swag^wautas, and later with *G^waulg^waunas and a few *Thyrg^waunas people, also absorbing the sparse original tribes of depigmented Sinanthropoids and giving rise to a people who would evolve over the centuries, acquiring morphological (scarcely pigmented Caucasoid), linguistic, and cultural homogeneity. In the course of time their name underwent alteration of the root vowel with alternate resolution of labiovelar. *G^waulas became Κέλαι (Strabo: IV, 6, 3; Plutarchus: *Themistocles and Camillus*, 15) or Κελτοί (Herodotus: II, 33; *Celts*, with unvoiced velar), name under which the Greek colonists of *Μασσάλια* (< *Mor-g^waulia, *Marseille*) originally called the hinterland inhabitants (Villar 2011: 443). However, Romans knew them as *Galli* (Caesar, < *G^waulas, with voiced velar, *Gauls*) and Greeks themselves at the time of the back flow towards the Balkan region of the third century BC knew them as Γαλάται (Strabo: XII, 5, 1; < *G^waulatas, *Galatians*).

Among the Gaulish tribes we can find traces of *Swag^wautas in the name of *Bituriges* (< *Sg^wytarajas, kings of all *Swag^wautas, ie of the world), *Caletes* (< *G^waulatas), *Gabali* (< *G^waug^wauli), *Vellavi* and *Volcae* (< *G^waulg^waunas) and in the name *Casses* or *Caru* (< *G^wautas) that we can find in compounds as *Boiocasses* (< *G^wauag^wautas), *Veliocasses* (< *G^waulag^wautas), *Cassivelauni* or *Catuvelauni* (< *G^wauag^waulanas) and *Caturiges* (< *G^wautarajas, kings of *G^wautas*). Among the *Aquitanian* tribes we can find similar traces in the name of *Cocosates* (< *G^waug^wausatas), *Gati* (< *G^wautas) and *Vocati* (< *G^waug^wautas), among *Belgae* (see below) in the name of *Bellovaci* (< *G^waulag^waugas).

In the first half of the first millennium BC *Celts* diffused through the current France and, crossing the Pyrenees Mountains and the English Channel, ventured into Spain and Britain, respectively. In Spain *Celts* probably settled separately from *Hubaras (*Iberians*) and *Gausgaunas (*Basques*), while in Britain merged with *G^wumbras, *Sg^welytas, and *G^waul/Thyrg^waunas who were previously immigrated in the island.

Tyrsini and Volsini

At the beginning of the migration process that culminated in the great migration of the XII and XIII century BC *Thyrg^waunas were driven by eastern peoples to flow back into the territory of *G^waulg^waunas. In China *Thyrg^waunas, nomad cow breeders, had come in contact with culturally more advanced peoples. They had probably learned arts such as the ornamental metal manufacturing, morass drainage and perhaps writing. Flowed back among the roughest *G^waulg^waunas, with some of them they created a confederation of peoples speaking different languages, over which they took the power, although they were a minority. In the course of the migration process, the confederation or some of its tribes (probably called *Mykg^waunas, as we already mentioned) reached Anatolia, the Balkan region, and the Alpine area. When it arrived in Central Europe, the labiovelar g^w, as mentioned in the first part of this study, was resulted in voiced dental d, also aspirated z, or voiced sibilant s in the *Thyrg^waunas language and in voiced labial b, also aspirated v, in the *G^waulg^waunas one.

From the Alps the confederation of *Tyrsini* (Greek-Latin translation of Etr. *Tyrzna < *Thyrg^waunas, from which also the endonyms Etr. *Tarchnas* and *Tarzna > *Rzna > Razna) and *Volsini* (Latin translation of Etr. *Velzna* < *G^waulg^waunas) descended on Italy settling among the descendants of *G^wumbras, *Sg^welytas, and *G^waulatanas as far as in Campania. We can find traces of *Thyras/*Thyrg^waunas passing through the Alpine area in the names of *Tyrol* (< *Tyrol*; Kühbacher 1991: 470-471) and *Kanton Thurgau* (< *Thyrg^waus) in Switzerland. We have an

additional evidence in the Alpine people of *Reti* (< **Reza* < **Rezna* < **Rzna*; cf. Etr. *Razna*), for language and customs similar to *Tyrsini*.

It is probable that *Tyrsini* arrived as the last on the Italian soil pursuing *Volsini*. The latter, who in their language probably identified themselves by names like **Volvoni*, **Bolboni*, **Bolzoni*, and similar, stopped in lands most suitable for cow breeding, while the former headed for the commercial ports and towards the marshes, the “maremme”, which they could transform into fertile lands thanks to the drainage techniques they had learned and developed in China. In historical age *Tyrsini* appear to be settled mainly by the Tuscan coast and on the border between Tuscany, Lazio and Umbria, while *Volsini* in the surrounding areas and Padania. We can find evidence of *Tyrsini* for example in the names of the cities of *Tarquiniā* (< **Thyrg^Wauñā*), *Perugia* (Lat. *Perusia* < **Pherhusia* < **Theighusia* < **Thyrg^Wausia*), *Sarsina* and *Sarzana* (< **Sarzna* < **Targhana* < **Thyrg^Wauñā*), and in the *Tarquini* lineage and *Tyrrhenian* Sea. We can instead find attestations of **G^Waulg^Wauñas* and *Swag^Wautic* (Indo-European) language speaking tribes in the names of the cities of the axis *Bolzano*, *Bologna* (Etr. *Velzna*, Lat. *Felsina*), *Bolsena* (Etr. *Velzna*, Lat. *Volsini*) and of the cities of *Vulci* (< **G^Waulg^Wauñas*), *Veii* (< **G^Wauñas*), and *Populonia* (Utr. *Pupluna* or *Fuflana*, from the name of God *Fufluns*, metathesis of *Fulfians* < **G^Waulg^Wauñas*, *Galvano*; from **G^Waulg^Wauñas* also Ger. *Volk*, Lat. *populus* > Lat. *Populonia*). We have evidence of both **Thyrg^Wauñas* and **G^Waulg^Wauñas* (or **G^Waulg^Wauñas*, *Volsci*) in the name of the cities of *Volterra* (Lat. *Volaterrae*, Etr. *Velathri*, < **G^Waulathyras*), *Feltre* (Lat. *Feltria*, Etr. *Felthuri*, *Velhavre* < **G^Waulathyras*), *Velletri* (Lat. *Velitiae*, Etr. *Veltri*, *Velthri* < **G^Waulathyras*), and maybe *Kainua* (< **G^Wauñā*, *Marzabotto*).

The city of *Ravenna*, on the northwestern coast of the Adriatic Sea, was founded, as we said, by *Tyrsini*, who left to the city their endonym *Razna* (< **Arzna* < **Tarzna* < **Thyrg^Wauñā*). The city then passed to *Volsini*, who pronounced the name as *Rabona* or *Rabenna*, having changed in their language the labiovelar *g^W* into labial *b*. The memory of these events was confused by the time of Strabo (Strabo: V, 1, 7), which reports that the city of *Ravenna* was founded by *Thessalians* (< **Thyrg^Waulas*). These, unable to suffer the outrages of neighbour *Tyrrhenians* (*Τυρρηνοί* < **Thyrg^Wauñas*), left the city to the *Umbrians*. Actually, it was precisely the *Tyrrhenians* or *Tyrsini* to found the city, as a port for trade with **Thyrg^Wauñas* from eastern Mediterranean Sea (**D/S/Tardanas*). But when probably the roughest *Volsini* occupied with their herds the land close to the city, *Tyrsini* moved towards the *Tyrrhenian* coast, leaving the territories previously occupied partly to *Volsini* themselves and partly to *Umbrians*. It is probable that on the *Tyrrhenian* coast *Tyrsini* found commercial colonies already founded by merchants of related populations coming from Anatolia and Syria through stopovers on the African and Sardinian coasts. It is possible that the *Tarquini* (Etr. *Tarchnas*) lineage, in whose name the labiovelar *g^W* results in aspirated labial *ch*, descended from western **Thyrg^Wauñas*, arrived in Italy during the great migration process before the eastern ones (Etr. *Razna*), or even migrated by sea as Anatolian colonists (cf. **Tarhunas*).

The names of the tribes and cities were variously pronounced in the different confederation dialects. From the alternation of **Thyrsumas* and **Thyrghunas* (whence Etr. *Tarchnas*) the term **Thyrsk-as* originated, whence later Lat. *Tuscus* and Lat. *Etruscus* (probably with an additional eponymous *e* preceding **Thrskas* < **Thyrskas*). Of the *Volsini* cities we know the Latin names derived from the *Tyrsinian* ones, while the current names are often derived from the *Volsinian* names. For example, we know the Latin name *Felsina* from Etr. *Velzna*, but the corresponding *Volsinian* one had to be **Bolbona* and **Bolwona* (whence later *Bol'ona*, *Bolonia* and *Bologna*, with a not survived Roman reinterpretation as *Bononia*).

Of the common origins of *Etruscans* (< **Thyrg^Wauñas*) and *Scythians* (< **Swag^Wautnas*) we find an evidence in the foundation myths. In the *Etruscan* one the divination art and rituals are in fact revealed to the eponymous *Tarchunus* or *Tarchon* (< **Thyrg^Wauñā*) by a being named *Tarchies* (< **Thyrg^Waus*, Lat. *Targes-Targetis* or *Tages-Tagetis*; Cicero: 2, 23; eponymous deity), whose name recalls that of *Targitaos*, the *Scythian* progenitor, to whose sons gold symbols of arts and social divisions appeared from the sky.

In Italy *Volsini* found populations closely related in language and customs. With them they often allied against *Tyrsini*. The history of Ancient Rome shows how the alternate coalitions of *G^waulg^wauanas, *G^waulatanas, *Sg^welytas, and *G^wumbras gradually neutralised the cultural superiority of *Tyrsini*. At the time of the foundation and first expansion of Rome, the *Etruscan* confederations had incorporated the previously immigrated Italic peoples, but the contrast between **Thyras* e *G^waulas remained alive until the *Etruscan* surrender to the Rome power. The names of the *Etruscans* handed down by the history betray the membership of the different factions. *Aulus* and *Caelius Vibenna* (Etr. *Aule* and *Caile Vipina* < *G^waulas *Swag^wauanas) probably had a *Sabine* origin and sided with *Volsini*, while *Lars Porsena* (Etr. *Pursena* < *Phyrse^wna < *Thyr^wg^wauana; cf. Etr. -sena with Celt. -bona) with *Tyrsini*.

By Romans (Livius: IV, 25) we are informed that the representatives of the Etruscan peoples congregated at the *Fanum Voltumnae* (temple of *Voltumna* or *Voltumnus*). Actually, by the name we can infer that, at least in origin, it was a sacred place for *Volsini* and the people related to them. We can in fact derive the name *Voltumna* from *g^waula-tamanas, by analogy with Gr. τέμενος (“delimited place”, “sacred place”, meaning the Lat. *sacrum* and *sacellum*), or even from *g^waulata-samanas by analogy with Lat. *omnes* (all). The “sacred place for all *G^waulas or *G^waulatas” was venerated by these as home of a deity that joined different peoples, deity that became the god of the variety and change during the Roman age.

Belgae, Frisii, Prussians, Fergusians and Caledonians

While Etruscans descended on Italy, other tribes of *Thyr^wg^wauanas and *G^waulg^wauanas headed along the *Rhine* river to the North Sea. We already observed that the name of Danes can have a *Thyr^wg^wauana origin. The presence of *Thyr^wg^wauanas by the North Sea finds an attestation also in the name of the old *Frisians* (Lat. *Frisii* < *Phrysi^w < *Thyr^wg^was < *Thyr^wg^wauanas, cf. *Phrygians*) and probably in the name of the *Thy* district or *Thysysse*l in northwestern Jutland, while that of *G^waulg^wauanas in the name of the old *Belgians* (Lat. *Belgae* < *G^waulg^wauanas) and some of the mentioned Celtic tribes. Moreover, by the Baltic Sea too we can find traces of *Thyr^wg^wauanas in the name of the old *Prussians* (Lat. *Pruteni*, Lith. *Prūsai* < *Phrysa^w < *Thyr^wg^was < *Thyr^wg^wauanas), who later underwent the influence of *Baltic* peoples. We can also find and traces of *G^waulg^wauanas in the name of primitive *Burgundians* (Lat. *Burgundii* or *Burgundiones* < *G^waulg^wauanatas or *G^waulg^wauang^wauanas, cf. Bologna family name *Borgonzoni*). The name of *Rhine* river itself (Lat. *Rhenus*, also the Italian homonymous one named *Ragn* in Bologna dialect, cf. Etr. *Razna*) probably derives from *Thyr^wg^wauanas (> *Rg^wauanas > *Khenas > *Rhenus*: cf. *Rhesos* river in Anatoly).

At the end of the second millennium BC *G^waulg^wauanas and probably a minor part of *Thyr^wg^wauanas from the North Sea coast crossed the English Channel and diffused in Britain among the populations of *Sg^welytas, *G^wumbras, and *Hubratanas. In Britain we find testimony of *G^waulg^wauanas in the name of the *Arthurian* cycle hero *Gaulgarnus-Gwalchmei-Gawain-Galvano-Walewein*, who was son of *Morgause*, sister of *Morgaine* and half-sister of King *Arthur Pendragon*. In these names we find recalls to cow breeders by the sea (*mor-g^wauan/sas*) and also to *Thyr^wg^wauanas (*Thyr^wthyras > *Tar^wthyras > *Arthur*; *G^wauana *Thyr^wg^wauanas > *Ghona *Thairghonas > *Ken *Thraigon > *Pen Draig* or *Pendragon*), people half-brother of *G^waulg^wauanas.

In the same period, *Thyr^wg^wauanas from the Danish peninsula moved to Scandinavia pressing *Scani*, *Scati*, *Sveti*, and *Goths* to the east and diffused along the coast of Norway. Hence they moved to Scotland and Ireland. Geoffrey of Monmouth (Monmouth: II, 1) reports a reinterpretation according to which the mentioned Humber river take name from an homonymous king of the *Huns*, landed at Scotland around 1000 BC and subsequently drowned in the river while retreating from an incursion in Loegria. The same author mentions a later king of the *Huns* named *Gwanius* (< of *G^wauanas = *Hunas) hired together with the king of the *Picts* *Melega* by Emperor *Gratian* (late fourth century)

against the Briton Maximian (Monmouth: V. 16). It is possible that these *Huns* were actually *Thyrg^w *au*nas settled between Ireland and Scotland. In this area we find in fact the *Fergus* (< *Thyrg^w *au*s) dynasty (Gael. *Uí Fergusa*), that gave kings to *Picts* (*Causantín Mc I'ergusa*) and *Dál Riata* (*Fergus Mór Mc Eirc*). An additional testimony of *Thyrg^w *au*nas in Scotland is probably given by Ptolemy (Ptolemaeus: II, 20) who mentions in this area the people of *Taexali* or *Taezali* (*Tαῖξάλοι* or *Tαιζάλοι*), whose name, as that of *Thessalians*, can be derived from *Thyrg^w *au*las. It is possible that the name of *Caledonians*, a confederation of tribes of *Picts* who lived in Scotland in pre-Roman and Roman times, derives from *G^w *au*latanas (> *Galatanas > Lat. *Caledones* or *Caledonii*). However, considering, the presence of the suffix *-dones* in the name of a people who lived in a land also populated by *Thyrg^w *au*nas, it is more probable that the term *Caledones* is an exonym that in the *Thyrg^w *au*na language indicated the tribes of *G^w *au*lg^w *au*nas (> *G^w *au*lag^w *au*nas > *Galadonas > *Caledones*). It is also possible that it derives from the confusion and mix of the names *Galatanas and *Galadonas by which the Indo-European speaking tribes were indicated.

It is probable that the language of *Thyrg^w *au*nas contributed to the formation of the Germanic one, mainly in the central and southeastern Europe more than in the Scandinavian area. In fact, we have already observed that the Germanic shift from *k* to *h* can be derived from the tendency of *Thyrg^w *au*nas and their descendants to mute or aspirate the velars. Also the plural form ending in *-ar*, which is characteristic of the Etruscan language, can have influenced the Germanic plural forms (cf. Old Norse *Gutar* or *Gotar*, Goths).

Boii and Senones

Also in Central-European and Alpine area, as in Italic *Volsini*, in the name of *G^w *au*lag^w *au*nas or *G^w *au*lag^w *au*nas the change of labiovelar to labial no more aspirated occurred and is attested together with the contraction of the diphthong *au* to *o*, previously occurred in the region around *Volga* river. Actually, in that area **Bolboni* (< *G^w *au*lag^w *au*nas) and **Tarsenar* (< *Thyrg^w *au*nas) were probably distinguished by the way they changed and pronounce in their own dialects the labiovelar *g^w*, and then indicated as **Boni* (< *G^w *au*nas) or *Boii* (< *G^w *au*nas) and **Senar* (< *G^w *au*nas), omitting suffixes **Bol-* and **Tar-*.

In the course of time the people of **Senar*, in Central and Alpine Europe even less numerous than in Padania, assimilated the language of **Boni*. It is probable that at the time of the descending on Italy, at the beginning of the fourth century BC, **Boni* and **Senar* constituted an only people, for which the Etruscans still felt a strong affinity. *Volsini* and *Tyrsini* distinguished them with the most familiar name. In the *Volsinian* area, particularly in Emilia, they were called **Boni* or *Boii*, while in the *Tyrsinian* area, between Romagna, Tuscany and Marche, they were distinguished as **Inar* or **Senar* and the city in which they settled was called *Sena*, just like a *Tyrsinian* city (cf. *Ce-sena*).

Romans knew them first (fourth century BC) as *Senones* (< *G^w *au*nanas; Livius: V, 34) through the *Tyrsini* of Chiusi. But later (second century BC) in Emilia they knew them as *Boii* (Livius: XXXIII, 37), *Boni* or *Bonomi* and called *Bonomia* (< *G^w *au*nania > *Senonia*) the area where this people were mainly settled, which *Volsini*, as we said, and **Bolboni* called **Volvonina*, **Bolbonia*, **Bobwonina* and similarly (> **Bol'onia* > *Bologna*; also by analogy with *G^w *au*lonia > *Boulogne*, *Boulogne sur Mer*, *Boulogne sur Seine*, *Bolonia*).

From *Boii* the names of *Bohemia* (Lat. *Boiohaemum*; cf. Ger. *Heim*, Eng. *home*, Gr. *κομη*) and *Bavaria* (< *G^w *au*aterum) derive, from *Senones* the names of the city of *Senigallia* in Italy and *Seine* river in France.

Oenotrians, Peucetians, and Morgetians

As we saw, at the end of the third millennium BC the area between the Black Sea and the southern Adriatic Sea was inhabited by tribes of **Swag^w *au*tas*, **Swag^w *au*nas*, and **Swag^w *au*las*, who also

were distinguished by the abbreviated names *G^waulas, *G^waunas, *G^waulas and derived. At the beginning of the second millennium BC. *Sicels* (Lat. *Siculi* < *Swag^waulas) and *Sicani* (< *Swag^waunas) were pressed from *Thessalians* (< *Thyrg^waulas) and relatives to cross the Otranto Strait and settle in southern Italy, where they cohabited with *Bruttii*, *Calabri*, *Ausonones*, and *Osci*, while other tribes of *Swag^waulas descended on Greece. The migration flow to these regions continued for most of the millennium, as a consequence of the process that culminated in the great migration of the XII and XIII century BC.

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dionysius: I, 11, 1-4), *Calabria* was inhabited by *Arcadian* colonists, who first among the Greeks crossed the Ionian Gulf being led by *Oenotrus*, begot by King *Lycæon* (grandson of a former *Lycæon*) 17 generations before the Trojan War. *Oenotrus* left with his brother *Peuceilus* and others of his people. *Peuceilus* settled over the *Iapygian* promontory, while *Oenotrus* headed for the sea west of Italy, said *Ausonium* from *Ausones* that had inhabited its coast. Citing Antiochus of Syracuse, Dionysius of Halicarnassus also reports (Dionysius: I, 12, 3) that the *Oenotri* descendants, initially called *Oenotrians*, later were ruled by King *Italus*, whence the name of old *Italians* (Lat. *Itali*, Greek *Ἰταῖοι*), and then King *Morgetes*, whence the name of *Morgetians* (Lat. *Morgetes*, Greek *Μόργητες*). *Morgetes* hosted *Sicelus*, who create its own kingdom. The genealogy of *Calabrians*, reported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and integrated by other historians (Strabo: VI, 1, 5-6; Josephus 94: I, 6, 1), reflects the succession of peoples who inhabited the ancient Calabria: *Ausones* or *Ascanaxes*, *Oenotrians*, *Peuceilians*, *Itali*, *Morgetians*, *Sicels*.

The *Arcadia*, from which *Oenotrus* and *Peuceilus* came according to Dionysius, was not the historical Peloponnesian region, but a northern Balkan area where Hellenic peoples settled before descending on the southern peninsula through subsequent waves (Villar 2011: 559). Therefore the two brothers symbolise relative peoples who reached Italy through the Otranto Strait before the descending of *Itali* (< *Sg^wytuli < *Sg^wytas). The names can be connected with those of *Veneti* (< *Hunetas < *G^waunatas) and the Danube isle of *Peuce* (< *Kaukas < *G^waug^waus) and lead to assume that *Oenotrians* and *Peuceilians* belonged to the Latin-Venetic-Dacian-Baltic branch. The name of *Oenotrians* can also be derived from *G^waunathyras (> *Hauunatras > *Oenotrus) and refer to a mixed people of *G^waulg^waunas and *Thyrg^waunas, as attested in the Balkan area. The recurrence of the name *Lycæon* in the genealogy and the passage through territories later known by names such as *Albania* (cf. Old Pers. *varka*) and *Lucania* (cf. Gr. *Λύκοι*) lead to think that *Oenotrian* and *Peuceilian* tribes were descendants of *Swag^waulas *varkanax*. The name of *Morgetians* (Lat. *Mor-getes* < *Mor-g^waulas) probably means "Getae of the sea", perhaps *Cimmerians* (< *G^waula-maras) chased out of the Black Sea or Getae who crossed the Adriatic Sea more recently.

Achaean, Ionians, Aeolians, Hellenes, Dorians, and Danaans

In Greece *Swag^waulas came through subsequent migration waves since the beginning of the second millennium BC, overlapping the population who lived there, derived from a mixture of primitive sinanthropoids, Anatolic *Parsthas, and *Iubaras (Iberians). The presence of *Iubaras in northern Greece is attested by the name of *Evros* river (Gr. *Ἐβρος*, Lat. *Hebrus*). The pre-Hellenic population was indicated by the historians with the name *Pelasgians* (*Πελασγοί*; Herodotus: I, 57), that originally referred instead, as we saw, to the tribes of *G^waulas. The various tribes with which *Swag^waulas came into contact called them by different names: *Achaean*s (Gr. *Ἀχαιοί*; Herodotus: I, 145; < *Ἀχαιοί* < *Ag^wauai < *G^wausg^waus or *Swag^waulas), *Ionians* (Gr. *Ἴωνες*; Herodotus: I, 28; < *Yaunas* < *G^waunas), *Aeolians* (Gr. *Αἰολέες*; Herodotus: I, 28; < *G^waulas), *Hellenes* (*Ἕλληνες*; Herodotus: II, 1; < *G^waulanas; see also *Geloni* and *Alani* in the next section).

The name of *Achaean*s was recognized in the term *Ahhiyawa* reported in *Hittite* texts of the thirteenth BC (Forrer 1928; Finkelberg 1988). Homer in the *Iliad* uses the term *Ἀχαιοί* (Homer: II,

row 123) to indicate the *Mycenaeans* (< *Mykg^w *aunas*) and the term *Ἕλληνες* (Homer: II, row 684) to refer to the inhabitants of Thessaly, the territory where originally *Aeolians* were settled. The general name *Hellenes* (< *G^w *aulanas*) was in fact derived from that of *Aeolians* (*G^w *aulas*) through the process *G^w *aulas* > *G^w *aulān* (country of *G^w *aulas*) > *G^w *aulanas* (from the country of *G^w *aulas*).

The name of *Ionians* appears in the Knossos tables (Xd 146) dating back to the period between 1400 and 1200 BC, under the form *lawone*. Homer in the *Iliad* calls the *Ionians* as *Ἴωνες* (Homer: XIII, row 685). The Jews knew them as *Yawan* (*Genesis*: 10, 2), the Assyrians as *launāia* (Foley 2005: 294). Persians indicated *Ionians* of Asia Minor simply as *Yauna* (Szemerényi 1980: 11-14), the Greeks of the motherland as “*Yauna paradraya*” (“*Ionians* beyond the sea”), and *Macedonians* (< *Mik-g^w *aunas*) as “*Yauna takabara*” (“*Ionians* with overhead shields”). According to Herodotus (Herodotus: VIII, 73), at its time the only *Ionian* tribe who still lived in Peloponnesus was that of *Cinuri* (*Κυνούριοι*). This name is probably derived from a more archaic **Kounóριοι* that can be connected to the forms **G^w aunaryas*-**G^w aunamaras*, from which also the name of *Cimmerians* can be derived. Herodotus also says that *Ionians* and *Aeolians* were previously called *Pelassgians*. In fact, as we saw, the *Ionians* and *Aeolians* who stayed in the territories occupied by *Thessalians* and relatives were originally indicated by the names **G^w aunasthas* and **G^w aulasthas*, later *Penastae* and *Pelassgians*.

Dorians arrived in Greece probably towards the end of the second millennium BC. The name of *Dorians* (Gr. *Δωριεῖς*; Strabo: VIII, 6, 16) probably derives from that of their eponymous ancestor *Dorus* (Gr. *Δῶρος*; Pseudo-Apollodorus: I, 7, 3), which in turn can result from a more archaic **Ἄδωλος* or **Ἄδωνος* (cf. Gr. *δῶρον* < Lat. *donum*), terms that can be derived from **G^w aulās* and **G^w aunas* through the phonetic change of labiovelar to dental which is characteristic of the **Thyrg^w aunas* language. Therefore, *Dorians* could be a tribe belonging to the people of **Sardanas* or to the mixed one of *Mygdones*, that during the migrations of Sea Peoples crossed the Greece and settled in Peloponnesus.

From **Thyrg^w aunas* also the name *Danaans* (Gr. *Δαναοί*) comes, which indicated the descendants of *Danaus*. In the *Iliad* the term is used as a synonym of *Argives* (*Ἀργεῖοι*) and *Achaeans* (*Ἀχαιοί*). According to the myth reported by Pseudo-Apollodorus (Pseudo-Apollodorus: II, 1, 4-5) *Danaus* was the grandson of Poseidon and Libya, who had two sons, of whom Belus ruled Egypt and Agenor moved to Phoenicia, where he became king. Belus had two twin sons, of whom *Danaus* was set to rule Libya and Aegyptus to govern Arabia. After Aegyptus subjugated the territory to which he gave his name, *Danaus*, by the advice of Athena, built as the first a ship on which, together with his fifty daughters, reached Rhodes and then Argos. Here the reigning king *Gelanor* (< **G^w aulanar*) surrendered the kingdom to him and the inhabitants were then called *Danaans*. According to Aeschylus (Aeschylus) *Danaus* was accepted in Argos by the king *Pelastus* (< **Pelastha* < **G^w aulastha*), who had taken the decision after consulting with the popular assembly. According to Pausanias (Pausanias: 2, 16, 1 and 2, 19, 3-4) *Danaus* came to Argos to claim the throne against *Gelanor*, son of *Sthenelas*. The people chose *Danaus* as king after seeing a wolf fight and win a bull leading a cow herd and interpreting what happened as premonition of the victory of the foreigner over the leader of Argos. Pliny the Elder (Plinius: VII, 56, 16) points out that *Danaus* was the first to sail with a ship, whereas previously rafts were used which had been invented by King Erythras to pass from one island to another in the Red Sea.

In the myth of Danaus many elements appear condensed and confused, that lead to think that *Danaans* belonged to the people of **T/D/Sardanus*. Like these, in fact, *Danaus* sails following long routes between Libya and the Aegean coasts. Moreover, he settles in the lands of **Pelasthas* and **Penasthas*, who were sedentary **G^w aulās* and **G^w aunas*, symbolised by *Pelastus* and *Sthenelas* (also cf. *Mene-laus* and *Plei-sthenes* with Indo-European roots *malen* and *stha*). The wolf and the bull actually symbolise Argos (cf. Old Pers. *varka* and Lat. *albus*, see first part) and **Tarhumas* and then the conflict between **G^w aulg^w aunas* and **Thyrg^w aunas*, between **Mykwenas* (*Mycenaeans*) and **Mykdonas* (*Mygdones*). Therefore, it is possible that the names *Dorians* and *Danaans*

originally referred to the same people of **Thyrg^Wauanas* penetrated by land and sea at the end of the second millennium BC in the Greece inhabited by **G^Waulg^Wauanas* and represent a case of Greek language characteristic double (Villar 2011: 556).

BACKFLOWS

The expansion of Mongolian peoples, as we saw, led most of the eastward migrated **Swag^Wautas* to flow back to the original land and was probably the cause of the migrations to India and Europe. Also from Central Europe **Swag^Wautas* continually flowed back towards Black Sea and Caspian Sea. Actually, the **Swag^Wautas* migrated to Europe remained in contact with their original country through the merchants traveling along Danube and Borysthenes rivers and carrying goods and news. The gradual overcrowding of Central Europe, compared to the availability of pastures for large cow herds and to the deforestation capabilities by the time, led **Swag^Wautas* to migrate to peripheral areas and often to flow back to previously unattractive areas that had remained less populated.

Galatians

Celts, having ventured into Spain and across the English Channel in the first half of the first millennium BC and already moved southwards to Italy in the fourth century BC, in the following century flowed back along the Danube to Thrace. Thence, known as *Galatians*, (Lat. *Galatae*; Plinius: V, 42; Gr. *Γαλάται*; Strabo: XII, 5, 1; < **G^Waulatias*). they passed to Anatolia (Strabo: XII, 5, 2), territory that a millennium before had welcomed the *Cimmerian* exiles. In Anatolia they constituted the kingdom of *Galatia*, that was incorporated into the Roman Empire towards the middle of the first century BC. It is possible that the names of the *Galatian* tribes ending in *-sages*, such as *Tectosages* and *Rigosages*, are connected to Celt. *segos* (Ger. *Sieg*, victory), but it is more probable that they refer to **Swag^Wau(t)as*. (cf. Gr. *-σάγ(ε)ται*)

Cimbri, Teutons, and Ambrones

Along the North Sea and Scandinavia coasts, the worsening of the weather conditions and probably the gradual arrival of new **Thyrg^Wauanas* tribes in the second half of the first millennium BC increased the backflow of the peoples previously immigrated. Towards the end of the second century BC, *Cimbri* and *Teutons* who lived in the Danish peninsula flowed back towards Bohemia and Noricum (in central Austria, Bavaria, Eastern Alps and Slovenia) and thence, led by *Boiorix* (= *king of Boii*), wandered about Gaul and tried unsuccessfully to penetrate Italy (Strabo: VII, 2, 2). It is possible that the name of *Teutons* (Lat. *Teutones*) is simply connected to Proto-Ger. **theud* (Old. Sax. **thiod*, Old Eng. **theod*, people) and generally indicated some peoples who lived in the Danish peninsula and followed *Cimbri* in their backflow southwards. However, it is more probable that the terms *Teutones* and **theud* derive from **Thyrdones* (< **Thyrg^Wauanas*) as well as Lat. *Vulgus* (> **Vuglus* > Lat. *Poplus*, Lat. *Populus*) and Ger. *Volk* derive from **G^Waulg^Wauanas*. The term **theud* and **waulg* were probably used in the border areas to distinguish the **Thyrg^Wauanas* from **G^Waulg^Wauanas* tribes. We already observed that **Thyrg^Wauanas* can have contributed to the formation of the German language and to the Germanisation of the Scandinavian countries. It is important to notice that the descendants of the Germanic peoples pronounce the *r* briefly and in a guttural or palatal manner, as in French, German or English. This tendency explains the transformation of **Thyrdones* in **Thydones* and **Theudones* (cf. **Thyrg^Waulas* > *Θεσσαλοι*). Therefore, *Teutons* were tribes of **Thyrg^Wauanas* that accompanied in the southwards backflow *Cimbri/Cambri*, whom in their language they called **(H)kimbri*, whence Lat. *Ambrones*.

Visigoths and Ostrogoths

In the last centuries of the first millennium BC, *Goths* crossed the Baltic Sea and settled at the mouth of Vistula river in the territory inhabited by the Baltic people of Aesti. Hence, following Vistula river upstream and Borysthènes downstream, they began to flow back into the lands of *Getae* and *Scythians* (Jordanes: IV. 25-27). Quickly they subdued the local population and acquired the control of the territory north of Black Sea and the Danube mouth, whence they performed expeditions in the neighboring lands to procure goods and slaves.

The *Goths* tribes who settled in the west (*Getia*) constituted the group of *Thervingi*, later identified with *Visigoths*, those who settled in the east (*Scythia*) formed the group of *Greuthungi*, later remembered as *Ostrogoths* (Schreiber 1981: 75). At the beginning of the fifth century *Visigoths* flowed back along the Danube area to Central Europe again, sacked Italy, settled in Aquitaine and then penetrate into Spain. Towards the middle of the same century also *Ostrogoths* flowed to Central Europe, initially following the incursion and the retreat of *Huns*, then settling in Pannonia, and finally taking the control over Italy.

It is probable that the Germanic language was formed when *Goths* still lived in Scandinavia or during the first settlements along the Vistula, by contact with peoples descending from **Swag^wautas* and sinanthropoids speaking Uralic and Altaic languages, undergoing the direct influence of the Greek or languages having a Proto-Hellenic substrate. However, it is also likely, that the language of *Goths*, when they initially arrived in the lands of *Getae* and *Scythians*, was still close enough to the local dialects to denounce a common origin of *Goths* and *Getae*. Otherwise, the awareness of a common origin may have maintained over the centuries through trade and cultural contacts between the two peoples. Such awareness was still alive at the time of Jordanes, secretary at the Constantinople court in the sixth century, who narrated the migration of *Goths* from Scandinavia in his work concerning the *Getae* origin and acts (Jordanes 551).

Alans and Geloni

By the Black Sea, *Goths* came into contact with *Alans* (Lat. *Halani*; Marcellinus: XXXI, 12; and *Alani*; Plinius: IV, 7, 29; Gr. *Alavoi*; Josephus 75: VII, 7, 4; and *Alavovoi*; Ptolemaeus: II, 12, 2). With them, towards the end of the third century, they raided in Anatolia, whence they were later driven out by the Byzantine Emperor Tacitus. Like *Alans*, in the fourth century, *Goths* became servants of *Huns*. *Alans* allied with *Visigoths* against *Romans* at the Battle of Adrianople in the fourth century and with *Visigoths* and *Romans* against *Ostrogoths* and *Huns* at the Battle of *Catalaunian* fields in the fifth century.

The name of *Alans* appears for the first time in the first century in the reports of the incursions of this people against the Roman Empire (Lucanus: VIII) and against the kingdoms of Armenia and Media (Josephus 75: VII, 8, 4). In the same period the Chinese chronicles (Fan: 88, 19) report that the kingdom of Yanciai ("great steppe") had assumed the name of *Alanliao*. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (Marcellinus: XXIII, 5, 16 and XXXI, 2, 12) and Dio Cassius (Dio: I.XIX, 15, 1) the *Alans* were descendants of *Massagetae*.

Some scholars (Szemerényi 1980: 22; Klapproth 1822; Tomaschek 1888-1889) believe that the name *Alani* derives from the term *Aryani* (*Aryans*) or *Irani* (*Iranians*). However these ethnonyms are derived from toponyms (Sans. *Aryau* and Aves. *Airyau*, respectively) in turn derived from ethnonyms (Sans. *Arya* and Aves. *Airya*, respectively, inflected to plural genitive). While in India (*Aryāvarta*) and Iran (*Airyān vaējō*) we find toponyms of this kind since the second millennium BC, in the territories occupied by *Alani* and *Massagetae* the term *Iron* (name of an Ossetian district and its dialect) appears only in the Middle Ages as a result of migrations from Persia (Nasidze et al. 2004).

It would be more reliable to assume that the name of *Alans* derives from that of *Albanians* (Lat. *Albani* (Plinius Secundus: VI, 15, 3; Gr. *Alfavoi*; Strabo: XXI, 4, 1), which, like that of

Hyrcanians, can be traced back to *Swag^Wautas varkanas.. However, based on the information provided by Chinese chronicles, it is more likely that the term *Halani* derives from *G^Waulonas. In fact, *Massagetae*, breeders of large herds, were probably called *G^Waulanas more reasonably than their relatives when the term *Swag^Wautas lost its original meaning. The people of the great steppe changed so gradually its name until they were called *Gjalana*. The use of term derived from *G^Waulas and *G^Waulanas to indicate *Scythian* peoples is attested by Herodotus (Herodotus: IV, 108, 2) reporting about the people of *Gelani* (Gr. Γελανοί < *G^Waulanas), believed to be originally Hellenes (< *G^Waulanas).

Slavs

From *Scythians* enslaved by *Goths*, from *Huns* also minorly integrated with other peoples having sinanthropoid and *Swag^Wautas origins, and from *Goths* themselves, it is probable that the *Slavic* people was originated. The name Σκυθιστῆς (Procopius: I, 27), by which the Greeks indicated *Slavs*, can in fact be derived from the term *Σκυθολαβείς, composed of Σκύθοι (*Scythians*) and λαβή (capture, catch, from verb λαμβάνω). The *Slavic* language is attested only since the ninth century BC (Villar 2011: 418) by the translation of the Bible by Cyril and Methodius to the *Slavic* dialect spoken in Thrace. The fact that the dialect spoken in an area on the *Slavic* settlement border was understandable to all the *Slavic* peoples that the two missionaries evangelized, testifies that at that time the *Slavic* language was still very uniform. The *Slavic* people should therefore have been formed in a relatively limited area in the first centuries of the Christian era.

The nucleus from which the *Slavic* language developed was probably a Daco-Scythian koiné. An evidence of the Dacian language some toponyms, loan words to the Romanian and very short inscriptions remain. It was probably an intermediate language among Baltic, Venetic-Latin and Scythian. When Romans conquered Dacia, a part of the local population probably moved to the territories of Scythians, giving rise with the latter to trade and cultural exchanges that led to the formation of a common language. The new cities founded in Dacia were populated mainly by Roman colonists and merchants speaking Latin, language sufficiently understandable to the local population, that, mostly retired to the countryside, continued to speak Dacian or assumed the Dacian-Scythian Proto-Slavic koiné. While Dacian evolved into Proto-Slavic and still was spoken by the less cultured classes, Latin was used for the province administration and commercial and cultural exchanges with the rest of the Roman Empire. This explains why apparently Dacian did not survive to Roman domination lasted only a little over a century and a half, and why in Romania a romance language continued to be spoken while Slavic diffused in the surrounding areas.

Serbs, Serbs, and Avars

Among the names of the *Slavic* peoples that of *Serbs* and *Sorbs* (also called white *Serbs*, Lusatian *Serbs*, and *Sorabs*) can be derived from the aforementioned *Sargeñ* (≅ **Sarbeti*), people settled in the Danubian area and probably generated from a mixing of *Sarmatians* and *Swag^Wautas. According to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine the seventh (Constantinus VII: 32) all *Serbs* had originally resided over the *Turkey* (Τουρκία, i.e. Hungary) in a land they called *Boiki* (probably the **Boikome* > *Bohemia*) on the border with Franks; their name was derived from Lat. *servus*, because they were serfs or vassals of Romans; at the time of Emperor Heraclius a Serbian prince had got from him the permission to settle in Thessaly, but later the Serbs who had followed him wanted to return towards their homeland and settled in the current Serbia, previously devastated and liberated from the Roman control by the *Avars*. Therefore, it is widely believed that *Serbs* were originally living in an area between Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia and were invited by Emperor Heraclius to settle in Thessaly and Bosnia in order to defend the borders of the empire from *Avars* and other peoples coming from the East. However, it is probable that *Serbs* had

followed the *Slavic* expansion since its origin and were distributed throughout the whole area between Dacia and Lusatia. Chased by the *Avars* out from Dacia and Pannonia, they concentrated in the northern territories joining forces with Byzantines to repel the invaders. It is also probable that the name of *Sargeti*, under the influence of the Galatian tribes that settled in the Danube area during their backflow to the Black Sea, was already changed to **Sarbeti* under the Roman domination and was reinterpreted by the conquerors in association with the condition of servants, hence the belief of Constantine the seventh that the name of *Serbs* derived from I.at. servus.

The *Avars* (Gr. *Ἀβάρεις*; Constantinus VII, 32), also known as *Kavari* or *Kabari*, were a people speaking an Altaic language, probably descended from a mixture of eastward migrated **Swag^Wautas* and Mongoloid peoples. It is probable that the name of *Avars*, as that of *Aorsi* and *Kafirs*, derives from **C^rauarsi* or **C^rauari*. It is then possible that the *Avaric* people was formed in the area between Kazakhstan and Pakistan and was closely relative of *Hephthalites Huns* (< **G^wautala-tas*).

Vikings and Varyags

A later backflow of peoples descending from **Swag^Wautas* towards the original land is that of *Vikings-Varyags* (or *Varangians*) in Ukraine. This people, which colonized Eurasia and North America, probably brought in its name testimony of its cow breeder ancestors. The origin of the name of *Vikings* in fact is not sure. It is widely believed to can derive from Old Nor. *vik* (fiord, bay) or from Ang. *wic* (camp) and to have been originally referred to pirates or raiders. However, by analogy with the name of the *Gauls Bituriges* (< **Sg^wyturiges* < **Sg^watarajas*, "reigning over all *Sg^wytas* ". "reigning over the world"), it is probable that it derives from **Swytikanrig* or **Swytiking* (< **Sg^wautas^wamarajas*) "reigning over all *Swe/yti*". *Vikings* in fact gained control over most of the areas populated by **Sg^we/ytas* between the Black Sea and Britain. As a reminder of the dominion over a plurality of **Swag^Wauta* populations, the Rulers of Sweden up to Gustav VI Adolf were crowned acquiring the title of "King of *Vikings, Goths, Vandals, Wends, Alans* and *Suebi*". To the east, where the language had more widely maintained the prevalence of the original vowel *a*, which is characteristic of Iranian languages (later changed to *o* in Slavic; Villar 2011: 421) *Vikings* were probably known as **Swatrag* (< **Sg^watarajas*) or **Swatrag* (**Swatganrag* < **Sg^wautas^wauarajas*), whence the terms *Varyags* (Gr. *Βάρβαροι*) or *Varangians* (Gr. *Βάρβαροι*).

CONCLUSIONS

In the second part of this study, evidences of the diffusion of the descendant of **Spartshas* and **Swag^Wautas* have been found by analysing the historical attestations of the names and the customs of the peoples who migrated through Asia and Europe and the names of the places where they settled from the beginning of the second millennium BC to the end of the first millennium AD. In Asia and Europe there are still many toponyms that testify the diffusion of peoples descending from **Swag^Wautas* and their relatives. Since the sixteenth century, as a consequence of colonialism, these peoples spread over almost all the world, bringing with them the testimony of their ancestors in the language and toponyms. It goes beyond the intentions of this study to highlight and analyse all these testimonies until today. It is also beyond the scope of this work to analyse in detail all the assumptions that have been introduced for each people taken into consideration. Such an analysis is then left to successive works.

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SUPARSTHAS and SWAGWAUTAS

Colonisers of the Ancient World

Part II تLate migrations

Giampietro Fabbri

ABSTRACT

In the second part of this study the main migrations of the peoples descending from *Suparsthas and *Swag^wautas are reconstructed in Asia and Europe from the second millennium BC to the tenth AD. role of Etruscan relative peoples in the evolution of Indo-European nations and languages is investigated and highlighted.

In the part of this study the name *Suparsthas has been reconstructed for the ancestors of the peoples speaking the Proto-Indo-European language, *Parsthas and *Swag^wautas, and their related *Suparas and g^waunas. By analyzing the ethnonyms of the descendant peoples and the historical attestations on them, traces of the customs and religion of the progenitors have been highlighted. Moreover, the early migrations of the descendant peoples in Asia and Europe have been reconstructed. In this second part we will analyse the heritage of the peoples that used in Asia and Europe starting from the second millennium BC.

Keywords: Superstas, Swagvatas, Ancient World, Indo-European, Aryans

تنوع گویش در پارسی باستان

تنوع گویش در پارسی باستان^۱

ایلیا گرشویچ^۲

مترجم منصورحمدالله‌زاده^۳

چکیده

یکی از معماهای متعدد گویش شناسی ایرانی این است که جدای از وام واژه های بی شمار عربی و غیره خارجی در فارسی، بسیاری از واژگان ایرانی در واژگان فارسی غیرفارسی هستند. گرامرهای تطبیقی می گویند، کلمه فارسی شاه، *šāh*، فارسی مناسبی نیست، زیرا شکلی که در فارسی مناسب انتظار می رود **šās* است. کلمه «شهر»، *šahr*، که در دوره های اولیه به معنای «پادشاهی» بود، باید در پارسی، **šas* می بود. *sang* "سنگ" به احتمال زیاد **hang* به جای بزرگ **buhurg*، *buzurg* و به جای *asp* 'اسب' **as* و به جای *asmān*، آسمان، **āhmān* و حتی به جای *Fārsī* فارسی، **Pāhlī*.

همه این واژه ها و بسیاری دیگر که متعارف ترین معانی را می رسانند، با این یا آن قاعده در مورد آنچه که واج شناسی زبان فارسی درست می دانند مخالف است، اما با آنچه در مورد واج شناسی ماد شناخته شده یا می توان استنباط کرد، موافق است. بر این اساس آنها ماد اعلام می شوند. و آنها را به جای تعلق به زبان غیر پارسی دیگر، به عنوان مثال اوستایی، که نسبت به پیشینیان ایرانی باستانی این واژه ها مانند ماد می داند، اعلام می کنند، زیرا اجداد برخی از آنها به ظاهر غیرفارسی هستند. از قبل در فارسی باستان، در زمانی، در حدود سال ۵۲۰ قبل از میلاد، زمانی که ایرانیان، مدتی قبل از اینکه امپراتوری وسیعی را از مادها تصاحب کرده بودند، احتمالاً تحت تأثیر واژگان اداری و عموماً فرهنگی مادها قرار گرفته بودند.

کلید واژه ها: ماد، فارسی باستان، هخامنشیان، واژگان مادی، قرن ششم پ.م.

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تنگوی تلیخ، پڑشوگر و مدرس در دانشگاه آزاداس ی

DIALECT VARIATION IN EARLY PERSIAN

By ILYA GERSHEVITCH

ONE of the many puzzles of Iranian dialectology is that quite apart from the countless Arabic and otherwise foreign loanwords in Persian, so many Iranian words of the Persian vocabulary are declared to be non-Persian intruders.

The Persian word for 'king', *šāh*, is not proper Persian, say the comparative grammarians, because the form to be expected in proper Persian would be **šāš*; the word for 'town', *šahr*, which at an early period meant 'kingdom', ought to have been **šas*; instead of Pers. *sang* 'stone' one expects **hang*; instead of *buzurg* 'big' **buhurg*; instead of *asp* 'horse' **as*; instead of *āsmān* 'sky' **āhmān*; and even instead of *Fārsī* 'Persian' **Pāhli*.

All these words, and very many others conveying the most ordinary meanings, disagree with one or another rule of what is believed to be the phonology of proper Persian, but agree with what little is known, or can be inferred, about Median phonology. They are accordingly declared Median. And they are declared Median, rather than belonging to some other non-Persic language, for instance Avestan, which in respect of the Old Iranian antecedents of these words behaves like Median, because the ancestors of some of them occur in a supposedly non-Persic form already in Old Persian, at a time, about 520 B.C., when the Persians, having not long before taken over from the Medians a vast empire, would be likely to have been influenced by the administrative, as well as generally cultural vocabulary of the Medes.

And yet, already in the 6th century B.C. the choice of supposed loanwords seems erratic. Why was the OP word for 'king', *xšāyaθya-*, ancestor of NP *šāh*, taken from Median, when the word for 'kingdom' was retained in its proper OP form, *xšassa-*? Why did the ancient Persians adopt the Med. word for 'great', *vazrka-*, ancestor of NP *buzurg*, but retain their own word for 'greatest', *maθišta-*, ancestor of NP *mahist*? What induced them to borrow from Median the word for 'sky', *asman-*?

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Another source of wonder is the relatively frequent break which is apparent between certain OP words and their Middle and New Persian counterparts. If OP *pusga-* 'son', to which in Median must have corresponded **puθra-*, survives in MP as *pus*, why was OP *xšassa-* 'kingdom', to which in Med. corresponded *xšabtra-*, given up in MP and replaced with *šahr* which continues *xšabtra-*? And there are as many MP words with *hr* from OIr. *θr*, as with *s*. A similar break can be observed in the case of MP *sag* or *sang* 'stone', which is understandable as the continuation of Med. **asa(n)ga-*, but not of the attested OP *aθa(n)ga-* which in MP should have become **ha(n)g*.

It is, of course, pointless to ask 'why so?', unless one knows the answer to the question 'why not the other way round?'. The inversion of the question 'why did the Persians borrow their words for "king" and "stone" from Median?' is 'why cannot the words for "king" and "stone" be Persian?'. This latter question is what the present paper has been designed to attempt to answer.

The problem of internal dialect differentiation in Persian, as distinct from the presence in Persian of non-Persic elements, has scarcely as yet been broached. In the whole literature on Persian historical grammar I can find only one claim of an incisive instance of internal dialect differentiation. This is a claim made by Professor Henning in 1933,¹ in connection with a difference discernible within New and Middle Persian, in the treatment of the IE cluster *ky*, which in Avestan appears as *sy*.

On the one hand we have MP *wēš*, NP *bēš* 'more', from an OIr. comparative whose Avestan equivalent would be **vasyah-*; ² and similarly NP *kašaf* 'tortoise', from an OIr.

¹ *ZII* ix, 207.

² From the data I quoted in *Indo-Iranica (Mélanges Morgenstierne)* 78 sq. in support of a derivation (pp. 87 sq.) of MP *pēš* from OIr. **pasyā*, parallel to that of MP *wēš* from **vasyah-*, Bal. *pis* must be removed. I have come to realize that although W. Geiger was wrong in thinking that the prefix of Bal. *pišti-parampōšī* 'four days hence' means 'after', he was right in identifying the prefix of *pis-parampōšī* with *pas*, since only thus the mutual relation of the two Bal. synonyms will correspond to that of the two NBš synonyms meaning 'four days hence', *pištom-para'uš* and *pas-para'uš*.

form corresponding to Av. *kasyapa-* and to Ved. *kaśyápa*.¹ The Av. cluster *sy* is here represented by *š*, a preceding short vowel having been palatalized and lengthened in Persian under the stress.²

Against this development stands the one exemplified by NP *mih* 'greater', whose Manichean MP antecedent is spelled *mhy*, and which corresponds to Av. *masyah-*.³

To appreciate Henning's argument one must bear in mind that in an impressive number of instances there corresponds to Av. *s* from an IE palatal an OP voiceless dental spirant. For example, the OP equivalent of the Av. superlative *masišta-* 'greatest' is *maθišta-*. In OP, therefore, the outcome of the IE voiceless palatal had coalesced, at least antevocally, with *θ* resulting from an IE voiceless dental. For brevity's sake I shall call the OP *θ* 'palatal theta' when it goes back to an IE *ḱ* or *ḱh*, and 'dental theta' when its IE ancestor was *t* or *th*. Similarly with the corresponding OP voiced dental spirant: 'palatal delta' from IE *ǵ* or *ǵh*, 'dental delta' from IE *d* or *dh*.

We have noted the presence of a palatal theta in *maθišta-*, which in OP was indistinguishable from the dental theta of,

The *i* of Bal. *pis-*, which was the main cause of my misapprehension, will then be due to contamination of the *a* of the earlier **pas-* 'after' with the *i* of *pištī-* 'before' in synonymous compounds having the same second term. The reconstruction of **pasyā* thus rests exclusively on the *s* of SBš *pester* (whose *e* can represent any OIr. vowel or diphthong), Rudbari *piester*, and Bal. *pēsar-*, all of which mean 'before'. The elimination of Bal. *pis-* makes it unnecessary to compare the vowel of NP *kīh* or Bal. *kis(ān)*.

¹ The other examples quoted by Henning are, apart from Arm. *šau* (on which see below, pp. 5, 18), NP *xurōš-* 'to shout' and MP *hndyš-* (NP *andēš-*) 'to consider'. The last occurs with *š* also in Manichean Parthian (*ʾndyš-*), where it must therefore be a Persian LW, like *ʾhrm-*, *ʾwdy-*, and *brhm*, cf. below, p. 9, n. 1.

² A preceding diphthong *au* was not palatalized, cf. *xurōš-* in prec. fn.; neither was *ā*, to judge from the hitherto unrecognized example NP *parxāš* 'battle, quarrel' < *pari* + **xāsyā-* (**xāθyā-*), against Sogd. *ʾxʾs*, *ʾnyʾs* 'struggle', *pxʾs* 'quarrel', < *ā*, *ham*, *upa* + **xāsa-*. Cf. below, p. 27, n. 2.

³ Similarly NP *kīh* 'smaller', corresponding to Av. *kasyah-*, which Henning, of course, quoted. In the text above, which was read out at a meeting of the Society, the number of examples has been kept at a minimum, so as not to obscure the trend of the argument.

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say, *raθa-* 'chariot', connected with Lat. *rota*. But the dental *θ*, when immediately followed by *y*, became *š* in OP, a typical example being *mṛšyu-* 'death', against Av. *mərəθyu-* and Ved. *mṛtyú*.

Henning therefore argued that the OP ancestor of NP *bēš* must have been **vaθyah-*, with *θ* from OIr. *s* from an IE palatal as in OP *mabīšta-*; and that the palatal theta of **vaθyah-* had become *š* before *y* in conformity with the change of dental *θ* to *š* before *y* in *mṛšyu-* 'death'.¹ On the other hand the *θ* of the OP comparative **maθyah-*, ancestor of NP *mih*, although it, too, was palatal, did not change to *š* before *y*.

This then is the Persian dialect differentiation envisaged by Henning: a standard form of OP, in which palatal *θ*, unlike dental *θ*, remained unchanged before *y*, eventually to become *h* in Middle and New Persian; and an OP dialect different from the standard language, in which palatal *θ* underwent before *y* the same change to *š* as dental *θ*.

Henning's theory seems plausible enough. But before we can accept it unreservedly we must obtain clarity on two questions. The first relates to his assumption of an intermediate stage *θ* between an earlier *s* and the later *š*. Granted that the immediate ancestor of MP *wēš* was **vašyah-*, is it really necessary for the immediate ancestor of the latter to have been **vaθyah-*? As the theoretical **vaθyah-*, with palatal theta, would in any case be from an earlier **vasyah-*, might not **vašyah-* have developed straight from **vasyah-*? Such an assumption may seem all the more plausible as the attested OP positive of **vašyah-* is *vasai* or *vai*, with *s*, not *θ*, and there is nothing to prove that the corresponding superlative was not **vasišta-*, rather than **vaθišta-*.

According as we answer the question as to whether an intermediate *θ* needs to be postulated, either of two further questions will arise. If we decide that **vašyah-* goes back straight to **vasyah-*, then we must ask whether it is right to regard either **vasyah-* or **vašyah-* as Persian dialect forms.

¹ The above is my own, detailed, formulation in respect of the antecedents of NP *bēš*, of a rule Henning expressed more concisely in general terms only.

For if the typical OP change of *s* to *θ* played no part in the prehistory of **vašyah-*, then **vašyah-*, straight from **vasyah-*, may as well have been a Median LW in Persian.

If on the other hand we agree with Henning that **vašyah-* had developed from **vaθyah-*, then we must ask whether the preservation of *θ* in **maθyah-* really had a phonological reason, and was not merely due to analogy. For, since the attested corresponding superlative is *maθišta-* in OP, where *θ*, not standing before *y*, had no reason to become *š*, it would only be natural for the comparative **maθyah-* to have resisted the phonological pressure to become **mašyah-*, under the analogical influence of *maθišta-*.

But if analogy were the reason why **maθyah-* remained unchanged, Henning's attribution of **vašyah-* to a Persian dialect different from the one to which **maθyah-* belonged, would be unjustified; **vašyah-* would merely exemplify a rule, of which **maθyah-* would be an exception due to analogy.

To test Henning's theory we must therefore in the first place decide whether OP **vašyah-* really presupposes an earlier **vaθyah-*. And if we find that it does, we must further inquire whether there is reason to think, that the *θ* of **maθyah-* might have remained unchanged independently of any analogical pressure on the part of *maθišta-*.

With regard to the immediate ancestor of **vašyah-*, granted that in OP *θ* before *y* did become *š*, it may be thought that it would still be natural also for *s* to be palatalized by a following *y* and become *š*. The problem may seem insoluble. For how can *š* from *sy* tell us whether it goes back to an intermediate stage *θy*?

However, one of the Persian words with *š* which Henning considered, is Arm. *šau* 'black', to which in Avestan corresponds *syāva-*. *Šau* is evidently a Persian LW in Armenian, lost in Persian itself, where the word used for 'black' is *siyāh*, from **syāva-*.¹

¹ ZII ix, 253. Here Henning actually printed '*š < sy*', but his argument on p. 207 suggests that this was a brachylogy for '*š < θy < sy*'.

Now, if *siyāh*, on account of its *s*, is regarded as a LW from a non-Persic dialect, then of course we still cannot tell whether the *š* of *šau* was from *θy* or straight from *sy*. But if we should find that *siyāh* has as much right to be considered Persian as Arm. *šau*, then the *š* of *šau* would necessarily be from *θy*.

Our immediate task must therefore be to discover whether the presence in a Persian word of *s* from an IE palatal precludes the word from being genuinely Persian.

On the treatment of the IE palatals in Persian two theories have been advanced. One, the older, was given a final formulation by Professor Nyberg in 1931.¹ The other was proposed by Professor Morgenstierne in 1945.²

According to the older theory, where OP *θ* represents an IE voiceless palatal pure and simple, that is, not forming part of a cluster, it had developed from an earlier, proto-Iranian, *s*. Thus OP *aθanga-* 'stone' would be a development of proto-Iranian **asanga-*, which in Median would have remained **asanga-*. If therefore in Middle and New Persian the word for 'stone' appears with *s*, and not with *h*, this proves that it had been borrowed from a non-Persic dialect, presumably Median.

There are, however, two circumstances in which according to Nyberg the IE voiceless palatal appears as *s* also in genuine OP words. One is when in IE the palatal was preceded by *s*, the other when it was followed by *w*. Typical examples are OP *tr̥sa-* (NP *tarsīdan*) 'to fear', from IE **tr̥(s)-sk̥o-*, and *asa-* 'horse' < proto-OP **aswa-* < In.-Ir. **aśwa-* < IE **ek̥wo-*. *Tr̥sa-*, according to Nyberg, need not be a Median LW, even though the corresponding Median form must also have been **tr̥sa-*, while *asa-* cannot even have been Median, as the Median word for 'horse' demonstrably was **aspa-*.

The reason why **asanga-*, if it occurred in an OP inscription, should not be regarded as genuine Persian, while *tr̥sa-* may be, and *asa-* must be, so regarded, is in Nyberg's opinion that the *s* of the OP spellings *tr̥sa-* and *asa-* represents a double *s* that

¹ *Festschrift Wilhelm Geiger*, 213 sqq.

² 'IE *k'* in Kafiri', *NTS* xiii, 225 sqq.

would not change to θ , the gemination being the result of assimilation within the earlier clusters.

Beside *trsa-* from IE **tr(s)sk̑o-*, however, OP has *θadaya-* ‘to appear’ from **sk̑edoyo-*. Nyberg therefore assumed that in initial position double *s* had been degeminated early enough to become involved in the OP change of single *s* to θ .

Such an early degemination of *ss* he believed to have taken place also internally before consonants. He accordingly explained MP *tuhīg* ‘empty’, which contrasts with Parth. *tusīg*, as deriving from OP **tuθyaka-* after the latter had become **tuθiyaka-*. The evident etymological identity of OP **tuθya-* with Ved. *tucchyá* from IE **tus-sk̑iyo-*, suggested to Nyberg that OP θ also in this case represented an earlier *s* that had been simplified from *ss*, the gemination having again been due to assimilation of an IE consonant cluster.

But, and here Nyberg’s theory impinges on Henning’s, in order to account for the fact that OP **tuθyaka-* did not become **tušyaka-*, and hence **tušīg* in MP, Nyberg assumed that the change of OP dental θ to *š* before *y*, had ceased to take place by the time palatal θ developed from *s*.

It is obvious that if this assumption were correct, OP **vašyah-* could not, with Henning, be derived from an intermediate **vaθyah-*, but would have to go back straight to **vasyah-*.

Let us now consider Professor Morgenstierne’s theory. According to him the OP palatal θ represents a more archaic stage of development than the corresponding Median and Avestan *s*. The Indo-Iranian sound interjacent between IE palatal \hat{k} and OP palatal θ was in his opinion a palatal *t*, which in all Iranian languages other than OP became *s* antevocally. To account for OP *θadaya-* and **tuθyaka-*, Morgenstierne assumed that proto-Iranian *sθ* from IE $s\hat{k}$ had been simplified initially and before consonants at an early date. By contrast, OP *trsa-* shows in Morgenstierne’s opinion, that intervocally proto-Ir. *sθ* from IE $s\hat{k}$ remained until a later date, eventually to be assimilated to double *s*.

As to the reason why **tuθyaka-* did not become **tušyaka-*,

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this was according to Morgenstierne that the change of anteconsonantal $s\theta$ to θ , though it took place at an early date, was later than the change of dental θ to \acute{s} before y .

On Morgenstierne's assumptions, therefore, seeing that the \acute{s} of OP **vašyah-* represents an IE \hat{k} that was never preceded by s , Henning's derivation of that \acute{s} from an earlier θ would be the only possible one.

We must now choose between the two theories, Nyberg's and Morgenstierne's. No Iranianist will lightly contradict Professor Morgenstierne, the leading Iranian dialectologist of our time. But this particular theory of his seems to me untenable.

Firstly on general grounds.¹ The admissibility of his view that OP palatal θ had been a θ from the dawn of Old Persian prehistory, really depends on the admissibility of two of its corollaries. One is, that correspondingly to the change of IE \hat{k} to θ , the IE cluster $s\hat{k}$ had become $s\theta$ in proto-OP. The other corollary, which is actually a sub-corollary, is that it is this $s\theta$ which was reduced to the initial θ of *θadaya-*, and to the antecorollary θ of **tuθyaka-*.

Both these developments go against the grain of Old Iranian phonetics. No Old Iranian word shows the cluster $s\theta$, and it is virtually impossible, on the threshold between Indo-Iranian and proto-Iranian, for a cluster $s\theta$ to develop. Where theoretically a θ ought to have stood after s , we find t instead. Thus the active 2nd person singular of the perfect of Av. *vid-* 'to know' is *vōistā*, corresponding to Ved. *vētha*, while in the perfect of *dā-* 'to give' Avestan has *dadātha*, corresponding to Ved. *dadātha*. Likewise, while correspondingly to Ved. *dā-trā* 'gift' Avestan has *dā-θra-*, the Avestan correspondent of Ved. *vās-tra* 'dress' is *vas-tra-*.

As to the simplification of the cluster $s\theta$ to θ , by which Morgenstierne sought to account for OP **tuθyaka-*, the loss of internal s before a dental would not only be unparalleled in Iranian, but strangely conflicts with the treatment Morgen-

¹ For a reasoned defence of the older view on general grounds different from the ones here advanced, see M. Leumann, *IF* lviii (1942), 3 sq.

stierne himself assumes was at a later stage suffered by the same cluster $s\theta$ in *trsa-*.

Apart from these general, phonetic, considerations, it seems to me that the MP word for 'fish', *māhīg*, outright disproves Morgenstierne's contention. This word, it is generally agreed, derives from OP **māθiyaka-*, a *ka*-extension of an earlier **māsiya-* corresponding to Av. *masya-* and Ved. *mātsya*. In this word, however, the *s* of the Avestan, and therefore also of the earliest OP form, does not represent an IE palatal, but a plain dental *s*, which only failed to become *h* in proto-Iranian because it had once been preceded by *t*. If this *s* of non-palatal origin was replaced with θ in OP, what clearer proof need we ask for, that OP palatal theta had developed from proto-Iranian *s*?¹

Professor Morgenstierne, of course, foresaw this objection, and thought of forestalling it by assuming that the cluster *ts* of In.-Ir. **matsya-* had become θs in proto-OP, and that θs was simplified to θ simultaneously with the change of *s\theta* to θ as seen in **tuθyaka-*. But not for nothing he quoted no parallel. A change of *ts* to θs is nowhere to be seen in Iranian. Supposing, however, that it had come about, it would be utterly un-Iranian for the new cluster θs to be simplified to θ , and not to *s*.

¹ See also below, p. 11, n. 2. If OIr. *s* other than from an IE palatal could become θ in OP, we may expect to find OP δ , too, replacing sometimes a *z* that is not from IE $\acute{g}(h)$. And so we do, not only in OP *Mudrāya-* 'Egypt', replacing **Muzrāya-*, but also, I suspect, in the preverb *uδ*, which is only attested in the augmented imperfect *uδ-a-patata*. There is little enough to commend the alternative explanation, the only so far proposed, that OP alone among the Iranian languages has preserved the original dental of this preverb. The *h* of MP **hr̥m-* 'to lead upward' is in any case more likely from δ than from *z*, just as MP *brahm*, *urwāhm-*, and *ēnuag* < **ēhmag* (see Henning, *TPS* 1944, 109) presuppose OP δ -forms **braδman-*, **urvāδman-*, and **aiδma-*. Man. Parth. *brhm* and **hr̥m-* will then be Persian loanwords, like **ndyš-* (cf. above, p. 3, n. 1), *nyz̥y-*, and **wāy-* (on which two cf. Ghilain, *Essai*). The last has in MP preserved the δ of OP **uδ-āvaya-* (cf. Henning, *BBB* 108), as happened in the case of MP **ymydg* 'intercessor' < **adi-mādyaka-*, and *pr̥(?)dn(n)g* 'furtherance' < **frādanaka-*. MP *hr̥stn* and *hr̥wptn* (cf. Henning, *ZII* ix, 225 and *BBB* 79), rather than *uδ/z*, may contain *han*, with *n* assimilated to *r*.

But the final refutation of Morgenstierne's theory arises from Professor Henning's recent article on 'Coriander'. In it he incidentally, but cogently, shows that the ubiquitous OP word for 'treasure', **ganza-*, was more exclusively Median than had been suspected (*Asia Major*, N.S., x, 196-8). Its proto-Iranian form, whose order of consonants is preserved in Parth. and Sogd. *γazn*, was **gazna-*, of which the proper OP outcome, **gažna-*,¹ survives only slightly changed in NP as *gašn* 'galore'. In Median, however, and in Median alone, the cluster *zn* suffered metathesis to *nz*, the ubiquity of the resulting **ganza-* being due to its having been adopted into the language of the Achaemenian administration.

Prima facie there is nothing in Henning's account of **ganza-* that conflicts with Morgenstierne's theory, although of course Morgenstierne would posit the earliest proto-Iranian form not as **gazna-*, but as **gaδna-*, with palatal delta. But conflict arises the moment we bring in the Aramaic rendering of the OP word for 'treasurer', which in Ezra is *gzbr*, but in Daniel *gdbr*, in both cases with secondary disappearance of *n* before the old palatal. Professor Henning did not refer to *gdbr*, either for reasons of economy, as this form of the word does not affect his argument, or, just possibly, because he doubted its authenticity. Its authenticity, however, cannot, or can no longer, be doubted, since I know from Professor R. T. Hallock

¹ Henning reconstructs the proper OP form as **gašna-*. But from the OP treatment of IE *ǵ(h)n* after *r* and Olr. prothetic *x* in *baršnā* and *xšnāsa-*, it does not necessarily follow that the OP ancestor of NP *jašn* was **yašna-* (as Meillet-Benveniste assumed in *Grammaire du vieux-perse*, 69), and consequently that of NP *gašn* **gašna-*. NP *jašn* may be from OP **yažna-*, as MP *bašn-* is from **bažna-* < **bažina-* (see Henning, *BSOS* viii, 583). Since the OP names *Kambužya-* and **Žāmāspa-* are spelled in Aramaic *Kmbwzy* and *Zmšp*, there is no obstacle to interpreting the Aramaic spelling *mzdyzn* as representing an OP compound **mazdayažna-*, rather than a supposedly Median form **mazdayazna-* (Arm. *mazdezn* being, of course, Parthian). If the tendency to devoice *ž* before *n* began in the 5th century B.C. **baržnā* and *baršnā*, **yažna-* and **yašna-*, would have been equally acceptable forms at that period. Such an interpretation of Aram. *mzdyzn* would leave us free to reconstruct the Median equivalent of this compound as **mazdayanza-*, in conformity with Henning's expectation. On OP **yaδna-* as immediate antecedent of **yažna-* see below, p. 24, n. 1.

that in an unpublished Elamite tablet *kan-da-ba-ra* is found instead of the usual spelling *kan-za-ba-ra* of the Persepolis Treasury tablets.

Of course, since OP **ganzabara-* has always, on account of its *z*, been thought to be a Median LW, OP **gandabara-* may seem to be nothing but its expected OP counterpart. And so it is, in a way, but only in a way—since we now know that the true OP form had not suffered metathesis. The correct definition of **gandabara-* is that it is a Median loanword old-persianized. Its delta is nothing but a peculiar OP realization of the *z* of Median **ganzabara-*.¹ The proof that δ did replace *z* in suitable circumstances in OP is thereby obtained, and with it the rehabilitation of MP *māhīg* as a counterproof to Morgenstierne's theory that palatal θ was *not* a replacement of *s*.²

But the delta of OP **gandabara-* has more to offer. It reveals that the OP tendency to change sibilants into dental spirants had not spent itself, and perhaps even had not yet begun, at the time when the ancient Persians borrowed the

¹ The delta of **gandabara-* cannot be the continuation of the delta which Morgenstierne would have to attribute to the proto-Iranian form **gaδna-*, because that delta would be bound, even within the framework of Morgenstierne's theory, to become a palatal sibilant before *n*.

² Apart from **māθiyaka-* two more instances are available of an *s* not reflecting IE $\acute{k}(h)$ being replaced with θ in OP. One is *ka* 'somebody', occurring in Northern Baškardi and Baluči (borrowed from Persian), from **kah* < OP **kaθi*, against NP *kas* < OP **kasi* (see Meillet-Benveniste, *Grammaire*, 67). The other is Northern Baškardi *pa* 'afterwards', from **pah* < OP **paθā*, the θ -variant of the attested OP *pasā*. Beside *pasā* and **paθā* OP also had **pasčā* or **paščā*, attested through Elamite *ba-iš-za da-sa-bal-ti-iš* 'deputy chief-of-ten' (see Kent apud Cameron, *PTT*, 111, and cf. *JRAS*, 1954, 125 on this type of compound with *pasčā*). Since *da-sa* in this compound should represent the exclusively OP form **daθa-*, it is likely that *ba-iš-za* reflects a genuine Persian variant of *pasā*; cf. Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 98 n. 1.

Having submitted the above interpretation of *ka* and *pa* to Professor Henning, I received from him the following note: "A striking example is Pers. *čī* 'something'. This really exists, e.g. in a well-known verse in the *Gulistān* (p. 25 ed. Platts):

mury jāʔē parad ke čīne buvad
ne ba-jāʔē ravad ke čī ne-buvad

(the bird flies to a spot where there is a $\delta\acute{\epsilon}l\acute{e}ap$, but does not go where there is nothing)."

Median word **ganzabara-*. The palatal thetas and deltas of OP were therefore still of recent standing when in 520 B.C. OP inscriptions began to be written. Instead of representing a process that had reached completion, they may be tokens of a development which at that time was still in progress.

The present stem *tr̥sa-* supports this conclusion. Nyberg, as we saw, believed its *s* to have resisted the change to *θ* because it was geminated. He could not know that in fact the *s* of *tr̥sa-* did not resist the change. In the Southern Baškardi dialect group which I sampled in 1956, and which has proved to be of a conservative Persic type, the present stem of the verb for 'to fear' is *tehr-*. This is evidently a metathesis of an older present stem **tr̥ha-*, from **tr̥θa-*.¹ And **tr̥θa-* will hardly have belonged to a dialect different from standard OP, since the latter is the language in which OIr. **asanga-* was represented by *aθanga-*.

The necessity of assigning to OP a form **tr̥θa-* leaves little ground for supposing that the *s* of the attested *tr̥sa-* was geminated.² It is more likely that the reason underlying the failure of the inscriptions to present us with **tr̥θa-* was the same as accounts for the appearance in them of *asman-* and *vazr̥ka-* instead of the expected 'proper Persian' **aθman-*³ and **vaδr̥ka-*.⁴ And if the reason is common to all three words

¹ The possibility that SBš *tehr-* was borrowed from Indian, or from Pš *tarhēdal* (on which see Morgenstierne, *EVP*, s.v.), can safely be excluded.

² A fortiori IĒ *sk̥* will not have lived on as *ss* into the MP period. Henning's initial scepticism with regard to Bartholomae's derivation of MP *pdys̥y* 'correspondingly to' from **pati-ssāyā-* (*ZII*, ix, 228²³) deserves preference over his later acceptance of that etymology (*ibid.* 253²⁹).

³ The tempting derivation of the *h* of SBš *yālmōn* 'sky' from the *θ* of OP **aθman-* must be viewed with reserve, because although I was told by a Baškardi that in Bal. both *āsmān* and *āhmān* are used, EBal. has *āzmān*, whose *z*, like that of *pažm* 'wool', is from *š*, while *h* in place of *š* before *m* occurs in the word for 'eye', *čelm*, not only in most Baškard dialects, but also elsewhere (cf. Andreas, *Dialektaufzeichnungen*, 144 sq., 319, 371, 397). The form **āsmān* underlying EBal. *āzmān* presumably owed its *š* to the oblique cases of OIr. *asan-*, cf. the Av. day-name *ašnō*.

⁴ Although **vaδr̥ka-* cannot be traced even in dialects, a synonymous OP variant of it, **vaδr̥ta-*, can be recognized in Kermani *gohort* (Sotoodeh, *Farhang-e Kermani*), Sōi etc. *gurt* (Andreas, *op. cit.*, 99, 469), Farizandi etc. *gōrd* (Christensen, *Contributions*, i, 237, 292), Baškardi *gohort*, all meaning

it will scarcely be that all were Median loanwords, as in that case, seeing that beside *tṛsa-* OP also has *ṛsa-* 'to go', *prsa-* 'to ask', *yasa-* 'to take', and *xšnāsa-* 'to know', the whole inchoative formation would have been imported from Median.

The reason may simply be this: that *s* and *z* were the regular antevocalic outcome of the IE palatals not only in Median, but also in Old Persian, but from about the beginning of the Achaemenian period an optional realization of *s* as *θ*, and of *z* as *δ*, began to assert itself. *Tṛsa-* and **tṛθa-* will then have been no more than two equally acceptable, and interchangeable, realizations of one and the same word, and this will be true also of *aθanga-* and **asanga-*, the proper OP ancestor of NP *sang*.¹

It would follow that in Middle and New Persian the contrast between the *s* of *sad* 'hundred' (OP **sata-/θata-*) and the *h* of *dah* 'ten' (OP **dasa-/daθa-*) need not reflect a dialect differentiation. The contrast is better defined as a result of chance developments. In these two numerals *s* and *h* go back to a single OP phoneme; but *sad* chanced to perpetuate one realization of it, while *dah* has perpetuated another.²

The situation is similar in the case of MP *šahr* 'kingdom'.

'*buzurg*'. The suffix was lost in Gabri *gohor* (Sotoodeh, *Farhang-e Behdīnān*), whose counterpart with *z* occurs in Baškardi (*gozer*) and Khuri (*girzotar* 'buzurgtar', Iwanow, *JRAS*, 1926, 430). For the relation between *bu-* and *gu-* from OIr. initial *va-* cf. *burz*: *gurz* 'club' from *vazra-*, J. Elfenbein, *A Vocabulary of Marw Baluchi*, 1963, 25.

¹ In connection with this assumption Professor A. F. L. Beeston has obligingly drawn my attention to the following remarks by W. H. T. Gairdner, *The Phonetics of Arabic* (1925), 19: 'The most notable difference between these Arabic sibilants [viz. *s* and *z*] and the corresponding English ones, is that in Arabic the hiss is very much stronger and more sibilant than in English. So weak and indeterminate does our hiss often appear to Orientals that pronunciation teachers often annoy their pupils by accusing them of having made *θ* instead of *s*.'

² The *θ* of OP **θata-* has been recognized in the *h* of NP *hadba* 'centipede' by Morgenstierne, *NTS*, v, 55, who, however, thinks that the *s* of NP *sad* is also the outcome of OP *θ*. The problem of *sad* is thereby separated, to my mind unsatisfactorily, from that of *āsmān*, *tars-*, and *buzurg*. It is true that in support of Morgenstierne's view one might adduce NP *sanjidan* 'to weigh' and *diramsang*, whose *s*, on the evidence of Sogd. *δrγmδnk*, goes back to an OP dental *θ* (see Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 50 n. 1, and *Mir. Man.* iii, 904, s.v. *pdhynj-*), as does the *s* of NP *saxt* 'hard' to judge from Khwar.

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Here we have MP *hr* from OIr. dental $\theta + r < \text{IE } t + r$, a cluster which remained *θr* in Median and Avestan (e.g. *xšathra-* 'kingdom', *puθra-* 'son'), but is represented in the OP inscriptions by an emphatic sibilant (*xšassa-*, *pussa-*) which survives as *s* for instance in MP *pus* 'son'. But the emphatic sibilant also developed in OP from palatal $\theta + r$, as in *ni-ssi-* 'to hand over', against Av. *ni-sri-*. We must therefore assume that the tendency for dental $\theta + r$ to become an emphatic sibilant was either still in force, or even had not yet developed, when *s* became replaceable with theta. And since we have found that the replacement of *s* with θ was a relatively recent development in the second half of the 6th century B.C., the chances are that the tendency of dental $\theta + r$ to become an emphatic sibilant also only manifested itself at about that time. Until it did so the words for 'kingdom' and 'son' must have had *θr* not only in Median, but in genuine Old Persian as well.

But again, does the survival of *θr* in the shape of *hr* in some MP words,¹ beside the occurrence of *s < ss* in others,² really

θrd (see Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 109, n. 2). But an explanation of these words more consonant with the replacement of *s* by θ in OP is at hand: if palatal θ was a possible realization of OP *s*, it is only to be expected that dental θ would occasionally have been realized as *s* in Old Persian. If this is what happened in the case of *sanʃidan* and *saxt*, the Pahlavi spelling *ʃs*, *gʃs*, and *nswbʃl-* (v. Henning, *BSOS*, x, 105 n. 3) of the words which in Man. MP appear as *rʃh*, *gʃh*, and *nyxwʃr-*, need not be pseudo-historical as is usually assumed.

¹ An example not yet recognized is *ghrʃy-* 'to brag', which also occurs in Parthian, and which goes back, with shortening of the unstressed syllable, to **gāθrāy- < *gāθra-rāya-* (cf. Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 521 sq., and, for *rāya-*, Henning in my *GMS*, § 565 n.). That MP *hr < θr* was not borrowed from Parthian can be seen from MP *zyhr* 'life' against Parth. *jywhr*, and MP *zhr* 'poison' against Parth. *jhr*. Hübschmann's derivation of the latter from OIr. **ʃathra-*, *Pers. Studien* 71, is only in appearance contradicted by Sogd. *jʃr* (instead of expected **jδr-* or **jš-*), since the Sogdian form is understandable as a regular outcome of OIr. **janθra-* (Av. **jaθra-*), cf. *GMS*, § 346. Other MP examples, beside *šhr*, are *cyhr* 'essence', **snwhr* 'gratitude', *phrg* 'watchpost', and *guhrr* 'substance'.

² E.g. MP *pus* 'son', *pʃs* 'watch', *sh* 'three', or NP *dās* 'sickle', *sift* 'thick' (see Henning, *BSOAS*, xi, 724), and *sust* 'weak' (see Morgenstierne, *NTS*, xii, 266). Initially *s < proto-Ir. θr* seems to be the rule, NP *hirās* 'fear' (see Nyberg, *art. cit.*, 216) being no doubt a Parthian loanword.

mean that the two groups of words belong to different Persian dialects? It may simply be that *θr* continued for a time side by side with the emphatic sibilant, finally to gain the upper hand and become MP *hr* in some words, while the sibilant pronunciation prevailed in others.

We now turn to the astonishing fact that in the OP inscriptions beside *asa-* 'horse' and *visa-* 'all' also *aspa-* and *vispa-* are used, which alone, as *asp* and *wisp*, remained in MP usage.¹ Unlike palatal theta, *sp* from In.-Ir. *św* cannot, of course, represent a peculiar realization of *s(s)*. Clearly the *sp* forms do not belong to the same dialect as *asa-* and *visa-*, and the presumption that they are Median loanwords is strong, as Median is one of the Iranian languages in which In.-Ir. *św* did become *sp*. On the other hand, since Median is only one of the languages characterized by this change, we must inquire whether there are grounds for excluding the alternative interpretation of *aspa-* and *vispa-* as forms belonging to a Persian dialect different from the one in which In.-Ir. *św* had become *s*.

On the Western Iranian treatment of In.-Ir. *św* we now have a note by Henning, who points out that MP *uzwān* 'tongue' seems to have preserved the original cluster *zw* of proto-OP **hīzuwān-*, the form from which both OP *hizān-* and NP *zabān* developed by different ways (*Asia Major*, N.S., x, 71 n. 13). One may then expect that at the end of the OIr. period some Western dialect(s) still had *sw* from In.-Ir. *św*. In favour of this expectation Henning quotes Parth. *śwn* 'iron', evidently taking this spelling to represent *āswan*.

The word for 'iron' is *āhan* in NP and *āsīn* in Baluči.² In Man. MP it is spelled *śhwn*. Morgenstierne, relying on OP *viθa-* as a side-form of *vis(p)a-* 'all', explained NP *āhan* as from OP **āθanā-*, the spirantic variant of **āsanā-* (*EVP*, p. 12). This was before Parth. *śwn* and MP *śhwn* became known.

¹ Except that in Pahlavi both *aspavār* and *asavār*, 'rider', are found, see H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, 99 n. 3.

² Bal. *āsīn* does not support the usual view that Pahl. *śsyn* was pronounced *āsēn*; cf. also the spelling *śsn* in *Gt Bā* 20,3

If the Parth. form stands for *āswan*, MP *ʰwn* presumably represents *āhwan*, in which case a derivation of NP *āhan* from OP **āθwan-*, with *h* from *θw* as in NP *čahār* 'four', may seem attractive. On the other hand Parth. *ʰsun* and MP *ʰwn* may stand for *āsun* and *āhun*, both going back to **āsun-*, the In.-Ir. weak form of **āšwan-*. There can therefore be no certainty as to whether NP *āhan* represents OP **āθan-* or **āθwan-*, especially as the NP form need not directly derive from MP *ʰwn* even if the latter stood for *āhwan*, the *h* of *čahār* not having been followed by *w* already in MP.

A similar doubt remains unresolved where the word for 'louse' is concerned, for which Morgenstierne recently reconstructed three ancient Western Iranian dialect variants (apud E. Yarshater, *BSOAS*, xxii, 57 n. 1): **spiš-* (> NP *šipiš*), **siš-* (> Bact. *šeš*), and **θiš-* (> *teš* and *heš* in Fars dialects). Whether or not *teš* may alternatively represent OP **θwiš-*, there is evidence that *heš* can do so.

The NP verb *angēz-* 'to excite, rouse, provoke' has been connected with Man. MP *hagžēn-* (spelt *hgjyn-*) 'to stimulate, rouse, resuscitate' by Henning, *Sogdica*, 54, who assumed a violent metathesis without committing himself as to the original form. One of the few phonological differences between Pahlavi and Manichean Middle Persian is that in the former dialect OIr. internal *zg* remained unchanged (e.g. in *mazg* 'brain'), while in the latter it became *gž* (*mgj*, pronounced *magž*; cf. also *ʰspgj* 'slander', against Av. *spazga-*). Accordingly, and in view of the fact that the *j* of Man. MP *gj* cannot be from OIr. *ǰ*, *ž*, or *č*, *hagžēn-* will be the causative of a verb whose original MP form was **hazg-*, regardless of whether the Pahl. spelling *hngyč-* stands for *hangēz-* (from **hazgēn-*) with OIr. *z* preserved for transmission to NP *angēz-*, or for *hangēž-*,¹ in which case NP *angēz-* would have as MP antecedent a form **hangēz-* differing from, and in respect of *z* older than, both the Pahl. and the Man. MP forms. The unextended **hazg-* must have had an intransitive meaning

¹ As Henning assumed, and is attested in the Dailamite proper name *Gōrāngēš*, see Minorsky, *EI*, 2nd ed., 190b.

approaching that of ‘to be aroused, astir’, which eminently suits Av. *ašə-θwō.zga-təma-* (with *θwō.zga* written for **θwazga*) ‘der allereifrigste’, lit. ‘most astir’.¹ The agreement in meaning and post-initial phonetic constitution compels the conclusion that **hazg-* is from **θwazga-*.

The Persian change of *θw* to *h* being thus assured also in initial position, *heš* may go back to either OP **θiš-* or **θwiš-*. Consequently, as **θwiš-* would necessarily have developed from **swiš-*, OP may have had as many as four native variants (or two realizations each of two variants) of the word for ‘louse’: **siš-* and **θiš-*, **swiš-* and **θwiš-*. It is then extremely improbable that **spiš-* was yet another genuine Persian form, and we may with increased confidence adhere to the prevalent opinion that it, as well as *aspa-* and *vispa-*, were Median loanwords in Old Persian.

But if OP borrowed from Median words with such ordinary, non-technical meanings as ‘horse’ and ‘all’, may not also OP *asman-* ‘sky’, *vazrka-* ‘great’, and *zūrah-* ‘deceit’, or the OP ancestors of MP *sang* ‘stone’, *zādag* ‘son’, and *šahr* ‘kingdom’, have been Median loanwords?

Most scholars, I suppose, would answer this question in the affirmative, on the assumption that the superiority of Median culture, combined with the presence among the Persians of any number of Medes, would suffice to bring about a fluctuation in Persian usage between proper Persian words and their Median equivalents.

If, however, one believes that such a fluctuation would not have arisen unless an additional, specifically linguistic cause

¹ Av. *θwazšaiti*, translated by Bartholomae, s.v. *θwaz-*, ‘er gerät in Bedrängnis’, may as well mean ‘he is aroused, startled, upset’. On the origin of Av. *θwa(n)zg/š-* one can only pronounce with diffidence, but clearly the supposedly inchoative formative of IE **twenǵh-sk-* as reconstructed by Bartholomae (cf. also Pokorny, *Idg. Wb.*, 1099 sq.), is unsatisfactory. It would seem better to start from **tw(e)nǵh-sk-*, becoming **twa(n)g-zšh-* and further **twa(n)gž-*, whence by metathesis OIr. *θwa(n)zg-*. The *g/š* alternation will then be analogical to that of *rang/š-*, etc. If the same reasoning is applied to Av. *syazg-*, its base will be that of Skt *śiḡh-ra* ‘swift’ (Pokorny, 542 sq.), and *syazšaya-* ‘to chase’ will have literally meant ‘to cause to hasten’.

had been at work, the answer will be that the appropriation by the Persian language of Med. *aspa-* and *vispa-* would be more easily understandable if it were true that **asanga-* and **xšaθra-* were original Persian forms which continued to be used beside their new realizations as *aθanga-* and *xšaṣsa-*. For, provided that Median was a language familiar to most Persians at least at Court, the fact that the Median forms **asanga-* and **xšaθra-*, while contrasting with the exclusively Persian variants *aθanga-* and *xšaṣsa-*, were legitimate also in Persian, would lend an air of legitimacy to the Median pronunciation *aspa-* of what in proper Persian sounded *asa-*, even though *this* pronunciation had been exclusively Median to start with.¹

Having considered the status of *s* from IE \hat{k} in Persian, we may close the circle, and return to the problem from which we started—the difference discussed by Henning between OP **vašyah-* and **maθyah-*, as reconstructable from NP *bēš* and *mih*.

As we no longer have reason to doubt that NP *siyāh* is as genuinely Persian as Arm. *šau*, we must conclude that OP had two realizations of this word, **syāva-* and **θyāva-*, and that the latter alone can have been the immediate ancestor of **šyāva-*, whence Arm. *šau*, borrowed from MP **šāu*.² This is precisely what Henning assumed in the case of NP *bēš* and *kašaf*—a change of OP *θy* to *šy*, and ultimately to *š*.

Now Henning, it will be remembered, taking it for granted that it was a characteristic of standard OP to change a dental *θ* to *š* before *y*, assumed that there was an OP dialect different from the standard language, in which also palatal *θ* had become *š* before *y*. But we have noted that the latter development, illustrated by **vašyah-*, need only be attributed to a dialect different from the standard language if the contrary treatment, that is, the failure of palatal *θ* to become *š* in **maθyah-*, had

¹ 'La célébrité des chevaux mèdes' can hardly by itself have introduced *aspa-* into the Persian vocabulary, as Meillet and Benveniste assumed (*Grammaire du vieux-perse*, 9). In any case such an explanation would not be applicable to *vispa-*.

² Cf. also the Pers. LW in Bal. *šā* (Mayer) 'black'.

a phonological reason, and was not merely due to the analogy of the superlative *maθišta-*.

Are there any examples of OP palatal θ failing to become \acute{s} before y where analogy can fairly be excluded? We have already considered one word which is thought to illustrate this failure, OP **tuθyaka-*. This word, as we saw, was regarded by Nyberg as a proof that the change of dental θ into \acute{s} before y , had ceased to be active by the time proto-Iranian s was changing to θ . If this relative chronology were correct it would, as noted above, remove the ground from under Henning's feet, as **vašyah-* could not be from **vaθyah-* if the earlier **vasyah-* had only become **vaθyah-* after θ before y had ceased to change to \acute{s} .

But apart from the fact that according to Henning palatal θ before y behaved differently in standard OP from dental θ , is Nyberg's premise that OP ever had a form **tuθyaka-* compelling?

Nyberg himself assumed that the immediate ancestor of MP *tuhīg* had the form **tuθiyaka-* because the suffix *-īg* could not have developed from *-yaka-*. On the other hand he inferred from Morgenstierne's reconstruction of the OIr. ancestor of Pš *taš* and Khot. *tušša* as **tusya-* (EVP, 84), that the Pš and Khot. forms could not alternatively be derived from **tusiya-*. He therefore regarded OP **tuθiyaka-* as having secondarily arisen from **tuθyaka-* quoting in support of this view OP *ha-ša-i-ya-* 'true', from **haθya-* (Ved. *satyá*), which he, in common with most scholars, normalized as *hašiya-*. That the *i* of *hašiya-* was not merely graphic he inferred, closing the circle somewhat viciously, from his assumption that the suffix of *tuhīg* required its OP ancestor to have ended in *-iyaka-*.

This reasoning does not stand up to scrutiny. To judge from Ved. *tuccháyá*, the *u* of IE **tus-skīyo-* was still followed at the Indo-Iranian stage by a consonant cluster, if only *sš* or double *ś*. The word should therefore, in accordance with Sievers' Law, have entered the proto-Iranian stage with *-iya-*. If at the end of the OP stage Nyberg still wants the word to

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have *-iya-*, why postulate an unlikely intermediate stage without *i*? Conversely, if there is proof that in this word IE *iy* had lost its *i* in proto-Iranian, why should one assume that at the end of the OP period the *i* was re-instated? ¹

The answer given by Nyberg to the first question was that Pš *taš* and Khot. *tušša* cannot go back to **tusiya-*. In fact they can, if on the one hand Pš *šlēdal* 'to break' is from *sid-*, as Morgenstierne suggested, and on the other, the Khot. causatives *īšš-* of *īs-* 'to return', and *ggei'šš-* of *ggei's-* 'to turn', go back, as they should, to present stems in *°saya-*.

To the second question Nyberg gave two answers. One was that the suffix of MP *tuhīg* cannot go back to *-yaka-*. This is inconclusive because we neither know that this is so, nor whether the suffix was *-īg* or *-ēg*, nor even whether the MP suffix was the outcome of the OP suffix of this word, or had been added secondarily to **tuh* (cf. below, p. 21, n. 2).

The other answer was that proto-Iranian **hathya-* had become *hašiya-* in OP. In fact the word spelt *ha-ša-i-ya-* was necessarily pronounced *hašya-*, as *š* would not have arisen from *θ* if the suffix had been *-iya-*. Of the two theoretically possible ways of writing *šya*, viz. *ša-ya* and *ša-i-ya*, OP orthography sensibly settled on the latter as the lesser evil, since at least it excluded the reading *šaya*.² Nyberg's reconstruction of **(tuθ)iyaka-* on the strength of MP *tuhīg* (which despite its uncertainty I am prepared to accept on the assumption that the *i* had been present from the beginning of Iranian speech), proves of course nothing where the ending of a different word, OP *ha-ša-i-ya-*, is concerned, the more so as unlike the word for 'empty', the ancestor of OP *ha-ša-i-ya-*

¹ Morgenstierne, *NTS* xiii, 1945, 226, similarly derives MP *māhīg* 'fish' from **māθiya-* < **māθya-*, without explaining why the form **māθiya-* which according to Sievers' Law must have preceded **māθya-*, should have lost and reacquired its *i*.

² Because the *a* vowel was inherent in the majority of OP consonantal signs, the *i* sign was inserted before the *ya* sign after most consonants. The writing *i-ya* was then extended to the few cases where the *i* sign was unnecessary, that is, after consonantal signs whose inherent vowel was *i*, as in *ja-di-i-ya-* = *jadya-* 'to ask'.

and, for that matter, the ancestors of all the attested OP words with *šy* from *θy*, should by Sievers' Law have entered the proto-Iranian stage with *y*, and not *iy*.

And so, in the last resort, the existence of **tuθya(ka)-* from **tusya(ka)-* could only be proved if a form requiring an OP **tušya(ka)-* were discovered in a Persian dialect.¹ But this would be the very form on whose non-existence Nyberg's relative chronology depends. The only means of proving that chronology would, if it turned up, disprove it.

But even Nyberg's ultimate premise is one which I believe he would no longer care to defend. The interest he had in proving that **tubiyaka-* had been preceded by **tuθya(ka)-*, and the latter by **tusya-*, arose from his conviction that in intervocalic position the OP outcome of IE (s)s̄k̄ had remained a double *s* until single *s* ceased to become *θ*, this being proved by the contrast between OP *aθanga-* and *tṛsa-*; but that before consonants, that is, for practical purposes, *y*, the double *s* had been degeminated early enough to share the shift to *θ* with originally single *s*, this being proved by **tuθya-*. Today we can see that matters stand otherwise: *tṛsa-* had a variant **tṛθa-*, just as *aθanga-* need have been no more than a variant of **asanga-*. MP *tuhīg*, therefore, if its OP ancestor had *-iya-* from the beginning, would be nothing but a standard-Persian counterpart, with *h* < *θ* < intervocalic IE (s)s̄k̄, of the dialectal *tehr-* of Southern Baškardi. The *h* of *tuhīg* being thus accounted for on the basis of Nyberg's own derivation of the word from OP **tubiyaka-*, he no longer has a stake in an earlier form **tuθyaka-*; which does not mean that if the proto-Iranian form had indeed been **tusya-*, the ancient Persians could not have realized it as **tuθya-* without ever inserting an *i* before *y*.²

¹ One would of course have to make sure that the dialect word in question really continues **tušyaka-*, and not **taušaka-*, cf. Av. *taoš-*.

² OP **tuθya-* was in fact postulated by Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 84, before the publication of Nyberg's article, as the ancestor of NP *tih* 'empty', in agreement with his derivation of Pš *taš* from **tusya-*. However, since OIr. *u* not infrequently became *i* in NP, *tih* may equally well represent OP **tuθa-* < proto-Ir. **tusa-* < IE **tus-s̄ko*; cf. Skt *tuccha*.

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If the relative chronology which Nyberg extracted from *tuhīg* can now be seen to lack all cogency, it is, however, also true that *tuhīg* cannot help us to decide whether the θ of **maθyah-* was analogical or spontaneous.¹ We must therefore look elsewhere for guidance.

The OP inscriptions provide two instances of a palatal θ which, to go by Sievers' Law, must have stood immediately before *y*. One is *viθyā*, the loc. sg. of *viθ-* (Ved. *viś*) 'house', the other the passive present stem *fraθya-* 'to be punished' of *fraθ-* (Av. *fras-*). But here again it may be thought that the failure of θ to become *ś* was due to analogy, as the inflection of *viθ-* and *fraθ-* included forms where θ was intervocalic.

Let us therefore, for the moment, disregard also these words, and turn to one which, though it has no theta, presents us with a delta which is believed to be palatal. This is the native form of the name Herodotus quotes as *Smerdis*, which in the OP version of the Behistun inscription is written *ba-ra-di-i-ya*, in the Elamite version *pir-ti-ia*, and in the Akkadian version *bar-zi-ia*.

The OP spelling is usually normalized as *Bardiya-*. But the El. spelling strongly suggests that the name was pronounced *Bṛḍya-*. For the El. sign *pir* never occurs in Iranian loanwords where an *a* stood between the labial and *r*.² And if the first syllable was *bṛ*, Sievers' Law requires the suffix to have been *-ya-*, and not *-iya-*.

The Akk. form, whose first syllable we shall also normalize as *bṛ*, is of course usually thought to be Median. We shall be more inclined to regard it as a proper Persian variant of *Bṛḍya-*.

But here a word of caution must be entered. The definition of Akk. *bar-zi-ia* as a Median form implies that its *z* reproduces

¹ The evidence of *tuhīg* would be inconclusive in this respect even if its immediate ancestor were **tuhyaka-*. If OP had **tutha-* in addition to **tuhya-* (see the preceding fn.), the persistence of θ in the former might have checked its tendency to become *ś* in the latter.

² El. *pir* usually represents the consonant cluster of the OP preverb *fra*. For Ir. *br-* only one example is available, viz. El. *pir-ra-iz-man*^o for OP *brazman*^o.

an Iranian *z*. It does not seem to have occurred to anybody that, since Akk. *z* is used for rendering not only Ir. *z*, but also *ž* (cf. Akk. *kam-bu-zi-ia* = OP *Kambužya-*), the spelling *bar-zi-ia* may alternatively convey an OP pronunciation *Bṛžya-*. Accordingly, since *Bṛḍya-*, being the form used by a Persian king of the name of another Persian king, is unlikely to have had an exclusively Median delta, three kinds of relationship between it and the Iranian form underlying Akk. *bar-zi-ia* can be envisaged.

If one says that in this name the Akk. *z* stands for Ir. *z*, in which case the delta of *Bṛḍya-* would necessarily be palatal, one may see in the latter's preservation before *y* a confirmation of Henning's view that the preservation of theta in **maθyah-* was spontaneous, and not analogical.

And if one thinks that the Akk. *z* stands for Ir. *ž*, the delta of *Bṛḍya-* nevertheless being palatal, one may say that the two forms, *Bṛḍya-* and *Bṛžya-*, illustrate in respect of palatal delta the dialect variation which in respect of palatal theta was recognized by Henning in the contrast between **maθyah-* and **vašyah-*.

But if one believes that the genuinely Persian delta of *Bṛḍya-* was dental, in which case the Akk. *z* will necessarily stand for *ž*, it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion that not only a dental delta, but also a dental theta, must have been able to stand before *y* without thereby disqualifying the word in which it occurs from being Persian. In other words, one will expect that beside the attested *mṛšyu-* 'death', a form **mṛθyu-* identical with Av. *mərəθyu-*, must also have existed in genuine Old Persian.

And the moment this conclusion has been reached, it will appear that OP *xšāyaθya-*, ancestor of NP *šāh*, whose *θ* represents indeed an IE dental, is not a Median loanword, as has invariably been assumed, but as Persian as commonsense suggests it to be.

I willingly admit that in the form in which I have argued the case the conclusion is contingent on a premise in which I do not believe. Regardless of whether the Akk. *z* in Smerdis's

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name represents *z* or *ž*, there is no reason why the usual etymology of OP *Bṛδya-* as belonging to Av. *bərəz-* 'high, exalted' should be discarded. The conclusion, however, once envisaged, cannot lightly be dismissed. For two other considerations also lead to it.

Firstly a general consideration. If there is one point one may hesitate to accept in Henning's theory, it is that in standard OP *θ* before *y* would behave differently according as it was palatal or dental. If dental, Henning assumed, the theta would turn into *š* before *y*, if palatal it would remain unchanged; so that **vašyah-*, with its former palatal *θ* turned into *š*, would have to belong to a Persian dialect different from the one to which *mṛšyu-* belonged, with its *š* from dental theta. I find it difficult to believe that the ancient Persians felt a difference between thetas which only we, thanks to the comparative study of Indo-European, know to have been of different origin. And I would see a proof that all thetas were alike to them, in the fact that *θ + r* resulted, as we have seen, in an emphatic sibilant regardless of whether it was dental or palatal.¹

The second consideration is that, if we are right in dating the OP realization of *s* as *θ* approximately in and after the middle of the 6th century, the chances are that as **vašyah-*, being from **vaθyah-*, could not have come into being before that date, the replacement of dental *θ* before *y* with *š* was still liable to occur at the time when *xšāyathyā-*, as a Median loanword, would have been borrowed. If Median **ganza-* continued to be widely used in OP beside its exclusively Persian realization as **ganḍa-*, this must have been because antevocalic *z*, as we have tried to show, occurred also in

¹ Similarly the rule that *θ* becomes *š* before *n* in OP applies to both dental and palatal theta; cf. on the one hand OP *vašnā* 'by the will' against Av. *vasna*, on the other OP *arašn-* 'cubit' against Av. *arəθn-*. The assumption that the *šn* of Av. *frašna-* goes back straight to proto-Ir. **šn*, while in OP *vašnā* *šn* is from **θn* < proto-Ir. **sn*, agrees with Henning's explanation of OP **vašyah-* as from **vaθyah-* < **vasyah-*. If the assumption is correct, OP **yažna-* and **gažna-* (see above, p. 10, n. 1) will have had as immediate antecedents **yaθna-* and **gaθna-*.

genuine Persian words. By the same token one would not expect the θ of Median *xšāyaθya-* to have resisted the change to \acute{s} , unless it might also have done so if the word had been genuinely Persian. But if the failure of θ to become \acute{s} in *xšāyaθya-* is a Persian trait regardless of whether the word was a borrowed one or not, what reason remains for regarding it as a loanword ?

Where delta before y is concerned, the OP inscriptions provide one instance each of a palatal and a dental one, both in present stems: *yadya-* 'to be worshipped' (Av. *yazyā-*), and *jadya-* 'to ask' (Av. *ḡadyā-*). To the latter example one may add **madyāna-* 'middle', vouchsafed by MP *miyān*. Are we entitled to expect that there was an OP dialect in which the verb for 'to ask' might have appeared as **jažya-*, and the word for 'middle' as **mažyāna-*? As the theoretically possible reading **Bržya-* of the Akk. spelling *bar-zi-ia* of Smerdis's native name cannot be substantiated, we lack an assurance that OP delta, dental or palatal, ever did change into \acute{z} before y . But firstly this change would be fully in agreement with that of θy to $\acute{s}y$ on the one hand, and the probable one of δn to $\acute{z}n$ on the other (cf. above, p. 24, n. 1), and secondly its assumption would make it possible to apply to a puzzling present stem quoted from the Kurdish dialect of Kalūn-Abdū, an explanation parallel to the one Henning offered of NP *andēš-* and *xurōš-* (cf. above, p. 3, n. 1).

The Kal.-Abd. verb *kēž-* 'to throw' has been connected by Barr (see Andreas, *Dialektaufzeichnungen*, 394, 443 n. 2, 476) with *karz-* 'to shoot', which occurs in the Fars dialect of Somγūn (see Mann, *Tājīk-Mundarten*, 36a, 55a). Barr tentatively assumed that *kēž-* had been borrowed from a Parthian dialect, so that the z of *karz-* would be due to normal MP depalatalization of OIr. \acute{z}/\acute{j} . However, on board a vessel in the Persian Gulf I recorded from a Baluči sailor the evidently Persian compound *tīre-peikāl* 'bow' which, if Somγ. *karz-* is compared, appears to mean literally '(instrument for) shooting arrows'. The same base *kāl-* from OP **karδ-* seems to occur, borrowed from Persian, in the Northern

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Baškardi and Baluči word for ' archer ', *mīšekāl*, which as the name of a certain Southern Baškardi-speaking tribe is indifferently pronounced with final *-l* or *-r*.¹ Accordingly the modern forms can be taken to reflect three OP present stems (strictly speaking two, one of them appearing in two realizations): **karza-* > *karz-*, **karḍa-* > *°kāl-*, and **karḍya-* > **karžya-* > *kēž-*.² And if palatal delta before *y* became *ž* in one OP dialect, no doubt the same as had **vašyah-* from **vaθyah-*, the dialect, whether or not it be the same as the preceding, in which dental theta became *š* before *y*, will correspondingly have replaced dental delta with *ž* in the same position.³

But is the present stem *jaḍya-* a safer witness to the phonological disinclination of a certain OP dialect to change dental delta before *y* into *ž*, than **maθyah-* is to the spontaneous perseverance of palatal *θ* before *y*? Might not delta in this present stem owe its preservation to the analogy of forms in which the delta of the verb *gaḍ-* remained unchanged because

¹ In Southern Baškardi OP *rḍ* has been reduced to *r*, regardless of whether the delta was dental or palatal.

² Barr compared the relation of *kēž-* to *karz-*, to that of Garrūsi *beržān* ' eye-lash ' to Baxt. *mīrzang*, op. cit., 138 sq., 295 sq., 476. With *beržān* one may now range, with initial *m* preserved, Luri *moržang* and *maržān* (quoted by Unvala, *The Luri and Dizfūli Dialects*, 29), while *mīrzang* is ultimately identical with Bamī *melāl* (Sotoodeh, *Farhang-e Kermāni*, 171), a form known to me also from Bandarī (the dialect of Bandar Abbas) and Southern Baškardi (as a Pers. LW). The variant *menāl*, which I recorded from Rudbāri and Northern Baškardi informants, shows that *melāl* is from **milān*. One would therefore again posit three OP forms, **mīrzāna-* > *mīrzang*, **mīḍāna-* > **milān* > *melāl*, and **mīḍyāna-* > **mīžyāna-* > *beržān*, if it were not that *beržān* might alternatively have resulted from a contamination of **mīrzān* and NP *mīže*; the last, which is presumably a Parth. LW, belongs to the OIr. base **mīš-* attested through MP *nmyz-* (see Henning, *Sogdica*, 5) and Khot. *nāmājs-* (see Bailey, *BSOAS*, xxiii, 23).

³ Of the four NP words displaying a *ž/j* for which Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, 224, could not account, none is relevant to our problem: *nīžād* ' family, extraction ' is evidently not from **nizāti-* as Hübschmann thought, but from **niž-zāti-*; *bišīšk* ' physician ' has *š* < *ž* < *z* by assimilation to the following *š*; on *diž* ' fortress ' and *buš* ' goat ' Professor Henning has kindly given me his opinion that they are mere inventions of Persian lexicographers.

its position was intervocalic? ¹ Did we not above, p. 22, refrain for a similar reason from relying on the present stem *fraθya-*?

The answer to the last question is that we need not have done so. For NP *andēš-* and *xurōš-* (above, p. 3, nn. 1 and 2) have š, and Kal.-Abd. *kēž-*, if correctly explained by us, has ž, only because their ancestral present stems **handaiθya-*, **xrauθya-*, and **karδya-* ² were not prevented by the existence of present stems such as **diθa-*, **xrauθa-*, and **karδa-*, from undergoing a shift to **handaišya-*, **xraušya-*, and **karžya-*.

Accordingly OP *fraθya-* and, indirectly, *yaδya-*, may be allowed to bear witness to the phonological regularity of the palatal theta of **maθyah-*, and *jaδya-* to confirm, by implication, the Persian authenticity of the dental theta of *xšāyaθya-*.

On Henning's theory of a Persian dialect differentiation illustrated by NP *mih* < **maθyah-* versus *bēš* < **vašyah-* < **vaθyah-* we thus reach the conclusion that it is correct, with one reservation: no difference was made in either dialect between dental and palatal theta; whatever its origin, theta before *y* became š in one dialect, and remained unchanged in the other, so that in the language of the inscriptions the missing **vašyah-* may be said to be represented by *mššyu-*, and the missing **maθyah-* not only by *fraθya-*, but also by

¹ The Parth. present stem *ng'y-* was translated by Andreas and Henning, *Mir. Man.* iii, as (1) 'to sing', and (2) 'to implore', and the noun *ng'd* similarly as (1) 'singing', and (2) 'imploration'; Ghilain, *Essai*, gave as only meaning 'chant(er)'. The second meaning suits the contexts better than the first, which seems to have been inferred exclusively from the supposed etymology of these words as from **gāya-/gāta-* 'to sing'. *Ng'y-*, however, may just as well go back to an OIr. pres. stem **ni-gāda-*, and *ng'd* to a noun **ni-gādā-* derived from it, cf. Sogd. *nyʾδ'* 'prayer'. The Parth. alternation of *d* and *y* would be as in *wʾdʾg* 'leader' against *wʾy-* 'to lead', from the base *vad-*. OIr. **ni-gāda-* would also account more satisfactorily than the usual etymology from *gāy-* 'to sing', for the meaning of Pahl. *niyāyišn*, which translates Av. *nəmah-* 'prayer'. Salemann came near this interpretation of *niyāyišn* when in *Man. Stud.* i, 100 he suggested reading the word *nizāyišn* on the strength of Man. MP *nyʾy-* 'to implore' < **ni-jāda-*.

² These present stems, and the one underlying the verbal noun **xšāya-* (above, p. 3, n. 2), infringe Sievers' Law, as do several Vedic present stems in *-ya-*, cf. Edgerton, *Language*, x (1934), 255.

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xšāyaθya-. On the statistical level, therefore, the language of the OP inscriptions appears to be the dialect in which *θy* had become *šy*, except in such words as belonged to another Persian dialect, exempt from this change.¹

As to the reputedly Median features of OP other than the *θ* of *xšāyaθya-*, our conclusion is that the presence in an OP word of *s* or *z* from an IE palatal, or of dental *θ* before *r*, does not prove Median provenance, while the presence of *sp* from Indo-Iranian *św* does. It is therefore only OP words showing this last feature, or *f* from proto-Iranian *hw* (as in *farnah-*), or *nz* from *zn* (as in **ganza-*), or post-vocalic *t* at the end of first compound-terms (as in **Zarat-uštra-*, see *JNES*, xxiii, 1964, 38), that can confidently be regarded as having been borrowed from Median.

¹ From a systematic point of view one may say that there is no advantage in defining NP *šāh* as Median because of its *h*, if NP *mih* despite its *h* must be regarded as genuinely Persian.

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DIALECT VARIATION IN EARLY PERSIAN

Ilya Gershevitch

Abstract

ONE of the many puzzles of Iranian dialectology is that quite apart from the countless Arabic and otherwise foreign loanwords in Persian, so many Iranian words of the Persian vocabulary are declared to be non-Persian intruders.

Persian word for 'king', *šāh*, is not proper Persian, say the comparative grammarians, because the form to be expected in proper Persian would be **šāš*; the word for 'town', *čajr*, which at an early period meant 'kingdom', ought to have been **čaj*; instead of Pers. *sang* 'stone' one expects **hang*; instead of *buzurg* 'big' **buhurg*; instead of *asp* 'horse' **as*; instead of *asmān* 'sky' **āhmān*; and even instead of *Fārsī* Persian **Pāhlī*.

All these words, and very many others conveying the most ordinary meanings, disagree with one or another rule of what is believed to be the phonology of proper Persian, but agree with what little is known, or can be inferred, about Median phonology. They are accordingly declared Median. And they are declared Median, rather than belonging to some other non-Persic language, for instance Avestan, which in respect of the Old Iranian antecedents of these words behaves like Median, because the ancestors of some of them occur in a supposedly non-Persic form already in Old Persian, at a time, about 520 B.C., when the Persians, having not long before taken over from the Medians a vast empire, would be likely to have been influenced by the administrative, as well as generally cultural vocabulary of the Medes.

Keywords: Media, Ancient Persian, Achaemenians, Media vocabulary, 6th century B.C.

نمایی از شرق: بیضی گودین ششم و کره اوروک^۱

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چکیده

در بخش دوم این پژوهش، مهاجرت‌های اصلی اقوام تبار *سوپارستاها و سواگواتاها در آسیا و اروپا از هزاره دوم قبل از میلاد تا دهم پس از میلاد بازسازی شده است. نقش اقوام خویشاوند اتروسک در تکامل ملل و زبان‌های هندواروپایی بررسی و برجسته می‌شود. در بخش اول این مطالعه، نام *سوپارستاها برای نیاکان مردمانی که به زبان پروتو-هندواروپایی صحبت می‌کنند، *پارستاس و *سواگواتاس، و *سوپاراها و *تیرگواناس*های مربوط به آنها بازسازی شده است. با تجزیه و تحلیل اقوام اقوام تبار و گواهی‌های تاریخی بر روی آنها، رگه‌هایی از آداب و رسوم و مذهب پیشینیان برجسته شده است. علاوه بر این، مهاجرت‌های اولیه اقوام نسل در آسیا و اروپا بازسازی شده است. در این بخش دوم، میراث مردمانی را که از هزاره دوم قبل از میلاد در آسیا و اروپا پراکنده شده‌اند، تحلیل خواهیم کرد.

کلید واژه‌ها: مادها، نوشیجان، بین‌النهرین، بیضی گودین، کره اوروک

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^۶نگوی تلیخ، پژشور و مدرس در دانشگاه آزاداس ی

Hydrophilic (Prolin 417) containing crosslinkers, polyethylene glycol (PEG) and polyethylene glycol dimethyl ether (PEG-DME) (10) participate in the crosslinking reaction. The crosslinking reaction is carried out in a solution of water and glycerol. The crosslinking reaction is carried out in a solution of water and glycerol. The crosslinking reaction is carried out in a solution of water and glycerol.

1.1. Synthesis

Sample of Gelatin V5 (the weight of 5 g) was dissolved in 100 ml of distilled water. The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature. The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature. The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature.

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Figure 1. Gelatin V5 (the weight of 5 g) was dissolved in 100 ml of distilled water. The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature. The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature.

1.2. Crosslinking reaction

The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature. The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature. The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature. The solution was stirred for 24 hours at room temperature.

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شکل ۱۰

Plate 10 (continued)

Four black iron nails (Fig. 10) and five metal fasteners were recovered from the site. A small copper fastener was also recovered (Fig. 11). The majority of the metal objects were made of iron. In addition, five bronze objects were recovered, including a small bronze vessel (Fig. 10) and a small bronze fastener (Fig. 11). The majority of the metal objects were made of iron. In addition, five bronze objects were recovered, including a small bronze vessel (Fig. 10) and a small bronze fastener (Fig. 11). The majority of the metal objects were made of iron. In addition, five bronze objects were recovered, including a small bronze vessel (Fig. 10) and a small bronze fastener (Fig. 11).

The majority of the metal objects were made of iron. In addition, five bronze objects were recovered, including a small bronze vessel (Fig. 10) and a small bronze fastener (Fig. 11). The majority of the metal objects were made of iron. In addition, five bronze objects were recovered, including a small bronze vessel (Fig. 10) and a small bronze fastener (Fig. 11).



Plate 11 (continued)

Table 1
Chemical analysis of metal objects recovered from the site

Sample	Copper (%)		Iron (%)		Lead (%)	
	Weight	Volume	Weight	Volume	Weight	Volume
1001	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1002	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1003	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1004	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1005	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1006	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1007	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1008	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1009	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1010	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1011	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1012	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1013	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1014	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1015	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1016	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1017	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1018	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1019	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1020	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1021	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1022	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1023	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1024	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1025	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1026	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1027	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1028	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1029	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1030	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1031	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1032	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1033	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1034	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1035	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1036	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1037	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1038	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1039	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1040	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1041	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1042	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1043	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1044	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1045	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1046	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1047	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1048	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1049	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
1050	99.5	99.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0

The majority of the metal objects were made of iron. In addition, five bronze objects were recovered, including a small bronze vessel (Fig. 10) and a small bronze fastener (Fig. 11). The majority of the metal objects were made of iron. In addition, five bronze objects were recovered, including a small bronze vessel (Fig. 10) and a small bronze fastener (Fig. 11). The majority of the metal objects were made of iron. In addition, five bronze objects were recovered, including a small bronze vessel (Fig. 10) and a small bronze fastener (Fig. 11).

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نمایی از شرق: بیضی گودین ششم و کره اوروک^۱

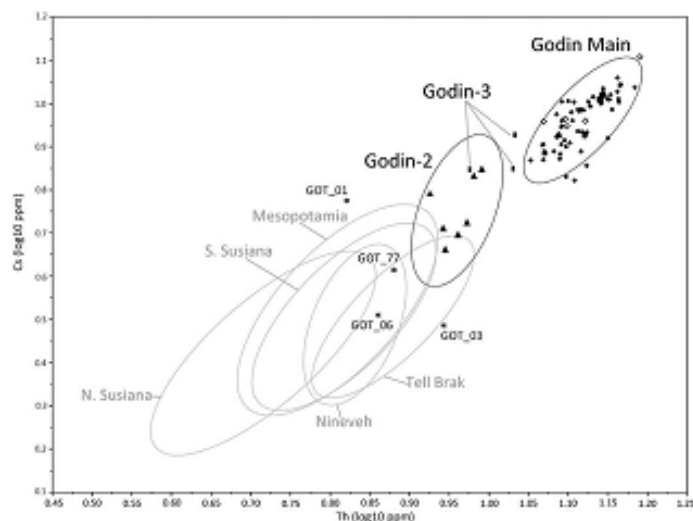


Fig. 8. Separation of chemical composition groups for the Godin sample on Cs and Th, relative to confidence interval ellipses for ceramic reference groups from Mesopotamia, Susiana, and the adjacent piedmont.

fragments GOT-49 and 50, a fact that corresponds well to bevel-rim bowls from many other Uruk sites. The use of sedge (*Cyperaceae*) as temper, on the other hand, was noted in both local Group VI-E as well as in non-local Group VI-H. Its appearance in a local group, indicating

the presence of wetlands in close proximity to one local ceramic production site, should not surprise since the Kurramud River is located directly to the north of Godin. Equally noticeable, however, is its presence in GOT_35 & GOT_21, two four-lugged jars from the oval compound.

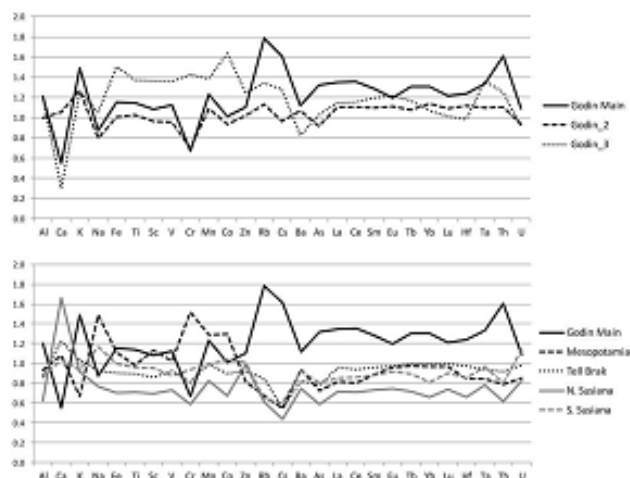


Fig. 9. Compositional profiles for the Godin ceramic groups. Upper: Comparison of Godin Main with ceramic reference groups from Mesopotamia, Susiana, and the adjacent piedmont (all located within the ZFTB), emphasizing the enrichment of Godin ceramics in Cs, Rb, the REE, and Th; Lower: Comparison of the compositional profiles for the three ceramic groups encountered at Godin.

نمایی از شرق: بیضی گودین ششم و کره اوروک^۱

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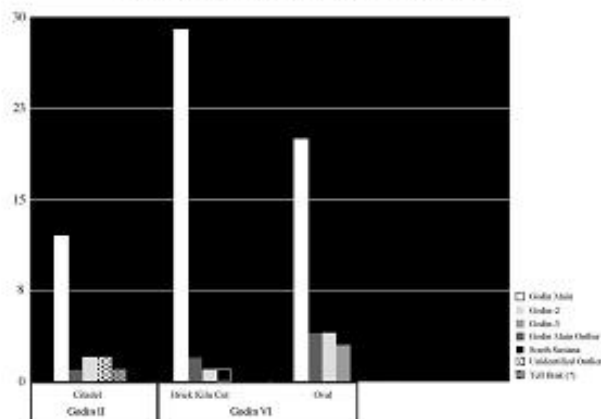


Fig. 10. Distribution of compositional groups by period and area.

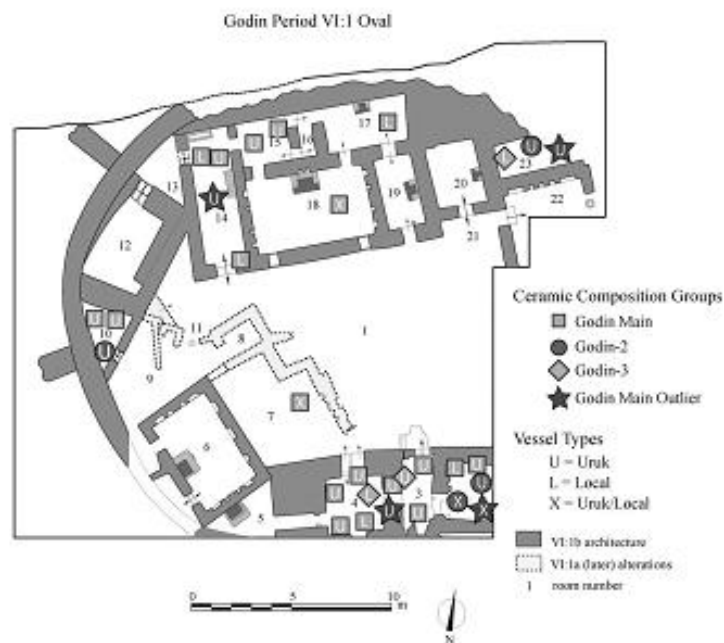


Fig. 11. Spatial distribution of composition group samples in oval compound.



Figure 3. Aerial view of the study area in the village of Huzul-Tuzul.

and types were considered in the study (Figure 3 and Table 2).

Over a 100-hour field survey, we collected vegetation samples from 100 plots in particular distribution of the study area. The 100 plots were placed randomly in natural and human-made areas (mainly forest, meadow and low-moisture plots) and were surveyed. The plots were placed in the study area in a way that the number of plots in each type was proportional to the number of plots in the study area (Figure 3).

In order to assess the effects of vegetation on the environment, we collected samples from the study area in the study area (Figure 3). We collected the samples from the study area in the study area (Figure 3). We collected the samples from the study area in the study area (Figure 3).

After the field survey, we collected samples from the study area in the study area (Figure 3). We collected the samples from the study area in the study area (Figure 3).

The study included 100 plots in the study area in the study area (Figure 3). We collected the samples from the study area in the study area (Figure 3). We collected the samples from the study area in the study area (Figure 3).

Method

The study was conducted in the study area in the study area (Figure 3).

Vegetation Type	Number of Plots		Area (m ²)
	Field/Meadow	Forest	
Field/Meadow	10	10	1000
Forest	10	10	1000
Community Garden	10	10	1000
Shrubland/Grassland	10	10	1000
Total	40	40	4000

Figure 3

نمایی از شرق: بیضی گودین ششم و کره اوروک^۱

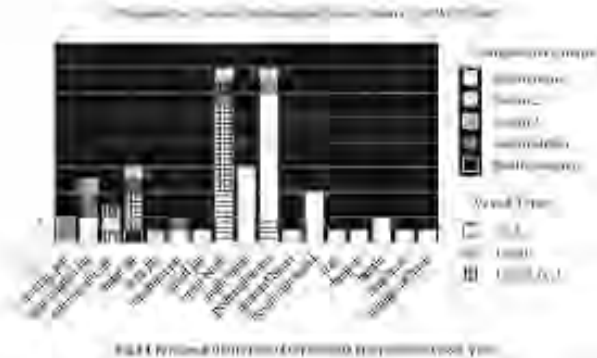


Figure 1: Percentage of types of pottery found in various archaeological sites.

...the pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ... The fact that the ... pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ... The fact that the ... pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ...

...the pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ... The fact that the ... pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ... The fact that the ... pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ...

2. Summary and Discussion

The summary of the site is as follows: ... The pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ...

- The pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ...
- The pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ...
- The pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ...
- The pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ...



Figure 2: Two small images showing pottery fragments, one on the left and one on the right, with a scale bar below them.

¹ ... The pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ... The fact that the ... pottery found in the site is similar to the pottery found in the site of ...



Figure 3: A large image showing a pottery fragment with a scale bar below it.

گاه‌شمار سلطنت آشوربانیپال^۱

آلبرت کرک گرایسون^۲

مترجم منصورحمدالله‌زاده^۳

چکیده

گاه‌شماری سلطنت آشوربانیپال هنوز یکی از نامشخص‌ترین مداخل در تاریخ نوآشوری و در عین حال یکی از حیاتی‌ترین آنها است. از زمان اسمیت (۱۸۷۱)، در تاریخ آشوربانیپال سه مطالعه عمده در مورد این موضوع صورت پذیرفته است: جانز (۱۹۰۲-۱۹۰۷)، استرک (۱۹۱۶)، و ویسباخ (۱۹۲۸) اما در نیم قرن اخیر نسبت به ویسیاخ تعدادی منابع و نشریات جدید که بر گاه‌شماری مربوط می‌شوند اضافه گردیده است و زمان آن فرا رسیده است تا تحلیلی جدید ارائه گردد. مشکلات پیرامون کندالانو و تاریخ پایان سلطنت آشوربانیپال بیشتر به تاریخ بابلی تعلق دارد تا آشوری و از آنجایی که در سال‌های اخیر مورد توجه قرار گرفته‌اند، ممکن است بنابر این در این مقاله به آن پرداخته نشده است.

مقاله حاضر اساساً ترکیبی است که بر اساس کار بسیاری از محققان، ترکیب متون و مطالعات جدید در تلاش برای بازسازی بهترین گاه‌شماری ممکن از سلطنت آشوربانیپال بر اساس دانش فعلی ما است. در این مقاله از اماکن مذهبی نیز ذکر خواهد شد است..

کلید واژه‌ها: آشور، آشور نو، آشوربانیپال، گاه‌شماری، گاه‌شماری آشوربانیپال

اَلْمَن مَقَالَ بِلرِشْرِي اسْت از :

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تنگوی تیلخ، پڑ شوگر و مدرس در دانشگاه آزاداس ی

The Chronology of the Reign of Ashurbanipal

By A. K. Grayson

The chronology of the reign of Ashurbanipal is still one of the more uncertain areas in Neo-Assyrian history and yet one of the most crucial. Since George Smith's *History of Ashurbanipal* (1871) three major studies of the subject, by Johns (1902—1907),¹ Streck (1916),² and Weissbach (1928),³ have been presented but in the half century since the last mentioned article a number of new sources and publications which bear on the chronology have appeared and the time is ripe for a new synthesis.⁴ The problems surrounding Kandalanu and the date of the end of Ashurbanipal's reign belong more to Babylonian than Assyrian history and, since they have been the object of intensive interest in recent years, they may be excluded from this enquiry.⁵

¹ PSBA 24 (1902), pp. 235—241; 25 (1903), pp. 82—89; 27 (1905), pp. 92—100, 288—296; 29 (1907), pp. 74—84.

² Streck, *Asb.* 1, pp. CCXXXIV—CCXXXVIII

³ RLA 1, pp. 203f.

⁴ Relevant new sources will be referred to as necessity arises in this article. Relevant special studies are: Piepkorn, *Asb.* (1933); Aynard, *Asb.* (1957); Tadmor, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Orientalists' Congress in Moscow in 1960* (Moscow, 1962) pp. 240f.; Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 34 (1965), pp. 241—258; Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 38 (1969), pp. 336—348; Dietrich, *Aramäer* (1970) and cf. Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 46 (1977), pp. 304—325; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1973) §§ 353—360; Weippert, *WO* 7 (1973), pp. 39—85; Spalinger, *Or. n.s.* 43 (1974), pp. 295—326; Spalinger, *JAOS* 94 (1974), pp. 316—328; Spalinger, *JARCE* 13 (1976), pp. 133—147; Cogan and Tadmor, *Or. n.s.* 46 (1977), pp. 65—85; Spalinger, *JAOS* 98 (1978), pp. 400—409.

In this study I have avoided a pedantic documentation of everyone's opinion on every date, particularly in cases where the opinion is simply out-of-date, and only in matters of wide discrepancy will there be some discussion of other views. The dates for the various editions of the annals in the brief outline published by Tadmor, *op. cit.*, have been accepted here as preferable to those implied by Falkner, in her study of the post-canonical eponyms in *AfO* 17 (1954—56), pp. 100—120.

⁵ Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952—53), pp. 35—46; Borger, *WZKM* 55 (1959), pp. 62—76; Borger, *JCS* 19 (1965), pp. 59—78; J. Oates, *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 135—159; von Soden, *ZA* 58 (1967), pp. 241—255; Rost, *FB* 10 (1968), pp. 39—62; Reade, *JCS* 23 (1970), pp. 1—9.

The present article is essentially a synthesis which builds upon the work of many scholars, incorporating new texts and studies in an attempt to reconstruct the best possible chronology of Ashurbanipal's reign on the basis of our current knowledge.⁶ Emphasis is on military and political affairs although building projects and cultic matters will be mentioned.

The reason that this is such a problematic area is the fact that chronologically oriented sources for Ashurbanipal are singularly sparse. There is no eponym chronicle for the entire reign; the eponym list breaks off at 649; no Babylonian chronicles are preserved beyond 667; and the chronological confusion is compounded by Ashurbanipal's "annals". In the text of the annals no eponyms are quoted for events but rather the campaigns are numbered in order of their appearance in the narrative and since the order of appearance is often different in the various editions, the number of the same campaign is often different.⁷ The designation "campaign" is also misleading for several expeditions or military incidents are commonly included under what is introduced as one campaign. The sequence of events in the narrative is unreliable for campaigns are arranged primarily along geographical rather than chronological lines. In other words Ashurbanipal's "annals" are not true Assyrian annals at all; rather they are a cross between the annals and display texts.⁸ Given these difficulties, how is one to reconstruct a chronology?

A crucial first step is the correct arrangement and dating of the editions of the annals dated by eponyms of the "post-canonical" period, a matter which has been studied by Tadmor and whose conclusions are accepted in this paper.⁹ Beyond this one must re-examine

* I am grateful to Dr. G. Frame, Dr. J. Reade, and Prof. H. Tadmor, for reading a draft of this article and offering me their opinions of which I took cognizance in writing the final draft. They are, of course, not responsible for any statements in this article.

⁷ Even the phrase *ina rēš šarrūti* is only a general term for the early part of the reign and not the *terminus technicus* for "accession year". This is illustrated in Edition F (Aynard, *Asb.* pp. 30—33 i 35—51) where the last campaign against the Egyptians is introduced by *ina rēš šarrūti*. There is, of course, usually an eponym date after the concluding formulae of each exemplar of an edition.

⁸ For studies of the interrelationships of the annals and the method of compilation see Olmstead, *Historiography* pp. 53—59 and the works cited above in n. 4 by Piepkorn, Aynard, Spalinger, Cogan and Tadmor to which add Cogan, *JCS* 29 (1977), pp. 97—107.

⁹ Cf. above n. 4.

all the evidence in order to present a practical system of dates for the period. In this study the detailed documentation will be relegated to appendices so that the reader may follow the main argument without tediously working through all the evidence unless he chooses to do so.

Briefly, Appendix A sets forth the firm dates of the reign, the dates derived from Babylonian chronicles, oracle texts, astronomical observations, and everyday documents. Appendix B presents the evidence for the dates of the beginning and end of the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin, these being crucial for the identification of the regnal years of Shamash-shuma-ukin in the chronicles. Appendix C contains a list, in alphabetical order, of major incidents included in Ashurbanipal's annals; each is given an abbreviation, brief bibliography, and summary of contents. The abbreviations will facilitate discussion for one need only mention "Arabs 1" or "Arwad 2" without further documentation. It is to be stressed that most of these major incidents can be dissected into a number of parts and have internal chronological problems of their own. This has been amply illustrated in special studies (cited below) of the Egyptian campaigns by Spalinger, the Arab campaigns by Eph'al and Weippert, and the Gyges of Lydia narrative by Cogan, Tadmor and Spalinger. Such investigations, of which more are needed, are beyond the scope of this paper wherein only the date of the core of the incident is sought in order to establish a practical outline of the chronology of the reign.

Appendix D deals with the problem of the date of the first campaign to Egypt during Ashurbanipal's reign. In Appendix E are listed the dates of the editions of the annals. Appendix F is a brief discussion of the sequence of events in the annals and illustrates that the sequence is geographically rather than chronologically oriented.

The task of the present discussion, then, is to weave together all of the information and argumentation set forth in the appendices and to conclude with a chronological table of the events of Ashurbanipal's reign. A word about the method of citing Gregorian dates in this article is appropriate at this point. Technically all dates should be given double numerals (e.g. 648/47) to reflect more properly the correspondence with the Gregorian calendar but the method is cumbersome and has been generally avoided. Nor has any attempt been made to equate the months and days given in the sources with modern months and days since our ignorance of the use of the intercalary month in the Assyrian calendar prevents us from making such equations.

To begin in the middle, the dates of the Shamas-shuma-ukin Rebellion are 652 to 648. It erupted late in 652 (x/10) and was not fully

suppressed until at least the middle of the fourth month of 648, according to the firm dates listed in Appendix A.¹⁰ This event is a convenient fixed point from which to work out the chronology. Turning back to the early part of the reign, "Arwad ۱" (Yakinlu submits to Ashurbanipal) must have occurred about 667 just before or in connection with the first Egyptian campaign since Arwad is listed in "Egypt ۱" (in Edition C) among the kingdoms which provided troops and in "Arwad ۱" it is stated that Yakinlu of Arwad had not previously been a subject of Assyria.

In the period after the first Egyptian campaign (667) and before the outbreak of the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion (late 652) a number of incidents must be placed, viz. "Egypt 2", "Tyre", "Arwad 2", "Tabal", "Hilakku", "Lydia ۱", "Mannaeans", "Medes", "Urartu ۱", and "Elam ۱-3". The reasons for this conclusion are: ۱) They must have a *terminus ante quem* of 649 since they are all included in Editions B and D (see Appendix E); 2) No mention is made in any of the narratives of the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion; 3) The major campaigns ("Egypt 2", "Tyre", "Mannaeans", "Medes", "Urartu ۱", and "Elam 3") could hardly have been undertaken during the first Egyptian campaign or during the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion.

In fact some of the incidents can be dated more precisely within the period 667-652. "Elam ۱" concerns the attack of Urtaki on Assyria and, as Walker has demonstrated, it is known that Ashurbanipal (or at least his army) was in Egypt at the time on the first campaign.¹¹ Thus "Elam ۱" dates to 667. In "Elam 2" is narrated the deposition of Urtaki and the flight of Ummanigash, the crown prince, to Assyria and this must be identical, as Millard recognized, with the chronicle entry for 664 (vii/12) regarding the flight of an Elamite prince to Assyria (see Appendix A).¹² "Elam 3" is actually dated, it seems, by a lunar eclipse to 653 (see Appendix A). As to "Lydia ۱", Cogan and Tadmor have shown that this must date in or before 665, the lowest possible date for Edition E₁.¹³

Precise dates cannot be assigned to the remaining incidents. In the proposed chronology I have simply listed them in the order in which

¹⁰ Dr. Frame informs me that some documents to be published by Prof. Brinkman are dated in the fifth month. I am grateful to Prof. Brinkman and Dr. Frame for this information.

¹¹ Bauer, *Asb.* pp. 56f., *Rm.* 281. See Walker in Barnett, *Asb.* p. 6, n. 6.

¹² Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), p. 19.

¹³ Or. n.s. 46 (1977), pp. 83f. Cf. Spalinger, *JAOS* 98 (1978), pp. 401 and 409.

they appear in the annals with a sequence of dates. These dates are really just guesses although there are other considerations which lend them credibility. The incidents regarding voluntary tribute ("Arwad 2", "Tabal", and "Hilakku") would naturally occur after the successful campaigns against Egypt ("Egypt 2") and Tyre just as narrated in the annals.¹⁴

We have now arrived back at our fixed point, the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion (652—648) and there are some incidents which are closely related to it. "Elam 4" describes Elamite support for the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion and has a *terminus ante quem* of 649 (Editions B and D) so that it should be placed c. 651—650. As to "Arabs 1", although some of the events included in this narrative, such as Yauta's raids in the west, can be dated earlier in the reign the core of the narrative is Qedar's involvement with the Shamsh-shuma-ukin Rebellion which must have occurred c. 650 since it has a *terminus ante quem* of 649 (Editions B and D).¹⁵

The campaigns described in "Elam 5" and "Elam 6" have the *terminus ante quem* of c. 646 (Edition F). More specifically they must have taken place before the early part of 646 since they should precede the letter of Ummanaldash (iv/26/646) and one exemplar of Edition F is dated ii/—/646. Thus the dates 648 and 647 for "Elam 5" and "Elam 6" respectively are reasonably certain. The month (iii/—) of the beginning of the campaign in "Elam 5" is recorded in Edition A (Streck, *Asb.* p. 40 iv 110).¹⁶ "Elam 7" and "Elam 8" must have occurred after "Elam 6" and if one accepts the chronological sequence of Edition A, the only edition in which the remaining incidents are narrated, one could arbitrarily assign successive years, viz. "Elam 7" 645, "Arabs 2" 644, and "Elam 8" 643 with "Urartu 2" (gifts from Sardur) also in 643.

¹⁴ This fits the chronology generally adopted by other scholars, including Egyptologists, who date Tandamane's death to 664; the subsequent Assyrian campaign ("Egypt 2") to 664/3; and the capture of Thebes to 663. Cf. Weissbach, *RLA* 1, p. 204a; Aynard, *Asb.* p. 18; Spalinger, *Or. n.s.* 43 (1974), p. 295; Spalinger, *JAOS* 94 (1974), p. 317b; and Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period* § 355.

¹⁵ Cf. Weippert, *WO* 7 (1973), pp. 69—73; Eph'al, *The Nomads on the Border of Palestine in the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Periods*, unpublished thesis submitted to the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1971. Although I have not seen the thesis Dr. Eph'al kindly gave me an abstract for which I am indebted to him.

¹⁶ I am indebted to Dr. G. Frame and Dr. Julian Reade for their advice on this matter.

The date of the death of Gyges ("Lydia 2") must be lower than the traditional date of 652 since it does not appear in any of the Editions except Edition A (c. 643/2).¹⁷ It should be somewhere after c. 646 (Edition F) and before c. 643 and recently Spalinger has presented a cogent argument for a date of 644.¹⁸ The voluntary dispatch to Assyria of gifts narrated in "Cyrus" and "Hudimiru" can be dated shortly after c. 643/2 since these incidents are not found in Edition A but the motive for sending the gifts is said to be an Assyrian victory over Elam, presumably Elam 8. The abortive attacks on Assyria by "Dugdamme" (Lygdamis) should also be placed after c. 643/2 since they are not found in Edition A but before c. 639 since the narrative appears in Edition H.

Proposed Chronology

Year	Month/ Day	Event	Source
669	viii/10 ix/—	Esarhaddon died on the way to Egypt Ashurbanipal ascended the throne in Assyria	Appendix A Appendix A
668	i/23 ii/— x/20 —/— —/—	Oracle request: Will Marduk approve of Shamas-shuma-ukin taking his hand? Marduk and the Babylonian gods left Ashur and entered Babylon Bel-etir, judge of Babylon, was executed Shamash-shuma-ukin ascended the throne in Babylonia Kirbitu and its king were captured	Appendix A Appendix A Appendix A Appendix B Appendix A
667	—/— —/— —/—	"Arwad 1" "Egypt 1" "Elam 1"	Discussion Appendix D Discussion
c. 666— 665	—/—	"Lydia 1"	Discussion
c. 666— 663	—/—	"Egypt 2"	Discussion

¹⁷ Cf. Cogan and Tadmor, *Or. n.s.* 46 (1977), pp. 78f., n. 25.

¹⁸ Spalinger, *JAOS* 98 (1978), pp. 400—409.

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Year	Month/ Day	Event	Source
664	vii/12	"Elam 2"	Discussion
c. 662	—/—	"Tyre"	Discussion
	—/—	"Arwad 2", "Tabal", "Hilakku"	Discussion
c. 660	—/—	"Mannaeans"	Discussion
c. 658	—/—	"Medes"	Discussion
c. 657	—/—	"Urartu 1"	Discussion
657	viii/9	Royal decree affecting land holdings of Baltaya	Appendix A
	May 15	Astrologer's report: Cimmerians will overrun the west	Appendix A
655	iii/27	Bed and throne of Marduk to be sent back to Babylon	Appendix A
	vii/—	Wall of Ashur rebuilt	Appendix A
654	—/—	Bed of Marduk returned to Babylon	Appendix A
653	—/—	New chariot of Marduk taken to Babylon	Appendix A
	—/—	"Elam 3"	Appendix A
652—			
648	—/—	Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion	Discussion
652	ii/23	Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of Babylon	Appendix A
	ii—x	Major-domo conscripted troops in Babylonia	Appendix A
	iv/17	Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin fall into Assyrian hands if they enter Babylon? No.	Appendix A
	x/19	Hostilities between Assyria and Babylonia began	Appendix A
	xi/8	Shamash-shuma-ukin took up defensive position in Babylon	Appendix A
	xii/12	Battle between Assyrians and Babylonians	Appendix A
	xii/27	Assyrians defeated Babylonians at Hirit	Appendix A
c. 651—			
650	—/—	"Elam 4"	Discussion
651	—/—	Insurrections in Assyria and Babylonia	Appendix A
	ii/—	No procession of Marduk on Nebu-	Appendix A

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Year	Month/ Day	Event	Source
651	i/4	Report on oracle request: Nabu-bel-shumati has gathered archers in Elam; will he come to Assyria and be defeated? No.	Appendix A
	vi ² /9	Shamash-shuma-ukin captured Cuthah	Appendix A
	—/27	Officers of <i>A[ssyria rebelled]</i>	Appendix A
	—/—	[<i>Nabu-be</i>]l-shumati captured Assyrian troops	Appendix A
	vii/15	Report on oracle request: Has Shamash-shuma-ukin fled to Elam? No.	Appendix A
	viii/16	Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin fall at the hands of the Assyrians? Yes.	Appendix A
	xi/11	Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin flee Babylon?	Appendix A
	—/(x+)-13	Report on oracle request: Will [...d]annin ally himself with Ashurbanipal's enemies? No.	Appendix A
	—/—	Report on oracle request: If troops of Ashurbanipal attack troops of Shamash-shuma-ukin at Bab-same, will they prevail? Yes.	Appendix A
c. 650	—/—	"Arabs 1"	Discussion
650	i/—	No procession Of Marduk or Nabu	Appendix A
	ii/5	Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of the Sealand regarding the removal of Nabu-bel-shumati and the appointment of Bel-ibni	Appendix A
	iv/11	Babylon put under siege	Appendix A
	viii/13	Legal document from Babylon: "Famine and hardship in the land"	Appendix A
649	i/—	No procession of Marduk or Nabu	Appendix A
	iv/24	Babylonian legal document: "Famine and hardship in the land"	Appendix A
	x/9	Legal documents from Babylon: "Famine and hardship in the land"	Appendix A
	—/—	Letter of Ashurbanipal to Indabigash	Appendix A
	—/—	Work on fortress (<i>ekal māšarti</i>) of Nineveh	Appendix A

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Year	Month/ Day	Event	Source
649	—/—	Work on wall of Nineveh	Appendix A
c. 649	iii/20	Legal document from Babylon: hard times described	Appendix A
648	i/—	No procession of Marduk or Nabu	Appendix A
	ii/29	Legal documents from Babylon: Babylon under siege	Appendix A
	iii/—	"Elam 5"	Discussion
	iv/15	Legal document from Borsippa: the last document dated to Shamash-shuma-ukin's reign	Appendix A
647	—/—	"Elam 6"	Discussion
646	ii/24	Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of Uruk	Appendix A
	iv/26	Letter of Ummanaldash to Ashurbanipal	Appendix A
c. 646	—/—	Work on <i>Bīt-redūti</i> at Nineveh	Appendix A
	—/—	Work on Akitu house of Ishtar at Nineveh	Appendix A
	—/—	Work on a palace (name missing) at Nineveh	Appendix A
	—/—	Work on temple of Nabu at Calah	Edition C
c. 645	—/—	"Elam 7"	Edition C ¹⁹
	—/—	"Elam 7"	Discussion
c. 644	—/—	"Lydia 2", "Arabs 2"	Discussion
c. 643	—/—	"Elam 8"	Discussion
	—/—	"Urartu 2"	Discussion
c. 641	—/—	"Cyrus", "Hudimiru"	Discussion
c. 640	—/—	"Dugdamme"	Discussion
c. 639	—/—	Work on <i>Gula Temple</i> at Babylon	Appendix A

APPENDIX A

Firm Dates

669	viii/10	Esarhaddon died on the way to Egypt. ABC Chron. I iv 30f. = Chron. 14:28f.
	ix/—	Ashurbanipal ascended the throne in Assyria. ABC Chron. 14:34 and cf. Chron. I iv 33

¹⁹ One exemplar; see Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 (1967), pp. 60—63.

- 668 i/23 Oracle request (by Ashurbanipal?): Will Marduk approve of Shamah-shuma-ukin taking his hand and leading him back to Babylon?
AGS 149
- ii/— Marduk and the Babylonian gods left Ashur and entered Babylon.
ABC Chron. 1 iv 34—36 = Chron. 14:35f. = Chron. 16:5—7
- x/20 Bel-etir, judge of Babylon, was executed.
ABC Chron. 1 iv 38 = Chron. 14:39
- /— Kirbitu and its king were captured.
ABC Chron. 1 iv 37 = Chron. 14:38
- 667 —/— First Egyptian campaign (see Appendix D).
ABC Chron. 14:40—44
- 664 vii/12 The Elamite prince fled to Assyria.
ABC Chron. 15:2f.
- 657 viii/9 Royal decree of Ashurbanipal affecting land holdings of Baltaya.
Postgate, NARGD Nos. 9—12
- May 15 Astrologer's report: Cimmerians will overrun the west but Assyria will be spared.
ABL 1391 and see Hartman, JNES 21 (1962), pp. 25—37.
- 655 iii/27 Dedicatory text from the bed and throne of Marduk to be sent back to Babylon.
K 2411. See Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 21f.
- vii/— Wall of Ashur rebuilt.
Weidner, AfO 13 (1939—41), pp. 204—207
- 654 —/— Bed of Marduk was returned to Babylon.
ABC Chron. 15:4. Cf. Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 19—23.
- 653 —/— New chariot of Marduk was taken to Babylon.
ABC Chron. 15:5. Cf. Millard, Iraq 26, p. 23.
- July 13 "Elam 3" dated by lunar eclipse. See Mayr in Piepkorn, *Asb.* pp. 105—109.
- 652 ii/23 Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of Babylon.
ABL 301
- ii — x Major-domo conscripted troops in Babylonia.
ABC Chron. 16:9f.
- iv/17 Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin fall into Assyrian hands if they enter Babylon? Omens unfavourable.
PRT 102
- x/19 Hostilities between Assyria and Babylonia began.
ABC Chron. 16:11
- xi/8 Shamash-shuma-ukin "withdrew before the enemy into Babylon".
ABC Chron. 15:6 and Chron. 16:12

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- 652 xii/12 Battle between Assyrians and Babylonians.
BM 32312 r. ii 10' (reference courtesy of A. Sachs apud G. Frame). Cf. Hodson, *The Place of Astronomy in the Ancient World* pl. 3.
- xii/27 Assyrians defeated Babylonians at Hirit.
ABC Chron. 16: 13—16
- 651 —/— Insurrections in Assyria and Babylonia.
ABC Chron. 16: 17
- i/— No procession of Marduk or Nabu.
ABC Chron. 16: 18f.
- i/4 Report on oracle request: Nabu-bel-shumati has gathered archers in Elam. Will he come to Assyria and be defeated?
Omens unfavourable.
PRT 105
- vi²/9 Shamash-shuma-ukin captured Cuthah.
ABC Chron. 15: 7—10
- /27 Officers of *A[ssyria rebelled]*.
ABC Chron. 15: 11
- /— [*Nabu-be*]-*l-shumati* captured Assyrian troops.
ABC Chron. 15: 12—18
- vii/15 Report on oracle request: Has Shamash-shuma-ukin fled to Elam? Omens unfavourable.
PRT 109
- viii/16 Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin fall at the hands of the Assyrians? Omens favourable.
PRT 107
- xi/11 Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin flee Babylon?
PRT 113
- /(x+)13 Report on oracle request: Will [...-d]annin ally himself with Ashurbanipal's enemies? Omens unfavourable.
PRT 115
- /— Report on oracle request: If troops of Ashurbanipal attack troops of Shamash-shuma-ukin at Bab-same, will they prevail? Omens favourable.
PRT 118
- 650 i/— No procession of Marduk or Nabu.
ABC Chron. 16: 20f.
- ii/5 Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of the Sealand regarding the removal of Nabu-bel-shumati and the appointment of Bel-ibni.
ABL 289
- iv/11 Babylon put under siege.
ABC Chron. 15: 19
- viii/13 Legal document from Babylon: "Famine and hardship in the land".
BM 113235. Pinches, *PSBA* 10 (1888), pp. 146f. and pls. 4—6.²⁰

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- 649 i/— No procession of Marduk or Nabu.
ABC Chron. 16:22
- iv/24 Babylonian legal document: "Famine and hardship in the land".
BM 77216 (83-1-18, 2597). Pinches, JTV 26 (1893) p. 169 and Oppenheim, Iraq 17 (1955), p. 77, n. 26.²⁰
- x/9 Legal document from Babylon: "Famine and hardship in the land".
BM 47366 (81-11-3, 71). Pinches, op.cit. pp. 163—65.²⁰
- /— Letter of Ashurbanipal to Indabigash.
ABL 1151
- /— Work on fortress (*ekal māšarti*) of Nineveh.
Edition B
- /— Work on wall of Nineveh.
Edition D
- c. 649 iii/20 Legal document from Babylon: beginning broken but reference to selling children indicates hard times which must then be the nineteenth or twentieth year (number missing) of Shamsh-shuma-ukin
BM 74652 (82-9-18, 377a). Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), pp. 37f.²⁰
- 648 i/— No procession of Marduk or Nabu.
ABC Chron. 16:23
- ii/29 Legal document from Babylon, probably from this year: "The enemy is encamped against the city".
Rm 4,93. Strassmaier, 8^e Congrès No. 6.²⁰
- iv/15 Legal document from Borsippa: last document dated to Shamash-shuma-ukin's reign.
BRM 1, 38. See San Nicolò, BR 8/7, No. 22 and cf. Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), p. 36.²¹
- 646 ii/24 Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of Uruk.
ABL 518
- iv/26 Letter of Ummanaldash to Ashurbanipal.
ABL 879
- /— Work on *Bit-redūti* at Nineveh.
Edition F

²⁰ See further, Johns, PSBA 27 (1905), pp. 98—100; Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), pp. 35—38; Oppenheim, Iraq 17 (1955), pp. 76—86; Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), p. 29.

²¹ Figulla, UET 4, No. 201 does not date to the twenty-first or twenty-second year of Shamash-shuma-ukin. Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), p. 36 noted that if this were so, it would present serious chronological problems.

The date (r. 10—12) in fact reads:

[¹⁴x U]D 21^{ka}m [MU x mdGIŠ].ŠIR-MU-GI.NA [*šar Bābīlī*]^{kl}

I am grateful to J. N. Postgate for collating the tablet, now in the Iraq Museum (IM 57169), and for confirmation of these readings.

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- c. 646 —/— Work on Akitu house of Ishtar at Nineveh.
Edition T
- c. 639 —/— Work on *Gula Temple* at Babylon.
Edition H (NB version)

APPENDIX B

Dates for the Beginning and End of the Reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin

I Beginning 668 B.C.

1. Some economic texts from Babylonia (Uruk) are dated in the "accession year of Ashurbanipal". See Brinkman, MKH 1, p. 433 sub G8 and n. 57.

2. The chroniclers (ABC Chrons. 1 iv 30—38; 14:34 f.; 16:1—7) regarded the accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin as that following the year of Esarhaddon's death and Ashurbanipal's accession. Besides the clear sequence note that events in Iyyar (ii) of Shamash-shuma-ukin's accession year are narrated although Esarhaddon died in Marchesvan (viii) and Ashurbanipal acceded in Kislev (ix).

3. AGS 149 is an oracle enquiry about whether Marduk will approve of Shamash-shuma-ukin becoming king in Babylon and it is dated i/23/668.

4. In his royal inscriptions (e.g. Streck, *Asb.* p. 28 iii 72; p. 230:11 f.; p. 234:14 f.) Ashurbanipal claims that he installed Shamash-shuma-ukin to rule Babylonia.

Conclusion: Ashurbanipal, who ascended the throne in Kislev (ix) of 669, ruled both Assyria and Babylonia for the remainder of 669 and at the beginning of the following year, as late as the twenty-third of Nisan (i), Shamash-shuma-ukin was still not recognized as a monarch. During 668, however, he gained the position of king of Babylonia with Ashurbanipal's sanction but, since it must have happened after i/23, it was too late to regard this as Shamash-shuma-ukin's "first year" and so 668 was his "accession year". Much of the evidence presented here was used by Johns, *PSBA* 27 (1905), pp. 94—97, who arrived at the same conclusion and subsequent scholars have generally been of the same opinion.

II End 648 B.C.

1. The number of regnal years for Shamash-shuma-ukin is missing in all the chronographic texts except the Ptolemaic Canon which says twenty.²²

2. The last document dated to the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin bears the date iv/15/20 (see Appendix A and n. 21 and cf. n. 10).

3. The Akitu Chronicle (ABC Chron. 16:23 f.) omits the years after the twentieth year of Shamash-shuma-ukin and before the accession year of Nabopolassar since no interruption of the Akitu festival occurred during these years.

²² In the Uruk King List lf. Borger (apud Grayson, *RLA* 5 sub "Königslisten" § 2.2 King List 5) has proposed: "[21 years] [Ashurbanipal], variant [Shamash-shuma-ukin]". In this reconstruction the numeral obviously refers to the regnal period of Ashurbanipal and cannot be accepted as a precise statement

Thus there was an end to the hostilities before Nisan of 647 and 648 was the year of Shamash-shuma-ukin's death.

Conclusion: Shamash-shuma-ukin's death must have occurred in 648, some time after iv/15.

APPENDIX C

Table of Incidents in Ashurbanipal's Annals

Abbreviation	Bibliography ²³	Incident Core ²⁴
Arabs 1 ²⁵	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 64—71 vii 82—viii 64 B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 80—87 vii 93—viii 63 C: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 144f.; Bauer, <i>Asb.</i> p. 18; Knudsen, <i>Iraq</i> 29, p. 54. D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97	Campaign against Qedar as revenge for its support of the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion.
Arabs 2 ²⁵	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 70—83 viii 65—x 5	Campaign against Abiyatu and the Nabatu.
Arwad 1	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 18f. ii 63—67 B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 44f. ii 71—79 D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97 F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 34f. i 70—75 Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 168f r. 27—31	Yakinlu of Arwad brought his daughter with dowry to Nineveh.
Arwad 2	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 18—21 ii 81—94 B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 44—47 ii 82—92 F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 34f. i 78—ii 9	After Yakinlu's death, Ashurbanipal recognized Azibaal as king of Arwad.
Hilakku	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 18f. ii 75—80 B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 44f. ii 71—79 D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97 F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 34f. i 71—75	Sandasharme of Hilakku brought his daughter with dowry to Nineveh.

²³ Only key references are given and fragments are generally omitted. For full bibliography see Berger, *HKL*.

²⁴ See above p. 229.

²⁵ For more detailed analyses and dates of the Arab campaigns see the studies cited in n. 15 above.

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Abbreviation	Bibliography	Incident Core
Cyrus	H: Weidner, AfO 7, p. 4	Cyrus heard of Ashurbanipal's Elamite victory and sent tribute to Nineveh.
Dugdamme	H: Thompson, Iraq 7, p. 109; Millard, Iraq 30, pp. 109f.	Dugdamme's abortive attacks on Assyria.
Egypt 1	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 7—13 i 52—117 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 30—35 i 50—95 C: Streck, Asb. pp. 138—41; Bauer, Asb. p. 14; Knudsen, Iraq 29, pp. 52f; Millard, Iraq 30, p. 105. D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 E: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 10—13; Millard, Iraq 30, pp. 99f. Streck, Asb. pp. 158—161:2—32	Campaign against Terhaqah and the capture of Memphis.
Egypt 2	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 13—17 i 118—ii 48 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 34—41 i 95—ii 40 C: Streck, Asb. pp. 140—43; Bauer, Asb. p. 15; Millard, Iraq 30, p. 105. D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 E: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 12—15; Millard, Iraq 30, pp. 100f. F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 30—33 i 35—55 H: Nassouhi, AfK 2, pp. 102f. Streck, Asb. pp. 160—67:33—r. 5	Terhaqah's alliance crushed; Necho re-installed; campaign against Tandamane; capture of Thebes.
Elam 1	B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 56—59 iv 18—53 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 H: Nassouhi, AfK 2, pp. 102f.	Campaign against Urtaki who had invaded Babylonia.
Elam 2	B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 58—61 iv 54—86 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97	Flight of Ummanigash to Assyria.
Elam 3	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 26—29 iii 27—69 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 60—77 iv 87—vii 2 C: Bauer, Asb. p. 16 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97	Campaign against Teumman who was decapitated; punishment of Gambulu.

Abbreviation	Bibliography	Incident Core
Elam 3	F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 38—43 ii 53—iii 5	
Elam 4	B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 76—81 vii 3—92 C: Bauer, <i>Asb.</i> p. 17 D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97 F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 42—45 iii 6—32 G: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 102f. iv 1—22	Elamite support for the Shamah-shuma-ukin Rebellion; Indabigash.
Elam 5	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 40—47 iv 110—v 62 F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 44—49 iii 33—iv 16	Against Ummanaldash; Bit-Imbi; Tamarritu.
Elam 6	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 46—61 v 63—vii 8 F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 48—61 iv 17—vi 21 T: Thompson, <i>PEA</i> pp. 34f. iv 37—v 32	Against Ummanaldash; sack of Susa; return of Nannai.
Elam 7	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 60—63 vii 9—81	Elamites flee to Assyria.
Elam 8	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 82—85 x 6—39	Revolution in Elam against Ummanaldash.
Hudimiru	H: Weidner, <i>AfO</i> 7, pp. 4f.	King of Hudimiru heard of Ashurbanipal's Elamite victory and sent gifts to Nineveh.
Kirbitu ²⁶	B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 48f. iii 5—15 C: Bauer, <i>Asb.</i> p. 15 D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97 E: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 14f. Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30, pp. 101f. Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 166f. r. 6—12 Cf. Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 206—209.	Campaign against Kirbitu.
Lydia 1	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 20f. ii 95—110 B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 46—49 ii 93—iii 4	Dream of Gyges; message to Ashurbanipal; Gyges' conquest of Cimmerians.

²⁶ By "Kirbitu" is meant the capture of Kirbitu (668). The additional narrative, found in some sources, of the transportation there of Egyptians probably occurred after "Egypt 1" (667).

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Abbreviation	Bibliography	Incident Core
Lydia 1	D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97 E: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 16f.; Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30, p. 102. F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 34—37 ii 10—20 Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 166—69 r. 13—21	
Lydia 2 ²⁷	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 20—23 ii 111—125	Gyges' death; Lydia over- run by Cimmerians; Gyges' son submits to Assyria.
Mannaeans	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 22—27 ii 126—iii 26 B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 50—57 iii 16—iv 2 C: Bauer, <i>Asb.</i> p. 15 D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97 E: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 36—39 ii 21—52 H: Nassouhi, <i>AfK</i> 2, pp. 102f.	Campaign against the Mannaeans.
Medes	B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 56f. iv 3—8 D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97	Conquest of Median Cities.
Shamash- shuma-ukin	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 28—41	
Rebellion	iii 70—iv 109 C: Bauer, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 16f.; Knudsen, <i>Iraq</i> 29, pp. 55—57	
Tabal	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 18f. ii 68—74 B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 44f. ii 71—79 D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97 F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 34f. i 71—77 Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 168f. r. 22—26	Mugallu of Tabal brought his daughter with dowry to Nineveh.
Tyre	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> 16—19 ii 49—62 B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 40—45 ii 41—70	Siege of Tyre.

²⁷ This incident, of which Gyges' death is the core, includes the information that Gyges sent troops to Egypt which Spalinger (*JARCE* 13 [1976], p. 143) dates to 663/2 while Kitchen (*Third Intermediate Period* § 367) dates it to 655/4.

Abbreviation	Bibliography	Incident Core
Tyre	D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97 F: Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 32—35 i 56—69 H: Nassouhi, <i>AfK</i> pp. 102f.	
Urartu 1 ²⁸	B: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 56f. iv 9—17 C: Bauer, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 15f. D: Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 97	Capture and decapitation of Andaria of Urartu.
Urartu 2	A: Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 84f. x 40—50	Sardur of Urartu sent gifts to Ashurbanipal.

APPENDIX D

The Date of Ashurbanipal's First Egyptian Campaign

Only one narrative regarding Egypt during the time of Ashurbanipal is preserved in the Babylonian chronicles and this is a fragmentary passage in the Esarhaddon Chronicle (*ABC Chron.* 14:40—44) in which the names Terhaqah and Necho occur. This event is identical with the first campaign against Egypt ("Egypt 1") as narrated in the annals, wherein Terhaqah appears in all accounts and Necho's presence is implied in all editions and specifically noted in Edition C. The chronicle passage is dated the first year of Shamash-shuma-ukin which provides the date of 667 for the first campaign against Egypt.

Any attempt to date the first campaign earlier encounters serious obstacles. The lack of inclusion of an earlier campaign in the chronicle is a major objection and the omission of Esarhaddon's defeat in Egypt is not analogous.²⁹ Urtaki's invasion of Assyria ("Elam 1") occurred when the Assyrians were in Egypt on the first attack and it is inconceivable that these major events could have occurred in the three months of the accession year of Ashurbanipal (669). If they are placed in 668 it leaves little time for the good relations between Assyria and Elam to develop of which Ashurbanipal boasts at the beginning of his reign.³⁰ Thus I would maintain the old view that the first campaign of Ashurbanipal against Egypt occurred in 667.³¹

²⁸ Another Urartian incident in which Rusa, predecessor of Sardur, sent nobles with gifts to Ashurbanipal is described in a relief epigraph. See Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932—33), p. 188 and cf. Barnett, *Asb.* pp. 6f. That this same incident is described in the very fragmentary Edition G (Bauer's "K") has been assumed by Piepkorn (*Asb.* p. 102 iii 21—24 and cf. Streck, *Asb.* p. 136) but the extensive restorations, including the royal name, leave this very uncertain.

²⁹ See *ABC* p. 219.

³⁰ Cf. *ABL* 295.

³¹ Spalinger, *Or.* n.s. 43 (1974), p. 295 dated it to 669/8. Both Streck, *Asb.* 1, p. CCXXXVII, and Weissbach, *RLA* 1, p. 204a, dated it to 667. Aynard, *Asb.* p. 18 accepted 666 while Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period* § 353 gave 667/6.

APPENDIX E

Dates for Editions of the Annals of Ashurbanipal

Date	Edition	Bibliography ⁸² and Comments
c. 666/5	E ₁	Cogan and Tadmor, <i>Or. n.s.</i> 46 (1977), pp. 81f.
c. 665/4	E ₂	<i>ibid.</i>
c. 663	Annals Tablets	Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 158—175; Bauer, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 33f. Regarding the date cf. Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> p. 8; Spalinger, <i>Or. n.s.</i> 43 (1974), p. 309 and <i>JARCE</i> 13 (1976), p. 134.
649 ⁸³	B	Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 19—94. Dated by eponym.
649 ⁸⁴	D	Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 95—99. Dated by eponym.
646	C	Cf. Borger, <i>HKL</i> 1, p. 15 and 2, p. 11. On the date see Cogan and Tadmor, <i>Or. n.s.</i> (forthcoming)
c. 646	F	Aynard, <i>Asb.</i> Dated by eponym.
c. 646	T	Thompson, <i>PEA</i> pp. 29—36. Dated by eponym.
c. 643/2	A	Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 2—91. On the date see Tadmor, <i>Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Orientalists' Congress in Moscow in 1960 (Moscow, 1962)</i> , p. 240.
c. 639	H	Nassouhi, <i>AfK</i> 2, pp. 97—106; Weidner, <i>AfO</i> 7, pp. 1—7; etc.
?	G	Piepkorn, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 101—103 ("K"). This edition is too fragmentary to suggest a date.

APPENDIX F

Narrative Sequence in Ashurbanipal's Annals

That the sequence of events in the annals of Ashurbanipal is chronologically unreliable has long been known. George Smith first noted it in his *History of Ashurbanipal* (p. 316), Olmstead and Streck concurred, and more recent studies have demonstrated how convoluted the complications of the narrative sequence can be.⁸⁵ Incidents are narrated primarily according to geographic proximity and, although the sequence varies somewhat from one edition to another, in all editions a general pattern is apparent: first districts in the west appear, then the north, east, south, and south west in that order. Such a grouping bears no relation to the chronological sequence of events as a glaring example will suffice to show. The campaign against Kirbitu definitely occurred in 668 (see Appendix A) but it is narrated in Edition B (also the fragmentary Editions C, D, E, and the Annals Tablet) after the first campaign against Egypt (667, see Appendix D) because subsequent to the Egyptian campaign, Egyptians were transported to Kirbitu.

⁸² Only key references are given. For full bibliography see Borger, *HKL*.

⁸³ Some exemplars are dated 648 but no change or addition is evident in the narrative.

⁸⁴ See Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968), p. 103. As with Edition B (see n. 33 above), some exemplars are dated 648 but no change or addition is evident in the narrative.

⁸⁵ Spalinger, *JAOS* 94 (1974), pp. 316—328; Weippert, *WO* 7 (1973), pp. 39—85; Cogan and Tadmor, *Or. n.s.* 46 (1977), pp. 65—85; Spalinger, *JAOS* 98 (1978), pp. 400—409.

Chronology of the Reign of Ashurbanipal

Albert Kirk Grayson

Abstract

The chronology of the reign of Ashurbanipal is still one of the more uncertain areas in Neo-Assyrian history and yet one of the most crucial. Since George Smith's History of Ashurbanipal (1871) three major studies of the subject, by Johns (1902 - 1907), Streck (1916), and Weissbach (1928), have been presented but in the half century since the last mentioned article a number of new sources and publications which bear on the chronology have appeared and the time is ripe for a new synthesis. The problems surrounding Kandalanu and the date of the end of Ashurbanipal's reign belong more to Babylonian than Assyrian history and, since they have been the object of intensive interest in recent years, they may be excluded from this enquiry.

The present article is essentially a synthesis which builds upon the work of many scholars, incorporating new texts and studies in an attempt to reconstruct the best possible chronology of Ashurbanipal's reign on the basis of our current knowledge. Emphasis is on military and political although building projects and cultic matters will be mentioned.

Keywords: Assyria, New Assyria, Ashurbanipal, chronology, Ashurbanipal chronology

سرزمین مرکزی آشور در دوران هخامنشیان^۱امیلی کورت^۲مترجم منصورحمدالله‌زاده^۳

چکیده

مدت‌ها تصور می‌شد که قلمرو آشور پس از سقوط و ویرانی توسط بابل و مادها در سال‌های ۶۱۴-۶۱۲ به صورت پراکنده و کم جمعیت ساکن بوده است. به نظر می‌رسد تصویری که توسط گزنفون ترسیم شده باشد. این مقاله با تکیه بر آثار اخیر و اکتشافات جدید، شواهد مربوط به آشور در قرن ششم تا چهارم را دوباره بررسی کرده و نتیجه این بررسی‌ها، این تصویر را تایید نمی‌کند بنابراین دوره مذکور در منطقه آشور از این منظر، نیازمند تدقیق و بررسی مجدداً دارد.

امپراتوری آشورنو (حدود ۹۰۰-۶۱۲ پ.م.) از باشکوه‌ترین آثار باستان‌شناسی و متنی را که از خاور نزدیک باستان شناخته شده است به ما به ارث گذاشته است. این شواهد، همراه با قطعات مهم و قوی در عهد عتیق، تصویری از یک امپراتوری بسیار قدرتمند و ثروتمند به ما می‌دهد، که کنترل یک دوره طولانی را در اختیار داشت، که تأثیر عمیقی بر اکثر مناطق خاور نزدیک داشته است.

کلید واژه‌ها: آشور، آشور نو، سرزمین آشور، قرن ششم پیش از میلاد، مادها

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تنگوی تلیخ، پژشوقگر و مدرس در دانشگاه آزاداس ی

سرزمین مرکزی آشور در دوران هخامنشیان



Pallas

The Assyrian heartland in the Achaemenid period Küster-Ainslie

Résumé

On a jugé pendant longtemps que le territoire de l'Assyrie n'était que peu peuplé depuis les dévastations babyloniennes (milieu de 614-612), l'image qu'en donne Xénophon dans l'Anabase paraît confirmer une telle impression. L'auteur réexamine la documentation sur l'Assyrie entre le VI^e et le IV^e siècles se fondant sur des travaux récents et sur de nouvelles découvertes. Elle conclut que la documentation disponible ne corrobore pas cette impression négative, et qu'une réévaluation du pays assyrien durant les périodes néo-babyloniennes et achéménide est une sérieuse nécessité scientifique.

Abstract

The territory of Assyria has long thought to have been inhabited only sparsely after the Babylonian and Median devastation of 614-612. The picture Xenophon paints of it in the Anabasis appears to confirm this impression. This paper re-examines the evidence for Assyria in the sixth to fourth centuries, building on recent work and new discoveries. It concludes that the evidence does not bear out this negative impression, and that a serious reappraisal of the Assyrian region in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods is needed.

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The Assyrian Heartland in the Achaemenid Period

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1. Introduction

The Neo-Assyrian empire (c. 900-612) has bequeathed us some of the most magnificent archaeological and textual remains known from the Ancient Near East. That evidence, combined with potent passages in the Old Testament, gives us an impression of a very powerful and wealthy empire, wielding strong control over a prolonged period, which had a profound impact on most regions of the Near East. The apparently sudden and total extinction of the Assyrian state, by contrast, leaves us with an image of a burst balloon; everything seems to vanish into thin air virtually overnight – in the words of one scholar: ‘... (a) vacuum ... followed its collapse ...’ (Postgate 1979: 217). The apparently total disappearance of Assyria’s thriving urban culture seems, at first sight, to be confirmed by Xenophon’s description of the Assyrian heartland in the Achaemenid period (specifically in 401: *Anab.*, II.4.27ff, esp. III.4.6-12). Xenophon’s account has given rise to a widespread perception, summed up here by Oates:

Passing the former site of Kalhu he (sc. Xenophon) refers to the people of villages in the neighbourhood who took refuge on top of the ziggurat at the approach of the Greek army, although the city itself was deserted and he knew neither its name nor that of its former inhabitants, whom he describes as Medes. Nineveh was similarly identified as a ruined Median city ... From that point until the army entered the mountains he refers only to groups of villages. Clearly the great cities (sc. of Assyria) had disappeared ... (Oates 1968: 60-61)

The image is that of a virtually empty landscape, made yet more desolate by the presence of deserted cities with the odd village dotted here and there.

There is no denying that the heyday of the Assyrian royal centres at Nineveh, Kalhu, Dur-Šarrukīn and Aššur, with their magnificently decorated palaces and lavish court life ended in 614-612. The Babylonian chronicle (*ABC* no. 3), with its brief, but telling, mention of the looting and destruction of Aššur and Nineveh (cf. also the references to deportations from Nisibišand Rasappa), provides the terminus for dating the end of the Assyrian settlements. With their destruction the main source for the rich

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documentation of Assyrian life dried up, creating the traditional picture of emptiness and devastation. But it is a picture that depends on contrast: the bright light shed by the very full evidence on the decades preceding Assyria's fall, makes the subsequent centuries seem that much darker.

Dalley (1993) has recently challenged this oversimplified and unsatisfactory view of Assyria's end; her study concentrates on the evidence for post-Assyrian Nineveh, although she has collected material from more sites. Her conclusions are that Assyrian governmental institutions and bureaucratic practices disappeared along with the destruction of Assyria's palaces, but that Assyrian centres certainly survived under Babylonian, then Achaemenid, rule. Evidence for this are texts written in Harran (Dalley 1984) and others found at Neirab (Dhorme 1928) and Guzana (Ungnad in Friedrich *et al.* 1940: nos.117-120; *cf.* also the two unpublished Neo-Babylonian texts from Šēḫ Ḥamad discovered in the 1980s, Röellig 1993: 131-2 and n. 11).

In 1992 the excavators of the Assyrian provincial centre at Dur Katlimmu (modern Šēḫ Ḥamad on the Lower Khabur) found four texts dated to Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562). They are in Neo-Assyrian dialect, use Neo-Assyrian script and scribal conventions and invoke the god Aššur (Kühne 1993:75; Postgate 1993); they also mention two local officials with traditional Assyrian titles (Postgate 1993; Brinkman 1993). The find adds support to some of Dalley's earlier conclusions, but also shows that others need modifying – its overall effect is to strengthen her arguments and demonstrate for the first time a tangible institutional continuity from the Late Assyrian to the Neo-Babylonian empire.

This in turn has implications for how we might begin to view Achaemenid Assyria: rather than seeing it as a depressed back-water deliberately ignored by the Babylonian rulers, in reaction to earlier Assyrian oppression (which has never made much sense), we must now think of the Babylonian régime harnessing Assyrian governmental forms to underpin its control and continuing to use existing administrative centres, partly rebuilt to receive Babylonian officials (Kühne 1993: 84-5). Into this picture must be fitted Nabonidus' restoration of the Sin temple, Ehulhul, in Harran, and all that implies (Beaulieu 1989, *cf.* now also Donbaz 1991). It also suggests that Babylonian control of the former Assyrian province of Arrapha (VAB 4: 146, 147), despite removal of the divine statue of Anunitum (VAB 4: 276, 277; *pace* Dalley 1993: 136), will have built directly on, and used, the local Assyrian bureaucracy.

But despite the new finds and a reappraisal of older material, there are still immense uncertainties and the evidence for Assyria after 612 can hardly be described as full, especially not for the Persian period. In what follows, I shall try to pull our present knowledge together and highlight some of the problems, in the hope that it will allow us to gain a clearer idea of how Assyria appeared under Achaemenid rule.

2. Preliminary considerations

Before looking at the evidence, it is important to realise that there is considerable uncertainty about two fairly crucial aspects: first, did the 'heartland' of Assyria (*i.e.* from around Aššur to north of Mosul) come under the control of the Neo-Babylonian kings after the combined Babylonian and Median victories? Secondly, when Assyria/Assyrians is/are mentioned by classical writers, in the Persepolis texts and in Old Persian inscriptions, what is meant?

2.1. The plain answer to the first question is that we do not know. There are hints which, to my mind, suggest that Babylonian control probably did embrace the central Assyrian territory. First, following the fall of Nineveh and the departure of the Medes in 612, Nabopolassar consolidated the conquest of Assyria's central territory by sending an army to take Našibina, the nodal point of strategic routes in Upper Mesopotamia (*cf.* Dillemann 1962). The campaign was obviously successful given the report of booty taken and people deported from there, as well as from the district of Rasappa, to the south, and directly west, of Nineveh and Aššur (*ABC* 3: 47-49). Also noteworthy is the fact that Nabopolassar received his victorious troops together with their human and material loot in Nineveh. Secondly, in 609 Nabopolassar ensured that his hold of this crucial area was firm, by trying to gain control of the Tur Abdin right up to the Urartian frontier (*ABC* 3: 70-72). Thirdly, in 608 and 607 Nebuchadnezzar (as crown-prince) fought two tough campaigns, almost certainly in the same area, following up his father's strategy. A possible implication is that the Babylonians controlled the territory right up to Nineveh, north-west from there the routes to Našibina, and the territory around and north of this strategic centre to the Urartian frontier (wherever that is thought to lie at this time, see Zimansky in this volume) and the territory adjacent to Assyria's core in the west. Since we also have evidence for Neo-Babylonian control of Arrapha, I am tempted to see the Babylonian kings taking over the whole of Assyria's heartland. I find it hard to visualise Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar expending such efforts to ensure control of Našibina and letting Arbela, the crucial link on the East Tigris route leading from Arrapha to Nineveh and on to Upper Mesopotamia and Našibina, slip through their fingers. If we add to this the nebulous nature of the Median polity, and any 'control' it might (or could) have wielded (*cf.* Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988), as well as the very clear indication in the chronicle, that the work of consolidating and following up the victories over the Assyrian cities was done by the Babylonians alone, then the case for Babylonian rule over the old Assyrian heartland begins to look fairly strong (*cf.* also some of the archaeological evidence below, *sub* 4).

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2.2. The question of what precisely is meant by 'Assyria' in post-empire contexts is a vexed one. Calmeyer has reexamined all the complexities of nomenclature recently (Calmeyer 1990) and shown how difficult it is to reach any precision, and how usage varies over time and with context; in this he diverges somewhat from Helm's views (Helm 1980; cf. Frye 1992). I find his arguments largely persuasive and sensible, although it still leaves unresolved specific questions that need thorough investigation.

2.2.1. When Darius I says that he impaled the rebel Ciçantakhma at Arbela, and then continues 'This is what was done by me in Media' (DB para 33), does it mean that Arbela was perceived as a city in Media (so Calmeyer 1990)? Or does the term merely reflect the fact that Darius is summarising his achievements vis-à-vis two Median rebels, Phraortes and Ciçantakhma, who both claimed to belong to the family of Cyaxares and whose area of operation seems to have been Media?

2.2.2. What exactly Xenophon means when he refers to Assyrian territory as 'Median' is also unclear: is he operating with the image of the succession of empires in Upper Asia (Assyria-Media-Persia) already found in Herodotus, but most strongly presented by Ctesias, whereby everything Assyrian became part of the Median empire, save for the fact that the Babylonian priest, Belesys, was granted the kingship of Babylonia (*FGrH* 688 F 1b)? If so, it does not seem to correspond with Xenophon's usage of 'Assyria' in the *Cyropaedia*.

2.2.3. Calmeyer (1990:111-112) points out that where Darius I says, in the Old Persian version of the Susa charter, that the Assyrians organised the transport of cedar from the Lebanon to Babylon, the Babylonian version of the text states that the work was done by the people of *Ebir nāri* (DSf 31-34). This implies that the term 'Assyria' could embrace a very wide range of meaning in the conventions of the royal inscriptions¹. Does that apply to Elamite administrative usage, too? PF 867, 1009, 1842-4 record rations given out to Assyrian workers, which does not give much help. PF 1799 notes an issue of flour to 'Addarnuriš, the Assyrian, who handles cedar(?) (wood) at Persepolis': Adad-nūri is an attested personal name in Neo-Assyrian documents (cf., for example, SAA 1 no.216), and the association with some kind of wood (what kind is uncertain) is tantalising.

2.2.4. The only other mention of Assyria in the Persepolis collection I have come across is PF 1574, listing a small party travelling on royal business to Assyria. It is frustrating not to know what this means precisely.

¹ But note Quintus Curtius (X.1.19), who describes Alexander issuing instructions to the governors of Mesopotamia to cut timber in Mount Libanus, transport it to Thapsacus and start constructing ships which were then to be moved down to Babylon. This echoes the Susa charter in some respects and could imply (not surprisingly) that officials in North Mesopotamia were the obvious candidates to organise and manage the procuring, moving and initial processing of timber.

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2.2.5. It is a commonplace to use Xenophon's names 'Larissa' and 'Mespila' (on the assumption that they must be Kalhu and Nineveh) to show that Assyria had been extinguished so totally that not even the names of its most famous cities survived. Calmeyer, moreover, argues that Xenophon's description of the cities and all this region as 'Median' shows that the term 'Media' had expanded westwards to embrace the whole of Tigridian Assyria (Calmeyer 1990: 111-2; although this can co-exist with other perceptions, *cf. ibid.*: 119). This is not quite true of the situation: Xenophon's handling of geographical names in 'the east' is altogether odd (*cf. Baslez* this volume) and belongs to a discourse not helpful for understanding topographical realities; so his evidence here is not decisive. Strabo (XVI.1.1), writing much later in the Parthian period, preserves several of the traditional names in Assyria's heartland (which he calls 'Aturia'), including Nineveh and, most interestingly, Calachene, which must represent the district of Kalhu. This suggests strongly that the names of several Assyrian cities *had* survived and that the name Assyria to designate the north Tigris region had endured.

2.3. Conclusions

2.3.1. It seems likely that the whole of the Assyrian heartland was taken over by the Neo-Babylonian dynasty. The recent evidence from Dur Katlimmu implies that the Neo-Babylonian régime relied heavily on local Assyrian administrative practices and personnel. This organisational structure will largely have been in place when the Babylonian empire was conquered by Cyrus and incorporated in the fledgling Persian empire (539).

2.3.2. What the term Assyria means in the Achaemenid period is and remains uncertain: contextual usage is probably the only way to make any headway here eventually. But it is not clear that it had definitively shifted westwards and so embraced all of the Levant and was always completely vague. The later evidence of Strabo suggests the opposite: a clear sense that the territory north of Babylonia is Assyria, with some regions and centres (in addition to Arbela) at least retaining their old Assyrian names (*cf., too, Ptolemy VI.1.2* for the region of Arrapachitis (*i.e.* Arrapha), as an area of Assyria between Armenia and Adiabene).

3. Textual Evidence

Written sources for the Assyrian heartland are at a premium after the fall of the empire, and particularly for the Achaemenid period. But they are not totally absent and, however unsatisfactory, they show the territory as a thriving, productive and well-integrated section of the Achaemenid empire.

3.1. Most frequently cited, because most important, is the Aramaic 'passport' of Nehtihor (AD VI), issued by Arsames, governor of Egypt, to his estate manager setting out from somewhere to the east of Babylonia and travelling to Egypt, late in

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the fifth century. Whitehead's interpretation of this document in the context of the Persepolis travel-texts (Whitehead 1974) has yielded the important insight that the stopping-places along Nehtihor's route were official stations along the Achaemenid royal road system. So they were centres where resources (food, fodder, animals) were collected to feed persons authorised to draw on their provisions. They were also equipped with administrative staff to check the written authorisations, register the identities of travellers, and keep accounts of the supplies dispensed and whose accounts were to be debited. Certainly some stations will also have had soldiers to guard (and defend) crucial strategic points (cf. Hdt. V.52). Although the document does not contain a complete itinerary from Babylonia's north-eastern border to Egypt, it does mention stopping-places in Assyria, which lay along Nehtihor's road. The first three places are well attested as earlier Assyrian provincial centres (cf. Graf 1994): Lahiru (on the Elamite border), Arzuhina (north of Arrapha), Arbela. From Arbela, the best known of the Achaemenid roads (Herodotus' 'royal road') ran across the Tigris up to Nisibis (Dilleman 1962: 147-162). Not all the details of this road are agreed, and there were probably several different routes in addition to that described by Herodotus. The route followed by Nehtihor from Arbela was (probably) to move toward Halzu, another former Assyrian district centre (perhaps to be identified with Strabo's Chazene (XVI.1.1; cf. Oates 1968: 59 n. 4; Graf 1994; *RLA* s.v. Halzu), south-east of Nineveh. The next place-name is normally read Matlabaš, argued by Driver to be identical with Assyrian Ubasê (Driver 1965: 58; Oates 1968: 59 and n. 5), whose suggested location is now Qaiyara, c.25 km north of Aššur, on the west bank of the Tigris. A possibly more plausible suggestion is that it is Assyrian Talbiš/Talmeš (modern Tilbis)², which lies east of 'Ana (ancient Anat) on the Euphrates, close to an important route linking the mid-Euphrates region with Aššur to the north and another running south through the Syrian desert and linking up with a route from Teima (see Northedge, Bamber, Roaf 1989: 4). This identification would make better sense, and allow us to see Nehtihor as continuing by the direct steppe route on to Damascus,

² I should like to thank Mario Fales, who drew my attention to this proposal in the discussion following the paper. Talbiš/Talmeš appears in the itinerary of Tukulti-Ninurta II (888-884), 'lying (on an island) in the Euphrates' en route to Anat (modern 'Ana), see Grayson 1991 A.O.100.5, 1.67 (cf. also Joannès' discussion of Tukulti-Ninurta II's route, this volume). ND 2768 (probably reign of Sargon II, 721-705) lists receipts of horses from officers in Rasappa, Talmeš, Bit Zamani and Nisibin; the *raksu*-officer of Talmeš, in charge of 477 horses, appears in 1.8 (Parker 1961: 49). For Iraq government excavations, which have revealed Neo-Assyrian, hellenistic, Parthian and Islamic remains on Tilbis island, see *Iraq* 45 (1983): 222 (cf. also Suru Telbis, *ibid.*: 221-2); *Iraq* 47 (1985): 225-6; for a discussion of the territory of Suhu, in which Talbiš lay, see Northedge, Bamber, Roaf 1989. Driver's tentative suggestion that Matlabaš could be in the region of Homs (Driver 1965: 58), should be rejected as it depends on reading Halzu as Halab = Aleppo.

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although the stopping point between there and Talbiš, Sa'lam, still resists identification (cf. Driver 1965: 58-9; Graf 1993: 152). Despite these uncertainties, the text provides an invaluable picture of several Assyrian centres continuing to fulfil some of their original functions in the late fifth century. It argues directly against a deserted landscape.

3.2. Other evidence comes from Xenophon (omitting his negative evidence on Larissa and Mespila, and that already treated by Joannès in this volume): a large and prosperous city, Caenae, lay north of the villages of Parysatis (*Anab.*, II.4.28) on the west bank of the Tigris. Since this was still at the point when the Greeks were being given an official Persian escort and access to supplies, the local people may have been ordered to cross the river with plentiful supplies in processed form (loaves of bread, cheeses and wine). They crossed on skin rafts. It is probable that this is an instance where the Greeks were expected to buy, although that is not certain. But to produce enough ready-to-eat food to contemplate satisfying several thousand soldiers suggests a thriving, local economic centre surrounded by good fields, pastures and vineyards. The impression is certainly one of considerable prosperity and, whether or not this is Aššur as its excavator Andrae assumed, his negative interpretation of Xenophon's account of Caenae is seriously misleading and at times plain wrong:

Außer Käse und Milch haben die Bewohner, die auf Schläuchen über den Tigris schwammen, den Griechen nichts anzubieten. Es sind Habenichtse. Es fehlt ihnen die königliche Fürsorge, die Kanäle gräbt und in Ordnung hält, die Landbestellung ermöglicht und ein weites Hinterland für den Handel offen hält. Das alles ist verlorengegangen. (Andrae 1938: 169)

Beyond this, Xenophon's narrative of the march through Assyria is marked by the presence of rich villages, especially the ones remarked on at *Anab.*, III.4.24 and III.4.31:

In the course of the fifth stage they (sc. the Greeks) caught sight of a palace of some kind, with many villages round about it, and they observed that the road to this place passed over high hills, which stretched down from the mountains at whose foot the villages were situated. ... In these villages they remained for three days ... because they had provisions in abundance – flour, wine, and great stores of barley that had been collected for horses, all these supplies having been gathered together by the satrap of the district (*chōra*).

The implication is that some days march north of Nineveh (if it is Mespila) there was a building substantial enough to be called a 'palace' (*basileion*). It was apparently in a prominent position, with rich villages clustered around it, which served as an official collecting point, with special responsibility for supplying horses; for what purpose, is not known – horses for specialised regiments of the army, for travel, for the

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king/administration, or to feed horses brought by cavalry soldiers to mustering points are all possibilities. But what ever its precise function, here was a visible arm of the Achaemenid administration.

3.3. Some scattered information is given by the Alexander historians. A general picture of the good supplies and routes available through Upper Mesopotamia is given by Arrian at various points. He describes the route from the Euphrates to the Tigris crossing (near Nineveh) thus:

On setting out from the Euphrates, he (sc. Alexander) did not take the direct route for Babylon, since by going the other road all supplies were easier to obtain for the army: green fodder for horses, and provisions from the country, and the heat was less intense. (Arrian, *Anab.*, III.7.3)

The importance of the fords on the Euphrates and Tigris are indicated by the royal arrangements made to guard them (cf. Arrian *Anab.*, III.7.1; III.7.5; D.S., XVII.55.1). The road from Gaugamela south to Babylon, east of the Tigris, is described as 'all of it inhabited and the road itself ... easy for the baggage trains' (Arrian *Anab.*, III.16.2), implying a good road, well maintained for easy travel including heavy wheeled transport. Where the road crossed the tributaries of the Tigris, there were permanent bridges (cf. Q.C., IV.16.8; IV.16.16 with reference to the Upper Zab).

3.4. The one major earlier Assyrian city, about which there is a little more written information (although there is virtually no archaeological material because the site has been continuously inhabited, see *RLA* s.v. Arbailu) is Arbela. Its survival after 612, probably under Babylonian control, is attested by the reference in the Nabonidus chronicle (547/6), where Cyrus is reported to have crossed the Tigris 'above Arbela' (*ABC* no. 7). What exactly is going on is obscure (cf. Kuhrt 1988: 120, 122, 123), although it is certainly not impossible that Herzfeld was right in assuming that Arbela was detached at this point and organised as Persian-ruled territory (cf. *Enchr* s.v. Arbela). Its importance as a regional centre is further attested by the final public execution of Ciçantakhma there in 522/1 (*DB* para 33; cf. 2.2.1 above). It appears in the Nehtihor letter (see 3.1), which shows its continued role as a strategic control point. The Alexander historians all bear out its importance as an urban centre of the region³: Alexander found great treasures deposited there including royal furniture, clothing of great value and either 3000 or 4000 talents of silver (Arrian, *Anab.*,

³ Cf. also Arrian's analysis of why so many writers place the Battle of Gaugamela at Arbela: 'Gaugamela was not a city, but a large village; it was not a famous place, and the name has an unpleasant sound; and so I suppose Arbela, being a city, carried off the glory of the great battle ...' (*Anab.*, VI.11.6).

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III.15.4; D.S. 17.64.3; Q.C.5.1.10). While it could be argued that some of this had been placed there temporarily just before Gaugamela (in particular the royal chariot, shield, bows and arrows), the other stores mentioned sound more like part of a regular royal treasury, which implies the existence of a building and staff to administer, guard and monitor its contents.

3.5. It is difficult to make much of Hdt., I.194 describing the round boats, built in Armenia, which were loaded with wine and sailed down to Babylonia. The cargoes could be very large, according to Herodotus, and he paints a picture of a regular supply-route running down the Tigris. If this is the case, then stopping-places for the crews to take on food and water, even rest, would have to be assumed. But there are such serious problems with Herodotus' picture of Babylonia that I would hesitate to deduce anything from this evidence alone (see Kuhrt in press).

3.6. A guard post is attested at Takritain (modern Tikrit, the 'frontier' between lowland Babylonia and more hilly Assyria, cf. Wiseman 1956: 80) in the reign of Cambyses (YOS 3, 106, cf. Durand and Joannès 1988). Joannès (1982: 182) had speculated that there was perhaps a Babylonian military station here in the Neo-Babylonian period. The evidence makes this feasible, so perhaps here, too, the Persians took over a pre-existing stronghold.

4. Excavated sites

What remains frustrating is the absence of any significant archaeological material from the Assyrian core. Arbela, as indicated, is a special case, but why has nothing been found at any of the other sites? It might be helpful to summarise the situation briefly site by site.

4.1. North-east of Kirkuk, the construction of the Dokan dam encouraged archaeological investigation in the 1950s. An Iraqi team excavated the small site of Tell ed-Deim, where they found 'a small temple of the Neo-Assyrian period' built directly over prehistoric levels (al-Takriti 1960; cf. *AfO* 18 (1957-8): 77). The plates appended to the excavation report show an undecorated torus which Haerinck (1987: 143) took to be Achaemenid in date. The finds of horse-bronze equipment and fragments of a phiale are inconclusive for dating purposes. But the plan of the building is interpreted by Moorey (1980: 131) as a small, fortified manor, reminiscent of similar Achaemenid strongpoints in Palestine.

4.2. Aššur definitely continued to be inhabited after 614-612, still thriving in the Parthian period. Signs of violent destruction, save for the monumental gateways and the royal tombs, are said to be slight. In the *Vorhof* of the Aššur temple, two small

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temples, using the typical Babylonian broadroom plan, were constructed. The larger one (18x19m), built over a foundation of smashed documents from the temple, had towers at the front and a niched façade; its walls were 2.5m thick in some places; its paved floor was carefully laid; both outer room and cella were closed off with doors and the small altar facing the main entrance was solidly built (Andrae 1938: 164-6). The find of a statue of 'Heracles' here from the Parthian period (Andrae 1938: 174) indicates that the sanctuary probably continued in use right through the periods after Aššur's fall. Who was worshipped here before the Parthian period is unknown: Andrae assumed it could not be Aššur, but the Dur Katlimmu documents now make this a possibility worth considering (cf. Postgate 1993 nos. 2 & 3). The other temple is much smaller (4x7.5m), with a plain façade and only a single room; but its Babylonian plan is clear. Some important rooms in the Old Palace and the Anu-Adad temple show definite signs of repairs, almost certainly dating to the post-Assyrian period. Especially striking is the quite elaborate wall-decoration (cf. Andrae 1938: 166). Also significant is the evidence for dwellings west of the Anu-Adad temple. Here stood two substantial houses, surrounded by tiny huts lining the twisted alleyways, well-furnished, spaciouly laid out with outer and inner courtyards, good paved floors, handsome painted wall-plaster, solid stone thresholds and doorsockets; one house was equipped with a well (Andrae 1938: 166-7). Several of the graves under the floors of the houses must, according to Andrae, date to the time after 614 (Andrae 1938: 169).

Chronological precision for any of this material is lacking, although the temples suggest they were built in the time of Babylonian control. Continuity of cult down to the Parthian period is likely. We should also remember the reference in the Cyrus Cylinder (Berger 1975 1.30) to the restoration and repopulation of Aššur.

4.3. Kalhu (Nimrud), too, shows traces of occupation after Assyria's fall and pre-dating the hellenistic settlement. In the 'Acropolis Palace' (AB), on the south-eastern edge of the citadel, Mallowan assigned the mud-brick partition walls in the throne-room to the period 500-300, while he described some of the pottery from here as matching 'the Achaemenian ware from Susa' (Mallowan 1966: 296-299). A small hoard of antique seals (including a fine Agade cylinder, an eighth and a seventh century one) was found in one of the hellenistic graves in AB. Interestingly, the style of the hellenistic graves is standard Assyrian (Mallowan 1966: 295-7). Another observation by Mallowan is significant here:

Glazed vessels were made at this time (i.e. post-Assyrian period), and the fact that in the last phase of all much of the hellenistic pottery was typically a direct descendant of the Assyrian goes far to show that Calah was not altogether deserted between 600 and 220BC. (Mallowan 1966: 230)

In the Burnt Palace and Nabu Temple, a short-lived impoverished level was followed by a substantial effort at reconstruction: the old walls were repaired and

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plastered; in the temple the floor was raised over one metre above the old level. In Mallowan's view 'the stratigraphic evidence indicates this period of occupation has to be accommodated in some considerable lapse of time after c.600 and considerably earlier than 220'. A probable date, he suggested, might be the sixth to fifth centuries. Neo-Babylonian graves were also found in area PD5 (cf. *RLA* s.v. Kalhu), as were pyramidal stamp seals with Marduk and Nabu emblems, well-known from sixth century Babylonia. Most interesting is the find of kilns, a glassmaker's kit and an opaque red glass ingot from a crucible on the south side of Room 47 of the Burnt Palace. This was dated by Mallowan (1966: 209-210) to the hellenistic period. But Barag reconsidered the find when preparing his catalogue of Western Asiatic glass for the British Museum (Barag 1985:59); the British Museum laboratory assigned the ingot a radio-carbon date of 425 +/- 50 years BC. Barag then compared it to the finds of red opaque glass in Persepolis, and argued that there was a glass workshop in Nimrud in the Achaemenid period, producing coloured glass identical to that used at/produced for the Persian court.

The total evidence from Nimrud, then, indicates considerable continuities and occupation right through the Neo-Babylonian and Persian period. How substantial settlement was is hard to establish, but the evidence for a small glass workshop, producing material similar to that at Persepolis, suggests that the site was not totally impoverished and may have been more densely occupied than usually thought. Also in favour of some kind of continuity is the long survival of the name Calachene (see 2.2.5).

4.4. At Nineveh, the archaeological picture was becoming a little clearer with the University of Berkeley excavations and survey work. Dalley (1993), too, has helped considerably with clarifying the post-Assyrian situation. Some evidence for cult continuity is suggested by Neo-Babylonian references to the 'priest of the Lady of Nineveh' (cf. Zadok 1985 s.v. Ninua), as well as by the probable reference in the Cyrus Cylinder (Berger 1975, 1.30) to Nineveh as a place whose shrine was restored and cult personnel returned. Most striking is the statue of Hermes found *in situ* in the Assyrian shrine at Nineveh (Ali 1954), and the Greek inscription added to an altar dedicated to the Assyrian Sebitti gods (discussed, with plan, by Scott and MacGinnis 1990: 69-71). Whether the palaces continued to be inhabited in any way is not certain, although close study of the relief decoration in Sennacherib's palace as a model for the figures in Pasargadae has been argued for by Kawami (1972; for other examples, cf. Calmeyer 1994), which, she suggests, implies some inhabitants.

Lumsden's report on the Berkeley survey indicates that some of the most recently developed areas of the city were abandoned after 612 (Lumsden 1991:3); Stronach's description of the corpses of nine Assyrian defenders under the collapsed debris of the Halzu gate (Stronach 1989:1) would also suggest that this area was not rebuilt. It looks at present as though settlement in the city shrank, concentrating around Nebi

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Yunus, Kuyunjik, the area between the two and immediately to the east (*cf.* the hellenistic settlement east of Kuyunjik, Lumsden 1991, fig. 3).

Chronological uncertainties again loom large and it is not possible to say anything definite about how Nineveh may have looked at any one point. But again there is strong evidence for continuities at the cultic level right through from the Late Assyrian to the Parthian period, which must be weighed before dismissing Nineveh as a deserted ruinheap in the Achaemenid period.

4.5. At Khorsabad (Dur Šarrukin), the evidence for reoccupation is very slight, but there is some. In the Nabu temple, the doorways were blocked up and the floors reconstructed (Loud 1936: 62-64). In the latest occupation of the Nabu temple two silver bracelets with ram's head terminals were found. A Late Assyrian date for them is not at all certain, 'indeed the slight inswing opposite the terminals on the hoop of one of them suggests it is Achaemenian' (Moorey 1971: 220 referring to Loud and Altman 1938, pl.59: 127).

4.6. The projected Saddam dam in the Eski Mosul region was another gift to archaeologists in the 1980s. A British Museum team worked at the site of Khirbet Qasrij, which is definitely post-Assyrian and from one period only, perhaps lasting no longer than thirty years (Curtis 1989). The site had a pottery industry, and its pottery 'looked close to the post-Assyrian wares from Nimrud'. But there is, in fact, no chronological certainty as yet on the post-Assyrian pottery sequences (*cf.* Oates 1968: 63; Kühne 1993: 76-77), so Curtis' proposed date of an early sixth century date for Khirbet Qasrij is shaky. The solitary 'grander' object found at Khirbet Qasrij was a duck weight, which, Curtis says, finds 'its closest parallels in the sixth and even fifth century' (Curtis 1989: 52).

4.7. Finally, there is the site of Yarim Tepe in the Sinjar along the route leading to Guzana. It was excavated by a Soviet team in the 1960s, and has become famous for the early pottery kiln (Hassuna period) that it produced. But Yarim Tepe was occupied for a long time; the preliminary report mentions that the site contained 'numerous pits of different periods: from Halafian to Assyrian and Achaemenian' (Merpert and Munchajev 1969: 127). None of this later material has been discussed in print, as far as I am aware; excitement was generated at the time by the Neolithic levels alone.

Dandamayev told me in the early eighties that a cuneiform tablet dated to Cyrus was found at Yarim Tepe; nothing beyond the date is apparently legible. In the light of the new direction that studies of Achaemenid history have taken in recent years, and the serious re-evaluation of Assyrian history after 614-612 made necessary by the Dur Katlimmu finds, we should perhaps now give this tablet a little more weight.

5. Concluding Remarks

Xenophon's *Anabasis* has been used to lend emphasis to a historical vision of the Assyrian empire as a hollow, overly exploitative state which collapsed in on itself, leaving little trace. Such a complete caesura has never made much sense, given the evidence, long available from Herodotus, for the 'Royal Road', the passport of Nehtihor (however the route is reconstructed precisely) and the enduring existence of Arbela. The problem, however, has been the apparent total lack of evidence for anything aside from miserable villages, before the hellenistic and then Parthian periods. But to some extent we have been caught in a circular argument, *i.e. because* we know from the Babylonian chronicles that the Assyrian cities were destroyed between 614 and 612, anything found on Assyrian sites must either predate 612 or can perhaps be attributed to the hellenistic period on the basis of coins.

The new finds at Šēḫ Ḥamad now challenge this view in an incontrovertible way, and fit much better with the little pieces of information we do have. It allows us to see the Neo-Babylonian state taking over surviving Assyrian structures, physical and institutional, which in turn makes it likely that the Persians would have incorporated them into their realm. If we reexamine the excavation reports, it becomes clear that a great deal more was happening on the old Assyrian city-sites than has been thought. The remains at Nimrud are particularly rich, and Barag's little-noticed redating of the glass-workshop there (but see Kuhrt 1990: 186) has important implications that are worth pondering. It has also become evident how uncertain the dating of Late Assyrian archaeological sequences and pottery remains (see 4.6). This should make it imperative to pay more attention to the significant fact that Strabo and Ptolemy, in contrast to Xenophon, preserve the names of some old Assyrian cities. The time for a reassessment of the strategically and agriculturally important Assyrian territory in the Achaemenid period has come.

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Résumé. On a jugé pendant longtemps que le territoire de l'Assyrie n'était que peu peuplé depuis les dévastations babyloniennes et mèdes de 614-612 ; l'image qu'en donne Xénophon dans l'*Anabase* paraît confirmer une telle impression. L'auteur réexamine la documentation sur l'Assyrie entre le VI^e et le IV^e siècles, se fondant sur des travaux récents et sur de nouvelles découvertes. Elle conclut que la documentation disponible ne corrobore pas cette impression négative, et qu'une réévaluation du pays assyrien durant les périodes néo-babylonienne et achéménide est une sérieuse nécessité scientifique.

Summary. The territory of Assyria has long thought to have been inhabited only sparsely after the Babylonian and Median devastation of 614-612 ; the picture Xenophon paints of it in the *Anabasis* appears to confirm this impression. This paper re-examines the evidence for Assyria in the sixth to fourth centuries, building on recent work and new discoveries. It concludes that the evidence does not bear out this negative impression, and that a serious reappraisal of the Assyrian region in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods is needed.

Assyrian heartland in the Achaemenid period

Amélie Kuhrt

Abstract

The territory of Assyria has long thought to have been inhabited only sparsely after the Babylonian and Median devastation of 614-612 ; the picture Xenophon paints of it in the *Anabasis* appears to confirm this impression. This paper re-examines the evidence for Assyria in the sixth to fourth centuries, building on recent work and new discoveries. It concludes that the evidence does not bear out this negative impression, and that a serious reappraisal of the Assyrian region in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods is needed.

The Neo-Assyrian empire (c. 900-612) has bequeathed us some of the most magnificent archaeological and textual remains known from the Ancient Near East. That evidence, combined with potent passages in the Old Testament, gives us an impression of a very powerful and wealthy empire, wielding strong control over a prolonged period, which had a profound impact on most regions of the Near East

Keywords: Assyria, Neo-Assyria, Land of Assyria, 6th century BC, Medes

آشورناصیرپال سوم و قدرت گیری آشور^۱آومستد^۲مترجم منصورحمدالله‌زاده^۳

چکیده

هنگامی که شلمانسر سوم در سال ۸۶۰ بر تخت پادشاهی پدرش نشست، دیگر جوان نبوده، چون بیشتر از بیست و پنج سال نتوانست بر قدرت باقی بماند. در لشگرکشی‌ها، خود پسری به اندازه کافی بزرگ داشت که بتواند پدر را همراهی کند. اولین قدم او این بود که مقامات پدرش را که با افراد نزدیک به سن خودش جایگزین شده بودند، پاکسازی کند. آشوربل/اوکین به عنوان تورتان [فرمانده لشگر] منصوب شد. آشوربنا/اوصور مسئول نوازندگان شد. ابوینا/کالی لیلیور که نامش «پدر در قصر پیر شود» حکایت از موقعیت موروثی داشت، به درستی به عنوان اتاق‌نشین قصر انتخاب شد. همه اطرافیان و پست‌های حساس را به چهره‌های جدید و جوان داد به ترتیبی که هیچ یک از مردانی که اطراف پادشاه بودند یا در استان‌ها حکومت می‌کردند، قبلاً به اندازه کافی مقام بالایی نداشتند که در فهرست‌های همنام ثبت شود.

کلید واژه‌ها: آشورنو، شلمانسر سوم، آشورناصیرپال، قدرت‌یابی آشور، قرن نهم پیش از میلاد

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آشورناصیرپال سوم و قدرت گیری آشور^۱



Sinmubstar III and the Establishment of the Assyrian Empire

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SHALMANESER III AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASSYRIAN POWER

A. T. OLMSTEAD

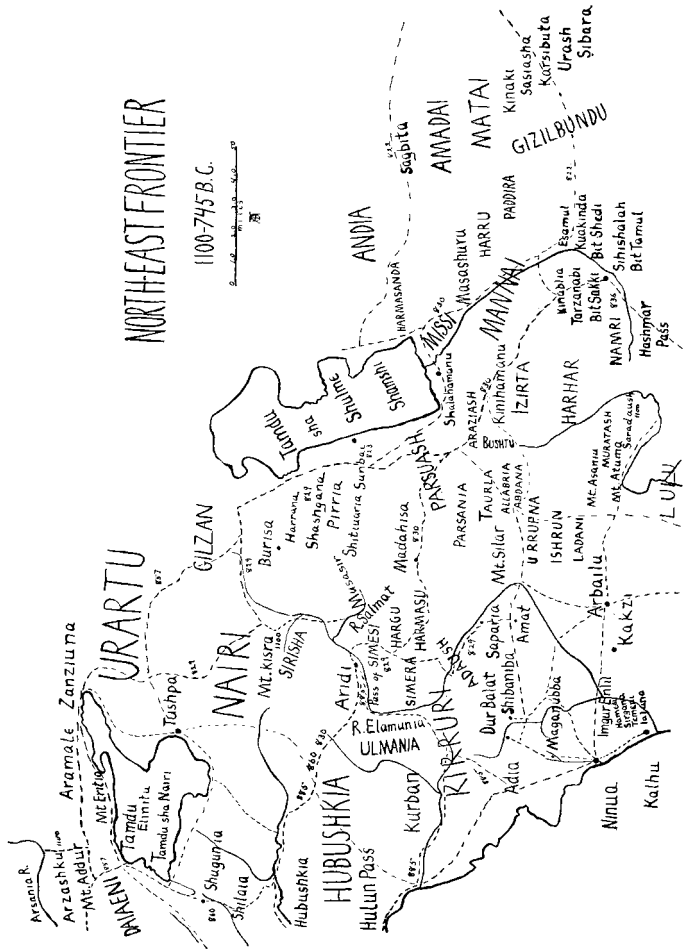
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WHEN SHALMANESER III ascended the throne of his father in 860, he was no longer a young man, for the reign of Ashur-nasir-apal had lasted no less than twenty-five years, and he himself owned a son old enough to accompany him on distant campaigns two years later. His first step was to make a clean sweep of his father's officials, who were replaced with others nearer his own age. Ashur-bel-ukin was appointed *turtanu*; Ashur-bana-usur became the chief musician; Abu-ina-ekalli-lilbur, whose name, 'May the father grow old in the palace,' indicated a hereditary position, very appropriately was chosen chamberlain of the palace. Not one of the men who surrounded the person of the king or ruled in the provinces had previously held office high enough to be entered in the eponym lists.¹

Thanks to the efforts of Ashur-nasir-apal, the foreign situation was by no means threatening, though it offered encouraging opportunities for war if the new king cherished such ambitions. During the entire quarter-century, Assyria had enjoyed a peace with Babylonia which had never been formally broken, even when

¹ This article continues previous studies in the earlier history of Assyria in *AJSL* 36. 125 ff.; *JAOS* 37. 169 ff.; 38. 209 ff. The chief sources are the royal inscriptions, best published in N. Rasmussen, *Salmanasser den II's Indskriften*, 1907; for criticism of the sources and further bibliography, cf. Olmstead, *Historiography*, 21 ff. Added material is found in the Assyrian Chronicle, last publication, Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 344 ff. Most valuable are the Balawat Gate reliefs, Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat*, 1880; King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, 1915; cf. for discussion, Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 1 ff. The Babylonian expeditions are discussed in *AJSL* 37. 217 ff. The provincial development is investigated *JAOS* 34. 344 ff.; *Amer. Political Science Rev.* 12. 69 ff. Lack of space prevents discussion of the scanty cultural data, of the rise of the Haldian kingdom, and of the earlier Hebrew history. A map of the northeast frontier is given at the close of this article; four others will be found *JAOS* 38. 260 ff. My colleagues of the Cornell Expedition, Professor J. E. Wrench of the University of Missouri, and Dr. B. B. Charles of Philadelphia, have drawn my attention to added topographical data found in Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and Byzantine Greek, but all have been verified.

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Nabu-apal-iddina violated his neutrality by sending troops to the support of the Assyrian rebels in the middle Euphrates valley. Neither on the east, where the restless Median tribes were just beginning to appear on the Assyrian horizon, nor on the west, where the Aramaean invasion for the moment had been checked, was immediate danger to be apprehended. Syria offered much valuable booty, but it was too disunited and too distant for any fear on the part of Assyria. On the north alone was there cause for concern. Urartu, or, to use the term preferred by the natives themselves, Haldia, was developing a formidable power behind the protection of the Armenian mountains, and had already forced a reluctant notice from the scribes of Ashur-nasir-apal. Indeed, the last recorded campaign of the reign had been necessitated by the intrigues of that state, and the failure of the official historians to mention the part played by Urartu was simply confession of failure to win back the lost laurels.

Nor did his son dare a direct attack on Haldia at first. In the very beginning of his accession year, for he had been enthroned early, Shalmaneser collected his foot-soldiers and his chariots and entered the defiles of Simesi land, the rough Tiyari region where almost to our own day the Christian mountaineers have preserved a hardily-won independence. No opposition had been previously encountered, mute evidence that the wars of his father on this frontier had not been without result, that the country to the immediate northeast of Nineveh now recognized the Assyrian overlordship. The first acquisition of the reign was Aridi, the fortress of Ninni, commanding the valley of the Upper Zab.² The scene of plunder, the pillar of heads, the burning alive of youths and maidens, indicated that the new king was to be no less harsh in dealing with rebels than his terrible father. In consequence, all the chiefs from whom Ashur-nasir-apal had exacted tribute, Hargians, Harmasians, Simesians, Simerians, Sirishians, and Ulmanians, appeared before his son.³

Climbing out of the Zab valley, Shalmaneser descended into Hubushkia⁴ by a mountain pass and over hills which reached to

² Aridi is probably Julamerik.

³ Mon. I. 14 ff.—The chronological difficulties as to separation of the first two years disappear if we use only the earliest source, the Monolith, and take the 'in the beginning of my reign in my first year' as lumping together the first two years, the date Airu XIII marking the dividing line.

⁴ Hubushkia is Sert according to the Sargon tablet, 307, Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, xi. The route was then by the pass back of Julamerik and down the Bohtan Su.

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heaven like the point of an iron dagger, where a passage for the chariots could be made only with much labor on the part of the pioneers. The capital of the same name was soon a smoking ruin, and its Nairi prince, Kakia, after a struggle in the mountains, begged the royal pardon. The Haldian frontier was reached at Sugania, a tiny fortress perched upon a high rock at the junction of two small affluents of the Upper Tigris. Around the arched bridge it commanded, the Assyrians constructed a circular camp with a gate at either exit of the road.⁵ The king set forth in his chariots, attended by others in which were carried the standards. Arrived at the doomed city, he dismounted, and, still surrounded by his body guards, shot his arrows against the fortress. The main attack was launched by the archers, but sappers, protected by long leather robes, were employed to loosen the stones in the walls, and other soldiers attempted an assault with ladders. The natives resisted with bow and spear until the houses were fired, when they abandoned the struggle. Opposite the town, a pillar of heads was erected, and the survivors, naked save for the peculiar 'liberty caps' and up-tilted shoes, their necks bound in a yoke to a long rope and their hands tied behind their backs, were dragged before the official who stood, club of office in hand, to receive them.

Operations recommenced with a skirmish in the open. Opposed were the little Haldians, clad in short robes or entirely naked, armed with long or short lances, and defended by the short round shield and greaves. In their formation, pairs of archers and shield-bearing lancers, they had followed Assyrian custom. Fourteen of the surrounding villages went up in smoke, the men were impaled on stakes set in the wall, the severed heads were hung in the gates. The invaders cut down the palm trees, surprisingly far north until we remember that today they still flourish fruitless on the warm shores of Lake Van, and captive horses recall to our minds the fact that Armenia has always been famous for the fineness of its breed. The strangest trophy was a rough platform on wheels, so ponderous that eleven men were needed to pull it along by means of ropes over their shoulders. On it was a huge grain jar, no less than eight feet high, held in place by a man mounted beside it, and guarded by poles in the hands of the three

⁵ Sugania cannot be Shokh, the Kurdish name of Tauk, Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 420, as Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 8, since Hubushkia is now known to be Sert. The troops may have gone, not via Bitlis, but by the valley to the east where Sakh and Sakh Dagh may represent Sugania.

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men behind. In camp, the grain was ground, the dough mixed on the floor, and the bread baked in the round mud oven. The eunuch camp-prefect made frequent trips in his chariot to oversee the collection of the booty, which was packed in camp under his business-like direction.

The army descended to a plain for its next encampment, a rectangular walled enclosure, studded with battlemented towers within whose protection, in one corner, stood the royal tent. Quitting this place, the army pushed on over mountains so steep and by roads so execrable that it was necessary for the attendants to drag the chariot horses up the slopes by main force. Without encountering further resistance, Shalmaneser reached Lake Van at a village where the mountains ranged about the curving shore. The procession to the water's edge was formed, first the two royal standards, then the monarch on foot, his high officials, the musicians playing on harps, finally the bulls and rams destined for the sacrifice. The royal effigy had been carved on a low cliff overhanging the water, where Shalmaneser appeared as he was wont to be seen on state occasions, richly robed and with scepter and tiara, but unarmed, in token of the peaceful character of his mission. The standards were set up, with a tall candlestick by their side, the king assumed an attitude of adoration, two bulls and four rams were slaughtered and presented on the three-legged altar before the stele, the libations were set forth in a jar on an ox-footed support. Portions of the slain animals were thrown by the soldiers into the lake to be consumed by the fish, turtles, and wild swine that swarmed the shore or the waters.

The raid had caused much damage to a corner of Haldia, but it was only a corner, and Arame, the Haldian king, had not even been engaged.⁶ Winter was approaching and the passes would soon be closed; Shalmaneser, therefore, decided to return, and by the same route. On his way, Asau of Gilzan brought in his gifts, the horses, cattle, and sheep we have come to expect, and with them two humped camels of the Bactrian breed.⁷ The winter months were utilized by Shalmaneser in securing recognition of his suzerainty in Babylonia. Nabu-apal-iddina made a formal alliance which brought him under Assyrian control as surely as

⁶ Arame is the traditional king of Armenia, Aram according to Moses of Chorene, 1. 13 f.; cf. Rawlinson, *JRAS* (OS) 12. 446 n.1.

⁷ Account based primarily on the Balawat sculptures, eked out by the Monolith and by the topographical data.

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any 'ally' of Rome; the gods acknowledged his direct rule when he sacrificed to Marduk and Nabu in Babylon and Borsippa.⁸

The Armenian campaign had been a mere reconnaissance in force, but it had indicated with sufficient clearness that it would be no easy matter to develop successes on this frontier, and it had suggested that the material returns might not pay the expenses of equipping an army. If plunder were desired, Syria always lay open to attack, and it was in this direction that the next offensive was planned. Lucky and unlucky days played a large part in Assyrian life; we realize the difference from the modern conception when we find the army leaving Nineveh on the thirteenth of Airu, the beginning of May. Hasamu and Dihnunu were traversed, and the boundary of Bit Adini was reached at Lalate, whose inhabitants thought only of flight to the hills. A battle was contested under the walls of Kiraqa, and Ahuni, the new master of Adini, was forced to take refuge behind its fortifications. Resistance still continued and the Assyrian troops were in danger of attack from the rear. They did succeed in securing possession of the Aramaic settlement of Bur Marna, the 'Spring of our Lord,' and when the pillar of heads was set up, the threat was sufficient to bring in the contributions of Habini of Til Abni and of Gauni of Sarugi, whose name is connected with the Hebrew patriarch Serug.⁹

Rafts laid on inflated skins carried the Assyrians across the Euphrates to Qummuh, the tribute of Qataz-ilu was received as in 867, Paqarhubuni submitted,¹⁰ the domains of Adini were left behind, and the cities of Gurgum were reached in the plain about Marqasi, the modern Marash.¹¹ Shalmaneser was gratified by the gifts handed over by Mutallu, which included his daughter and

⁸ *MDOG* 28. 24 f. places the offerings before the account of the Anu-Adad temple and is dated in the month Muhur ilani, day five, year one of my royalty, that is, 859. The alliance, *Synchr. Hist.*

⁹ Hasamu, the Hasame of the Harran Census, is Hossīwe, on the west end of Jebel Abd el Aziz, Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, 59, n. 2. Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 64, on the basis of the Harran Census, restored Saru. . . as Sarugi, the well-known Serūj of later times. Kiraqa is restored by Rasmussen, *ad loc.* The country of Giri Adad is missing, but Sayce, *RP²* 4. 59, rightly restored Ashsha on the basis of Ashur nasir apal, *Ann.* 3. 94, where he is called Giri Dadi.

¹⁰ Here written Pakarruhbuni, identified by Streck, *ZDMG* 1908, 765 n. 2, with the land Paqaihabuni written on a bone ring, Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 83. It must be near Samosata, as the Diarbekir-Samsat-Marash road was evidently taken.

¹¹ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 95.

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her dowry. When he turned southwest, he found his way blocked by a coalition of all the more important North Syrian chiefs which had come together at Lutibu. Ahuni of Adini, Sangara of Carchemish, Sapalulme of Hattina,¹² and Haianu of Samal were the leaders. The last country had already been known to the Egyptians as Samalua, and its present ruler, Haya, had been preceded by an unnamed father and a grandfather Gabbar.¹³ The conflict resulted in a tactical victory for the Assyrians, but the allies succeeded in preventing the siege of Samal and Shalmaneser had to console himself for the loss of its spoil with the barren honor of erecting a stele under the Amanus at the source of the Saluara River.¹⁴

The way was open to the south. The Assyrian forces crossed the Orontes and appeared before the Hattinian fortress of Alisir, not far from where in time to come was the site of the mighty city of Antioch.¹⁵ Again the allies blocked the way, aided now by Kate of Que or Cilicia,¹⁶ by Pihirim of Hiluka, the name whence came our Cilicia, though at this time it was north of the Gates, and by Bur Anata of Iasbuqa,¹⁷ an Aramaean as his name compounded with the goddess Anath shows. Again the allies went down to defeat and Bur Anata fell into the hands of the conquerors, but once more the victory was followed by no important results and Shalmaneser was forced to content himself with tribute from the 'kings of the sea coast.'

The quadrangular camp with overhanging towers was pitched on the seashore, and the king took his stand before it under an

¹² In *JAOS* 38. 247, I doubted the correctness of the reading Hattina for the more usual Patina. The spelling in the Boghaz Köi document, Ha-at-ti-ni-wi-na, Forrer, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1919, 1032, proves that I was too conservative.

¹³ List of Thothmes III, 314; Tomkins, *TSBA* 9. 251; H. 633; the native record, von Luschan, *Mith. Or. Sammlungen*, 14. 375; Littmann, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1911, 976; Şamâlû was taken in 728 by Muawiya, Tabari in Brooks, *JHS* 18. 199; it was a part of the Syrian Thaghr and was taken by Harun al Rashid in 780, see al Baladhuri, 170; Yaqut, *s. v.* 'Ḍamâlû (colloquial Samâlû),' Hitti, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 263, but the Assyrian, as so often, proves the pointing of the Arabic.

¹⁴ For the Saluara River, cf. Sachau, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1892, 329 ff.

¹⁵ Amiaud-Scheil, *ad loc.*, read Alimush.

¹⁶ So restored by Rasmussen on the basis of Obl. 132, as against Harper, *ad loc.*, who reads Kateshu.

¹⁷ Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 89 n. 2, compares the Ishbak of Gen. 25. 2. Add also Ada the *laian?*

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umbrella, surrounded by his guards and attendants, the most important of whom were the three turtanus who faced him. The master of ceremonies, turning backward, beckoned for the ambassadors to approach. The two representatives of Tyre and Sidon, accompanied by their sons, thereupon advanced, their hands raised in adoration. Their beards were pointed, their double robes were long and clinging, their turbans were wound with ribbons which fell to their necks, their shoes were upturned. Behind them came the tribute bearers, some with trays filled with oriental sweetmeats, others with boxes on their padded shoulders or huge caldrons carried like caps on their heads. The last of the procession stood in the water to unload their boat, for it was too shallow to permit reaching the land. The boats were long, narrow craft, each with two men, who steered and rowed, or rather poled them along, by oars without oarlocks. Ropes attached to the upstanding heads of camels at the high prows and sterns held them fast to the shore. They were piled high with bales, dark blue wool, wool, lapis lazuli, shamu, ingots of gold, silver, lead, and copper. Cloth was carried on poles suspended from men's shoulders, and one great jar required special attention as it was handed from the boat to the shore. Whole trees and beams of cedar, in themselves sufficient to repay the Assyrians for the long trip, were brought down and piled up. Across the water could be seen a rocky islet, which bore a town with high battlemented walls and possessed two gates. From it came forth, their hands laden with gifts, the chief and his wife, her skirt tucked up, her hair flowing.¹⁸

A second stele was set up at Atalur, on a cliff by the seashore, where one day Antioch's seaport, Seleucia, was to be located, and where the king's predecessor, Ashur-rabi, had already left a memorial of his presence.¹⁹ The return journey was equally prosperous. The Hattinians, clad in short girdled tunics and protected only by round helmets and neck-pieces, were easily defeated in detail. The Assyrian soldiers seized them by the hair, stabbed

¹⁸ Schlumberger fragments, Lenormant, *Gazette Arch.*, 4, pl. 22 ff.

¹⁹ Obl. gives Lallar as the name of the mountain and this has regularly been quoted as if it had as good or better authority than Atalur. Our study, *Historiography*, 26 f., showing the inaccuracy of the Obl. for this earlier period, should forever banish Lallar from topographical discussions. The form Atalur is further confirmed by Mt. Atilur, following Libnanu (Lebanon), II R 51, 1. It cannot possibly be in the Alexandretta region (Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 79 f.), as a glance at the route placed on the map will show.

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them, and decorated their chariots with the severed heads. Several of the Hattinian towns, Taia, Nulia, Butamu, fell into the Assyrian hands. Hazazu was a good-sized fort on a low artificial mound which witnessed to the respectable antiquity that already lay behind it. When the troops in heavy armor began the escalade and the town was already on fire, the townspeople could not resist. The king received his prisoners under a canopy held by his servants and placed before the round camp. Great was the contrast between the richly-clad Assyrian officials who introduced them and the long line of captives, some without a stitch of clothing, their necks in a rope and their hands tied behind them, the women with their hair hanging down their backs and clothed in gowns which reached only to elbows and ankles. Tribute from another Arame, the king of Gusi, closed the year.²⁰

The eponym office was assumed by the king himself in 858. Nineveh was again left on the lucky thirteenth of Airu. Accompanied by the crown prince, he hastened by the direct road to Til Barsip, the capital of Bit Adini, which commanded one of the most important fords of the Euphrates, where to this day the islands show in summer and a ferry crosses. The city was large as such cities went, the ramparts on the land side were strong, a quay cut to the river through the conglomerate testified to commerce by water, and the character of the people was indicated by the expected Hittite sculpture in basalt.²¹ Leaving the capital to be reduced in a later campaign, Shalmaneser crossed the stream

²⁰ Mon. I. 29 ff.; for Hazazu, cf. *JAOS* 38. 248 n. 67; F. J. Arne, *L'Anthropologie*, 20. 24, found seeming traces of palaeolithic remains at Tell Azāz. Taia is the Tae of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 144, the modern Kefr Tai, not far from Aleppo, Tomkins, *Bab. Or. Rec.*, 3. 6. Nulia may be Niara, Ptol. 5. 14, 10; Hartmann, *ZA* 14. 339. The sea is that of Antioch, Winckler, *Forsch.* 1. 104. Butamu is the Bādāmā of Yaqut, *s.v.*, in the Azāz district, 'its mention being in the tradition of Adam,' that is, it was believed to have had an early origin. For Gusi, note that Heraclius sent his brother Theodore against the Arabs, and they came to Gusit, a village near Antioch, where there was a stylite named Simeon, and here they were defeated by the enemy, Michael Syr., trans. Dulaurier, *JA* 4thS. 13. 321.

²¹ For Til Barsip, the present Tell Aḥmar, cf. Thompson, *PSBA* 34. 66 ff.; Hogarth, *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, 173 ff.; *Liverpool Annals*, 2, 177; Bell, *Amurath*, 28 ff.; Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 174, identifies it with a Greek Barsampse which I do not recognize.

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in full flood and collected the plunder of six of the Adini cities.²² While the monarch remained in his camp with his eunuchs, the crown prince led his troops against Dabigu, a double-walled city with battlemented outworks in the plain, and defended against assaults by ladders or through mines by archers armed with short swords.²³ In the siege of Til Bashere, the king seated himself under a canopy erected between the camp and the beleaguered city, that he might watch the operation of a new contrivance, a ram on six wheels, directed by a man in a sort of cupola on the top, which was attacking the tower guarding the lone gate in the long wall. The defenders dropped stones upon it, but in vain; the city on the low mound which gave so commanding a position to the crusading Turbessel was taken, and the inhabitants deprived of hands and feet and impaled about the walls, above which projected the gable of the palace of 'Hittite fashion' so popular among the Assyrians a century later. The citizens of the upper town, bearded men wearing liberty caps, with long double robes open at the side and pointed shoes, were led with ropes about their necks; the matrons, their hair below the waist and bare-legged, followed meekly, and dromedaries and mules brought out the couches and other furniture which were considered worthy of removal. The whole convoy was under the direction of the crown prince, whose uncertain stand in his chariot was made easier by the protecting arm of his attendant. His presence was also indicated by the smaller tent at the side of the larger one occupied by his father and by the double guard which watched the camp.²⁴

²² The other four are . . . a(?)ga; Tagi, the Tuka of Tiglat Pileser IV; Surunu, the Saruna of the same, Rost, *Tiglat-Pileser*, 85, possibly Şauron east of Niara, more probably Sārūn northwest of Tell Basher; if the next is read as naturally, Paripa, it may with Sachau, *ZA* 12. 48, be identified with Paphara, Ptol. 5. 14, 10; if Patalpa, with Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 64, it might be connected with Tulupa, six miles from Turbessel (Tell Basher), William of Tyre, 17. 17.

²³ Dabigu is the modern Dābiq, Sachau, *ZA* 12. 48. The caliph Sulēmān followed the custom of his family in making it his headquarters during attacks on Maşşīsa, died here in 717 A. D., and was buried in the tell called Tell Sulēmān, Yaqut, s. v. In 778, Uthman made Dabekon his base against Germania-Marash, Theoph., 421, cf. 431.

²⁴ The same curious refusal to accept a reading which might connect with an important later site which has been manifested in the case of Anat and Bagdadu, is seen in Til Bashere. Sayce, *RP*² 4. 62 n. 1, cf. Hüsing, *OLZ* 1. 360, had already made the identification, but Peiser, *KB* 1. 160, after correctly transliterating in his text, in his translation follows Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 264,

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Changing his direction, Shalmaneser fell upon the territories of Carchemish. The capture of Sazabe²⁵ brought the coalition to terms, and the narrative for the remainder of the year is made up of the list of tribute furnished by the various princes. That the numbers have grown in the process of transmission is to be expected, but in spite of this, we are given a valuable insight into the economic life of North Syria. The ruler of Hattina or Unqi brought three talents of gold, a hundred of silver, three hundred of copper, the same of iron, a thousand articles of that metal, a thousand dresses and cloaks, twenty talents of purple, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep. For its collection, it was necessary to penetrate the great swamp of Unqi, access to which could be gained only by flat-bottomed boats that could pass anywhere in the shallows. Two men, their long hair bound with fillets and their clothes as abbreviated as might be expected of an aquatic folk, rowed and steered them by oars hung in thongs, while the wild ducks flew before them. Shalmaneser did not trust himself to

with Mabashere. Hogarth, *Accidents*, 165, reports the find of many Hittite cylinders and other small objects, but wrongly calls it Pitru. It is referred to by Matthew of Edessa, 1. 5. Tell Bāshir was a fortified *qal'a* and an extensive *kāra*, inhabited by Armenian Christians, with outlying settlements and markets, well cultivated and peopled, Yaqut, *s. v.* Its greatest claim to fame is that, as Turbessel, it was the capital of the famous Crusader, Jocelyn of Courtenay, *Rey, Colonies franques*, 322. Gregory the Priest, the Armenian historian, *Rec. Hist. Crois., Hist. Arm.* 1. 162 ff., tells us that Masud, after the capture of Marash, invaded the territory of Thil Avedeatz, now called Thlpashar, in 1149; the next year he unsuccessfully attacked it; two years later it surrendered to the son of Zangi, lord of Aleppo, though the inhabitants were allowed to withdraw to Antioch. Dr. B. B. Charles, who visited it in the spring of 1908, writes as follows: "The mound lies in the rolling plains five hours southeast of Aintab, and is the most impressive object in the whole region. It is long and narrow, about a hundred feet high, and is surrounded by a low ellipse of mound formation which marks the line of an early wall, with gateway at east and west. Just beyond the west gate is the zialet of Qara Baba, "Black Father." Well-squared blocks of basalt and red pottery may indicate Hittite occupation. The mound is called Seraser or Seleser Hissār, which may be a Kurdish twisting of Sāry Hissār, Yellow Castle, or it may even be a corruption of Jocelyn." Curiously enough, in 1837, its name was Qyzył Hissār, 'Red Castle,' Poujoulat, *Voyage*, 1. 438. Sayce, *RP*² 1. 109, followed by Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, 20, is incorrect in connecting the Bishri of Tiglath Pileser I with Tell Basher.

²⁵ Sazabe may be the Shadbō of the Syriac Mār Mu'ain legend, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 268, and the Sesben of Thutmose III, 248, Tomkins, *TSBA*, 9. 245, Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 175.

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such uncertain protection, but contented himself with a position on the shore across the water from where, on a low mound in the midst of the swamp, stood the capital, a double-gated fortress with battlemented walls. Under the parasol which the damp heat demanded, he received the Hattinian monarch, aping the Assyrian with his long fringed robe and shawl. With him were his nobles, with long hair on head and face, long robes carefully draped, and the inevitable Hittite upturned shoes. Among them was to be observed a man with a strongly negroid face, mute witness to race mixture. The plundering was thorough, and the attendants carried off their goods in baskets and sacks, skins filled with wine, trays heaped with valuables, tusks of elephants. From a smaller castle, also on a mound in the water, came other suppliants, bearing the same gifts, but with different dress, short robes which exposed their bare limbs, and the regulation shoes, Aramaeans who had forced themselves in by the side of their Hittite neighbors. A third castle in the swamps furnished additional gifts of horses and cattle, the latter to this day driven in huge herds along the watery ways. One of these Aramaeans trudged along, on his back a huge wine jar which was destined to be placed later on a tripod by the table under the tent which Shalmaneser had caused to be pitched some distance back from the shore. The tragedy behind the curt statement of the annals, 'his daughter with her rich dowry I received,' is sensed in the half-grown Hittite maiden, her hair barely reaching to her neck, who stretched out her hands in vain supplication to the relentless conqueror who had determined to immure her in his harem.²⁶

Sangara was not so rich as the king of Hattina, for the commer-

²⁶ References in Egyptian records and in the Amarna letters are to Coele-Syria, not to Unqi. The earliest certain reference is in 832 where the Assyrian Chron. uses it while the Obelisk has Hattina. Tiglath Pileser IV regularly uses Unqi, Ann. 92, 145.; 'Amq occurs in the native Zakar inscription. It was known to the Greeks as Amykes Pedion, Polyb. 5. 59, 10; and Amyke, Malalas, 1. 257. The form 'Umqa is said to occur in Syrian Martyrologies. The Romans from Marash sustained a defeat here in 694, Baladhuri, 189, cf. Brooks, *JHS* 18. 207, cf. 189. As a *kāra*, first of Antioch and then of Aleppo, it was the source of most of the grain which supplied the former city, Yaquat, s. v. In 1272, it was ravaged by the Mongols, the expedition of Lajin passed through it in 1298, in 1381 it was the scene of a decisive defeat of the Arabs from Aleppo by the Turkumans, Weil, *Gesch.*, 4. 73, 211, 539. Amaïq was occupied by John Comnenas in 1136, *Chron. L. Arm., Rec. Hist. Crois., Hist. Arm.*, 1. 616.

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cial predominance of North Syria was yet to be gained by Carchemish. His gifts were but three talents of gold, seventy of silver, thirty of copper, a hundred of iron, twenty of purple, five hundred weapons, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep, horses, buffaloes, and goats, but he made up the account by presenting a hundred noble maidens, whom the scribe cynically lists between the weapons and the cattle. Four of Sangara's castles, all located along the banks of the Euphrates, on low mounds and without the usual overhanging platforms, were forced to disgorge. The citizens, headed by Sangara himself and his two beardless sons, were not unattractive; profiles less sharp than those of the Assyrians, noses straight, short hair and beards. The common sort had retained their ancestral garb, the conical twisted turbans, the long double robes, the upturned shoes, but Assyrian fashions had conquered the nobility, who wore the long single robe and the coat with plain sleeves which characterized the victors. Haianu of Samal offered ten talents of silver, ninety of copper, thirty of iron, three hundred articles of clothing, the same number of cattle, and ten times that number of sheep, two hundred cedar beams, two homers of cedar BE, as well as his daughter.

Whatever we may think of these indemnities, the direct result if not the direct incentive of the expedition, and however exaggerated these statistics may be, we have no reason to doubt the amount of the yearly assessments, for their very modesty is the best proof of their authenticity. Hattina gave a talent of silver, two of purple, a hundred cedar beams; Samal gave ten manas of gold, a hundred cedar beams, and a homer of cedar BE; Agusi gave ten manas of gold, six talents of silver, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep; Carchemish provided but a mana of gold, a talent of silver, and two of purple; Qummuh furnished twenty manas of silver and three hundred beams.

The interest of this passage is great. For the first time, we are afforded, not statistics of booty taken in raids, but a formal tribute list. Noteworthy is the disproportion between the indemnity demanded from those who resisted or rebelled and the annual tribute which was barely one percent of the other. It paid to submit.²⁷

Ahuni of Adini was not one of those who preferred an inexpensive submission, for in the very next year, 857, Shalmaneser was

²⁷ For fuller discussion, cf. Olmstead, *Amer. Political Science Review*, 12, 69 ff.

again called to the west. Inspired by the growing power of Haldia, Ahuni broke his pledges and led the whole of his army against the Assyrian border. The Monolith, erected four years later, describes in detail the manner in which Shalmaneser marched forth at the head of his troops for the third time on the same lucky thirteenth, the thirteenth of July; the contemporary record, set up in Til Barsip itself immediately after its occupation, admits that the operation was entrusted to his general. It was this general who drew nigh to the mountain which the enemy had chosen as a battle ground, who blew like the fierce windstorm that breaketh the trees, let fly his troops like a hawk against his opponents, and drove Ahuni like a thief out of the camp, so that the king might despoil his royal treasures. The name was changed to Kar Shulmanasharidu in honor of the sovereign whose fort it became. Two mighty lions of basalt, inscribed with a record of the conquest, were placed in the southeast gate, while inside the walls was a stele in basalt where Shalmaneser was to be seen addressing the rival prince with his conical cap.²⁸ The other occupied cities were given similar Assyrian names. Chief among them was Pitru on the Sagura river, known to readers of the Bible as Pethor, the home of Balaam, which had its name changed to Ashur-utir-asbat,²⁹ and Mutkinu on the opposite shore, where Tiglath Pileser had settled colonists, only to have them ousted by the Aramacans in the days of Ashur-rabi.³⁰ Bit Adini was not completely Assyrianized, for a century later Amos saw the cutting-off of the scepter-bearer of Beth Eden still in the future, and its captivity was remembered as late as the days of Sennacherib (Amos 1. 5; 2 Kings 19. 12).

The season was still early and a far-reaching plan of operations had been worked out, with intent to punish the Armenian prince who dared contest the control of the Euphrates crossing. Turning back from the river, the Assyrians filed along the slopes of the

²⁸ Thompson, *PSBA* 34. 66 ff.; Hogarth, *Accidents*, op. p. 175; Bell, *Amurath*, 28 ff.

²⁹ That Pitru is the Pethor in Aram Naharaim of Numb. 22. 5; Deut. 23. 5, has been accepted since the earliest days of Assyrian study. It is the Pedru of Thothmes III, Müller, *Asien*, 291. Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 177, locates it at Seresat. The Sagura is the Sājūr, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 183. The other cities were Aligu (Asbat la kunu); Nappigi (Lita Ashur); Ruguliti (Qibit Ashur); Shaguqa, the Shaqīq Dabbīn, a small fort near Antioch, Yaqut, s. v.

³⁰ *JAOS* 37. 180; 38. 211.

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huge Sumu mountain down into Bit Zamani, and thence through the wild mountain paths of Namdanu and Merhisu to Enzite in Ishua. At the source of the Tigris, at Saluria and under Mount Kireqi, amidst the most savage of scenery and among tribes as wild today as they were when their ancestors resisted the march of Assyrian armies, the full-grown West Tigris emerges in a gorge whose walls had already been adorned with the sculptures of the first Tiglath Pileser. At this time, Shalmaneser carved the first of the reliefs which were to commemorate his visit to so astounding a spot.³¹

³¹ The Tigris Grotto was visited by the Cornell Expedition, but there is little to add to the excellent account of Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, 1. 430 ff.; *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 226 ff.; Belck, *Ztf. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 248 ff. The question of identifications has not been so successfully handled. The modern name is undoubtedly Belqalên, as we established by repeated questioning, but this is as undoubtedly a Kurdish corruption of Dhi'l Qarnain, for in the days of Yaqut, s. v., Dijle, the castle above 'Ain Dijle, was known as Ĥiṣn Dhi'l Qarnain, 'Alexander's Castle.' Dhi'l Qarnain, belonging to Amida, was conquered by Iyad in 639, Waqidi, quoted Tomaschek, *SB Wien*, 133. 4, 16, who also quotes Evlia Effendi as giving Shatt i Zhu'l Qarnain as the Tigris source, but I cannot verify the reference. Finally, Taylor, in the middle of the last century, heard the term applied to the whole country beyond the castle, *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 35. 42. In view of all this, it is difficult to see how Lehmann-Haupt can say 'Wenn die Kurden Bylkalên mit Dhulkarnain in Verbindung bringen, . . . so ist dies eine jeglicher wissenschaftlicher Zulässigkeit entbehrende Volks-Etymologie,' *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 229 n.1. The identification is in its turn a misunderstanding, for which Yaqut himself affords the correction. According to an earlier account, for which he gives an elaborate pedigree, 'the first source of the Dijle is at a place called 'Ain Dijle, two and a half days from Amid, at a place known as Halûras, from a dark cavern.' He then inserts an interpolation referring to Nahr el Kilâb, the Arghana stream, as the first tributary, coming from Shimshat, and to Wadi Şalb, between Mayafarkin and Amid, that is, the Ambar Chai. The earlier account then continues 'It is said it issues from Halûras, and Halûras is the place at which 'Ali the Armenian suffered martyrdom.' Then comes a second interpolation taking up the tributaries, beginning with Wadi Sâtîdamâ, which comes from Darb al Kilâb. We must insist on this interpolation, as otherwise our passage would refer to the Wadi Şalb which in reality is excluded as being an affluent, not the original stream. Halûras may be traced back to the Syriac Holûris and the Armenian Olorh (Vartan, quoted by Tomaschek, l. c.). The name is further seen in the pass Illyrison, near the pass Şapcha, and eight miles from Phision, the modern Fis, Procop. Aed. 3. 3; its earliest form is Ulurush, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 177, of 736. We may not compare Saluria, which survives in Salora on the Dibene Su just north of the town of that name. Nor may Illyrison be connected with Lije, for this is the Elugia of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 181, the Legerda (MS. legerat) of Tac. Ann. 14. 25,

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The pass of Enzite next saw the advance of the Assyrian forces. Having thus penetrated within the border range, they crossed the Arsania, the eastern branch of the Euphrates, and entered Suhme, stormed its capital Uashtal, and took its ruler, Sua, prisoner. Thence they descended into Daiaeni, where they were again in territory once raided by Tiglath Pileser. Shalmaneser, if we may accept the double testimony of inscriptions and sculptures that he was present in person, was at last before the capital of Arame, Arzashkun, on a rocky elevation north of Lake Van, double walled and with towers. In the ensuing action, the little Haldians, armed with swords and javelins, and wearing helmets, short skirts, and pointed shoes, put up a good resistance, and even dared to seize the bridles of the cavalry and chariot horses in the vain attempt to stop the Assyrian advance. The mounted archers completed their discomfiture, the footmen stabbed them or hacked off the legs of the dead and wounded. They managed to reach the gates, and under the protection of their companions' shields, set fire to the city. The town was soon burning and the main body of the Haldians, hurrying through the mountains, found that they had arrived too late. Arame was driven back in confusion to the hills where he suffered a second defeat. The accustomed pillar of heads and the stakes with impaled prisoners were followed by the erection of a stele on Mount Eretia. Only then could the Assyrians march down to the lake and repeat the ceremonies which had marked the beginning of the reign.³²

as Lehmann-Haupt points out, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 439, n., though in *Zif. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 253, he argues that the correct form of the modern place is Lije, Ilije being folk etymology! For Kireqi, cf. Craig, *ad loc.*; Streck, *ZDMG* 1908, 759. Ishua is the Isuwa of the Boghaz Kōi tablets, according to Streck, *Babyloniaca*, 2. 245. The identity of Alzi with Enzite is proved by Obl. 42 which gives all the names save Enzite whose place is taken by Alzi.

³² Mon. 2. 40 ff.—The start from the Tigris Tunnel proves the use of the pass called Citharizon in Byzantine times when it had a special official to guard it. Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 39, argues for the Harput pass, but this would be very roundabout from the Tigris Tunnel, and the distance actually traversed north of the barrier chain is too short for an advance from so far west. We ourselves came south through the Harput pass, but we went almost to Diar-bekir before turning north again to the Tunnel. The Mush pass is too far east to be connected with Alzi. The Arsania is still called the Arsanias Su, and Suhme must be the region about Mush. Arzashku may well be the Ardzik west of Melazgerd, Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 61, n. 4. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1893, 71, identifies Akuri or Agguri near Ararat with Adduri. Eretia may be Ereshat near Arjish; just before were the cities Aramale and Zanziuna, with a king . . . utu.

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Over mountains so high that the attendants must needs lead the chariots, the army continued to Gilzan, where camp was pitched before the chief castle which was situated on a high hill beyond a stream. The inhabitants, led by their chief Asau, were clad in the long double robe, up-turned shoes, and filleted hair, which characterised the Hittites and contrasted so strangely with their Semitic countenances. Some brought kettles on their heads or skins of wine slung over their backs; others drove horses, cattle, sheep, goats, not to forget the seven two-humped camels. To judge from the bronze door representations, they were barely the size of ponies; after the lapse of a generation, the Obelisk presented them grown to twice the height of a man, and the tribute had likewise grown, adding all sorts of minerals and royal robes. Asau was ordered to receive within his temple a stele of Shalmaneser, and the campaign was brought to a close by the capture of Shilaia, the fort of Kafia of Hubushkia.³³

So long-continued an expedition, sweeping around a stretch of territory a thousand miles in an air line, seems almost incredible, and perhaps the task was divided among various armies. Even if the hastiest of raids, it must have completely exhausted the Assyrians. Quite naturally, the year 856 witnessed but two campaigns of decidedly minor importance, in which the king took no part. Ahuni of Adini still persisted in his 'rebellion'; the castle of Shitamrat, on a steep rock by the side of the Euphrates, was taken in three days—according to the scribe who here quotes literally a passage from the records of the king's father.³⁴ The land of Zamua, so often visited by the troops of Ashur-nasir-apal, was now coming to be called Mazamua; the inhabitants fled before the Assyrian advance to a sea on which they embarked in ships of

³³ Mon. 2. 60 ff.—Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 43 f., takes the expedition due east across the boundary mountains, along the Khoi-Dilmun road, then due south and not far west of the Urumia sea, finally back to Assyria by the Keleshin pass. Something is evidently wrong with our source, the topographical confusion is so extraordinary, especially in the concluding statement that after the capture of a Hubushkian fort, the army came out by the pass Kirruri above Arbela. This, of course, is the worst nonsense, as a glance at the relative positions of Hubushkia, Kirruri, and Arbela will show. Perhaps the best conjecture is that the army went down the valley of the Bitlis Chai.

³⁴ Mon. 2. 69 ff.; cf. Ashur-nasir-apal, *Ann.* 1, 50 f.; Streck, *ZA* 19. 236. The Euphrates was not crossed, therefore the identification with Rûm Qal'a, Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 68 n. 3, is impossible.

urbate wood, but the invaders pursued on rafts of skins and 'dyed the sea with their blood like wool.'³⁵

The contemporary Monolith inscription gave no campaign for 855. A few years later, the door sculptures showed the subjugation of Anhite of Shupre. One scene illustrated the siege of Ubur. The main fortification was in three sections, each with a gate, the central portion on a high hill, the others on somewhat lower ones. There were two outforts, one already in the hands of the besiegers. The attack, under the personal direction of the king, was carried on entirely by archers, on foot or in chariots. An unnamed city was also shown, again situated on three hills. On one was an outfort, with the wall extending down to lower ground. From the crest of the next, the walls of the main settlement stretched across a gully and covered all the third elevation. What the captives had already suffered is indicated grimly by a high isolated pillar before which were heaped three piles of heads. The crown prince had already appeared in the battle, well protected by the tall shield in the hands of his squire; he now took charge of the train of captives, the men naked and yoked, the women in long robes, though the only hint of booty was a lone horse. The captives were presented to a high official, the governor of Tushhan, who stood at the gate of the walled city on a low hill. This campaign, which in reality was carried out not earlier than 853, was in later editions of the annals moved forward to fill the gap in the year 855.³⁶

A glance at the Assyrian Chronicle shows why the Monolith placed no foreign expeditions in this year 855. A new turtanu, Dan-Ashur, has by 854 taken the place of the Ashur-bel-ukin of 857, and a new chamberlain, Bel-bana, appears in 851. The former officials, we can hardly doubt, fell into disgrace as a result of a palace revolution, and it was this crisis at home which prevented an expedition.

We cannot too much regret the misfortune which has prevented us from learning more of this Dan-Ashur. We may be sure he was a man of exceptional force, for otherwise he could not have ruled Assyria, in spite of disaffection, for more than a quarter of a cen-

³⁵ Mon. 2. 75 ff.—For Mazamua, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 38 ff.; the sea can only be Zeribor, *ibid.* 47. The route would be that back of Penjwin, Murray, *Guide*, 323, which probably is connected with the Bunagishlu pass. The cities are Nikdime and Nikdera.

³⁶ Bulls, 66 f.; restored from Obl. 52 ff.

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ture. Near the end of this long period, from 833 onward, when he and his royal master had both long since passed their prime, the conduct of the wars was regularly entrusted to Dan-Ashur, and, what is still more to the point, the fact was mentioned in the royal annals. With this amazing tribute to the position he had secured, we may bracket the attempted pushing back of the period when he came to power. The same Obelisk edition which gives him such great honor, just once breaks its custom of dating by the regnal years. This is in 856, when the date given is the eponymy of Dan-Ashur, though the official from whom the year was actually named, Ashur-bana-usur, held that office in 826 as he had thirty years before! We shall meet Dan-Ashur again, as the cause for the great revolt at the end of Shalmaneser's reign.³⁷

Affairs at home once more in order, it was possible to turn to foreign conquests. In the opening days of May, the Assyrian armies undertook a new enterprise which was important enough in itself, and was to have still greater significance in the minds of modern students, for in this year 854 Assyria was brought face to face with a little state in Palestine which was to secure undying fame by its religion and its literature.

The first stop was at the river Balih, where a certain Giammu had retained his independence in the heart of Mesopotamia. The inhabitants feared at the royal approach, and themselves, that is to say, the Assyrian partizans, put Giammu to death. Shalmaneser entered the towns of Kitlala and Til sha Balahi, and proceeded to make the land an integral part of Assyria, in sign of which the Assyrian gods were placed in the temple and a ceremonial feast was celebrated in the palace of the late ruler. The booty from his treasury was carried off to Assyria, and the failure to name a new king indicated that the incorporation, long ago demanded by the necessities of the case, was at last being carried into effect.³⁸

The next objective was Kar Shulman asharidu, as Shalmaneser insists on calling Til Barsip, and once more the Euphrates was passed at its flood. At Ashur utir asbat, to which he grudgingly gives its native name of Pitru, he received tribute from the kings

³⁷ See further Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 347; *Historiography*, 27.

³⁸ Mon. 2. 78 ff.—The reading Til sha Balahi, Tiele, *Gesch.*, 200, is finally proved by the Palihi of the Boissier fragments, *RT* 25. 82; Tell Balikh is another name for the Tell Maḥra celebrated in Syriac literary history, Yaqut, *s. v.*

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of the vicinity, among whom were Sangara of Carchemish, Kundashpi of Qummuḫ, Arame of Gusi, Lalli of Melidia; further up the Euphrates, Haiānu of Samal, Kalparunda of Hattina and Gurgum. The goal of all his efforts in this region was Halman, as important then as a religious center as it is today, under its half-westernized name of Aleppo, as a center of trade and transportation. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, it had been brought by Subbi lūliuma within the Hittite empire, its king had proved his loyalty by his death at the hands of the Egyptians in the battle of Kadesh, another ruler had made himself a subject ally by a treaty with Dudhalia, and a Hittite inscription still survives. Then there is silence until we find Shalmaneser sacrificing to the local Adad, in the central shrine for that most characteristic of West Semitic deities. In this manner, Shalmaneser made good his title to be considered, by gods as by men, the rightful ruler of North Syria.³⁹

³⁹ The earliest site of Aleppo was at Ain Tell, one hour north of the city, where neolithic remains were found by Neophytus-Pallary, *L'Anthropologie*, 25. 12 ff. The Ḫ'-r'-bw of the Amenemhab inscription may be Aleppo, Müller, *Asien*, 256; *Researches*, I, pl. 33. The chief of Ḫy-r'-b' at Kadesh, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3. 161; cf. Breasted, *Records*, 3. 154; Ḫy-r'-p' of the Hittite treaty, 27, is taken as Aleppo, *ibid.* 171; but Müller, *MVAG* 7. 5. 38 argues that no North Syrian state is represented, and connects it with Herpa. It is Halba in the Boghaz Köi records, Winckler, *OLZ* 10. 351 n. 1. Petrie argues from its non-appearance in the Amarna letters that Nariba-Nerab is the earlier site, *Hist. Egypt*, 2. 316, but he forgets the Hittite inscription, cf. Olmstead-Charles-Wrench, *Hittite Inscriptions*, 44 ff. In the classical period, the name survived in the name of the stream, Chalos according to the reading of the MSS. in Xenophon, *Anab.* 1. 4. 9, the correct form being probably the Chalbas, Choerob. in Theodos. f. 44, in Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 1430, the modern Quwēq. Seleucus Nicator changed its name to Beroea, App., *Syr.* 57; Yaqut, *s. v.* Haleb. Here the Jewish high priest Menalaus was murdered by Antiochus Eupator, 2 Macc. 13 : 4; Jos. Ant. 12. 385. Demetrius II besieged his brother Philip here, and Strato, tyrant of Beroea, called in Mithridates the Parthian to take the Seleucid king prisoner, Jos. Ant. 13. 384. Heracleon of Beroea revolted from Antiochus Grypus in 95 B. C., Posidonius (4)4, Athen. 4. 38; Trogus, 39, actually says he reigned, that is, as king of Syria. His son Dionysius was later tyrant of Beroea, Strabo 16. 2, 7; cf. Unger, *Philologus*, 55. 116 ff. In the time of Strabo, *l. c.*, it was a small town. The editors of the Delphine Pliny, ad 5. 19, read a coin of Antoninus Pius as Sy(riaca) Be(roea) L(egionem) E(xceptit), thus proving it the seat of a legion, and that this was at one time the IV Parthica seems indicated by the Kuartoparthoi from Beroea of Theophyl. 2. 6, 9. It was on the road of Julian, Ep. 27. Ptol. 5. 14, 13 makes Chalybonitis and Chalybon distinct from Beroea. As Beroea, it appears in the

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Soon after, the invaders were in the territory of Irhuleni of Hamath, and no difficulty was experienced in looting the frontier cities and in burning the royal palaces within. Parga, for example, stood on a low artificial mound defended by a stream and by its high battlemented towers, above whose walls appeared to the wayfarer high buildings with flat roofs and many windows. The assault was launched under the protection of a small fort and was assisted by a moveable ram, or rather sow, with staring eyes, projecting snout, and heavy necklace, moved forward by a kneeling man behind whom stood archers encased in the rear. The defenders were unusually brave, for they fought from the open space in front, as well as from the walls.⁴⁰ Adennu, a smaller fort of the same character and with the same situation, was attacked by the king in person and with all his troops. It was finally taken by escalade,⁴¹ and the Assyrians advanced without further resistance up the Orontes valley, through orchards laden with figs, to Qarqara⁴². Although the fort was small and the mound on which it stood was not particularly elevated, its battlemented towers were much above the average height and its position was strategic, for its loss would permit direct attack upon Hamath.

At this point, Shalmaneser found his way blocked by a coalition of a size rarely seen in Syria. At the head, Shalmaneser places Bir idri or Hadadezer of Damascus, a name which certainly is not

Antonine Itinerary, 193 f., but not as a road center. As Callicome, it is a center to a route to Edessa, 191, and to Larissa, 195. The identity of the two is shown by identity of distance, 18 m.p., of Beroa-Calcida and Callicome-Calcida, cf. also the distance, 24 m.p., Callicome-Bathnas. At first, its church was under Antioch, Geo. Cypr., 861, later it became autocephalic, Not. in Gelzer, *Byz. Zf.*, 1. 250. It last appears as Bārawwā, Yaqut, s. v. Ḥaleb. Among its captivities may be mentioned those by Chosroes, Chron. Edess. 105; by Nicephorus, Glycas, 570; by Timur, Neshri, ed. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 15. 360. The Arabic literature on Ḥaleb is enormous, and we may simply note the vivid picture by Ibn Jubair, 251 ff., and the reference to the Hittite inscription, ascribed to Ali b. Abu Talib.

⁴⁰ Dhorme, *RA* 9. 155, identifies Barga with the place in Amarna, K. 57. The third city was Argana.

⁴¹ Adennu is the modern Dānā in the Jebel er Rihā in the center of one of the ruin fields explored by the Princeton Expedition. It is the Atinni of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 130; and probably the Adinnu of the letters H. 314, 500, 642, as well as the Atinu of H. 762, cf. Johns, *AJSJL* 22. 229. Hartmann, *ZDPV* 23. 145, however, identifies with Tell Lotmin, northeast of Hamath, the al Atmin of Yaqubi, Sachau, *ZA* 12. 47.

⁴² For Qarqara, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 52.

the same as the Biblical Ben Hadad, but whose relation to the other known rulers of that city is shrouded in mystery.⁴³ According to the Assyrian statistics, his troops consisted of twelve hundred chariots, the same number of cavalry, and twenty thousand foot. Irhuleni comes next with seven hundred chariots, the same number of cavalry, and ten thousand foot. Somewhat to our surprise, the third place is taken by Ahabbu of Sirla' or Ahab of Israel, though this particular incident is not mentioned in the sacred book. Exaggerated as the two thousand chariots and the ten thousand soldiers assigned to him may be, they do prove that Israel was a fairly considerable state as states went in Syria, while the fact that Ahab has the largest number of chariots found in the coalition is the more remarkable since the Biblical narrative of the wars with Ben Hadad imply that Israel was particularly deficient in this respect. Of the less important contingents which played a part in this epoch-making conflict, we have five hundred Guai from Cilicia, a thousand Egyptians, whose aid may not be unconnected with the appearance of the name of Osorkon II in Ahab's palace at Samaria,⁴⁴ a series from the Phoenician states, ten chariots and ten thousand foot from Irqanata, two hundred from Mattan baal of Arvad, the same from Usanata, thirty chariots and ten thousand foot from Adoni baal of Shiana, a thousand camels from Gindibu, the Arab, first indication that the true Arabs are following the Aramacans in their invasion of the Fertile Crescent, and ten thousand foot from Baasha, the son of Ruhubi, the Ammonite.⁴⁵

⁴³ The whole problem is discussed in detail by Luckenbill, *AJSL* 27. 267 ff.

⁴⁴ Reisner, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 3. 248 ff.

⁴⁵ Irqanata is the Erkatu ('-r-q'-tw) of the 42d year of Thothmes III, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3. 30; Müller, *Asien*, 247; Breasted, *Records*, 2. 214 f., the Irqata of the Amarna letters where the mention of Şumuru (Sinyra-Sumra) shows it to be identical with 'Arqa, Gen. 10. 17, which has the same form, 'Arqa, in the annals of Tiglath Pileser IV, 146. For the classical Arke-Caesarea and the modern 'Arqa, cf. Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, 3. 579. Usanata is the Usnu of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 146. The order is Simirra, Arqa, Usnu, Sianu. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 282, identified it with Qal'at el-Ḥoşn, but there is no proof that this was occupied until crusading times; also, it was on the sea shore, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 125. It may be Orthosia-Artuzi, whose earlier name is unknown. Shiana is the Siana of the Tiglath Pileser passage, the Sin of Gen. 10. 17; and the Sinnas of Strabo, 16. 2. 18, in the mountains not far from Botrys-Batrün. It is usually identified with a certain Syn, 'ein halb Meile vom Nahr 'Arqa,' mentioned by Breitenbach in his *Reise* of 1486-87, quoted, Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, s. v. Sini, but the place is absent on later maps and we heard of no such locality when in this region.

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On their own confession, the battle did not begin auspiciously for the Assyrians. The king ensconced himself in a tent set up on a rock near the river. The sculptures make a very unusual admission, for they show the troops of Hamath, archers with pointed helmets or in chariots much like the Assyrian, pressing over the Assyrian dead to meet the main forces of the king. The written record claims a complete victory. The blood of the vanquished was made to flow down over the passes of the district, the field was too narrow to throw down their bodies, the broad field alone availed for their burial, and at that, their corpses blocked the Orontes like a dam. The number of slain grew with the passage of time, from fourteen thousand to twenty thousand five hundred, to twenty-five thousand, to twenty-nine thousand. Pursuit was continued from Qarqara to Kilzau and to the Orontes,—and the Monolith inscription comes to a sudden end. Had this famous conflict, because of its connection with Israel perhaps the best known of Assyrian battles, been the overwhelming victory claimed, we should not have to record the careful avoidance of Syria which marks the last few years.⁴⁶ Immediately after the battle, the coalition fell to pieces, and Ahab determined to attack his late ally, the king of Damascus. With the aid of Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ramoth-Gilead was besieged, but Ahab met his death and the host disbanded (2 Kings, 22).

Our written records give for the year 853 a raid against Habini of Til-Abni. Without the sculptures, we should never have suspected the importance of the expedition or of Habini himself. His reception was in truth very different from that accorded other conquered rulers. He did indeed make obeisance, bowing his head before the king as he stood resting on his bow, but he made his approach from his fully fortified camp, in chariots which in form as in trapping of the horses were in the best Assyrian style, and he was accompanied by attendants who exemplified all the latest fashions of the Assyrian upper classes. Their hair hung in a mass at the nape of the neck, and their beards were long and square cut, like that of Shalmaneser himself, and in sharp contrast to the pointed beards affected, not only by the princes of the other subjugated peoples, but by the lower class Assyrians as well. Habini wore the long fringed robe and the fringed jacket with diagonal opening, and had just laid aside his ornamented Assyrian sandals.

⁴⁶ Mon. 2. 87 ff.; zigat, Delitzsch, *MDOG* 36. 16; Olmstead, *Historiography*, 22.

In him, we obviously have a ruler well out of the ordinary, thoroughly Assyrianized, and too important to be harshly treated.

Turning north, the Assyrians reached the town of Kulisi,⁴⁷ a small castle on the Tigris with double wall and two-storied gateway. The inhabitants, with the short skirts and round Haldian shields, were stabbed and mutilated, their severed limbs piled in heaps, their heads covered the burning city. Their rebel chief and his followers were impaled naked about the walls or along the river.

Up the valley of the Tigris the Assyrians continued until they reached the 'source of the Tigris, the place whence the waters flow, the cave of the river' pictured in the sculptures. In one scene, the mountains sweep in a long curve around the water, on the far side of which is a fortress, with square gateway between towers. Stone pillars with round balls on their tops flank the opening. In the water, a sculptor works, mallet on chisel, at a representation of the king, which is complete save that the surrounding cartouche is still to be incised. So perfect is the royal figure that an official already stands on a platform erected among the rocks and adores his master's effigy. Other Assyrians lead up a ram for the sacrifice and drag on his back a reluctant bull destined to meet the same end. In a second scene, we have a long parade of soldiers, foot and horse, up the course of the stream. At their head is the king, whose sad lack of horsemanship is indicated by his riding straight-legged and with huge stirrups tied to the horse-blanket, not, in the only fashion known to the oriental expert, with hunched-up knees and bareback. The royal chariot and those which bear the standards are, of course, a part of the picture and so are the calf and the ram destined for the sacrifice. Through three openings, we see trees and soldiers, waist-deep in the icy waters, who uphold torches to lighten the gloom. On the rock at the entrance is the niche with the conventional royal figure, while on a smaller rock in the water stands the sculptor putting on the finishing touches under the direction of the official who stands by his side. The accuracy of the picture is proved by the reliefs surviving unto this day, one on the wall of the passage where the Tigris for the moment comes to the light before again plunging into the mountain, the other in a huge upper cave decorated with great stalactites and stalagmites, where in prehistoric times the river once found its

⁴⁷ The royal city of Mutzuata.

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outlet. Above still towers the cliff up which lead rock-cut stairs, and on its summit are the terraces that mark the site of the settlement which once dominated the source of the sacred stream.⁴⁸

The two years which followed were occupied by the Babylonian troubles.⁴⁹ From 850 to 837, our information is scanty in the extreme. Such and such an event took place in such and such a year of the reign, that we may confidently set down, but details of strategy and topography elude us. At first, the west demanded attention. The still unconquered cities belonging to Sangara of Carchemish were reduced and then came the turn of Arame, king of Agusi. His capital, Arne, was unusually well-defended. It was situated on a high mound, its walls were of a decided height, and instead of the usual adobe, stone was used in its construction, the resulting slope presenting very real difficulties to the attacking party. An action before the walls forced the natives to retire within their fortifications, but the fight was continued by the bowmen on both sides. The Assyrian reserves hastened from the distant camp over the dismembered bodies which still covered the ground from the former battle, and assaulted the city to such effect that it fell an easy prey with all its animal wealth.⁵⁰

In those days, Shalmaneser contested another battle further south with the twelve Syrian allies, headed again by Bir-idri and Irhuleni. The cities of Sangara and of Arame were raided the next year (849). Passing along the line of the Amanus, he overran Mount Iaraq and descended into the lower-lying cities of Hamath. He first encamped before Ashtamaku, a double-walled and battle-mented fort on a low mound. The attack was confided to the crown prince, who, at the head of his cavalry and chariots, rode over the dead in pursuit of the fleeing leaders of the enemy. One

⁴⁸ Bulls, 75 ff.; cf. Belek, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 455; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, 1. 430 ff.

⁴⁹ Discussed in detail, Olmstead, *AJSL* 37. 217 ff.

⁵⁰ Bulls, 84 ff.; cf. Maspero, *PSBA* 20. 125 ff. Arne, the Arnu of H. 321 and the Arranu of H. 502, may possibly be identified with Qarne, from which we have horses along with those from Kusa (Caesum?), Dana, Kullania, and Isana, all in this general region, H. 372; Pinches, *PSBA* 3. 13. This may be the Qarnini of the revenue list, III R, 53, 36, and the Karna of the Medinet Habu list of Ramses III, Sayce, *PSBA* 25. 310. Agusi appears again in 743, when it was under Mati ili, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 60 ff.; and as the Gusit near Antioch of Michael the Syrian, trans. Delaurier, *JA* 4 Ser., 13, 321. The reliefs add *agda*.

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of them escaped up the slope to the city, the horse of the other stumbled and the occupant was compelled to stretch out his hands in surrender. The archers shot at the city until the dead hung down over the walls and the defenders begged for mercy. Another city, in a grove of scrub oak near the river, was taken by escalade, and the decapitated heads of its defenders floated along on the waves of the stream. Bir-idri and the allies who had come to the help of Irhuleni were defeated, and ten thousand of their troops destroyed. Irhuleni was shut up in his double-walled fortress with its gable-roofed houses, where he had made himself comfortable on a couch of Assyrian form, with the flay flapper and shawl of the eunuch attendant and with the long fringed robe and drapery of an Assyrian monarch. These could not protect him from the Assyrian fury and he too was forced to ask for quarter. Irhuleni was permitted to retain his Assyrian dress, even to the pointed helmet, provided only he bowed down in worship, and the youthful prince destined to be his successor was allowed to approach in his chariot and surrounded by his fellows; the common people were treated more roughly, their clothes stripped off, their necks inserted in a yoke, their women in too scanty clothing bewailing their disgrace with hand raised to head. On his return journey, Apparanzu, one of Arame's villages, was taken, and the Assyrians received the tribute of the Hattinian Kalparunda, gold, silver, lead, horses, and cattle, sheep and clothes. The campaign was ended, as was many another, by the cutting of cedar beams in the Amanus.⁵¹

Only a raid across the upper Euphrates to Paqarahubuni in the mountains marked the year 848, and the next saw only one against Iatu, reached by the pass of the Ishtars and so in Kashiari.⁵² The year 846 again found Shalmaneser fighting the allies in central Syria. They had proved, in spite of his boasts of victory, no mean enemies, and he now made one supreme effort to overcome them. The 'numberless levies of troops from the whole of his wide extending dominions were called out' to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand, a maximum for the size of the Assyrian armies and an indication of the gravity of the crisis. The supreme effort

⁵¹ Bulls, 90 ff.—Apparanzu is Abarraza of the Antonine Itinerary, on the Ciliza-Zeugma road, a genuine route, though the distances are far too small. Perhaps the Kiepert map identification with the Baraja on the Quwêq is correct.

⁵² JAOS 38. 213.

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was made and Syria remained unconquered. Haldia was, therefore, emboldened to adopt a forward policy, and the more pressing needs on this frontier permitted Syria to rest for the present. The sources of the Tigris were again reached, and another rock record was prepared, the barrier range was penetrated by the Tunibuni pass, and the Haldian cities were overrun as far as the sources of the Euphrates. Such sacrifices as the sacred spot demanded were offered, and the rock was inscribed not far from where the tribute of Daieni was received from its ruler Asia.⁵³

An expedition to the Armenian highlands was once more followed by a period of inactivity. The year 844 witnessed merely a brief campaign, into Namri land, across the river Azaba, the Zab, and against Marduk-mudammīq, whose good Babylonian name testified to Babylonian influence in this neighbor land. On the Assyrian approach, he took to the hills, leaving behind his riches and his gods, and his vacant office was granted to a new ruler whom we know only as Ianzu, the native Kashshite word for king.⁵⁴ For the succeeding year, the scribe could think of nothing but a cedar-cutting trip to the Amanus.⁵⁵

Conditions had become more propitious in central Syria by 842. At the instigation of the Hebrew prophet Elisha, Ben Hadad, if he be the same as Hadadezer, had been smothered while sick, and Hazael, the usurping son of a nobody, had taken his place (2 Kings 8. 7 ff.). The confederacy completely broke down as a result and the war with Israel entered a more active phase with the attempt of Jehoram to win back Ramoth-Gilcad. Where the Barada breaks through the Anti-Lebanon, under Mount Sanir,⁵⁶ Hazael

⁵³ Bulls, 98 ff.—All the Tigris inscriptions, latest edition, Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 31 ff., seem to date from this expedition, cf. especially Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 455. The Cornell expedition secured squeezes of these inscriptions, now deposited in the Oriental Museum of the University of Illinois through the kindness of Dr. B. B. Charles of Philadelphia. From the Tigris source, the Assyrians could have entered Armenia only by the Citharizon or the Mush pass; the former is eliminated by identification with that of Enzite, therefore it must be the latter.

⁵⁴ The Kashshite vocabulary, first published Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, 25; better by Pinches, *JRAS* 1917, 102.

⁵⁵ Obl. 93 ff.

⁵⁶ Saniru must be placed about Suq Wadi Barada, where the river of that name breaks through the Anti-Lebanon, with which agrees the location of Sanir north of Damascus by the Arabs, e. g., Baladhuri, 112. The gloss in Dt. 3. 9, in its present form, states that 'the Sidonians call Hermon Sirion and the Amorites call it Senir,' which disagrees with the Assyrian

made his stand, but his fortified camp was stormed with a loss of sixteen thousand foot, eleven hundred and twenty-one chariots, and four hundred and seventy cavalry. The Assyrians felled the orchards which filled the fertile valley and appeared before Damascus. The walls were too strong for assault and Shalmaneser had not the patience for a formal siege, so was forced to content himself with a plundering raid in the Hauran mountains, to the east and south, whose rich volcanic soil, then as now, made it the granary of the Syrian area.⁵⁷

Shalmaneser then struck back to the coast, through that plain of Esdraelon which has always been the route from Damascus and the Hauran to the sea. On a projecting cliff which he calls Bali-rasi, 'Baal's Head,' and which may well be intended for the projecting headland of Carmel where Elijah had contended with the priests of Baal a few years before, he placed a stele.⁵⁸ Shortly after, he received tribute from the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and Iaua of the house of Huuri, or, being interpreted, Jehu, the son of Omri.⁵⁹

ian and Arab location, unless we attach Senir to the whole Anti-Lebanon including Hermon, which is improbable. The gloss seems to have been earlier than the Chronicler, though the manner in which he states, 1 Chron. 5. 23, that the half tribe of Manasseh increased 'from Bashan to Baal Hermon and Senir and Mount Hermon,' shows that he did not have it in its present form. That the addition of Mount Hermon is not, with Curtis, *ad loc.*, 'a phrase explaining Senir as Mount Hermon,' is shown by the Greek, where Lebanon is added and is no doubt original. The author of Canticles 4. 8, a North Israelite, also realized that they were separate, though closely connected. Ezek. 27. 5 shows the use of fir trees from Senir for ship planks. A striking fact which should not be overlooked is that the Greek on Dt. 3. 9, with the exception of the single MS. x, almost the most Massoretic of all the Greek MSS., Olmstead, *AJSL* 34. 152, does not support the reading Sirion at all but gives the Phoenician name of Hermon as Sanior, that is, the same consonants as Senir.

⁵⁷ *KTA* 30; Rogers, *Parallels*, 298 f.; for death of Hadadezer, cf. Luckenbill, *Exp. Times*, 23. 284.

⁵⁸ Identical in name, though not in location, with the Theuprosopon south of Tripolis, Strabo 16. 2. 15. The current identification is with the Dog River north of Beirut, where we actually have several unidentified stelae, Sayce, *RP²* 4. 44, n. 2; cf. Boscawen, *TSBA* 7. 341. Against it is the lack of proof for the use of the Beirut-Damascus road in antiquity and the difficulty of return from the Hauran by this route; there is no statement that the king visited Tyre and Sidon, though the order of mention might indicate passage from south to north, in which case the old camel route, now the line of the railroad from Damascus to Haifa, would have been followed.

⁵⁹ III *R.* 5, 6; Bulls, Supplement.

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After Ahab's death before Ramoth-Gilead, his weakly son Ahaziah reigned two years (853–852) and in want of issue was followed by his brother Jehoram (852–842). The next year, the long reign of Jehoshaphat came to an end and another Jehoram ruled Judah (851–843). Jehoshaphat had been a loyal vassal of Ahab and we can hardly consider the identity of name accidental. Mesha of Moab revolted and declared in his unique inscription that he saw his pleasure on Omri's son, so that Israel perished with an everlasting destruction.⁶⁰ We must be selfishly thankful that he caused it to be inscribed before the episode was finished, when Moab was wasted by the invasion of the three kings, and only the sacrifice of his first-born forced them to decamp hurriedly (2 Kings 3). The usurpation of Hazael offered excellent opportunities to reclaim Ramoth-Gilead, but its successful siege only led to the usurpation of Jehu and the murder of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah (843–842) of Judah.

By the religious reforms of Jehu, Yahweh ruled supreme in the royal court, but it was not so sure that he held first place in men's hearts. Tyre of necessity opposed his rule, and Athaliah, with the manly spirit of her mother, took over the inheritance of her murdered son and Baal's house received the dedications of the Yahweh temple. As Shalmaneser passed through Israelite territory, Jehu appeared before him and the reliefs of the Black Obelisk immortalize the Hebrew ruler as he bowed to the earth before the great king and his attendant eunuchs. A file of men in long double garments brings huge ingots of unworked metals, gold, silver, and lead, small golden pails of not inartistic design, bowls, cups, and ladles. Some carry on their backs sacks filled with precious objects, one holds a scepter, another raises aloft a high thin drinking goblet, others bear bundles of weapons (III R 5, 6).

For the years again succeeding, the Assyrian material is most scanty. A cedar-cutting trip to the Amanus in 841 confirms the success of the year previous, and the invasion of Qaue in the year following was a belated chastisement of the forces which had taken part in the battle of Qarqara fourteen years before. For 839, the official scribe has carelessly omitted the campaign; the Chronicle and the sculptures on the Obelisk show that it was against Marduk-

⁶⁰ Latest edition, S. Sidersky, *Rev. Archéologique*, 5 ser. 10. 59 ff., with bibliography.

apal-usur, the ruler of Suhi on the middle Euphrates.⁶¹ The Obelisk shows the wild beasts in the palm groves along the river, the tribute of golden pails, bowls, the bars of lead, the elephants' tusks, the varicolored cloths draped over poles and carried between two men.

There succeeded a campaign against Danabi in North Syria and a last attempt to reduce the cities of Hazael in 838 was no more of a success. Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus furnished fresh proof that the Phoenicians were prepared to pay any reasonable tribute if their control of the trade routes should be free from interference; Hazael was a different proposition and Shalmaneser was forced to be content with placing on a bit of black marble the ludicrously inappropriate inscription 'Booty from the temple of the god Sher of Malaha, residence of Hazael of the land of Damascus, which Shalmaneser, the son of Ashur-nasir-apal, king of Assyria, brought within the walls of the city of Ashur'.⁶²

The complete failure of Assyria in the west meant ruin for those who had taken her side. Hazael again began to attack Jehu, and

⁶¹ Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 9 ff., has shown that the third line of the obverse of the Chronicle fragment Rm. 2, 97, is to be restored Su(?)—hi instead of Qum-muhi as I have done, that the scribe has omitted this from the Obelisk inscription, although leaving traces in the numbers of campaigns and in spite of the pictured representations. He has also shown that Shulmu-bel-lamur, eponym of 840, should be assigned to Ahi-Suhina. Thus all my attributions of office and place attacked should be shifted one move until the eponymy of Shalmaneser. This is confirmed by the appearance of the same officials in the same office elsewhere and fills the gap of office in 829 in my edition. Unfortunately, he does not know my studies of the Chronicle, published in *Sargon*, 1908, and in *JAOS* 34. 344 ff., 1914. In general, his reconstructions of the various documents were anticipated, but his independent discovery has corroborative value. All dates before 785 are reduced by him one year, as he explains the difficulty in the group 789–785 as due to two eponyms in one year for 786; I still prefer my explanation of scribal error as worked out in the complete edition. He begins the Sargon fragment with 720, ascribes lines eight to ten to 713, and the last four and two respectively to 707 and 706. Again I may state that my earlier reconstruction and dating seem preferable. In particular he notes that while we knew of a trip in 713 to Ellip, 'dass auch eine Unternehmung nach Musasir stattfand ist neu,' though thirteen years ago the whole matter was discussed in my *Sargon*.

⁶² Obl. 99 ff.; Assyrian Chron. for Qummuah in 841 and Danabi in 839; the marble 'perle', *KTA* 26; *MDOG* 39. 45. Danabi is Tennib SSW. of 'Azāz, Nöldeke, *ZĀ* 14. 10; the Tinnab, a large town of Aleppo, Yaqut, s. v. It is very doubtful if it is to be identified with the better known Tunip of Egyptian times. cf. Müller. *Asien* 257 f.

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the whole of the east Jordan country, Gilead and Bashan, the tribal territories of Gad, Manasseh, and Reuben, to Aroer on the Arnon which a few short years ago Mesha had boasted his own, fell into his hands (2 King 10. 32 ff), and Amos condemned the manner in which Damascus had threshed Gilead with threshing implements of iron (Amos 1. 3 ff). Jehu was more successful in the sister kingdom, where Athaliah (842–837) by her insistence on the ancestral Baal cult had alienated the powerful priesthood of her adopted country. The infant son of Ahaziah had been saved by his aunt Jehosheba from the slaughter of the remainder of the seed royal; her husband Jehoiada, the chief priest of Yahweh, persuaded the foreign body-guard to support the legitimate claimant. Athaliah was slain, and the enraged populace destroyed the Baal temple with the Tyrian priest Mattan.

Jehoahaz (815–799) was still less able to defend himself against Hazael, who took for himself the whole Philistine plain, and Jehoash (837–798) of Judah saved himself from complete ruin only by sending to Hazael all his treasures. The son of Hazael, the last Bar-Hadad, was a man of lesser caliber, and Israel recovered its lost cities (2 Kings 12 f.; 6 f.).

Foiled in the south, Bar-Hadad turned his attention to North Syria, where Hamath was now ruled by a certain Zakar, who in all probability came originally from Laash, the Luhuti of Shalmaneser's record, for he adds it to Hamath as territory ruled. Thanks to his god, Baalshamain, he was made to rule in Hazrak, the Biblical Hadrach and the Assyrian Hatarika, on the Orontes a short distance south of Hamath.⁶³ If before this Hazrak had belonged to Damascus, we can understand why Bar-Hadad formed an alliance against him. Of the ten kings, we have mention of Bar-Gush, king of Agusi or Arpad, the king of Quhweh or Cilicia, the king of the Umq we have learned of as the equivalent of Hatina, the king of Gurgum, the king of Samal, the king of Meliz or Melitene; it is the usual catalogue of the kings of North Syria. They fell upon him suddenly and all laid siege to Hazrak, raised a wall higher than the wall of that city, and dug a ditch deeper than its moat. Then did Zakar lift up his hands to Baalshamain and Baalshamain answered him and sent by the hand of seers and men expert in numbers and thus did Baalshamain say: 'Fear not, for I have made thee king and I will stand by thee and I will

⁶³ For the exact site, concealed by Pogon, cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3. 175.

rescue thee from all these kings who have made siege against thee.' So Zakar appointed men of Hazrak for charioteers and for horsemen to guard her king in the midst of her, he built her up and added a district to her and made it her possession and made it his land. And he filled with men all these fortresses on every side and he built temples in all his land. The stele, written in a curious mixture of Aramaic and Phoenician, did he set up before Al-Ur, not to speak of his other gods, Shamash and Sahar and the gods of heaven and the gods of earth, and upon it he wrote that which his hands had done.⁶⁴

Thus the western policy of Assyria was a failure, her friends suffered, and the only interest of succeeding campaigns lies in the new fields attempted. Through Nairi, the Assyrians marched to Tunni, a mountain of silver, *muli*, and white limestone, took cut stone from the quarries, and left in return a stele. They ended with Tabal or eastern Cappadocia, where twenty-four kings handed over their quota, and with Que, where the lands of Kate, the *nasaru*, were ravaged (837).⁶⁵ The next year Uetash, the fort of Lalli of Milidia (Melitene), was assaulted and the kings of Tabal presented their tribute. With 835, the Obelisk begins to narrate events at first hand, and consequently we have somewhat more detail, but the events themselves are scarcely more important. The Ianzu established in Namri in 844 had become hostile, was driven to the mountains, and made a prisoner. Twenty-seven kings of the Parsua land paid their dues when he appeared in their country, and in the Missi land Shalmaneser found a possession of the Amadai. This at least is worthy of our most careful notice, for it marks the first appearance of the Medes in written history. The return journey saw a stele erected in Harhar and its inhabitants led in captivity to Assyria.⁶⁶

The year following saw the Assyrians on the opposite frontier.

⁶⁴ Pognon, *Ins. sémitiques*, 2, no. 86; I have in general followed the text and translation of Torrey, *JAOS* 35. 353 ff.

⁶⁵ The difficult Obl. 104 ff. is now largely supplanted by the Berlin Ins., 3. 1 ff.; cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG* 21. 52 f.; Meissner, *OLZ* 15. 145 ff.

⁶⁶ Obl. 107 ff.—The Hashmar pass must be that between Bane and Sakkiz, later taken by Sargon, Thureau-Dangin, *Campagne*, iii, which is 2180 m. high. The route would be down the Jaghatu Su. Parsua and Missi are located by the Sargon tablet, cf. the map in Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* The cities of Namri are Sihishalah, perhaps Shlag, Bit Tamul, probably Tamontal, Bit Sakki, almost certainly Sakkiz, Bit Shedi, Kuakinda, Tarzanabi, Esamul, Kinablila. Between the Amadai and Harhar is given Araziash.

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Que was entered through the Amanus Gates and Timur was taken from Kate, but this was only a raid, as was the seizure of Muru, a fort of the still independent Arame of Agusi, though a palace was erected therein. A more extensive raid was that of 835 when Tulli, who had just displaced Kate, surrendered as soon as he saw his fort Tanakun in Assyrian possession. His gifts included silver, gold, iron, cattle, and sheep. The inhabitants of Lamena found refuge in the hills and the expedition ended with the capture of Tarzi, Tarsus, which was at this time taking the place of Mallus as the central point in the Cilician plain, as the terminus of the great route which led through the Cilician Gates to the plateau of Asia Minor, and as the outlet of the famous Hittite silver mines to the north of the mountains whose wealth was to make the name of Tarshish world famous. Tulli was in his turn deposed, his place taken by Kirri, brother of the former ruler, and cedars were cut in the Amanus for use in the city of Ashur.⁶⁷

The absence of references to Haldia in the last few years is noticeable and cannot be accidental. A change of rulers which meant a change of dynasty, Sardurish the son of Lutiprish taking the place of Arame, seemed to promise a check for his dangerous neighbor. Strange to relate, Shalmaneser did not himself undertake this expedition, perhaps the most important in the second half of the reign. Stranger still, the official annals emphasize the fact that it was led by Dan-Ashur, the turtanu. First to be reached was Bit-Zamani, whose independence, however qualified, strikes us as a little peculiar, until we examine the state of organization on this frontier. Ishtar-emuqaia, governor of Tushhan at the bend of the Tigris, appears as early as 868,⁶⁸ but Ninib-kibsi-usur in 839 rules only the Nairi lands, and the cities Andi, Sinabu, Gurruna, Mallani, and the land Alzi,⁶⁹ and it is not until 800 that

⁶⁷ Obl. 132 ff.—Tanakun is identified with a Greek Thanake which I cannot locate, Sayce, *Expos. Times*, 15. 284. Its site is probably Topraq-Qale, on the Cilician side of the Amanus Gates. The reference to the mountains and its seeming position on the direct road from the Gates to Tarsus led me to locate it at Yalan Qale at the east end of the pass through the Jebel Nur. For name, we may compare the Limenia of the Temorian ins., Ramsay *Hist. Geog.*, 413. The Chronicle repeats the 'against Que' a second time under this year; Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 13, may be correct in seeing in this proof of two expeditions in one year, but his identification with Lamos-Lamotis-Lamos Su southwest of Tarsus, though seductive, is not quite sure.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, *Stelenreihen*, no. 99.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* no. 47; cf. Forrer, *op. cit.* 12.

Marduk-shimeani appears as governor of Amedi.⁷⁰ Haldia was entered by the Ammash pass and the Euphrates was crossed. Shalmaneser claims the usual victory over his Haldian opponent, but if it were in reality a defeat, we could understand more easily why Sardurish could induce the Hattinians to dethrone and kill their pro-Assyrian prince Lubarna and place on his throne a usurper named Surri. Again Dan-Ashur was given command. Surri died a natural death which the scribe attributed to the offended majesty of the god Ashur, and his erstwhile followers handed over his sons and accomplices for impalement. Sasi declared his adherence to the Assyrian cause and was made king, subject to heavy tribute of metals and ivory. The royal figure was installed in the temple at Kunulua, but no attempt was made to turn the region into a province.⁷¹

Only a rapid raid against Kirhi and Ulluba is listed for the year 830, and the geography shows that there had been retrocession of the Assyrian sphere of influence under the attacks and intrigues of Haldia. Dan-Ashur crossed the Upper Zab the next year and forced the payment of tribute from Datana of Hubushkia, then produced a similar result in the case of Maggubbi of Madahisa, and drove out Udaki from Zirta, capital of the Mannai. The last reference is of interest, for it affords the first knowledge of the people who were to be associated so constantly with the Assyrians in their last hundred years. The next to be invaded was Haruna, whose capital, Masashura, was taken, and whose prince, Shulushunu, was granted peace. Artasari of Paddira is likewise an interesting individual, for his name, compounded with the commonest Iranian element, shows how the new race was coming in. Parsua, still attempting to retain complete independence, was the last to be visited.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* no. 39.

⁷¹ Obl. 141 ff.—The form Seduri is probably due to assimilation to the god Siduri; that he was identical with Sardurish was first indicated by Sayce, *JRAS* NS 14. 404. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1894, 486 (cf. Lehmann, *ZA* 11. 200 ff.), and often, argues that the Sardurish of the native inscriptions, Sayce 1 f., was earlier and different from our Seduri, but without a shred of proof and contrary to all the evidence, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 36 n. 35, and now also Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 22. For Ammasherub, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 600. Name and location alike prove identification with the Mush pass, the Gozme Gedik of 6645 ft., Lynch, *Armenia*, 2. 396.

⁷² Obl. 159 ff.—Rasmussen, *Indskriften*, 39, identifies our Datana with the Dadi of Hubushkia of Shamshi-Adad, *Ann.* 2. 37. For Zirta or Izirta, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 107, n. 21; Thureau-Dangin, *Campagne*, iv; it may now

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Conditions were becoming increasingly bad. The king might celebrate his thirty-year jubilee with all due ceremony,⁷³ but Dan-Ashur was in control of the administration, Haldia was continually increasing in power, and the tribes to the north and west were throwing in their lot with it instead of Assyria. One more effort was made by Dan-Ashur to answer complaints at home by conquests abroad. While the king remained in his palace, the unwearied old man undertook an ambitious expedition. Datana of Hubushkia was the first to feel his heavy hand and then Musasir, another state destined to play a most important part in the next century. The fortress of Saparia captured, he felt that he could venture against Haldia itself. Failing here, he turned east and went down to Gilzan where Upu presented his tribute as did the men of the neighboring states. From Parsua, he descended to Namri, and so through the pass of Simesi above Halman back to Assyria.⁷⁴

be located at Sauch Bulaq. The Mannai are the Minni of Jer. 51. 27; the Minyas of Nicolaus of Damascus, Jos. Ant. 1. 95; cf. Rawlinson, *JRAS*(OS) 12. 446. For the common Shurdia, I read Pad-di-ra, a very easy correction palaeographically, comparing the Paddir of Shamshi-Adad, Ann. 2. 7, and the Paddir of Ashur-bani-apal, Cyl. B. 3. 59. The raid was, therefore, up the Zab to Merwan, then to Kochanes and the Kaliresh pass to Ushnu. Beyond, the course is conjectural.

⁷³ For the second time, the king did something before the face of Adad and Ashur, but the crucial word is doubtful. Norris, *Assyr. Dict.*, 106, quoted Amiaud-Scheil, *Salmanasar*, 70, would read *bu-u-[na]* and Rasmussen makes out the first half of the *na*. With this reading, we would naturally translate with Amiaud-Scheil, 'fixer la face en presence d'Assur et Adad,' cf. for *bunu* Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.*, *ad loc.*, and compare, with Tiele, *Gesch.*, 204, the similar celebrations in Egypt in honor of the completion of the thirtieth year of the reign. The present view seems to read *pu-u-[ri]* which would mean holding the office of eponym a second time, cf. Peiser, *KB* 4. 106 n.; Muss-Arnolt, *s. v.*, for possible connection with the Purim feast. Pleasant as it would be to have an Assyrian prototype of that much-discussed feast, it is certain that Shalmaneser was not eponym until 828, after our inscription had been completed, and thus the *puru* interpretation is thrown completely out of court.

⁷⁴ Obl. 174 ff.—The route taken was up the Zab to about Merwanen where he touched a corner of Hubushkia, and then east to Musasir, the region of the Nihail chain, as the Sargon Tablet shows. The raid across the Haldian border must have taken place about Bash Qala or Khoshab. Saparia is Zibar on the Upper Zab, and may be connected with the older name Subartu. He then went down into Gilzan to the east, about Dilman. The states mentioned after Gilzan are Mannai, Burisai, Harranai, Shashganai, Andiai, a people whose name began with a vertical stroke and ended with . . . rai, and he then still further descended to a state whose name begins with two and then one

With this campaign of 828, the narrative of the Obelisk comes to an abrupt end. The scribe claims the usual great success, but his best skill cannot conceal its virtual failure. There is not even the briefest mention of the numerous structures erected during the reign, though we may be sure that it was the original plan to inscribe their recital on the well-carved stone. When we turn to the Assyrian Chronicle, we find under this same year 828, not an expedition against foreign enemies, but the single ominous word 'revolt,' and the word is repeated for five years more. For a quarter of a century, Dan-Ashur had been the actual ruler of the empire, and so notorious was his usurpation of the supreme power that it was he and not his nominal master to whom was ascribed the glory of successful campaigning in the magnificent series of reliefs which were to commemorate the reign. In contrast to the sharp individuality with which Dan-Ashur stands out, Shalmaneser is a colorless figure. His relations with his turtanu, who held office for a quarter of a century, a term almost without parallel in the east, do not speak for his strength of character. We know how he left the command of armies in his later years to Dan-Ashur, although his turtanu must have been at least as old as himself; in his earlier years, he claims to have exercised the leadership in person, but the more truthful pictorial records make it certain that in some cases he was not present, and of others we may make the same conjecture. When he does appear in the field, he rarely descends from the chariot to engage actively in the fighting. In the chariots, both he and the crown prince require a third man to hold the shield and by an arm thrown about the waist to prevent them from falling to the ground. The one occasion when Shalmaneser appears on horseback, it is with the awkwardness of a man not accustomed to ride and unable to keep a firm seat. In his

horizontal stroke, and took their cities of Pirria and Shitiuaria, evidently along the west shore of Lake Urumia. The Parsua cities are Bushtu, Shalahamanu and Kinihamanu. Bushtu is a common name, and may be identical with others. Burisai may be found in the Burasi-Berozi on the upper Dilman stream with Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 156. Harrania is the Harrana of Knudtson, *Gebete*, 35, an oracle which asks whether the Ishkuzai who are in the Mannai region will leave the pass of the city of Hubushkia and go to Harrania and Anisus. Andiu is said by Adad nirari to be far distant, Kalhu ins., 9; and Sargon, Ann. 81, confirms its close connection with Hubushkia and the Mannai. Sayce, *RP*² 4. 51, n. 3, identifies Shitiuaria with the Haldian Shatiraraush. The conclusion is topographically impossible; the pass of Simesi is too far north, Halman-Holwan equally too far south. The topography of the preceding marches forces us to believe that the Hashmar pass is meant.

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foreign policy, he imitated his father, even to the copying of his father's set phrases in his own formal inscriptions. He was most at home in the audience chamber, where he could hold the arrows gracefully in one hand, the bow in the other, resting on the ground, the ornamental sword remaining at his side, displaying the tiara and fillet, the long hair ribbons, the fringed robe and shawl that came to his sandalled feet.⁷⁵ Significant, too, is the fact that the highest court officers, many of the commanders in the field, the prefect of the camp, all the men most closely connected with his person, were eunuchs, and we may without too much danger of error conjecture that Dan-Ashur himself belonged to the same unfortunate and detested class.

Shalmaneser had been accompanied on his expeditions by his son, the crown prince, as early as 858, and thenceforth the reliefs represent him with considerable frequency. If we are to identify him with Ashur-dan-apal, he must have been by this time no less than forty-five years old. A prince of such mature age could hardly suffer in silence a usurpation of power so great that the turtanu's name was glorified in the official records destined to go down to posterity, while his own exploits, though represented anonymously in the earlier sculptures, were in later times entirely missing. The unanimity with which all Assyria arose is in itself proof of the general feeling that his cause was just. At the head of the revolt stood Nineveh which might find some excuse in the neglect of the king. Ashur had been the special protégé of Shalmaneser. Practically every building of importance, the double wall, the Anu-Adad temple, the Ishtar and Ashur temples, all had been restored in the most generous fashion.⁷⁶ Yet Ashur, too, went over to the enemy. Imgur-Bel had been adorned with the magnificent palace-gates to whose bronze decorations we owe the proof of the age of Ashur-dan-apal, but the gift could not restrain it from revolt. Shibaniba and Dur-Balat in the first range of mountains to the northeast, Zaban with its command of the debatable land, Arrapha with its control of the mountains, the sacred city of Arbela, all of Upper and Lower Assyria acknowledged the new claimant to the crown. The majority of the newly-acquired provinces and dependencies seized the opportunity to free themselves. The Aramaeans in particular, Shima, Tidu, Nabalu, Kapa, Huzirina, Amedi, Til-Abni, Hindanu, Kurban,

⁷⁵ *TSBA* 6. pl. 8.

⁷⁶ *Andrä, MDOG* 54. 21.

all the states whose names have become familiar from the reports of the last two reigns,⁷⁷ swelled the armies of the pretender. A definite understanding between these Aramaeans and the revolting Assyrians existed, as is shown by the letter 'concerning the rebel' which was written in Aramaic by Kabti, the scribe of Ashur-dan-apal.⁷⁸ Only Kalhu remained true to the old king and his eunuchs.

To meet the reproach that the turtanu and not Shalmaneser was the actual ruler, the king had taken upon himself the eponym office in the very year the revolt broke out, but the expected result had not followed and the insurrection continued unabated. In its midst, Shalmaneser passed away, and left the insurrection as a heritage to his son Shamshi-Adad (825-812). Two more years the rebels held out and then the revolt collapsed. Why, with everything in its favor in the beginning, it ultimately failed, is one of the mysteries we so often meet in tracing the history of reform movements. Like so many attempted reforms, the most obvious result was the damage accomplished. Coming at a time when the man-power was already weakening, it marked the definite passage into decline, a decline which ended only with the fall of the dynasty.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Shamshi Adad, Ann. 1. 45 ff.—Shibaniba was the province of the eponym for 787, Johns, *Deeds*, no. 653, and cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 364. It occurs in Sennacherib, Bavian ins., 9, which locates it close to that place. Dur-Balat is the near-by Kurdish hamlet of Balata where we spent a smoky evening protected from a blizzard. Adi is not far away, no less than the Shekh Adi which is the center of the Yezidis or 'Devil Worshipers.' Amat is Amada east of Akra. Kapa is Hassan Kef. Parnunna is the seat of an eponym in 755 and probably in 785, Olmstead, *l. c.* For Kurban, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 152. Others are Ishshibri, Bit Imdira, Shibtinish, Kibshuna, Urakka, Dariga.

⁷⁸ Copy of ancient letter sent to Sargon, H. 872; Johns, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, 6. 631. Hommel, *PSBA* 18. 182, identifies Ashur-dan-apal with Sardanapallus, and Belyses with Marduk-balatsu-iqbi. He might have added the date given by Eusebius to Sardanapallus, 835, yet Sardanapallus must be Ashur-nasir-apal.

⁷⁹ For the provisional government, cf. Olmstead, *Amer. Political Science Rev.*, 12. 69 ff.; add now the scanty information in Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, to the discussion of the officials of the reign, Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 346 ff. No attempt to discuss the buildings or indeed the general culture is made in this article.

SHALMANESER III AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASSYRIAN POWER

A. T. E. Olmstead

Abstract

WHEN SHALMANESER III ascended the throne of his father in 860, he was no longer a young man, for the reign of Ashur-nasir-apal had lasted no less than twenty- years, and he himself owned a son old enough to accompany him on distant campaigns two years later. His step was to make a clean sweep of his father's ls, who were replaced with others nearer his own age. Ashur-bel-ukin was appointed turtanu; Ashur-bana-usur became the chief musician; Abu-ina-ekallililbur, whose name, 'May the father grow old in the palace,' indicated a hereditary position, very appropriately was chosen chamberlain of the palace. Not one of the men who surrounded the person of the king or ruled in the provinces had previously held ce high enough to be entered in the eponym lists.

Keywords Neo Assyria, Shalmaneser III, Ashornasirapal, Assyria's rise to power, 9th century BC

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چکیده

مهم‌ترین یافته‌های گاهشماری در قلمرو ادبیات تاریخی خط میخی، وقایع نگاری هستند. آنها تاریخ دقیق رویدادهای خاص را در سالنامه دوره‌هایی که به آن تعلق دارند تعیین می‌کنند. عملاً هر سندی از این شخصیت تاریخی که در معرض دید قرار گرفته است، خود، از حقیقتی ناشناخته صحبت می‌کند. آخرین دستاورد منتشر شده از این نوع در دوره سلطنت نابوپلسر، پادشاه بابل (۶۲۵-۶۰۵ پ.م.) این قسمت از وقایع نگاری بر روی یک لوح یافت شده است که تا حدی روشن‌گر تاریخی این دوره می‌باشد. در واقع، از سال ۶۳۷ قبل از میلاد تا سقوط نینوا، اطلاعات ما عمدتاً از گزارش‌های خط میخی، که بسیاری از آنها تنها قطعه‌ای بر جای مانده است، هستند، نوشته‌هایی نیز از کتب انبیای عهد عتیق و نویسندگان کلاسیک یونانی و رومی جمع‌آوری شده است که نزدیک به دویست سال با آن وقایع فاصله داشته‌اند. بنابراین، آخرین سال‌های امپراتوری آشور در تاریخی گزارش‌های افسانه‌ای تواریخ کلاسیک از هرودوت تا اوزیبوس، نفرین‌ها و نکوهش‌های انبیای عهد عتیق، چند لوح گزارشی تاریخ‌دار و اظهارات قابل تغییر، پنهان شده است.

کلید واژه‌ها: بابل، نبوپلسر، رویدادنامه نبوپلسر، خط میخی، قرن هفتم پیش از میلاد

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تنگوی تلیخ، پڑشور و مدرس در دانشگاه آزاداس ی

THE NABOPOLASSAR CHRONICLE

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THE MOST IMPORTANT CHRONOLOGICAL FINDS in the realm of historical cuneiform literature are the chronicles. They fix for us the exact dates of certain events in the annals of the periods to which they belong. Practically every document of this character that has come to light has established some hitherto unknown fact.

The latest published acquisition of this kind falls within the reign of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon (625-605 B. C.) and covers the tenth to the seventeenth years of his reign (616-609 B. C.). This bit of a chronicle is found on one tablet and sheds its light in the midst of a period that has been largely veiled in mystery. Indeed, for the stretch of time from 637 B. C. down through the fall of Nineveh our information has been gathered mainly from cuneiform contracts, many of them mere fragments, from the prophets of the Old Testament, and from a galaxy of classical writers both Greek and Roman, who lived not less than 200 years later than the events they described. Thus, the last years of the Assyrian empire have been hidden behind the mists of the legendary reports of the classicists from Herodotus to Eusebius, the imprecations and denunciations of the Old Testament prophets, a few dated contract tablets, and the commutable statements of Nabonidus in his descriptions of the national conflicts of this period.

The last thirty years of the Assyrian empire have been so slightly understood that not even the succession and death of the Assyrian kings could be fixed. The last eleven or twelve years (637-626 B. C.) of Ashurbanipal, the greatest ancient royal patron of literature, are still enveloped in mystery. Even the order of his successors on the throne, and their means of securing it, have been matters of controversy. Multiple inferences, deductions and conjectures have grown up around the reign of Nabopolassar from his first to his twenty-first, or last year. But our crowning ignorance of this period was that of the international situation.

Evidently Assyria was waning. Babylon, a former province of Assyria, was longing for independence; Egypt, formerly a vassal of Assyria, cast wistful eyes towards southwestern Asia; the Medes

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of the mountainous country of the North and Northeast were threatening their former invader, Assyria; and the Scythian hordes in the far north, according to Herodotus, had already made themselves feared in the countries to the south of them, and the Hebrews in Palestine were a kind of pawn between Asia and Egypt. The precise political relations of these different peoples have been an unsolved riddle.

The tablet that contains this chronicle was discovered in the British Museum by C. J. Gadd,¹ an assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. If complete it would consist of 75 lines of cuneiform text, devoted to eight years (616-609 B. C.) but its breaks are so considerable that they reduce its real value as a contribution to that dark period.

The Chronicle begins with the tenth year (616 B. C.) of Nabopolassar, here also called "the King of Akkad," that is, North Babylonia. This king Nabopolassar either had been assigned by the new King of Assyria to the regency of Babylon in 625 B. C. or he had ambitiously seized control of that city and province. Of the 56 or 57 contract tablets dated in Nabopolassar's reign, every one of his 21 years is mentioned except 1, 3, and 4. Only nineteen, however, give the place of the drawing up of the contract: ten were written in Babylon, six in Sippar, one in Borsippa, one in Dilbat and one in Pāḥḥirtu.² The earliest known date of Nabopolassar in Sippar is his twelfth year, that is 614 B. C. His sway over that city must have begun prior to that date, indicating the expansion of his realm probably before the date of the opening of the Chronicle.²

I shall not give a detailed translation of the text, but point out the trend of events as they are recorded by the chronicler.

The Chronicle as already stated opens at the tenth year of Nabopolassar (616 B. C.), and specifies that he mustered the army of Akkad in the month Iyyar, the second month (May) and marched up along the banks of the Euphrates to two Aramaean districts already named in other Assyrian annals,³ Suhu and Hindanu, which willingly submitted without a stroke to a new overlord in

¹ *The Fall of Nineveh*. By C. J. Gadd. British Museum, London, England, 1923.

² Streck, M., *Assurpanipal*, p. cdxii, Leipzig, 1916.

³ Tiglathpileser I and Ashurnasirpal.

place of Assyria. Report reached the Babylonian King that the army of Assyria was in the city of Qablinu, not far distant. Nabopolassar, after nearly three months delay, attacked, defeated and routed it with its allies the Mannaeans, and took large numbers of prisoners. His victory extended to the towns of Manê, Saḥiru and Baliḥu, from which his troops carried away great quantities of booty, many captives, and the natives' gods. The Chronicle says that in Elul (September) the King of Akkad and his army turned back, and on their way carried off the plunder of the city of Qablinu. The real reason for the return appears in the following line. "In the month of Tisri the army of Egypt and the army of Assyria marched after (= pursued) the King of Akkad as far as the city of Qablinu," but did not overtake him, for he made good his escape to Babylon.

The most startling fact here is that Egypt, over which Psammetichus I is still king, and a former vassal of Assyria, is now an ally of her former overlord, and in 616 B. C. sent an army to his support against the Babylonian rebels, and quite as likely to aid in holding back the peoples of the north whose invasions into the south might later reach the land of the Nile.

The chronicler beclouds the real result of this sudden attack of the allies by abruptly introducing a drive by the army of Akkad into territory east of the Tigris river to the city of Madanu of the district of Araphu where Nabopolassar routed an army of Assyria, —probably the Tigris division—and drove it back to the lower Zab river, captured large numbers of prisoners and animals, crossed the Tigris, and reached Babylon. At any rate the year ended with a successful campaign.

The eleventh year (615 B. C.) saw the army of Akkad striking at the Tigris region—really a safe distance from the allied armies in the Mesopotamian Northwest. Nabopolassar boldly assaulted Ashur, the ancient capital, but he could not take it. The King of Assyria (Sin-shar-ishkun) with his army relieved Ashur, and pursued the King of Akkad along the banks of the Tigris until the Babylonians took hasty refuge in the fortress of Takritain, to which the Assyrians laid siege. The chronicler relates that the pursuers raised the siege at the end of ten days, and retired after suffering greatly at the hands of the besieged, and returned to their (the Assyrians') land. The real fact appears in the next line,

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that the Medes of the Northland were beginning their descent upon Assyrian territory east of the Tigris—their first mention in this document though the numerous references in classical writers would indicate that this was not their first invasion of the Assyrian empire.

In the twelfth year (614 B. C.) the Medes appeared against Nineveh. (A serious break in the text leaves only a doubtful statement). Apparently their only victory was over a small town near Nineveh. Obviously unsuccessful here, they marched down the Tigris and assaulted Ashur, and (on a broken text) seem to have captured it, making carnage of the great men and taking prisoners. Nabopolassar came to their aid but too late to share in the victory. Remnants of signs seem to indicate that King Kyaxares of the Medes and Nabopolassar met here face to face and “friendship and alliance they established together,” after which each king returned to his home-land.

In the thirteenth year (613 B. C.) Nabopolassar turned his army against the unfaithful Aramaeans of Suhu on the Euphrates, and captured two island towns in the Euphrates river, without any interference on the part of the Assyrian army, which may have been fully occupied on the Tigris.

The events of the fourteenth year (612 B. C.) are described in fifteen lines of text, not one of which is complete. And it is on this year’s annals that Gadd bases his main thesis for the new date of the fall of Nineveh. Many of the lines are badly broken, and the information we have is fragmentary. Even the number fourteen, specifying the year of Nabopolassar’s reign, is missing in the chronicler’s text.

The importance of this year’s narrative in the discussion leads me to indicate somewhat in detail its broken character. The year begins (line 38) “The King of Akkad mustered his army” (*break*) “the King of the Umman-Manda to meet the King of Akkad” (39) (*break*) “they met one with the other” (40) “The King of Akkad” (*break*) “and” “tar” (= [Kyaxa]res?) “he made to cross” (41) “by the bank of of the Tigris they marched” (*break*) (a trace only of the second syllable *li* of *e-li* = “against” and a mere trace possibly of the sign for) “Ni[neveh] (*break*) “they” (42) “From the month of Sivan to the

month of Ab" (*break*) . . . (43) "A mighty assault they made upon the city, and in the month of Ab" "they made" "of the great ones." (44) "At that time Sin-shar-ishkun, King of Assyria" (*break*) (45) "The spoil of the city, beyond computation, they plundered, and" (*break*) the city into a mound and a ru[in] (*break*) . . . (46) "Of Assyria before the king escaped (or feared) and the forces of the King of Akkad" (*long break*) (47) "In the month of Elul, the 20th day, Kyaxares and his army returned to his land, and the King of Akkad back" (*break*) (48) "they went to the city of Nisibis, and the prisoners and" (*break*) (49) "and of the land of Ruṣapu they brought to Nineveh before the face of the King of Akkad. In the month" (50) "in the city of Harran, for the sovereignty of the land of Assyria sat upon the throne. Until the month of" (51) "in Nineveh" (*break*) "from the 20th of the month" "the king" (52) "also in the month of Tisri in the city of"

These fragments of lines and text make no connected or even semi-connected narrative. Gadd had no duplicate text with which to fill the breaks. In his dismay he turned to the reports of the classical writers and the Old Testament to piece out his arguments for his thesis. By translating "Umman-Manda" in this connection, "Scythians," he finds the forces of three allies united in the assault upon the city, viz., Scythians, Medes and Babylonians. But I find no warrant in the Chronicle for such a translation of "Umman-Manda," who, in all other occurrences, seem to have been *Medes*. The name of the city upon which the assault was made is broken out, but from the subsequent narrative may have been Nineveh. At least, the fragmentary text mentions that prisoners and probably booty captured in neighboring provinces were brought before Nabopolassar in Nineveh, which could not have been reduced wholly to a mound and a ruin.

No word is found as to the fate of Sin-shar-ishkun, King of Assyria, though Gadd says (p. 13) "the end of Sin-shar-ishkun is expressly indicated." Inferentially we conclude that a part of the Assyrian army either escaped to the adjoining provinces, or fled westward, to the Euphrates region. At any rate, the chronicler states that some one representing the sovereignty of Assyria

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sat on the throne in Harran, their western capital. It may be that Assyria's armies were not concentrated at any one point, but were stationed at strategic centres in the East and West.

That the fall of Nineveh occurred in 612 B. C. is an inference, and a deduction from the fragments of the text of that year and from subsequent events mentioned in the Chronicle, rather than from any direct statement. The reports of the Old Testament prophets and classical writers have no real chronological value, but are commutable, and as serviceable for locating Nineveh's fall in 606-607 as in 612 B. C.

The events of the *fifteenth year* (611 B. C.) are covered by five broken lines. Nabopolassar attempted no great campaign, probably because he was unable to face the Assyrian army of the region of the Euphrates. He is reported to have captured one minor city, Rugguliti, and to have returned (retreated?) to his own land.

The *sixteenth year* (610 B. C.) recites notable events. Nabopolassar led his army to northwestern Mesopotamia where he met his ally, the Umman-Manda—the Medes. With united forces they attacked the Assyrian capital of the West, Harran. Ashur-uballit, the new King of Assyria, and the army of the land (*break*) “had come” “fear of the enemy fell upon them; they abandoned the city” (*break*) “they crossed”—(Euphrates?). The remaining narrative, though broken, relates that the allies captured Harran, plundered it of vast quantities of spoil, and, with the Assyrian army safely west of the Euphrates, returned to their home-lands.

The next year (seventeenth, 609 B. C.) witnesses a rejuvenation of the Assyrian power. In the spring Ashur-uballit, King of Assyria, with a great army of Egyptians, crossed the Euphrates and marched upon Harran, now held by a garrison of Nabopolassar. The broken character of the text recites that Nabopolassar came to the aid and rescue of his troops, that a battle took place, but the outcome of the clash between the armies is lost in the broken spaces of the tablet. At any rate Nabopolassar is said to have returned to his land, whether victor or vanquished we have no record to tell us.

The next year (608 B. C.) we find in the “catchline” for the succeeding tablet that Nabopolassar mustered his army for another campaign.—Here ends this Chronicle.

We can imagine the Egyptian army of Necho II, who killed Josiah on his campaign, rushing northward to the assistance of his Asiatic ally, Ashur-uballiṭ of Assyria, against the Babylonian invaders. Doubtless the combined armies of Egypt and Assyria held their ground in northwestern Mesopotamia until the great battle of Carchemish in 605 B. C. where Nebuchadrezzar with the Babylonian army crushed the Assyrians as a political entity, while the Egyptian army with the Babylonians in pursuit escaped down the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea to their home-land.

With all its defects this Chronicle is a splendid oasis in the desert of Assyria's last years of existence, and of Babylon's beginnings as a new empire.

Its best contributions to that period are:

1. The determination of the names and the order of the last kings of the waning Assyrian empire, following Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.). They were (1) Ashur-etil-ilāni, ruling about four years (626-622 B. C.); (2) Sin-shar-ishkun, ruling about seven years (620-612 B. C.; both sons of Ashurbanipal); (3) Ashur-uballiṭ, ruling about seven years (612-605 B. C.). Either just before or just after Ashur-etil-ilāni, an officer, Sin-shum-lishir, usurped the throne for a year or two.

2. Nabopolassar was not a subject of Assyria through practically his twenty-one years of reign, but was ruler of Babylon and Sippar, and was openly attacking the Assyrians at least in the tenth year (616 B. C.) after his accession to the headship of Babylon.

3. The political situation of Western Asia is shown to have been as follows: Assyria and Egypt (Assyria's former subject) were effective military allies, at least during the period of this Chronicle, in the territory of northwestern Mesopotamia. There is no evidence, however, in this document, that the Egyptian army took any part in the defense of Assyria in the Tigris region, but rather that it limited its activities to the Euphrates valley.

4. The formal alliance of the Babylonians and Medes seems to have been consummated after the fall of Ashur in 614 B. C. Their coöperation both in the Tigris and Euphrates regions was the dismay of Assyria.

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5. Inferentially Nineveh and its neighboring Assyrian cities fell in 612 B. C., after which the struggle for Assyria's existence was transferred to northwestern Mesopotamia.

6. The final collapse of the Assyrian empire was not, as formerly supposed, the fall of Nineveh, but was probably the overthrow of the armies of the Egyptian and Assyrian allies at Carchemish in 605 B. C. by the same combined troops that destroyed Nineveh in 612 B. C.

It should be added further that the disclosures of this one tablet of chronicles seem to present no insoluble difficulties in the interpretation of the historical and prophetic narratives of the Old Testament, but rather to inject into them a more vivid realization of the political background of the messages that belong to the later years of the Kingdom of Judah.

آیا روسا خودکشی کرده است؟^۱

میخائیل داگلاس روآف^۲

مترجم منصورحمدالله‌زاده^۳

چکیده

در این مقاله، من نه تنها صحت ادعای آشوری مبنی بر خودکشی روسا را زیر سؤال می‌برم، بلکه نظراتی را در مورد هویت حاکم اورارتو که سارگون ادعا می‌کند او را شکست داده و گفته می‌شود «با دست خود با خنجر یا کمر بند آهنی خود به زندگی پایان داده است، ارائه می‌کنم». اولین روایتی که درباره روسا (که نام او در متون آشوری به صورت اورس نوشته شده است) را توصیف می‌کند، نامه سارگون به خدای اشور است. بر اساس این متن که اندکی پس از پایان لشکرکشی هشتم سارگون نوشته شده و تاریخ آن به ۷۱۴ پ.م. است، سارگون اورس را در نبرد کوه واوش شکست داد و پادشاه اورارتویی به کوه‌ها فرار می‌کند. سرنوشت او چنین توصیف شده است: «او را مانند یک زن در حال زایمان به رختخواب انداختند و آب و غذا را از دهانش جدا کردند. او یک زخم لاج‌به‌خود وارد کرد.» سارگون در ادامه شهر مقدس موسیس را که اورارتویی‌ها آردینی می‌نامیدند تصرف کرد. او در آنجا کاخ و معبد خدای هالدی را که خدای اصلی اورارتویی‌ها نیز بود غارت کرد. سارگون خانواده اورزانا، فرمانروای موسیس و همچنین خدای شهر هالدی و همسرش را به اسارت گرفت و به آشور تبعید کرد.

کلید واژه‌ها: اورارتو، روسا، سارگون، زبان‌های باستانی، ماد

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تنگوی تلیخ، پژشور و مدرس در دانشگاه آزاداس ی



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Did Rusa Commit Suicide?

Michael Roaf

MÜNCHEN

In this paper I not only question the validity of the Assyrian claim that Rusa committed suicide, but also present some ideas about the identity of the ruler of Urartu whom Sargon claims to have defeated and who allegedly “with his own hand ended his life with his iron girdle dagger”.¹

The earliest account describing what happened to Rusa (whose name was written in Assyrian texts as Ursā)² is Sargon’s Letter to the god Assur (Sg 8).³ According to this text, which was composed soon after the end of Sargon’s Eighth Campaign and is dated by the name of the eponym of 714 BC, Sargon defeated Ursa at the battle of Mount Waush and the Urartian king fled into the mountains. His fate was described as follows (Sg 8: 151): “he was thrown into bed like a woman in labour and he cut off food and water from his mouth. He imposed on himself an incurable illness.”

Sargon went on to capture the holy city of Musasir that the Urartians called Ardini. There he looted the palace and the temple of the god Haldi, who was also the chief god worshipped by the Urartians. Sargon took captive the family of Urzana, the ruler of Musasir, as well as the city god Haldi and his consort and deported them to Assyria. Ursa’s illness had not proved immediately fatal and when the news of the events at Musasir was reported to the Urartian king (Sg 8: 411–413):⁴

1. These ideas result from an International Symposium on the topic Biainili-Urartu held in Munich in October 2007. A more detailed paper entitled ‘Could Rusa son of Erimena have been king of Urartu during Sargon’s Eighth Campaign?’ is published in the Proceedings of that symposium (Kroll et al. (eds.) 2012: 187–216). Here I outline the main elements of the argument and those interested in the details should consult that publication. I am grateful to the specialists with whom I have discussed the suicide of Rusa especially Andreas Fuchs, Ursula Hellwig, Stephan Kroll, Karen Radner, Mirjo Salvini, Joanne Scurlock, Ursula Seidl, Martin Worthington, and Paul Zimansky.

2. In this article I use the Assyrian form of the name (i.e. Ursa not Rusa) when discussing the Assyrian sources and the Urartian form (i.e. Rusa) when discussing the Urartian sources. Since there were three rulers of Urartu called Rusa and since their order is uncertain, I include the name of the king’s father when it is known: thus Rusa son of Sarduri, Rusa son of Argishti, and Rusa son of Erimena (who have commonly been called Rusa I, II, and III). In the interest of brevity I will sometimes abbreviate these names by only writing the first letter of the father’s name thus Rusa S, Rusa A, and Rusa E. Similar abbreviations will sometimes be used for other rulers, Sarduri A for Sarduri (II) son of Argishti, Argishti M for Argishti (I) son of Minua, and Argishti R for Argishti (II) son of Rusa (see Table 2).

3. In the following abbreviated to Sg 8. For the text and a German translation see Mayer 1983 based on the earlier edition by Thureau-Dangin 1912 but including an additional fragment in Berlin. For a recent English translation see Foster 2005.

4. This translation follows Hurowitz (2008: 118–9), who provides a detailed literary commentary on the way Sargon’s relationship with Ursa was portrayed in the Letter to Assur but does not discuss the details of Ursa’s possible suicide.

Ursa . . . squatted on the ground; he tore his clothes, and threw up his hands; he ripped off his crown, and tore out his hair; he pounded his chest with both his arms, and was thrown on his face; his heart stood still, his innards burned, in his mouth were placed distressful cries.

Having survived his incurable illness, there is still no mention of suicide or of the death of Ursa. But in his Cylinder Inscription (Fuchs 1994: Zyl. 27), copies of which were written as early as the following year (713 BC), Sargon described himself as the one, “who devastated Urartu, plundered the city of Musasir, in terror (great fear) of whom Ursa king of Urartu ended his life with his own weapon.”

And in his Display Inscription (Fuchs 1994: Prunk 76) more details of the weapon were supplied: “Ursa king of Urartu heard of the destruction of Musasir, the carrying off of Haldi, his god, and with his own hands ended his life with his iron girdle dagger.”

In Sargon’s Annals (Fuchs 1994: Ann: 164) Ursa’s suicide is described with the events of Sargon’s 8th year (714 BC). “Ursa of Urartu – the splendour of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him and with his own iron dagger he stabbed himself through the heart like a pig and ended his life.”

But according to these same annals (Fuchs 1994: Ann. 198–200) in Sargon’s 9th year (i.e. the following year, 713 BC) Ambaris of Tabal appealed to Ursa of Urartu and Mita of Mushki proposing an alliance against Sargon, an episode described in greater detail in Sargon’s Display Inscription (Fuchs 1994: Prunk 29–31)

Ambaris of Tabal whom I had placed on the throne of Hullu his father, to whom I had given my daughter, . . . that faithless one sent a messenger to Ursa of Urartu and Mita of Mushki, (proposing) to seize my territory.

The next dated mention of an Urartian king in Assyrian sources dates to 709 when Argishti (i.e. Argishti [III] son of Rusa) was on the throne of Urartu (Fuchs in 2012: 137).

Amongst Urartian specialists and Assyriologists a consensus has reigned for more than 80 years that Ursa the opponent of Sargon was Rusa son of Sarduri who has left us no fewer than three steles describing how he mounted a counterattack, drove the Assyrians out of Ardini (Musasir), and re-established the Urartian king’s right to worship at Haldi’s temple (André-Salvini & Salvini 2002). An Urartian occupation of Musasir, presumably the same as that described on Rusa S’s steles, is the subject of numerous letters written by Assyrian agents including one written by Urzana himself (SAA 5 87, 88, 89, 112, 147, and 148, Lanfranchi & Parpola 1990).⁵

If this successful counterattack was in response to Sargon’s onslaught as one might assume was the case, then there would be even less reason for Rusa S to commit suicide.

5. In this paper which is concerned with the death of Ursa I have not discussed the circumstances of the crushing defeat of an Urartian king by the Cimmerians described by several Assyrian informants. Although some scholars have linked this to the events of 714, Fuchs has convincingly argued that this took place some years later. For further details and discussion see Fuchs 2012: 155–57 and Roaf 2012: 211–3. The same individuals from Assyria, Urartu and Musasir crop up in the Assyrian reports on the Urartian occupation of Musasir and in those on the disastrous Urartian invasion of Cimmeria and this strongly supports a date for Rusa S’s counterattack in the years following Sargon’s onslaught of 714 but before the invasion of Cimmeria. Dating Rusa S’s counterattack described on the steles to before 714 requires two Assyrian invasions of Musasir (one not documented in Assyrian sources) and two Urartian counterattacks, all of which involved Urzana.



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Did Rusa Commit Suicide?

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A straightforward reading of these texts presents us with a chronological problem. Ursa was alive at the time when the Letter to the God Assur was composed in 714, but he committed suicide the same year. The following year (713) he was part of a conspiracy against Sargon. Rusa son of Sarduri occupied Musasir in response to an Assyrian occupation of the city; the only Assyrian intervention in Musasir that we know of is that of Sargon in 714, though an unclear passage in the Eponym Chronicle for 713 mentions Musasir as the site of some Assyrian activity (Millard 1994: 47).

Table 1. The principal episodes concerning Sargon, Ursa, Rusa S, Urzana and Musasir.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Urzana and Musasir</i>	<i>Urartian king</i>	<i>Ursa</i>	<i>Rusa S</i>	<i>Source</i>
714	Sargon sacks Musasir Urzana left in charge		is in despair		Sargon's Letter to the god Assur
714			commits suicide		Sargon's Annals
713			conspires against Sargon		Sargon's Annals
713	Assyrian activity in Musasir				Eponym Chronicle
autumn unknown year	Urzana in charge	re-captures Musasir from the Assyrians			Assyrian reports
no date	Urzana left in charge			re-captures Musasir from the Assyrians	Topzawa, Movana, Mergheh Kervan steles
709		Argishti king of Urartu			Sargon's Annals

Various proposals have been made for resolving the chronological problems apparently in these episodes:

- Ursa's suicide took place not in 714 but in 713 shortly after the conspiracy and it was included under year 8 in the Annals because other events concerning Ursa were recorded in that year. (It could not be later than 713 because the Cylinder inscriptions were written in that year.)
- Ursa's conspiracy took place some time earlier and was only included under the events of 713 because Sargon took action against the conspirators in that year.
- Rusa S's occupation of Musasir took place before Sargon's attack or took place almost as soon as Sargon had returned to Assyria in 714/713 shortly before his suicide.
- The Urartian invasion of Musasir recorded in the letters was a different event to the invasion of Musasir described in Rusa S's steles.

While these are all possible explanations none of them is particularly satisfactory. In particular the idea that Ursa would have committed suicide after Musasir had been re-occupied by the Urartians is hardly tenable.



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Sargon had deported the gods and the royal family of Musasir and had taken an enormous amount of booty back to Assyria but he had left Urzana still in charge at Musasir. Furthermore although there were close ties between Musasir and Urartu, Musasir was an independent state (see Radner 2012: 253-54) and not an integral part of the empire of Urartu. Sargon had done a certain amount of damage to Urartian settlements in his march through Urartian territory but reading between the lines of his reports it appears that the Urartians for the most part successfully avoided the Assyrian attacks and that the rewards for the campaign up until the somewhat treacherous attack on Musasir had been disappointing.

When Rusa S went to Ardini to worship Haldi his absence and that of his consort Bagbartu were not mentioned. It would have been possible for new cult statues to have been made to replace those taken by the Assyrians, though this might have been a rather long process to judge by how long it took for the statue of Marduk to be returned to Babylon. Alternatively the Assyrian king may have voluntarily returned the gods to Musasir: that this might actually have happened is suggested by a letter which the editors interpreted to mean that Sargon offered to return the gods to Urzana in exchange for his acting as an Assyrian agent and supplying the Assyrians with information.

Three reasons for Ursa's suicide were given in Sargon's texts: "the splendour of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him", he was "in terror (great fear) of (Sargon)", and he learnt about "the destruction of Musasir (and) the carrying off of Haldi, his god". Clearly none of these would apply if Ursa had already neutralised the Assyrian influence by re-establishing his presence in Musasir and was able to worship in the Temple of Haldi in that city as is explicitly stated both in the Assyrian correspondence and in Rusa S's stele inscriptions.

In short the reasons supplied by the Assyrian scribes in Sargon's inscriptions are those that the Assyrian king would have liked to hear and not those that would have led an Urartian king, who was still in control of his territory and had a sizeable fighting force at his command, to consider committing suicide.

* * *

There are many rulers who are said to have committed suicide, some very celebrated such as Cleopatra or Nero. But in every case that I have investigated, either the circumstances of the death are not clear or the position of the ruler was helpless and hopeless, being already imprisoned or in imminent danger of capture with an enemy at the door and his troops having fled. In such a situation suicide might well have seemed a better option than inevitable torture and execution. In many cases the "suicide" seems to have in fact have been a covert "assassination", but presented as suicide which was thought to be more acceptable than regicide. The death of President Salvador Allende of Chile in the military coup of 1973 is a case in point: whether he died in the fighting, was assassinated afterwards, or, as most commentators now believe, committed suicide is essentially immaterial, for his power and authority had already been lost and he was facing humiliation and a certain death. Similarly, many loyal Bavarians are sceptical of the official verdict on the death of Ludwig II, der Märchenkönig, and believe that he was assassinated. In this case too, when he died, he was about to lose his independence and be permanently detained.

In my talk I described the death of King John the Blind, Count of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, King of Poland. I had asked Andreas Fuchs if he knew of a ruler



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who, in control of his army and not in immediate danger of inevitable defeat, had committed suicide and he directed me towards this interesting monarch, suggesting that fed up with life and depressed by his infliction King John had himself tied onto his horse and had ridden into the midst of the Battle of Crecy on the 26th of August 1346 with the intention of committing suicide by allowing the English archers to end his life, which indeed they were obliging enough to do. This explanation, however, was not that given by the chronicler Froissart who wrote that the king and his knights fought valiantly but went too far forward and were all slain.

In fact the only reasonably well documented instance of a ruler committing suicide while still in control of his army and not in immediate danger of inevitable defeat I have been able to find is that of Otho, who was emperor of Rome for three months in the year of the four emperors following the death of Nero. A part of Otho's army had fought against a larger force of his rival Vitellius' army, was forced to withdraw, and then came to terms with the enemy. Otho himself was not involved in the battle and was left with a considerable force and reinforcements were not far away. Nevertheless Otho committed suicide (Dio Cassius LXIV.10–15). It has been suggested that he did so in order to spare Rome the misery of a prolonged civil war, but given the previous hedonistic and selfish reputation of Otho, who was apparently cast in the same mold as Nero, such an altruistic action is not to be expected and perhaps his "suicide" was in actual fact "assisted".

* * *

This short excursus into royal suicides⁶ leaves me with considerable scepticism about the description of Ursa's suicide in Sargon's inscriptions.⁷ But, whether suicide or not, the death of Ursa presents the modern scholar with a problem. If Ursa died in 714, how could he have conspired against Sargon in 713?

A possibility might be that Ursa did not die. Karen Radner (2012) has described the account given in Sargon's 8th Campaign of Ursa's reaction to the news of the sacking of Musasir as "Assyrian wishful thinking". The bringers of news that the Assyrian kings wished to hear were richly rewarded and it is possible to imagine an unscrupulous messenger inventing the good news of Ursa's suicide in order to collect a gold ring. Once his report was accepted and had entered the official records it might have been as much as a courtier's life was worth to inform Sargon that the report was false and that Ursa was still alive. A similar story of the "invention" of news is given in Evelyn Waugh's novel *Scoop*, a story that is still resonant today, when false information posted on an internet web-site gets repeated again and again (for example the assertion that Barack Obama is a closet Muslim). While it seems to me legitimate to doubt whether Ursa's death was suicide (since I know of no well documented example of a ruler still in power who has committed suicide),

6. For the "surprisingly rare" mentions of suicide, both royal and non-royal, in ancient Mesopotamian sources see Worthington 2010.

7. Similar doubts might be raised about the reported death of Shamash-shum-ukin, whose fate appears to be echoed in the later accounts of the suicides of Sardanapollus (Ashurbanipal) and Sarakos (Sin-shar-ishkun). Frame 1992: 153–5 suggests that his death could have been either suicide or murder. Taking responsibility for the murder of the (formerly) favourite brother of Ashurbanipal would have been risky and a more prudent course would have been to claim that Shamash-shum-ukin had killed himself and to have destroyed any evidence to the contrary by burning the corpse. But Shamash-shum-ukin was in such desperate straits that his committing suicide would not have been surprising.



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stronger supporting evidence is needed before a convincing case can be made that the Assyrians completely fabricated his death, especially since there is in my opinion another more satisfactory explanation.

The Urartian royal inscriptions taken with the Assyrian synchronisms give an unbroken chain of Urartian kings from the 9th to the 7th century BC each of whom followed a ruler with the same name as his father: Sarduri – Ishpuini – Minua – Argishti – Sarduri – Rusa – Argishti – Rusa.⁸

Table 2. Kings of Urartu mentioned in 8th and 7th century Assyrian texts with their traditional identifications and abbreviated forms of the names used in this article (after Roaf 2012: 187–88). As discussed below it is possible that Ursa should be identified with Rusa son of Erimena (abbreviated to Rusa E).

Dates in Assyrian sources	Name of Urartian ruler in Assyrian sources	Name in Urartian sources	Traditional identification and sequence of Urartian rulers	Abbreviation used in this article
774	Argišti/u	Argišti	Argišti son of Minua	Argišti M
743, 735	Issar-dūri, Sardaurri, Sarduri	Sarduri	Sarduri son of Argišti	Sarduri A
719–713	Ursā, Rusā	Rusa	Rusa son of Sarduri	Ursa or Rusa S
709	Argišta/i/u	Argišti	Argišti son of Rusa	Argišti R
673/2, 652	Ursā	Rusa	Rusa son of Argišti	Rusa A
646/642	Ištar/Issar-dūri	Sarduri		

There is, however, one fly in the ointment, a king of Urartu, who called himself Rusa son of Erimena. Traditionally it has been customary to place him at the end of the dynasty along with a Sarduri,⁹ who was mentioned in an inscription of Ashurbanipal in a context dated to the 640s BC, and a number of individuals, named on cylinder seal inscriptions (including possibly a Rusa son of Erimena), who were considered by some scholars to have been rulers of Urartu. This comfortable solution was questioned by Stephan Kroll in his ground-breaking paper “Urartus Untergang in anderer Sicht” published in 1984¹⁰ and his doubts about placing Rusa son of Erimena after Rusa son of Argishti have been reinforced in recent years by the realisation that the names on the cylinder seals are not those of kings of Urartu,¹¹

8. For details see, for example, Fuchs 2012: 145–49.

9. A Sarduri son of Sarduri, about whom nothing else is known, dedicated a shield found in Karmir Blur. He is sometimes identified with the Sarduri mentioned in Ashurbanipal's inscription.

10. Following the publication of this paper, the problem of the sequence of Urartian rulers has been much discussed. Some scholars have remained content with the previous consensus view while others, following Kroll's lead, have tried to devise a list of rulers in which Rusa son of Argishti, the megalomaniac builder of enormous fortified citadel centres such as Ayanis, Bastam, Karmir Blur and Kefkalesi, was the last ruler of Urartu, who left any Urartian royal inscriptions. This problem was very much at the forefront of several papers given at the Biainili-Urartu Symposium held in Munich (those by Salvini, Kroll, Fuchs and Hellwag) and was considered in a recently published article by Zimansky (2007) and a paper then in press by Seidl (see now Seidl 2007 and 2012).

11. For the names on the seals see Hellwag 2000; 2005; 2012: 230–31. The title that they bear ¹⁰A.ZUM.LI was previously read ¹⁰A.NIN-li and interpreted as meaning ‘the son of the queen’: but it is now generally acknowledged that the connection with the logogram for queen was mistaken and that, while the names of the ¹⁰A.ZUM.LI are names typical of the ruling dynasty of Urartu, there is no evidence that this title indicated that they were rulers of Urartu or that it designated them as future rulers.



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that Rusa son of Erimena was of equal importance with other Urartian rulers,¹² that he was responsible for the construction of the citadel of Toprakale and an extensive system of dams, reservoirs and canals,¹³ and that he could not have ruled after Rusa son of Argishti.¹⁴

Further support for a date for Rusa E before Rusa A comes from the analysis of the titles used by the last Urartian kings which shows that the titulature used by Rusa E was similar to those used by Rusa S and by Argishti R and different from those of the earlier kings Argishti M and Sarduri A as well as from that of Rusa A (see Roaf 2012: 196–98 for details). Most conclusive of all is the art historical analysis of the lions and bulls on inscribed shields that Ursula Seidl presented in 2004 (see also 2007 and 2012).¹⁵ The lions of Rusa E show an unmistakable similarity to the lions of the early 8th century BC rulers of Urartu, Argishti M and Sarduri A (Fig. 1).

Similarly the lions of Rusa S are intermediate in style between those of Rusa A and those of Rusa E and the earlier rulers. A few minor features are shared by the lions of Rusa E and Rusa S and are not found on the lions of Argishti M and Sarduri A, in particular the markings on their hindquarters. This might suggest that Rusa E ruled between Sarduri A and Rusa S. In any case the widely held belief that Rusa E should date after Rusa A is untenable and even the revised schemes in which the reign of Rusa E was before that of Rusa A and later than that of Rusa S are not in accordance with the iconographic evidence.¹⁶

To cut a long story short, the various apparently contradictory sources concerning Ursa and Rusa S can be reconciled when one realises that there might have been two different rulers of Urartu that the Assyrians called Ursa, one Rusa son of Sarduri and the other Rusa son of Erimena. Rusa E was the king of Urartu during Sargon's attack on that country. There are hints in Sargon's Eighth Campaign (So



Fig. 1. Lions on shields with inscriptions of later Urartian kings. For the kings' names, see Table 2. After Seidl 2003 and 2007.

12. For new inscriptions of Rusa E and in particular the realisation that the Kesik Göi Stele in Beşik describing the irrigation works constructed for Rusa(h)u (Toprakale) should be dated to his reign see Salvini 2006.

13. For the conclusion that Toprakale was founded by Rusa E and not Rusa A see Seidl 2007 and Zimansky 2007.

14. Both Seidl 2007 and Zimansky 2007 make the point that Rusa E called his new citadel Rusa(h)u without any further qualification but Rusa A added epithets to distinguish his new citadel at Ayvaz (Rusa(h)u Eplurikat) from the earlier founded citadel at Toprakale that he called Rusa(h)u (Q)hinku. Seidl (2007; 2012) provides other convincing arguments in favour of the earlier dating of Rusa E. See also her contribution in the *Bianchi-Urartu Symposium* volume as well as those by Fuchs, Kroll, and myself. It may be noted that Salvini (2007: 2012: 132) has not yet accepted this new dating of Rusa E and still believes that Toprakale was another palace constructed by the obsessive builder-king Rusa A.

15. There are no shields decorated with lions and bulls so far attested for the reign of Argishti II, the predecessor of Rusa A.

16. Fuchs 2012: 117–49, Seidl 2007: 2012. For further discussion see Roaf 2012. A more detailed study of royal Urartian iconography is desirable, but, unfortunately the funds have not been polished to detail and are not easily accessible to scholars, consequently such a study has not been completed to the near future.

8: 403–4) that suggest that Ursa had come to the throne through force and was a usurper, as there are in Rusa E's own inscriptions and as may be inferred from the fact that his father is not attested as king of Urartu.¹⁷ There are also passages in the Assyrian sources that indicate that there were two major influential families in Urartu, one of Ursa and the other of Sarduri (Sg 8: 277–9; SAA 5 93). It is easy to think that the usurper Rusa son of Erimena whose father had not been king before him gave his name to the family of Ursa while Rusa son of Sarduri belonged to the family of Sarduri, a name borne by at least two previous rulers of Urartu.

It is therefore possible – and in my view probable – that in 714 in the aftermath of the invasion of the Assyrians Rusa son of Erimena was replaced on the throne by Rusa son of Sarduri. We may well ask “how did this happen?” A passage in a fragmentary letter (SAA 5 93) may provide the answer.¹⁸ Its editors, Lanfranchi and Parpola, entitled the letter “A coup d'état” and they translated the passage as follows: “His magnates [sur]rounded him in [. . .], at the out[skirts of] Wai[s]i and killed him.” The reference to the city of Waisi and the mention of “his magnates” indicate that the victim of this assassination was the king of Urartu. The letter then mentions “the field marshal (*turtan*) of the left of the family (*qinnu*) of Sarduri”¹⁹ and (after a gap of two lines) records that someone (perhaps this field marshal) had “[not yet] entered Tu[rushpa]”. The Assyrian agents reporting back about conditions in Urartu were continually concerned about where the Urartian king was and frequently recorded his movements in and out of the Urartian capital Tushpa (called by the Assyrians Turushpa). It is possible that in this letter the person who had not yet entered Turushpa was the new Urartian king.

If this letter does describe the death of Ursa, he did not commit suicide. The usurper Rusa son of Erimena was assassinated by his nobles and as a result a second Rusa, Rusa son of Sarduri, a member of the Sarduri-family that had previously ruled Urartu, was able to seize the throne.²⁰

17. As already proposed by Thureau-Dangin 1912: xviii–xix. For further discussion see Roaf 2010 and 2012.

18. SAA 5 93 Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990. Since the text is fragmentary and undated, other interpretations are possible but here I follow what I consider the simplest one.

19. It is not clear what role this field marshal may have played, but one possibility is that he became king of Urartu. The name Sarduri (=13-BAD) is only partly legible, but it is a plausible restoration.

20. In this short and speculative paper it has not been possible to consider all the various possibilities and still less to evaluate them. Further discussion of some of the possibilities can be found in my contribution to the Biainili-Urartu Symposium, but it may be some time before all those interested in Urartu will be convinced that the narrative presented here is possible, let alone plausible, and even longer, if ever, before a consensus will be reached.

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Did Rusa Commit Suicide?

Michael Roaf

Abstract

In this paper, I not only question the validity of the Assyrian claim that Rusa committed suicide but also present some ideas about the identity of the ruler of Urartu whom Sargon claims to have defeated and who allegedly with his hand ended his life with his iron girdle dagger. 1 The earliest account describing what happened to Rusa (whose name was written in Assyrian texts as Ursā) 2 is Sargon's Letter to the god Assur (Sg 8). 3 According to this text, which was composed soon after the end of Sargon's Eighth Campaign and is dated by the name of the eponym of 714 BC, Sargon defeated Ursa at the battle of Mount Waush and the Urartian king led into the mountains. His fate was described as follows (Sg 8: 151): he was thrown into bed like a woman in labour and he cut off food and water from his mouth. He imposed on himself an incurable illness. Sargon went on to capture the holy city of Musasir that the Urartians called Ardini. Here he looted the palace and the temple of the god Haldi, who was also the chief god worshipped by the Urartians. Sargon took captive the family of Urzana, the ruler of Musasir, as well as the city god Haldi and his consort and deported them to Assyria.

Keywords: Urartu, Rossa, Sargon, ancient languages, Media

مادها چقدر مادی بوده‌اند؟^۱

آدریانا روسی^۲

مترجم منصورحمدالله‌زاده^۳

چکیده

پرداختن به "مسئله مادها" بدون عنایت به کنفرانس پادوا در سال ۲۰۰۱ میلادی دشوار خواهد بود. جنبه زبانی این کنفرانس، تحت عنوان «زبان مادها، بزرگترین ناآگاهی» به عهده رودیگر اشمیت گذارده شد. در همین راستا اشمیت که قبلاً هم در این باره مطالعاتی داشته، شبهاات زیادی را مطرح کرد که در اینجا به اختصار به آنها اشاره می‌کنم. نام‌های «ماد» و «پرشیا» در گفتمان باستانی اغلب دلالت بر نوعی رابطه «مترادفی» دارند (کما بیش مترادف) و در نتیجه، نمی‌توان در نظر گرفت که این دو، خطاب به یک فرد مشخص و واحدی بوده باشد. بنابر این قضاوت در مورد اینکه آیا خطاب به فردی، به یک زبان خاص تعلق دارد یا خیر را ممکن می‌سازد. نام‌های اشخاص / نام‌های مکان‌ها، نام‌های مورد گزارش در اسناد آشوری، با لحاظ در نظر گرفتن هجای املائی و تطبیق آنها، اغلب تفسیر مشکوک ارائه می‌دهد.

کلید واژه‌ها: مادها، پارس‌ها، هویت مادها، هویت پارس‌ها، قرن ششم پیش از میلاد

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تنگوی رتلیخ، پژشور و مدرس در دانشگاه آزاداس ی

« ... how Median the Medes were » ?

État d'une question longuement débattue

Adriano V. Rossi (Université de Naples « L'Orientale »)

1. – Il serait difficile de traiter la « question mède » sans partir du Colloque de Padua de 2001. À cette occasion, la tâche de traiter l'aspect linguistique fut confiée à Rüdiger Schmitt sous le titre « Die Sprache der Meder – eine grosse Unbekannte »¹.

Pour l'occasion, Schmitt – qui avait déjà traité l'argument à plusieurs reprises – souleva beaucoup de doutes que je résumerai brièvement ici :

1. Les dénominations 'Mède' et 'Perse' dans la tradition ancienne impliquent souvent une sorte de relation 'para-synonymique' (*mehr oder weniger gleichbedeutend*), et conséquemment l'apparition de l'un ou l'autre des deux termes en connection avec un anthroponyme ne permet pas de juger si un tel anthroponyme appartient à une langue déterminée² ;
2. les anthroponymes/toponymes attestés dans la documentation assyrienne présentent souvent une interprétation douteuse, principalement pour la nature syllabique des graphies auxquelles ils sont adaptés³ ;
3. la langue des inscriptions achéménides est une *Kunstsprache* qui contient des archaïsmes et des stratifications dialectales d'analyse difficile⁴ ;
4. les variantes graphiques d'anthroponymes dans les tablettes élamites ('mède' ~ 'vieux-perse', selon la tradition iranisante) n'ont pas de valeur probatoire, car, à la différence des inscriptions royales de la dynas-

1 Schmitt 2003.

2 Schmitt 2003, p. 27. À cet endroit (n. 12 de la même page), Schmitt, pour appuyer son raisonnement, cite Tuplin 1994, mais à vrai dire l'argument central de cette recherche (relative à l'emploi de ces dénominations dans la littérature grecque classique) est que « it would be misleading to suggest that 'Mede' was an unrestrictedly available alternative for 'Persian' » (Tuplin 1994, p. 249).

3 *ibid.*

4 Schmitt 2003, p. 29.

tie achéménide, ce n'est que rarement que l'on peut prouver que les allographes des tablettes se réfèrent au même individu⁵.

Schmitt toutefois alterne plusieurs fois le niveau historique du discours avec le niveau linguistique, et plusieurs de ses assertions se basent sur ce que je considère comme des inférences historiques non démontrées. Je ne mentionnerai que trois exemples :

1. selon Schmitt, les Mèdes seraient **la seule population** qui, dans la première moitié du 1^{er} millénaire de notre ère, aurait eu la possibilité d'interagir avec les rédacteurs des documents assyriens qui mentionnent le terme *Mada*⁶. Cependant, tandis qu'il est indiscutable que les sources néo-assyriennes mentionnent plusieurs fois le terme *Mada*, l'on ne peut pas donner tort à S.C. Brown quand il écrit : « It is admittedly difficult to know precisely what the Assyrians meant by the epithet 'Mede' »⁷. En se fondant sur l'idée que les Mèdes étaient un groupement de peuples dans lequel l'élément iranien n'était pas nécessairement - qu'importe le temps et le lieu - dominant, I.M. D'jakonov était le plus influent représentant (dans son *Istorija Midii* et ailleurs) de la nécessité de reconnaître des vastes différenciations ethnolinguistiques sous la dénomination des *Mada* néo-assyriens, qui certainement incluait des populations indo-européennes et d'autres qui ne l'étaient pas⁸. À ce propos, Ran Zadok, auteur de la seule discussion exhaustive jamais imprimée des anthroponymes/toponymes dans les sources assyriennes (221 individus et 475 toponymes au total) souligne honnêtement : « the available material seems to be sufficient only for determining the ethno-linguistic character of the territory [...], but not its ethno-linguistic composition : for such a task the material is too scanty »⁹. C'est pour cela que la formulation de Brown dans le *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*¹⁰ (« Indo-Iranian onomastics also occur in connection with the autochthonous Zagros kingdoms [...] This emphasizes the fallacy of assuming ethnic homogeneity for any of the polities of the Neo-Assyrian Za-

5 Schmitt 2003, p. 33.

6 Schmitt 2003, p. 26 : « Dies ist aus chronologischen und geographischen Gründen am einfachsten für die Zeit, bevor die Perser unter den Achaimeniden zur dominierenden Macht aufstiegen, da damals nur die Meder engere Kontakte zu jenen Völkern gehabt haben dürften, von denen uns schriftliche Quellen erhalten sind ».

7 Brown 1986, p. 107.

8 D'jakonov 1956, p. 65. Voir ci-dessous.

9 Zadok 2002, p. 90.

10 Brown 1987-1990, p. 619-620.

- gros») peut être considérée comme l'un des meilleurs jugements synthétiques sur l'entière question.
2. L'«impulsion» à l'usage de l'écriture cunéiforme (*Anregung zum Gebrauch (und gegebenenfalls zur Schaffung) einer Schrift*)¹¹ – et l'expérience corrélatrice, indispensable pour la constitution d'archives écrites – serait selon Schmitt un élément d'héritage mède ('mèdo-iranien' selon la terminologie que je propose)¹² dans l'organisation de l'état achéménide, ce qui serait prouvé par le fait que la création linguistique à la base du terme vieux perse pour 'écrire' (*nipišta-*)¹³ serait un emprunt mède en vieux-perse (ceux qui ont inventé cette technologie en auraient imaginé aussi la désignation correspondante). Mais la reconstruction d'une base **nə-paš-* avec référence à l'écriture peut bien sûr démontrer qu'un peuple iranophone qui connaissait la technologie de l'écriture a produit à une certaine époque une certaine métaphore sur la base des matériels linguistiques dont il disposait, mais rien de plus que cela, de même que les étymologies de lat. *scribere* et de gr. *γραφειν* ne démontrent rien quant à l'antiquité et la localisation des procédés d'écriture adoptés par les cultures latinophones et grecophones qui employaient ces termes à l'époque classique. Même si l'on considère **nə-paš-* non seulement iranien, mais spécifiquement mèdo-iranien, on n'aura jamais de cette étymologie la preuve que les créateurs de la technologie de l'écriture appliquée aux langues de l'Iran de nord-ouest étaient des Mèdes iranophones au sens ethnolinguistique du terme.
 3. Schmitt souligne que la Médie aurait profité d'une position particulière dans la hiérarchie politique achéménide, et cela dériverait d'une supériorité culturelle à cause de laquelle les Mèdes auraient profondément influencé les Perses¹⁴. Conséquemment, comme les emprunts linguistiques montrent des langues plus prestigieuses vers les langues moins prestigieuses¹⁵, les emprunts du niveau supérieur du lexique vieux-

11. Schmitt 2003, p. 32.

12. Désormais, j'écrirai ici 'mèdo-iranien' en me référant aux éléments que la *matéité* des auteurs appelle 'mède' (= mèdes de langue iranienne), pour les mêmes raisons pour lesquelles Kellens (2002, p. 426) se réfère à des «*Persees iraniens*» ; cf. par exemple D'jakonov 1956, p. 373 : «*transkto mǝdǝskǝ tǝnǝna*» (nomus mèdes iraniens).

13. Schmitt 1997, p. 128.

14. Schmitt 2003, p. 34 ; déjà Meyer 1939¹, p. 23, voir ci-dessous.

15. L'ethnolinguistique moderne ne partage pas nécessairement cette affirmation ; cf. Foltz 2014, p. 80 n. 217 *in fine* et Rossi 2007, col. 560 (à B. Aftabeh [...] emphatically

perse (hiérarchies de l'état, termes militaires etc.) ne peuvent être que 'mèdo-iraniens'. Mais nonobstant l'affirmation d'Eduard Meyer¹⁶ que les Mèdes profiteraient d'une position particulière soit dans les listes-*dahyāva*, soit dans la hiérarchie impériale achéménide, nous savons que la position de la Médie dans les listes varie considérablement, et il n'y a pas de consensus sur la valeur de cette variance. Je préfère conclure, avec Briant¹⁷, que « ces listes ne paraissent donc pas devoir être considérées comme une image réaliste de l'état des possessions impériales ».

2.1. – Dans la reconstruction de Schmitt nous reconnaissons beaucoup d'arguments traditionnels de la discussion sur la 'question mède' à mi-chemin entre histoire linguistique et reconstruction ethno-historique, et particulièrement la persistance de la conviction qu'entre ethnicité et langue, et entre processus onomastiques, ethnicité et variation linguistique doit exister une corrélation directe.

Lors du 'Gershevitch-Day' de Ravenna (en 2003), j'évoquai l'atmosphère de l'Université de Londres au début des années 1950, quand les savants qui travaillaient avec Henning étaient en train d'élaborer les implications de la notion de 'linguistically Median', considérée du point de vue de la dialectologie des langues iraniennes modernes¹⁸.

Henning lui-même s'était profondément intéressé aux dialectes iraniens modernes du nord-ouest de l'Iran, et Ehsan Yarshater les étudia en

how strongly multilingual acquisition is connected to necessity [...] and variety [...] more than to an abstract 'prestige' concept »).

- 16 Meyer 1939¹, p. 23 : « nehmen die Meder im Reich die nächste Stellung nach den Persern ein. 'Persien, Medien und die anderen Länder' nennt Darius sein Reich, 'König von Persien und Medien' heißt Xerxes in Babylon ». Selon Meyer, « lebt [Media] weiter [...] umgewandelt in das Perserreich [...] den Fernerstehenden kam die innere Umwälzung gegenüber dem Fortbestehen eines mächtigen iranischen Reichs kaum zum Bewußtsein : daher haben die Griechen wie andere Völker den Medernamen auf das Perserreich übertragen » (Meyer 1939¹, p. 24). L'affirmation est souvent répétée même aujourd'hui, cf. e.g. « In the Achaemenid empire, Media retained its privileged position, occupying the second place after Persia itself » (Dandamayev & Medvedskaya 2006, p. 10) ; « Dans les listes impériales, les Mèdes (ou la Médie) sont toujours nommés en première position, soit en seconde après que les Perses aient été cités » (Tourovets 2001, p. 230).
- 17 Briant 1996, p. 188. Sur les contradictions contenues dans les listes voir Calmeyer 1982/83 et, sur les relations entre Mèdes et Achéménides, les observations de Kelens 2002, p. 455.
- 18 Rossi 2006, p. 70 ss.

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détail dans sa dissertation doctorale. Ce dernier affirma - contre l'usage de l'époque d'appeler 'tati' tous les dialectes iraniens du nord-ouest - qu'ils étaient les vrais descendants des 'Median dialects' de l'époque (pré-)achéménide¹⁹. Dans ses études successives, Yarshater a démontré qu'on avait supposé erronément que les dialectes iraniens d'Azerbaïdjan représentaient une immigration récente d'autres régions iranophones. Au contraire, il étaient les descendants authentiques des dialectes parlés au nord-ouest à l'époque ancienne²⁰.

2.2.- Ilya Gershevitch, qui était rapporteur doctoral de Yarshater avec Benveniste et Henning, développa pour l'occasion une véritable passion pour les possibilités que la dialectologie moderne offrait pour une meilleure position de la question mède. L'attitude de Henning et de son école à Londres sur le sujet restait prudente²¹, et on dut attendre jusqu'en 1964, comme l'écrit Lecoq, « pour voir Ilya Gershevitch [...] s'étonner de l'incohérence des emprunts faits par le vieux-perse au mède »²².

Dans son *Dialect variation in early Persian*, Gershevitch analysa les termes vieux-perses qu'on avait déclarés « non-Persian intruders ». Beaucoup des mots qui rendent les sens les plus communs contredisaient l'une ou l'autre règle de phonologie vieux-perse, mais concordaient avec le peu que l'on

19 Yarshater 1969, p. 17 n. 1.

20 « No mass invasion of Iranian population has been reported since Median times to drive out the Median people from their territory and no mass exodus of the Median people is reflected in historical sources. The natural conclusion seems to be that the dialects of the various Median tribes continued to be spoken in Greater Media into Parthian and Sassanian times and continue today, though with decreasing currency », Yarshater 2002, p. 441.

21 Voir sa formulation circonspecte dans le *Handbuch* : « Das Altpersische ist also unter dem Einfluss eines nordwestlichen (wie man annimmt, medischen) Dialekts modifiziertes 'Persisch' », Henning 1958, p. 98 (termes mis en gras par mes soins).

22 Lecoq 1974a, p. 55-56.

avait déduit de l'onomastique²³ sur la phonologie mèdo-iranienne. Tous étaient conséquemment déclarés mède²⁴.

À la fin d'une démonstration trop complexe pour être rappelée ici²⁵, Gershevitch expliquait beaucoup des mots communément considérés 'éléments mède' en vieux-perse (*āsmāna-* 'ciel', *vazrka-* 'grand', *zūrah-* 'tromperie', *aθanga-* 'pierre', *xšāyaθiya-* 'roi', *xšaça-* 'royaume', etc.) comme dus à la présence simultanée dans nos textes de différentes variétés de vieux-perse²⁶.

Je ne saurais ici me rallier totalement à la remarque de Lecoq : « Paradoxalement, la solution proposée par Gershevitch aboutit presque à l'élimination du mède »²⁷. Gershevitch ne nie pas l'existence d'une phase linguistique que l'on peut continuer à appeler (dans nos termes) mèdo-iranienne, et que les locuteurs achéménides peuvent avoir perçu comme 'mède', si 'mède' était le glottonime dont ils se servaient ; il se limite à accentuer la nécessité de reformuler les reports entre ce qu'on a appelé jusqu'à présent 'mède' et ce qu'on a appelé 'vieux-perse'²⁸ dans le cadre d'une vision entraînant le plurilinguisme et ce qu'on appelle à partir de la fin des années soixante 'variation linguistique'²⁹.

L'essai de Mayrhofer *Die Rekonstruktion des Medischen*³⁰ (en défense de l'« existence menacée de la langue mède », comme le dit Lecoq³¹), repré-

23 Voir à titre d'exemple sur cette problématique Polomé 1981, p. 508 : « Perhaps the greatest danger in using lexical material is the often indiscriminate use by historical and comparative linguists of two types of data : (a) vocabulary that is not actually attested in context or glosses, datable, clearly interpretable and assignable to a definite language or dialect [...] (b) lexical elements derived from the etymological interpretation of onomastic data or less clearly identified linguistic sources and assigned to a definite language or dialect on the basis of nonlinguistic arguments ».

24 « The Persian word for 'king', *šāh*, is not proper Persian, say the comparative grammarians, because the form to be expected in proper Persian would be **šāš* ; the word form 'town', *šāhr*, which at an early period meant 'kingdom', ought to have been **šas* ; instead of Pers. *sang* 'stone' one expects **hang* ; instead of *buzurg* 'big' **buhurg* ; instead of *asp* 'horse' **as* ; instead of *āsmān* 'sky' **āhmān* ; and even instead of *Fārsī* 'Persian' **Pāhli* » (Gershevitch 1964, p. 1).

25 Rossi 2010, p. 303-304.

26 Gershevitch 1964, p. 13.

27 Lecoq 1974a, p. 55.

28 Gershevitch 1970, p. 82 ; *idem* 1979, p. 148 ; *idem* 1996, p. 67.

29 La notion de variation trouve sa source dans l'article de Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968.

30 Mayrhofer 1968.

31 Lecoq 1974a, p. 56.

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sente une renaissance de ce que Lecoq appelle 'la théorie de l'emprunt', même s'il est proposé dans le cadre d'une théorie linguistique générale moderne. En même temps, on doit toutefois rappeler que cet essai de Mayrhofer est aussi la première publication dans laquelle le développement du report mèdo-iranien ~ vieux-perse est appuyé par une approche moderne et systématique en termes de théorie linguistique (on y trouve, par exemple, la notion de 'système phonologique', 'variantes allophoniques', 'variantes conditionnées', etc.).

Mayrhofer et Gershevitch semblent agir dans deux univers parallèles qui ne communiquent pas. Nous sommes en tout cas redevables envers Gershevitch de l'introduction dans la linguistique iranienne de la notion même de 'variété linguistique', et c'est probablement, justement le 'dialect variation' de Gershevitch, qui inspira à Abaev sa 'dialektnaja pestrota' (variation dialectale), notion clé avec laquelle il décrit la situation linguistique mèdo-iranienne dans son 'Midijskie' *èlementy v persidskom*³². Mais, déjà en 1945, Abaev avait clairement anticipé (même sur la base de quelque 'élément mède' présomptif) que « uže v drevne-persidskom my naxodim, v ego fonetike i leksike, ne odnu, a neskol'ko jazykovyx norm »³³ (déjà en v-p. nous trouvons, dans sa phonétique et son lexique, pas une, mais une certaine quantité de normes).

2.3. – Je glisserai un peu sur le rôle de David N. MacKenzie dans la controverse Gershevitch-Mayrhofer sur le mède³⁴. Gershevitch pensait, avec Vladimir Minorsky³⁵, que les Kurdes étaient les descendants des anciens

32 Abaev 1968, où l'adjectif 'midijskij' (mède) est toujours imprimé entre guillemets, selon l'usage presque constant des savants soviétiques, et particulièrement à la p. 252 n. 4, où Gershevitch est explicitement mentionné. Cf. aussi Root 2002, p. 4 : « our firsthand knowledge of them [les Mèdes ; AVR] is so scanty as to have many commentators these days enclosing the adjective Median (if not the noun Mede) in quotation marks ».

33 Abaev 1945, p. 12. La position d'Abaev, fortement contraire à la possibilité de reconstruire le mède sur la base des anomalies du vieux-perse, quoique plusieurs fois réitérée, est passée totalement sous silence, voir Rossi 2010, p. 306 n. 53.

34 Rossi 2006, p. 72-73, *idem* 2010, p. 307-308.

35 Minorsky 1940, p. 146 ss. ; 1986, p. 451, 479-480. Liverani 2001, p. 374 ss. commente dans ces termes le mythe de fondation kurde qui fait coïncider le jour culminant de l'éthnogenèse kurde avec la date traditionnelle de la chute de Ninive : « Above all, the Kurdish legend is able to evoke the secular struggle between city and highlands, between empire and mountain tribes. The legend speaks to the mountaineers' desire for revolt and vengeance against unjust rule from an imperial palace, and to the persistent dream of a spring when oppressed people will finally

Mèdes. Ce dernier estimait que la seule critique qu'on pouvait avancer contre cette identification était le nom ethnique même des Kurdes (« which clearly is no descendant of Old Persian *Māda* 'Median' »), mais éludait la difficulté en évoquant l'un des cas où une langue continue à être parlée sous un nom différent loin du lieu originaire de diffusion.

MacKenzie avait par contre tracé un tableau de l'iranien du nord-ouest dans lequel le kurde, séparé précocement du sous-groupe linguistique mèdo-iranien, représentait une évolution parallèle au persan³⁶. La divergence s'exaspéra avec la conférence *lincea* de Gershevitch 'Linguistic geography and historical linguistics'³⁷, à la suite de laquelle MacKenzie descendit ouvertement dans l'arène contre la théorie Minorsky-Gershevitch³⁸. À ma connaissance, Gershevitch n'est jamais plus revenu sur le sujet.

2.4.– Pour ma part, je serais plutôt enclin à souligner combien le kurde est éloigné du *Sprachbund*³⁹ auquel on devrait attribuer la phase ancienne du mèdo-iranien, en le reliant à la ligne moyen-persé persan. Mais il est peut-être plus important de remarquer ici que les différentes implications linguistiques de la 'question mède' (langues 'mèdes' [mèdo-iraniennes et mèdo-non-iraniennes] de l'Iran de l'âge du fer ~ dialectes 'mèdo-iraniens' modernes) ont produit – à travers tout le XX^e siècle – des théories variables chaque fois que des savants étaient intéressés à l'un ou à l'autre des ni-

come down from their refuges, punish the tyrant, and proclaim freedom. Such might have been the feelings of the Median tribes when they descended from the mountains in order to fight against the empire of evil. On the other hand, it is not impossible that a decisive event such as the destruction of the Assyrian empire left some trace in the Iranian legendary corpus ». Voir aussi Liverani 2003, p. 11-12. Noter cette affirmation par un réputé archéologue de l'Iran du fer : « The Median language [...] is very likely the ancient form of modern Kurdish. If this is true, then part of ancient Media is still occupied by the descendents of the Medes » (Young 1997, p. 449).

36 MacKenzie 1961.

37 Gershevitch 1992.

38 Voir la typique ironie de MacKenzie 1999, p. 675-676 : « This remarkable theory, supported by no more than a tendentious, albeit quite irrelevant, reference to V.L. Minorsky's undoubted status as 'a scholar of rare wisdom and expertise in matters of Western Iranian historical geography', is then buttressed by an equal romantic explanation for the Kurds, as exile Medes under Scythian hegemony [...] All this ignores so much other evidence, both phonological and non-linguistic, that it leaves one wondering if it was ever meant to be taken seriously, or merely as a *jeu d'esprit* ».

39 'Tier' selon la terminologie actuelle de Windfuhr 2009, p. 12 ss.

veaux du discours; et ces savants – comme on l’a vu – assez souvent ne communiquaient pas entre eux, en raison de leurs différentes formations et appartenances.

L’objection principale à l’identification d’éléments phonologiques ‘mèdo-iraniens’ ponctuels dans les phases anciennes reste celle déjà formulée par Geiger et Bartholomae il y a plus d’un siècle⁴⁰ : des éléments linguistiques ‘non-perses’ du type de ceux considérés ‘mèdes’ sont attestés dans des régions qui ne peuvent être définies ‘mèdes’ ni géographiquement, ni du point de vue dialectologique. Skjærøv est formel sur ce point : « le seul trait phonétique indubitablement mède que nous connaissions [...] *sp* < i.e. **k*w, attesté dans le mot *spaka* ‘chien’ rapporté par Hérodote comme mède [...] est commun à presque tous les dialectes iraniens » ; pour la même raison « il est impossible de prouver que *fama* soit un mot originellement mède et *a fortiori* que ce soit un mot contenant une isoglosse **exclusivement** mède »⁴¹. La conclusion de Grantovskij est semblable : « mnogie jakoby ‘midijskie’ fonetičeskie čerty ne svojtvenny sovremennym dialektam, rasprostranennym na territorii drevnej Midii, zato xarakterny dlja dialektov Farsa (drevnej Persidy) »⁴² (beaucoup de traits phonétiques ‘mèdes’ ne sont pas propres aux dialectes contemporains qui sont répandus sur les territoires de l’ancienne Médie, mais sont caractéristiques pour les dialectes du Fârs [l’ancienne Perside]).

3.– Tout cela nous ramène aux implications extralinguistiques de la question. Le motif principal pour lequel nous attribuons au mèdo-iranien des mots qui pourraient appartenir à n’importe quel dialecte iranien est qu’ils « apparaissent dans des formules officielles, stéréotypées, qui [...] n’ont pu être empruntées par les Perses qu’aux Mèdes »⁴³.

40 Références chez Rossi 2010, p. 299-300.

41 Skjærøv 1983, p. 250-251 (terme mis en gras par mes soins) ; voir déjà Lecoq 1974a, p. 57 : « lorsque nous appelons mède un fait non perse, ce n’est presque jamais une certitude, tout au plus une forte probabilité : certains mots peuvent venir d’autres dialectes dont nous ignorons tout », et Abaev 1945, *idem* 1968 (voir nn. 32 et 33 ci-dessus).

42 Grantovskij 1998, p. 300 ; plus amplement p. 124 ss.

43 Lecoq 1987, p. 674. Voir aussi *idem* 1997, p. 47 : « Nous n’avons aucun moyen direct pour identifier l’origine de ce vocabulaire, mais nous savons qu’il appartient à une autre langue iranienne. On peut légitimement supposer que cette langue iranienne devait avoir un prestige suffisant pour amener les Perses à lui faire des emprunts. La langue mède est la seule, dans cette région, qui ait pu exercer un tel ascendant ».

Eduard Meyer dans sa *Geschichte des Altertums* a jeté les fondements de l'historiographie ancienne, à une époque où il y avait des difficultés à se débarrasser du stéréotype des quatre royaumes du Livre de Daniel (2 : 31-35 ; 2 : 37-45 ; 7 : 4-14 ; 19-27). L'aversion de Meyer pour l'idée de la 'succession des empires' est manifeste surtout dans les pages finales de l'introduction méthodologique à sa *Geschichte*⁴⁴. Mais malgré l'autorité de Meyer, l'idée de la 'succession des empires' est restée bien active dans l'historiographie du dix-neuvième siècle, et on en découvre encore les traces aujourd'hui. C'est à raison que Josef Wiesehöfer a souligné le persistant préjugé qui consiste à attribuer l'idée d'une succession d'empires mondiaux (Assyrie, Médie, Perse) à la vision achéménide 'officielle' de l'histoire du monde et à la nécessité que cette dynastie aurait eu de se justifier en tant qu'héritier légitime des 'empires' qui la précédaient⁴⁵. Mario Liverani écrit à ce propos :

Even before the rediscovery (beginning in the mid-nineteenth century) of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, attentive travelers in the Near East had been impressed by the visible ruins of large cities and magnificent monuments placed within a deserted and decayed landscape. Meditations on ancient ruins - their origin, their nature, their message - became an important factor in shaping philosophies of history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of the travelers were content with adopting the ancient explanation purveyed by the Bible: namely that god's will had wrecked the ancient empires of Assyria and Babylonia in vengeance for their oppression of Israel [...]. The idea of a "structural" or "natural" sequence of empires - with each one arising from the ruins of its predecessor - was also available in the book of Daniel or in its reworking by later classical historians⁴⁶.

Et du moment que, selon les sources grecques et la Bible, les Perses auraient hérité des Mèdes état, religion et culture, voilà qu'on a dû imaginer un état mède symétrique à l'état achéménide, et justifier avec des arguments toujours changeants les lacunes de la documentation : le hasard des

44 Meyer 1910³, p. 249-250 : « Im Altertum selbst hat diese Auffassung vielfache, ja sogar vorwiegende Vertretung gefunden. Schon der Anordnung Herodots liegt sie zu Grunde : systematischer tritt sie dann vor allem bei Ephoros, Polybios, Posidonios hervor [...] Ebenso hat es in der Neuzeit, auch nachdem das überlieferte Schema der Chroniken und der vier Weltreiche Daniels abgestreift war, an den derartigen Versuchen nicht gefehlt ».

45 Wiesehöfer 2003, p. 391-392 ; 2005, p. 104-105. Voir récemment Zournatzi 2013, p. 242-246 (= « The three-kingdom sequence as a Persian scheme »).

46 Liverani 2001, p. 381.

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découvertes archéologiques expliquerait la quasi-totale absence de palais (et temples ?) mèdes de la capitale et ailleurs ; la superstratification d'Ecbatane ancienne par Hamadan moderne aurait causé la disparition de la capitale mède ; on n'aurait pas trouvé de documentation écrite provenant des archives de l'état mède, soit parce que détruite avec les palais, soit parce que, avant Darius, l'écriture n'existait pas encore ; et cetera.

4.- Je ne veux pas ici reprendre en sous-œuvre la question des 'palais mèdes' et de la prétendue 'archéologie des Mèdes', qui reste en tout cas une question des plus équivoques de l'Iran de l'âge du fer⁴⁷. Heureusement, tandis qu'il y a trente ans seulement les positions 'minimalistes' quant à l'existence d'un véritable 'état mède' dans la phase du fer III au nord-ouest de l'Iran – basées ou non sur les supposés emprunts mèdes de termes institutionnels dans les inscriptions vieux-perses – étaient plutôt isolées⁴⁸, après les conférences de Groningen, sous l'impulsion méritoire de Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg⁴⁹, nous avons assisté à une croissance progressive des manifestations critiques⁵⁰, et la discussion a commencé à s'affranchir des anciens préjugés, qui ne remontent rien moins qu'à Hérodote et à la Bible.

L'activité archéologique dans le centre de la Médie historique a été particulièrement intensive à partir des années 1970 avec les fouilles de Godin Tepe, Tepe Nuš-e Jān et Tepe Bābā Jān.

À Tepe Nuš-e Jān, on a retrouvé le plus important ensemble attribué à la 'période mède' dans les Zagros centraux. David Stronach et Michael Roaf⁵¹ ont plusieurs fois confirmé qu'ils avaient choisi le site justement pour établir une corrélation entre les maigres informations disponibles au milieu des années 1970 et les données qu'aurait pu fournir une fouille bien

47 Genito 1986, 2005 ; Muscarella 1987.

48 Rossi 1981, p. 164 ss., 170 ss., Genito 1986 ; plus récemment (à consulter pour l'histoire de la question) *idem* 2005, Rossi 2010.

49 Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988, 1994 (mais cf. Liverani 2003, p. 2 n. 3 : « The criticism by Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1994 seems unconvincing to me »), 1995.

50 Helm 1981, Brown 1986, *idem* 1988, *idem* 1987/90, Malekzadeh 1997, Kienast 1999, Rollinger 1999, *idem* 2003, *idem* 2005, Medvedskaya 2002, Imanpour 2002/03, Liverani 2001, *idem* 2003, Wiesehöfer 2003, Henkelman 2003, Rollinger à paraître. On est plutôt étonné par la pointilleuse défense des positions de D'jakonov 1956 sur l'envergure de grande puissance de l'état des Mèdes dans la longue *Predislovie* que S.R. Toxtas'ev et V.A. Jakobson ont fait précéder à la nouvelle édition russe (Sankt-Peterburg 2008) de *Istorija Mīdī*, où l'on est frappé par le fait que Sancisi-Weerdenburg et Rollinger sont présentés comme des extrémistes isolés.

51 Stronach & Roaf 2007, p. 44.

localisée et bien stratifiée dans le centre de la Médie historique. Mais quand, quarante ans après, les deux savants ont essayé une évaluation de ce qu'ils avaient découvert en relation avec la reconstruction historique de la Médie du premier millénaire avant notre ère, ils ont honnêtement reconnu que, même si l'on désirerait

to [...] associate the major building events at Tepe Nush-i Jan with events in Median history ; to link the establishment of the site [...] with a possible unification of Media or to connect the later closure of individual buildings with an eventual centralisation of authority in the Median capital, Ecbatana [...] the truth [...] is however that the date and even the historicity of such 'events' is still in dispute⁵².

Le plus ancien des bâtiments à Nuš-e Jān « may well have taken place in the 8th century BC » ; les dates du début de l'abandon se situent probablement entre la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle et le début du VI^e avant notre ère ; « the duration of the Filling and its chronological relationship with Cyaxares' successful campaigns in Assyria remain matters for debate » ; « [t]he main part of the Squatter Occupation seems to date to the post-Assyrian and pre-Achaemenid period [...] with the end of the Squatter Occupation possibly coinciding [...] with the incorporation of Media into the Persian kingdom in the mid 6th century »⁵³.

Stronach-Roaf ne semblent pas attacher trop d'importance au fait que la 'Squatter Occupation' à Nuš-e Jān coïncide avec la période qui est généralement attribuée à l'apogée du 'Median Empire', observation qui

has been used to argue against the existence of a united Median state at this period (Liverani 2003), despite the fact that it is often inappropriate to generalise from a single excavation and that the major 'Median' buildings both at Godin Tepe and at Tepe Ozbaki seem to have been in use at this time.

La documentation historique, ajoutent les deux savants,

supports the view that a Median state exerted influence from Central Anatolia to north-east Iran in the first half of the 6th century BC [...] Amongst such indications we would note the familiarity of Greeks, Jews and Egyptians with the Medes which would be unlikely if they were not important actors on the political stage before the rise of the Persians and the fact that Cyrus after his defeat of the Medes was in a position to attack Lydia without apparently ha-

52 Stronach & Roaf 2007, p. 58.

53 Stronach & Roaf 2007, p. 217.

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ving to spend time subduing independent states between central western Iran and western Anatolia⁵⁴.

Mais, comme le dit bien Liverani, le cadre de référence que donnent les fouilles en Médie ne s'accorde pas avec la reconstruction de l'état mède fondé sur les historiens classiques :

It seems clear that the Babylonian information on Media can be read as reference to a state (not to say an empire) only if we read it on the guidelines of the classical sources. But if we are able to forget for a moment such a preconceived opinion, the Babylonian sources can much better describe the image of a destructive and an untamable force with a rather loose unifying leadership⁵⁵.

Encore une fois donc, avec un raisonnement circulaire, on interprète l'évidence archéologique justement à travers les mêmes sources écrites – évasives – pour lesquelles l'archéologie serait le seul moyen de confirmation.

5.1.- J'ai rappelé ailleurs⁵⁶ que la (ré)introduction dans le discours *iranologique* de la 'langue mède' – considérée comme une langue réelle que l'on pouvait confronter aux autres langues iraniennes – fut suggérée par Benveniste, sous l'influence des récentes⁵⁷ interprétations des passages des chroniques néo-assyriennes dans lesquelles *Mada* (toponyme, ethnonyme

54 Stronach & Roaf 2007, p. 217 n. 16.

55 Liverani 2003, p. 7.

56 Rossi 2010, p. 316-317.

57 Cf. Meillet & Benveniste 1931, p. xviii : « j'ai tâché, d'une part, d'incorporer la plus grande somme possible de faits, notamment les inscriptions récemment découvertes, les transcriptions araméennes et les noms propres clairs ; de l'autre, de préciser partout les problèmes dialectaux, en introduisant la notion de 'mède' ». Benveniste, qui reconnaît explicitement que la seule innovation réelle par rapport à l'édition de 1915 est l'introduction de la notion de « mède », montre par là être bien conscient de l'importance de l'innovation. En lisant les premières pages de l'essai avec lequel Meyer (1908) étudia le premier les textes néo-assyriens mentionnant *Mada*, on a l'impression d'un processus interprétatif qui venait juste de commencer ; ce qui signifie que le rôle de Meyer dans la question a été considérable. Sur l'influence des interprétations de Meyer, cf. Benveniste 1931, p. 72. Sur le côté linguistique de la position de Benveniste, cf. Kellens 2002, p. 446 n. 41 : « Quant à l'origine mède du mot [xšāyaθīya- ; AVR], on peut en douter. Cette conclusion repose uniquement sur le postulat que les doublets phonétiques des inscriptions achéménides s'expliquent par le mélange de mots mèdes et perses. C'est un postulat qui a fait carrière, mais un postulat tout de même ».

et épithète ethno-tribal) paraissait s'adapter parfaitement au rôle providentiel qu'Hérodote et la Bible avaient assigné aux Mèdes.

Une série d'éléments soutenait apparemment une reconstruction historique dans laquelle 'Mèdes' et Perses étaient des Indo-européens (du fait que beaucoup de leurs anthroponymes étaient indo-européens), probablement établis sur le plateau iranien vers la première moitié du premier millénaire de notre ère. Cette datation était nécessaire pour situer l'iranisation du plateau dans le cadre chronologique des migrations indo-européennes tel qu'il était conçu dans les années 1930, c'est-à-dire à l'époque de l'irruption sur la scène de la linguistique indo-européenne de la documentation 'aryenne' de Mitanni⁵⁸ : à l'époque, on imaginait une migration sur la route Caucase – Iran nord-occidental, justement à travers la Médie, ce qui explique les principes inspirateurs des fouilles de Ghirshman à Tepe Sialk, et son interprétation des Cimetières A et B⁵⁹.

Le fait que les plus anciens documents néo-assyriens mentionnaient seulement des peuples-*Mada* et des régions-*Mada* et non pas des peuples-*Pārsa* et des régions-*Pārsa*, semblait concorder avec les données de l'historiographie grecque qui projetaient un pouvoir mède en forme d'état sur la période précédant immédiatement l'établissement de l'état achéménide. Les Assyriens auraient connu d'abord le complexe ethno-linguistique 'mède' (*quoi que ce terme comprenne*) et seulement plus tard - à partir du 691 av. n.è. - les précurseurs des Perses achéménides⁶⁰.

58 Sur Mitanni, cf. déjà Meyer 1908, p. 24-27 (= *Nachschrift*, qu'il avait justement ajouté pour rectifier la datation qu'il avait donnée dans l'article du peuplement du nord-ouest de l'Iran : "so möchte ich es doch nicht mehr als so sicher hinstellen wie oben S. 22, daß sie hier längere Zeit gegessen haben müssen", *ibid.* p. 26). Sur ces questions voir récemment Fussman 2005, p. 210 et n. 24 ; selon Diakonoff 1985, p. 47 "the possibility cannot be excluded that the 'Mitannian Aryans' themselves were those 'Western' Iranian tribes".

59 Cf. Ghirshman 1977, p. 46 ss. Remarques critiques chez Briant 1984, p. 81-82.

60 Il y a maintenant un certain consensus (sûrement plus grand par rapport au moment où écrivait Briant 1984, p. 81 : « La présence de plusieurs pays de « Perse » (*Parsuah*, *Parsumash*) au nord et au sud du Zagros à différentes époques fait problème, mais aucune des solutions proposées ne fait l'unanimité ») sur le fait que la plus ancienne mention de *Pārsa*- dans les textes assyriens est celle de la huitième campagne de Sennacherib : « ⁶⁰*Par-su-aš*, which is juxtaposed with Anšan in the account of Sennacherib's eighth campaign (691 B.C.), is the earliest mention of Persis (see Diakonoff 1985, 88) and has nothing to do with Parsua in the Zagros », Zadok 2002, p. 142 n. 23. Sur la prétendue soumission des Perses aux Mèdes, voir Waters 1999, Wiesehöfer 1999, p. 334 (« The temporary dependency of the Persians on the Medians, which has been propounded by Greek tradition (Herodotus, 1.127), is not

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Le dilemme sur l'invention du cunéiforme vieux-perse (héritage mède ? création achéménide ?) naît à peu près des mêmes générations de savants, actives dans la première moitié du XX^e siècle : si les Assyriens avaient rencontré les Mèdes les premiers, l'hypothétique écriture mède (les Mèdes devaient bien sûr en avoir une, en tant que bâtisseurs de 'grands états bureaucratiques'⁶¹) serait sans doute inspirée du cunéiforme assyrien, et seulement adaptée ensuite à la fixation du vieux-perse.

5.2.– I.M. D'jakonov, qui vers la moitié du XX^e siècle étudia à nouveau toute la documentation disponible sur la question mède, avait plusieurs fois mis en garde sur l'usage de données archéologiques pour les reconstructions ethno-tribales⁶².

Toutefois T.C. Young proposa dans les années soixante une nouvelle interprétation des données céramiques qu'on pouvait relier à la Grande Médie. Bien que la diffusion de la *Grey Ware*, du Sinkiang aux Indes et à la Mésopotamie, ne permit d'identifier des spécificités pour l'Iran de nord-ouest, Young souligna qu'il y avait un élément de 'discontinuité' qui pouvait se relier à une migration (de l'est à l'ouest) à partir de 1450 de n.è. : l'apparition de nouveaux types de céramiques (*monochrome red, grey-black*

corroborated in the available indigenous sources ») et particulièrement Rollinger 1999, p. 130-135.

- 61 Cf. par exemple D'jakonov 1956, p. 367 : « Uže a priori neverojatno, čtoby persy imeli svoju pis'mennost', v to vremja kak velikaja Midskaja deržava svoej pis'mennosti ne imela by » (déjà, a priori, il n'est pas vraisemblable que les Perses avaient leur propre écriture à une époque où la grande puissance mède n'avait pas la sienne) ; ou la formulation plus récente : « in history the existence of early state organizations possessing no writing would not be unparalleled, for instance in Africa, and one cannot exclude that some primitive form of writing may have existed, sufficient for economic needs and recorded on perishable material » (Djakonoff 1985, p. 130).
- 62 Cf. par exemple D'jakonov 1956, p. 125 n.1 ; *idem* 1970, p. 111 n. 35 : « it has as yet not been established how early the Elamite colonists of Tepe Sialk and other aborigines, speaking presumably Elamite or a kindred language, had their first contacts with speakers of Iranian. A 'Dynastenburg' at Tepe Sialk [...] may be evidence of social stratification but not necessarily of an ethnically alien 'Herrenschicht' (of course, Aryan!) ; nor do Armenoid (= Assyroid) skulls prove the presence of Iranian speakers, etc. » ; *idem* 1985, p. 53-54 (« Direct identification of archaeological cultures with ethnolinguistic communities are often extremely risky and unreliable »), 55 (« It would be difficult and perhaps impossible to identify within the boundaries of Iran itself any culture as brought in from outside and thereby define its bearers as newly arrived tribesmen whose language was Indo-Iranian or Iranian »).

burnished wares). Mais, pour citer l'opinion récente de D. Potts, cette hypothèse « has not found much favor »⁶³.

D'jakonov, dans son essai sur les Mèdes dans la *Cambridge History of Iran*⁶⁴, bien qu'il n'était pas au courant des derniers développements archéologiques, procéda indépendamment dans une direction qui élevait de plusieurs siècles la continuité de peuplement en Iran occidental, jusqu'au début du deuxième millénaire av. n.è.⁶⁵. On pourrait comparer les efforts de D'jakonov, déployés à reformuler la question de l'« arrivée des Iraniens en Iran » en termes de « ethnogenèse de la Médie et de la Perse », avec la formulation de W. M. Sumner :

the evidence for settlement continuity from the end of the Kaftari period up to the establishment of the Achaemenid settlement system is quite strong. It is generally consistent with the known radiocarbon chronology, but implies an earlier arrival of the Persian population than previously contemplated. It suggests ethnic diversity among the earliest Persians⁶⁶.

Le silence sur ces développements divergents de la *communis opinio* sur la date et les modalités du peuplement de l'Iran peut se comprendre seulement si l'on reflète le fait que des savants de différents secteurs tendent à marcher en parallèle sur des routes non communicantes : c'est pour cela que les archéologues de l'Iran du fer ont longuement étudié l'Iran du nord-ouest sans se concerter avec des historiens et des philologues, mais aussi des assyriologues qui essayaient d'extraire des informations judicieuses des séries ethno-toponymiques avec *Mada* et *Pārsa*.

Autrement, comment expliquer le dialogue manqué entre deux savants du niveau de Karen Radner (« Die Sprache der Meder ist [...] weder semitisch noch indoeuropäisch »)⁶⁷ et Rüdiger Schmitt (« Die von Radner [...] als medisch interpretierten Texte aus Assur [...] haben mit dem Medischen

63 Potts 2014, p. 60, aussi n. 90 et n. 91. Formulation originale : Young 1965, révisions de l'auteur : Young 1985, 2003. Cf. Curtis 2005, p. 112-113 : « This whole theory is appealing but is almost certainly an oversimplification. To start with, the associations between the innovations noted in the material culture record and the arrival of new peoples speaking Indo-Iranian languages, remains hypothetical ».

64 Où l'on trouve une critique marginale à la liaison proposée par Young entre *Grey Ware* et peuplement de l'Iran (Diakonoff 1985, p. 55 n. 2).

65 Diakonoff 1985, p. 56.

66 Sumner 1994, p. 105 ; Sumner se réfère plutôt à la *Pārsa*, mais ce qu'il dit peut s'appliquer à l'Iran occidental dans sa totalité.

67 Radner 1999, p. 198.

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nichts zu tun »)⁶⁸ sur l'interprétation de la langue dans laquelle sont rédigés les quatre documents économiques d'Assur que la savante définit comme 'mèdes'⁶⁹ ?

6.- Avec l'évolution de la théorie linguistique, on a progressivement abandonné la vision des grands agrégats monolingustiques et on a supposé différents degrés de bilinguisme parmi les langues (iraniennes) pré-achéménides du nord-ouest de l'Iran, dans lesquels insérer les seules documentations effectivement disponibles, celle vieux-perse et celle des *Nebenüberlieferungen* achéménides. Lecoq, en s'inspirant de D'jakonov⁷⁰, a parlé d'« une langue mixte, un mélange volontaire de vieux-perse, de mède et peut-être aussi d'autres langues iraniennes que nous ne pouvons déterminer [...] une langue artificielle qui n'a jamais eu d'usage parlé »⁷¹ et d'« une sorte de *koinè*, de langue non parlée, mais communément utilisée par les Iraniens occidentaux »⁷². Selon D'jakonov⁷³ « it should be noted that the Bisutūn inscription of Darius himself does not claim to be written in Persian: to the scribes of Bisutūn it was written in 'Aryan' (*āriyā, harriama*), i.e. in a literary language common to Iranians, [...] at least to Western Iranians »⁷⁴. Kellens a récemment suggéré une interprétation en termes de *sabir/lingua franca*, en supposant que « les Perses iraniens n'aient été que des Mèdes méridionaux, progressivement différenciés des septentrionaux par leur appartenance au royaume d'Elam »⁷⁵ ; tandis que la plus récente

68 Schmitt 2003, p. 23. Zadok (2002, p. 91), qui souligne habituellement la variété linguistique dissimulée derrière la définition (moderne et ancienne) de « mède », se rallie ici à Schmitt à propos de « the incorrect statement of Radner (1999, 198) ».

69 Radner 1999, p. 197-205.

70 Lecoq 1974a, p. 59 : « C'est le grand mérite de I.M. Diakonoff d'avoir suggéré que "the Achaemenian inscriptions ... would most probably be written in Median and not Old Persian" ».

71 Lecoq 1997, p. 49-50 ; voir aussi *idem* 1974a, p. 56-58.

72 Lecoq 1974a, p. 59-62 ; *idem* 1974b, p. 51.

73 Diakonoff 1970, p. 122 ; voir aussi D'jakonov 1956, p. 369-370.

74 Zadok 1981, col. 665, citant D'jakonov 1956, p. 149 n. 3, note que la diction de DPG, l.6 s., KUR Par-su KUR Ma-da-a-a u mātatī šā-ni-ti-ma li-šā-nu devrait impliquer que « Persian and Median are still considered the same language ». Il est intéressant de noter que *mara' māti šanītimma* est exactement la périphrase qui oppose les étrangers (même s'ils font partie du royaume) aux citoyens assyriens (*nišē māt Aššūr*), cf. Parpola 2004, p. 13 n. 37.

75 Kellens 2002, p. 455 : « il se peut que les Perses iraniens n'aient été que des Mèdes méridionaux, progressivement différenciés des septentrionaux par leur appartenance

caractérisation de R. Schmitt définit le vieux-perse « a rather artificial idiom, peppered with dialectal and archaic words, unlike any dialect actually spoken »⁷⁶.

Cependant, toutes ces hypothèses ont été formulées dans la conviction que chaque mention des peuples-*Mada* et des régions-*Mada* dans les sources assyriennes soit imaginée en référence aux rapports linguistiques à l'intérieur d'une seule famille linguistique, l'iranienne.

Mais comment réconcilier cet hypothétique 'mède iranien' avec une situation sociolinguistique effective dans laquelle, comme le dit Zadok dans son étude de plus de 650 anthroponymes/toponymes rangés par les sources assyriennes dans les régions 'mèdes' entre Mannea et Ellipi, seul 45,37% – dans la meilleure des hypothèses – peut être reconduit à l'onomastique iranienne, et seul 32,36% dans la pire (que je considère en tout cas toujours trop optimiste)⁷⁷ ? Comment ignorer le 60-70% de peuplement non-iranien dans la Grande Médie de la période néo-assyrienne qui émerge des ces données onomastiques⁷⁸ ?

C'est pourquoi je répondrais à la question soulevée par Geoffrey Summers à propos du peuplement de Kerkenes Dağ (et reprise dans le titre de ma présente contribution) :

I see no clear way of approaching the question of how Median the Pterians were, or indeed of **how Median the Medes were**⁷⁹

avec les considérations que Julian Reade place avant son analyse des relations politiques entre Médie et Assyrie :

nance au royaume d'Elam. Dans ce cas, leur langue à la double phonétique et aux mots parfois abnormes [...] serait moins une koinè qu'un sabir ».

76 Schmitt 2004, p. 717.

77 Cf. Zadok 2002; *idem* 2013, p. 217.

78 Zadok 2002, p. 140 ajoute : « the ethnic characterisation [...] naturally refers only to its ruling class, as very few commoners' names are mentioned in the sources ». Cet élément, qui est très rarement mentionné par les iranisans, peut être en faveur ou contre l'iranophonie généralisée de la population à un moment donné (on pourrait dire plutôt contre, si l'on adoptait le modèle traditionnel avec lequel on interprète la documentation indo-européenne (exiguë) à Mitanni [élites indo-européennes vs. population hourrite]).

79 Summers 2000, p. 71 (texte mis en gras par mes soins). La localisation de Pteria (Hérodote I.76) à Kerkenes Dağ fut proposé par Przeworski (1929) immédiatement après la découverte du site (voir Tuplin 2004, p. 239-242) ; cf. Stronach 2012, p. 677 : « [w]ithin the past ten years, however, Geoffrey Summers' recovery of Phrygian inscriptions in the excavations of Kerkenes has provided this major site with a now broadly accepted Phrygian-related identity ».

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The term 'Mede' in the Assyrian sources requires definition, and probably has two meanings which are amalgamated [...] I would postulate that it is originally a linguistic term, defining people who spoke either an Indo-European language recognised as Median or some other [...] related language. The term probably acquired secondary meanings, however, to describe other people who were directly associated with the original speakers of Median, or who had similar lifestyles to the Medes in much the same area, or who eventually chose to identify themselves as Medes because it had become advantageous to do so⁸⁰.

De nombreuses années après la première formulation d'jakonovienne :

'Midijskij jazyk' istočnikov (iraniskij) ostavalsja ešče plemennym jazykom i, nesmotrja na svoje značenje i rasprostranenie, vse že, kak možno predpologat' po rjadu dannyx, byl liš' odnim iz plemennyx jazykov Midii⁸¹ (la 'langue médie' (iranienne) des sources était encore une langue tribale et, malgré son importance et sa diffusion, était encore, comme on peut présumer à partir d'une quantité de sources, seulement une des langues tribales de la Médie),

jamais acceptée par la communauté scientifique⁸² et substantiellement abandonnée par D'jakonov lui-même⁸³, l'historiographie moderne de l'Iran du I^{er} millénaire av. n.è. est peut-être sur le point de s'accorder sur le fait que la perception de l'ethnicité des sources anciennes se base sur un mélange de tribalité, appartenance linguistique et loyauté politique, comme l'a bien décrit par exemple Simo Parpola pour l'Assyrie du premier millénaire av. n.è.⁸⁴.

80 Reade 2003, p. 150.

81 D'jakonov 1956, p. 70 ; la notion est discutée dans de nombreux autres passages, et D'jakonov 1956, p. 65 propose un terme spécifique pour le médé non-iranien (« Neiranskije jazyki Midii my budem dlja različenijsa uslovno nazыvat' 'kaspjskimi' » [les langues non-iraniennes de la Médie nous les appellerons, pour les distinguer, 'caspiennes']).

82 Cf. Rossi 1981, p. 175 ss.

83 Diakonoff 1985, p. 57 : « Could it not be presumed that, in spite of all Median tribes speaking Iranian, only one traced its origin to the immigrant Arya, while the rest were regarded as being autochthonous even though from time immemorial they had lost their original language and had amalgamated with the Arya ? » (terme mis en italique par D'jakonov).

84 Parpola 2004.

Une fois s'être mis d'accord sur ces perspectives, on pourrait même inverser le raisonnement de Reade sur ce que les auteurs des textes assyriens percevaient comme 'mède' : les nouveaux venus qui s'associaient en communautés multilingues avec les habitants originaires (non-iranophones) étaient peut-être – en partie au moins – des parlants du mèdo-iranien, en train de prendre le pouvoir dans les territoires des sites de peuplement auxquels semblent se référer les toponymes non-indo-européens des régions de la Médie historique dont l'onomastique est analysée par Zadok. Zadok souligne aussi que le pourcentage d'anthroponymes attribuables à l'iranien dans la documentation assyrienne dans la période qu'il examine est relativement haut dans la Médie orientale, et décroît à l'ouest jusqu'à devenir négligeable vers Ellipi; on pourrait en conclure qu'à cette époque l'iranisation linguistique de la Médie (orientale), au moins celle qu'on peut déduire des noms propres et de lieu, était déjà plutôt avancée, mais l'on peut exclure que ces phénomènes pouvaient être perceptibles par les observateurs assyriens.

7.0.- D'jakonov affirme que dans la recherche des présomptions sur les croyances religieuses⁸⁵ dans l'Iran du nord-ouest au premier millénaire av. n.è., on doit se limiter à 1) des notices directes contenues dans les textes assyriens; 2) des éléments iconographiques directs ou indirects; 3) des éléments théophores/idéologiques contenus dans les noms propres⁸⁶. Aujourd'hui nous pouvons peut-être ajouter 4) quelques renseignements ultérieurs provenant de la recherche archéologique, avec toutes les prudenances qui émanent – comme l'a dit tout récemment Stronach⁸⁷ – du « lack

85 *Religiū Mīdīi. Magī* est le titre du §3 du chapitre VI dans D'jakonov 1956, p. 371-382; *Society, culture and religion of Media* est le titre du §3 dans D'jakonov 1985, p. 139-142, où à la p. 139 on trouve l'affirmation suivante : « The most interesting and controversial cultural and historical problem turning on Media is that of its religion **or religions** » (termes mis en gras par mes soins). La seule autre étude explicitement dédiée à la religiosité 'mède' (qu'on entend comme mèdo-iranienne) est le chapitre *The pre-Zoroastrian Religion of the Medes and Persians* (= Boyce 1982, p. 14-39), qui se termine par la suggestion suivante : « The surviving evidence [...] suggests that the religion of the ancient Medes and Persians was essentially the same as that of the ancient 'Avestan' people » (p. 39). Dandamayev, Lukonin 1989, p. 62-89 (= I, SE : *The culture of the Medes*) contient quelques annotations d'iconographie religieuse basées sur l'approche de l'art des Mèdes tel qu'il prévalait dans les années 1980.

86 « по **sobstvennym** imenam » (dans les noms propres) D'jakonov 1956, p. 371, « in **personal** names » Diakonoff 1985, p. 139 (termes mis en gras par mes soins).

87 Stronach 2012, p. 669.

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of certainty in our knowledge of the location of ancient Media ». Dans la suite, on abordera brièvement la question sous les trois aspects, en partant d'une thèse découlant de tout ce qu'on a dit jusqu'ici, c'est-à-dire que, comme les territoires sous discussion étaient peuplés au premier millénaire av. n.è. d'une manière multiethnique et multilingue, il faut toujours admettre la coexistence de différentes croyances religieuses, et marcher sur ses traces.

7.1.– Les textes assyriens, d'une manière générale, fournissent surtout une documentation *e silentio* : comme le remarque Radner, « the Assyrian sources are extremely silent on the religious beliefs of the Medes and other Zagros peoples »⁸⁸ ; on remarquera que l'argument *e silentio* a été utilisé pour renforcer l'idée d'une appartenance à la « common Indo-Iranian tradition » comme l'a fait par exemple Boyce⁸⁹ ; mais, si l'on considère la Grande Médie dans toute son extension, il n'est pas correct de dire qu'on ne mentionne pas du tout la capture de statues divines (cf. *Annales de Šamši-Adad V*⁹⁰, ii, ll. 28-29 : « [Mutarris-Aššur ; AVR] DINGIR.MEŠ-šunu [...] išlula »⁹¹). Radner se caractérise par une insistance particulière sur l'identité religieuse mède' (« it is possibly religion that creates the Median identity »⁹²), et il y a en effet quelques traits que l'on peut essayer de reconstruire, même si son enthousiasme apparaît parfois exagéré⁹². Six stèles royales furent érigées dans les territoires orientaux par Tiglat-pileser III⁹³ (Šibara, Tikrakka, Bit-Ištar, Ariarma, 'Pays des coquelets' et Šilḡazi), trois au moins par Sargon II⁹⁴, etc. Si ces stèles (dont deux sont peut-être conser-

88 Radner 2003a, p. 64.

89 Boyce 1982, p. 21 : « The Medes and the Persians can be supposed to have inherited the common Indo-Iranian tradition of worshipping in the open air or at the hearth-fire, without temples, images or altars, and the supposition receives **negative confirmation** from the fact that the Assyrians, in recording their campaigns, never list spoils from Median temples, or record destroying or carrying off the statues of Median gods » (termes mis en gras par mes soins).

90 Cf. déjà D'jakonov 1956, p. 371, n. 2, où un passage analogue (ll. 39-41, détérioré) des *Annales* de Tiglatpileser III⁹³ est cité.

91 Radner 2003a, p. 64, peu de pages après l'interrogation méthodologique qui rend extrêmement suspect l'emploi de sources assyriennes pour notre thèse : « it is unknown how exactly the designation 'Median' for regions and peoples is used in the Assyrian sources; is it ethnic, linguistic, religious, economic or political ? » (*ibid.*, p. 38).

92 Radner 2003b, p. 119 : « Tiglath-pileser III [...] gives **a considerable amount of information** about his religious activities in the area [scil. dans le Zagros ; AVR ; termes mis en gras par mes soins] ».

vées⁹³), qui représentaient probablement le roi tourné à droite, dans la typique attitude de prière, nous disent peu, plus significatives nous semblent les allusions à l'installation de l'« arme divine d'Aššur » (⁹⁴«*kakki Aššur*»⁹⁴) dans les différentes localités de la région mède soit par Tiglat-pileser III^e soit, particulièrement, par Sargon II^e, car dans ce cas l'« arme divine d'Aššur » érigée à Ḫarḫar est explicitement glosée *a-na DINGIR-ti-šú-un*, c'est-à-dire « comme leur divinité », et peut par conséquent se rapporter à l'installation d'un nouveau culte qui supprime le culte local préexistant, dont, à vrai dire, nous ne savons rien de précis. Une véritable officialisation (ou en tout cas officialisation de la coparticipation royale)⁹⁵ d'un culte local 'mède' est celle relative à une action rituelle du roi à Bit-Ištar sur laquelle on a le renseignement suivant dans une inscription annalistique écrite sur l'un des orthostates du Palais de Tiglat-pileser à Kalḫu :

At that time, I made a pointed iron arrow (*mulmullu parzilli zaqtu*). Thereupon, I inscribed the mighty deeds of Aššur my lord and set it up in front of the "water hole" (*namba'u*, "seep, water hole", see CAD N/1 223 s.v.) of Bit-Ištar⁹⁶.

Avec une certaine vraisemblance, Radner confronte le *mulmullu* de Tiglat-pileser à la plaque de bronze représentant (et mentionnant) un certain Šilisruḫ, nom (qui n'est ni indo-européen ni sémitique) du chef (ou 'roi') mède de Bit-Ištar, qu'on peut dater entre 835 et 739 av. n.è., et elle conclut que la combinaison de la mention d'une source où se font les rites des souverains assyriens avec un chef/souverain 'mède' qui accomplit des actes rituels pourrait se référer à un sanctuaire des eaux dédié à Ištar dans une manifestation locale 'mède' de la divinité⁹⁷.

7.2. – Les éléments iconographiques⁹⁸ sont assez réduits et pas moins incertains : ils se ramènent essentiellement aux iconographies des bronzes du

93 Radner 2003b, p. 120-121.

94 *Ibid.* Sur l'« arme divine d'Aššur » on peut voir Holloway 2001, particulièrement p. 264.

95 « There are no parallels for this practice in the Assyrian texts otherwise [...] and Tiglath-pileser's dedication would hence seem more likely to be a tribute paid to local traditions » (Radner 2003b, p. 121).

96 Radner 2003b, p. 121.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 121-128.

98 Pour un exemple de l'extrême difficulté dans l'emploi d'éléments iconographiques pour l'identification de traits culturels, on peut voir la récente reconsidération du problème de l'armement et de l'habillement prétendu 'mède' (Potts 2014, p. 69-73).

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Luristan, particulièrement les 'idoles', connexes à un 'sanctuaire' et « assumed to be related to Iranian religious belief and practice »⁹⁹ et, dans la région des Mannéens¹⁰⁰, à des images d'êtres fantastiques sur des objets métalliques de Ziwiye qui peuvent rappeler des emplois analogiques d'objets semblables représentés sur les bas-reliefs assyriens (contemporains) représentant des rituels effectués par des êtres mythologiques¹⁰¹. D'Jakonov les considère comme les antécédents des êtres 'daeviques' des bas-reliefs achéménides, en indiquant les traits communs avec l'iconographie religieuse hurrite et syrienne¹⁰².

L'identification que Bivar fait du geste défini 'Mithraic hold' dans quelques iconographies de provenance urartéo-médo-élamite¹⁰³ en tant qu'élément 'médo-mithriaque', qui demeurerait dans les images successives d'époque achéménide, ne semble pas avoir été à l'origine de grands intérêts ; l'attribution à l'antiquité 'mède' du culte mithriaque est soutenue par Bivar aussi sur des bases linguistiques, selon la vision des traits linguistiques 'médo-iraniens' ici critiquée¹⁰⁴.

99 Muscarella 1990, p. 482 : « The frequency and variety of apparent cult objects deposited in burials and found in the sanctuary at Surkh Dum seem to reflect a vigorous spiritual life. Especially the strange demons and animals depicted on plaques and quivers, creatures that seem to be involved in cultic activities, have been assumed to be related to Iranian religious belief and practice ». Cf. aussi Overlaet 2006 : « The idols obviously had a religious significance ».

100 Avec les doutes d'attribution géographique sur lesquels cf. Calmeyer 1987, p. 567-568.

101 On peut voir pour le débat sur les difficultés dans l'emploi de tels matériels Genito 1995, p. 107-108.

102 Diakonoff 1985, p. 140 : « We shall find them later symbolizing the 'dēvas' on the reliefs of Achaemenid kings ».

103 Cf. Bivar 2005, particulièrement p. 249-251.

104 Cf. Bivar 2005, p. 343 : « More inferential, no doubt, are other indications of Median religion. The hypothesis that the Mithraism of Roman times could have derived from the Medes is hardly new. Its most obvious evidence comes from the name of the deity himself. It is generally assumed that its prevalent form, Mithra, and in Latin Mithras, exemplifies the Median dialect of Western Old Iranian (Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, 1964, pp. 12-13); and that the form Miça, found in some compounded personal names, represents the dialect of Fars, that is to say Old Persian. We shall see later that *χσάθραπατι-*, an epithet of Apollo attested in the Aramaic version of the trilingual inscription of Pixodarus from Xanthos in Lycia, also exemplifies this typically Median feature. We shall argue later that this epithet, with similar Median phonetics, had an important link with Mithraism, and is another indication of its Median connections ».

7.3.– Les conclusions de l'analyse anthroponymique (207 noms) et toponymique (447 noms) de la « Media and adjacent regions » conduite par Zadok sont données en pourcentage ; l'analyse, selon son auteur, « leaves no doubt that Greater Media underwent a process of Iranization during the Assyrian period »¹⁰⁵. En valeur absolue, toutefois, la quantité globale de noms dont on dispose ne permet pas de faire face aux objections sur l'exiguïté de valeur probatoire déjà formulées par D'jakonov¹⁰⁶ ; même si les analyses étymologiques de Schmitt et Zadok, qui divergent au moins dans un quart des cas, concordent dans l'attribution de l'iranité linguistique dans presque la moitié du total des anthroponymes. Parmi eux, nous avons des éléments théophores tels que¹⁰⁷ **Agni-* (**Agni-farnā*, fonctionnaire d'Assurbanipal, 650-646 av. n.è.), **Rta-* (1. **Rta-sar-a*, *bēl-āli* de Paddirā, 828 av. n.è. ; 2. **Rta-srīra*, l'un des 'rois' de Nairi, Šamši-Adad V, 3. **Rt-uk-āna*, père du *bēl-āli* de Uriakka, Sargon II), **Ahura-*, (**Ahura-farnā* (?), *bēl-āli* mède¹⁰⁸ de Kaitanu, 713 av. n.è.), **Mazda-*, 1. *bēl-āli* mède de Kingaraku, 714 av. n.è., 2. *bēl-āli* mède de Andirpatianu, 714 av. n.è., 3. *bēl-āli* mède de Aratisti/Aratišta, 716-714 av. n.è., 4. *bēl-āli* mède de Aratisti/Aratišta, 713 av. n.è.), **Miθra-* (**Miθra-ka-*, *bēl-āli* mède de Uparia, 737 av. n.è.)¹⁰⁹.

Tandis que déjà au VIII^e siècle av. n.è. une petite quantité de noms d'inspiration mazdéenne ne peut pas être parmi les grands commis de l'organisation de l'état, desquels souvent on précise l'appartenance 'mède', une valeur probatoire non inférieure doit être reconnue, parmi les quelques-uns qu'on a essayé d'identifier, à des noms tels que *Burburazu* (1. *bēl-āli* de Bīt-Ištar, 714 av. n.è., 2. seigneur du pays d'Uratis[...], 716 av. n.è., 3. *bēl-āli* de Ginkir, 716 av. n.è., cf. Buriyaš, dieu cassite des phénomènes atmosphériques), *Ḫumbê* (1. *bēl-āli* mède de Bīt-Zualzaš, 714 av. n.è., 2. indi-

105 Zadok 2013, p. 417.

106 Diakonoff 1985, p. 140 : « the number of clearly Iranian names of Medes that have come down to us does not exceed a few dozen, so that these conclusions *ex silentio* cannot be taken as very reliable ».

107 On cite ici seulement les noms dont l'interprétation est la plus vraisemblable, suivant à peu près la prosopographie et les étymologies de Schmitt 2009, q.vv. pour les transcriptions cunéiformes assyriennes des noms ; (?) marque les étymologies douteuses dans la vision de Schmitt, qui cite et discute les hypothèses de Zadok 2002.

108 Dans ce qui suit, 'mède' marque les précisions ethno/toponymiques ponctuelles explicitement données dans les documents assyriens.

109 Si l'on accepte l'étymologie, on doit conséquemment corriger Boyce 1982, p. 15 : « No Miθra-names appear among the few Iranian ones preserved in the Assyrian records ».

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vidu mentionné dans un fragment de lettre, 3. père d'un individu non spécifié en contexte astrologique, 4. individu non identifiable mentionné dans un document agraire de Ninive, cf. théonyme élamite Humban), *Teušpa* (rois des Cimmériens, 676-671 av. n.è., cf. (?) dieu hurrite de la tempête *Teššup*). On a conséquemment des traces – numériquement pas inférieures de beaucoup à celles irano-mazdéennes – d'onomastique théophore qui se réfèrent à d'autres croyances religieuses, dont le nombre pourrait augmenter à mesure que l'on avance avec l'identification de la quantité considérable d'anthroponymes (une moitié à peu près de l'ensemble maintenant disponible) que l'on ne peut en aucune manière reconduire à l'iranité linguistique¹¹⁰.

7.4. – Malgré la récente affirmation de Stronach selon laquelle « the two most potent reflections of a Median presence consist of a now well-established range of pottery [...] and certain rather specific architectural forms »¹¹¹, ce qui a plus frappé l'imagination des savants est le 'temple central'¹¹² de Nuš-e Jān avec la structure presque universellement attribuée à la fonctionnalité religieuse, son 'autel du feu'¹¹³, et les procédures particulières de scellement qu'on a attribuées à une certaine phase d'occupation du lieu (fin VII^e siècle av. n.è.), probablement une procédure de désacralisation d'origine mésopotamienne¹¹⁴. Mary Boyce avait recommandé, dès les premières nouvelles de la découverte, la prudence à l'égard de l'attribution de fonctions précises aux éléments particuliers du complexe de Nuš-e Jān :

[...] a massive altar, made of mud-brick finely plastered, about waist-high, with a four-stepped top. In this was a shallow bowl, which had traces of bur-

110 Sur l'interprétation traditionnelle des noms théophores de la région 'mède' voir aussi Boyce 1982, p. 15-19.

111 Stronach 2012, p. 669.

112 Root 2010, p. 174 : « I am content with calling it a temple. I continue to put quotes around it ».

113 Aux problématiques particulières du complexe de Nuš-e Jān se superpose la confusion, parmi les savants, à propos des "fire-holders" ("more accurate [...] designation" proposée par Mary Boyce mais non reçue par la communauté scientifique, cf. Garrison 1999, p. 613). On peut voir aussi, dans une vision différente, entraînant d'(improbables) connotations mithriaques : « The single, puzzling example at Nush-i Jan suggests that they had some type of enclosed temple cult, involving also the use of what might, in very broad terms, be called a fire-altar » (Bivar 2005, p. 342).

114 Cf. Stronach & Roaf 2007, p. 88-91 ; Root 2010, p. 173 et n. 31 ; Ball 2012, p. 14 ss. ; Canepa 2013, p. 323 et n. 20.

ning in and around it. This was not deep enough, however, to have held an ever-burning fire, which needs a thick bed of hot ashes to sustain it, and there is no knowing what cult it may have served among the Medes in the 8th century B.C. (the date to which it is assigned). The presence of any altar in a presumably Iranian building of that time seems one of the signs, however, of the alien influences which were exerted on the Western Iranians by their numerous subjects and neighbours – Elamites, Mannai, Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and yet others – all of whom made use of statues and altars in their worship¹¹⁵,

même si plus tard elle l'avait considéré comme l'un – le plus important – des cas dans lesquels « alien observances were introduced to the Medes and Persians [...] probably through intermarriages »¹¹⁶.

Malgré cela, le complexe et l'autel de Nuš-e Jān sont devenus, à cause de leur découverte tout au début de la nouvelle vague de l'archéologie mède' et en vertu de leur considérable état de conservation, paradigmatiques, et c'est justement en s'orientant sur eux que Majidzadeh, le fouilleur de Tepe Ozbaki, a identifié dans la salle centrale (11 x 6,80 m) une plateforme rectangulaire (3 x 1,30 m, sur 0,50 m de hauteur) considérée à son tour comme un 'autel'¹¹⁷ :

Cette pièce qui est la plus petite pourrait avoir revêtu un caractère religieux. Tous ses murs sont recouverts d'un enduit (*Kāgel*) de couleur ocre qui fut refait à neuf reprises. Le sol est recouvert d'un produit de type ciment de cou-

115 Boyce 1975, p. 457. On remarquera que Boucharlat avait au début des années 1980 des idées plus audacieuses dans ses propos : « [i]l est étrange [...] de constater que ce monument original est le seul, pour les époques mède et perse, qui soit assurément un temple du feu » (Boucharlat 1984, p. 124, terme mis en italique par mes soins).

116 Boyce 1982, p. 36 ; cf. aussi *ibid.* : « Foreign noblewomen must have brought their own beliefs and ways – possibly even their own priests – into Iranian families ; and this may explain the discovery of an altar in the oldest building at Tepe Nush-i Jan ».

117 Majidzadeh 2001-2002, p. 5, 9-10 ; Huff 2005, p. 380, n. 35 rapporte la vision du fouilleur (« the largest hall [...] which is regarded as an altar »), et observe (*ibid.* p. 381 n. 38) : « The "altar" at Tepe Ozbaki has no similarities with that in the central temple of Nush-i Jan », en ajoutant : « [i]t would be remarkable, however, to find religious elements in Median palatial buildings ». On remarquera incidemment que les murs de la chambre centrale, qui "pourrait avoir revêtu un caractère religieux" selon Majidzadeh, et la plate-forme rectangulaire sont recouverts d'un enduit de couleur ocre (refait à plusieurs reprises) et ne sont pas "painted white" comme le dit Huff 2005, p. 380, n. 35.

مادها چقدر مادی بوده‌اند

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leur rouge. Une plate-forme rectangulaire (approximativement 2 x 0,75 x 0,15 m), également enduite de *Kâgel* ocre devait être le lieu où étaient déposées les offrandes¹¹⁸.

Matthew Canepa n'hésite pas à inclure les structures du complexe de Nuš-e Jān parmi « [t]he first temples that appear in a region and in a time period **securely inhabited by Iranians**, and thus likely built and used by Iranians »¹¹⁹, même si son traitement se termine par une affirmation plus prudente, selon laquelle « the temples at Tepe Nuš-e Jān clearly show that **some Medes** adopted architecture for cultic purposes and **this may have had some** relationship to Iranian religiosity »¹²⁰. Toutefois, Margaret Cool Root nous rappelle que « [s]eals on tablets of the Persepolis Fortification archive now provide abundant evidence for representations of fire connected with the burning of animal sacrifices as well as for the worship of fire itself »¹²¹, et nous invite conséquemment à réfléchir sur la possibilité que dans la 'mède' Nuš-e Jān on puisse documenter « the same duality of custom around fire »¹²². Autant les données archéologiques que les données philologiques poussent vers une interprétation des données selon laquelle cette dualité, qui suppose la diffusion de sacrifices animaux soit dans le Fārs soit dans les régions contigües des Zagros même avant la période achéménide¹²³ doit être considérée comme la norme plutôt que comme l'exception.

118 Majidzadeh 2001, p. 143.

119 Canepa 2013, p. 322, termes mis en gras par mes soins.

120 Canepa 2013, p. 324, termes mis en gras par mes soins. Sur l'idée originelle que le temple central de Nuš-e Jān soit un temple du feu, qu'il soit spécifiquement zoroastrien et que la révolte de Gaumāta, fondée sur un « political 'Median nationalist' (or at least tribal) element », serait commémorée par ses sympathisants à travers le « in-fill and blocking of a monument built in memory of a martyred leader », on peut voir Ball 2012, p. 19-22.

121 Root 2010, p. 174 n. 34. On trouvera des remarques répétées dans la même direction dans les ouvrages de Henkelman, à partir de Henkelman 2005, p. 140-145 (= §§3-5), *idem* 2008, p. 237-238 (= §3.4.7), etc.

122 Root 2010, p. 175.

123 Selon une logique de **partage** culturel et religieux antithétique à celle qui conçoit des îles dans lesquelles « the Magi, **and perhaps the Medes in general**, tended to confine themselves in certain towns and villages in the centre of the empire », cf. Handley-Schachler 1998, p. 203 (termes mis en gras par mes soins) ; selon l'auteur, le *lan* était effectué « solely by the desire of the Median worshippers who took part or attended not at the behest of the state » (*ibid.*, p. 202). Sur la question, qui implique l'interprétation du rôle cultuel des *makuš* des tablettes élamites de Persépolis, voir les critiques de Henkelman, *ll.cc.* dans la note 121 ci-dessus, et *ibid.* p. 245 :

Il y a 33 ans seulement¹²⁴ Mary Boyce proposait de résoudre la difficile question du signifié religieux du complexe de Nuš-e Jān en y voyant l'activité d'un chef mède qui, comme Salomon, bâtissait des autels pour ses femmes étrangères, à tel point l'iranité religieuse se démontrait selon Boyce (même aux VIII-VII^{ème} siècles av. n. è.) seulement si l'on pouvait prouver l'installation d'un culte du feu.

Aujourd'hui la variété d'attestations entre 'espace culturel' et 'espace palatial', « built landscapes » et « natural landscapes » dans la pratique religieuse des territoires de la Grande Médie pré-achéménide semble témoigner en faveur d'un parfait pendant religieux à la pluralité d'identité des peuplements 'mèdes' qu'on vient de discuter.

« two rigidly separated religious spheres [...] [t]he Fortification archive suggests the contrary » (Il va sans dire que je suis tout à fait d'accord avec Henkelman).

124 Boyce 1982, p. 36-37.

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«... how Median the Medes were»

Adriano Rossi

Abstract

It will be difficult to deal with the "issue of materials" without taking into account the Padua conference in 2001. The linguistic aspect of this conference was entrusted to Rüdiger Schmitt under the title "The language of the Medes, the greatest ignorance". In this regard, Schmitt, who has already done studies on this issue, raised many doubts, which I will mention here. The names "Med" and "Persia" in the ancient discourse often imply a kind of "synonymous" relationship (more or less synonymous) and as a result, it cannot be considered that these two were addressed to a specific and single person. Therefore, it makes it possible to judge whether the address of a person belongs to a particular language or not. Names of persons/names of places, the names reported in Assyrian documents, taking into account the orthographic syllables and matching them, often provide a questionable interpretation.

Key words: Medes, Persians, identity of Medes, identity of Persians, sixth century BC

پرستشگاه‌های برجی اورارتویی و هخامنشی^۱دیوید استروناخ^۲مترجم منصورحمدالله‌زاده^۳

چکیده

کاوش‌های باستان‌شناسی در اورارتو، انبوهی از مواد جدید را نشان داده‌اند که باید توجه باستان‌شناسان را جلب کند. تنها در زمینه معماری، سرعت اکتشاف استثنایی بوده است، و ما اکنون می‌توانیم الگوهای جدیدی از شهر، کاخ، معبد و معماری نظامی را بررسی کنیم که مستلزم مطالعه بیشتر است. کم‌اهمیت‌ترین این پیشرفت‌ها بازیابی چشمگیر شکلی متمایز و رضایت بخش از معبد برجی بوده است که تقریباً به یک اندازه مورد علاقه هخامنشی‌شناسان و باستان‌شناسان اورارتویی است. در حالی که حدود پانزده سال پیش فقط یک معبد برجی اورارتویی را آن‌هم ناقص می‌شناختیم، اکنون مجموعه کاملی از این بناها برای مطالعه در دسترس است. هنوز همه آنها به تفصیل منتشر نشده‌اند، اما به نظر می‌رسد تعداد کمی که منتشر شده‌اند به عنوان مدل‌های مناسب برای بقیه به کار گرفته شود. از زمانی که این شکل جدید اورارتویی برای اولین بار شناخته شد، چندین محقق درباره بازسازی‌های احتمالی بحث کرده‌اند و تقریباً همه آنها در یک زمان تلاش کرده‌اند شکل تازه کاوش شده را با نقش برجسته معبد موسیسر که در خرس‌آباد پیدا شده است پیوند دهند. اما، به اندازه کافی در باره مشابهت‌های معماری بین معابد برجی تازه حفاری شده اورارتو و معابد برجی هخامنشی یافت شده در پاسارگاد و نقش رستم، گفته نشده است.

کلید واژه‌ها: اورارتو، مادها، هخامنشیان، پرستشگاه‌های اورارتویی، پرستشگاه‌های هخامنشی

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URARTIAN AND ACHAEMENIAN TOWER TEMPLES

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RECENT excavations in Urartu have revealed a wealth of new material that must command the closest attention of all concerned with Western Asiatic archeology. In the field of architecture alone the tempo of discovery has been exceptional, and we can now survey whole new patterns of town, palace, temple, and military architecture that call for further study. Not the least important of these developments has been the dramatic recovery of a distinct and satisfying form of tower temple of almost as much interest to the Achaemenian, as to the Urartian, excavator.

Whereas we knew only one Urartian tower temple imperfectly some fifteen years ago, a whole series of such monuments is now available for study. Not all have been published in detail as yet, but the few that have been would seem to serve as adequate models for the rest. Since this new Urartian form was first recognized several scholars have discussed possible reconstructions and almost all of them have attempted at one time or another to link the newly excavated form with the relief of the Musasir temple found at Khorsabad.¹ But, remarkably enough, almost nothing has been said about the strong architectural parallels that exist between the newly-excavated tower temples of Urartu and the Achaemenian tower temples found at Pasargadae and Naqsh-e Rostam.²

DESCRIPTION OF THE URARTIAN TOWER TEMPLES

The five Urartian tower temples recovered so far lie at Altintepe,³ Aznavur,⁴ Toprak-kale,⁵ Çavustepe,⁶ and Kayahdere.⁷ Thus, although this type of building appears to have been unknown at Arin-berd in the northeast,⁸ there can be little doubt that a great number of the main Urartian settlements boasted such a structure.⁹ The ground plan of this type of temple—or at least that of the cella within each temple complex—is always very similar (Fig. 1, 1-3). In each case we observe the remains of a freestanding, essentially square building with extremely thick walls and a square, central cella. The approach to the cella is through a recessed door and along a short, internal corridor. The

¹ For earlier discussions, see especially Tahsin Özgüç, *Belleten*, XXV, No. 98 (1961), 279; Tahsin Özgüç, *Altintepe, Architectural Monuments and Wall Paintings*, 1966, pp. 40 f. (hereafter *Altintepe*); Afif Erzen, "Untersuchungen in der Urartäischen Stadt Toprak-kale bei Van in den Jahren 1959-1961," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1962, pp. 403 f.; Wolfram Kleiss, "Zur Rekonstruktion des urartäischen Temples" in *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, 13/14, 1963/4, pp. 1 f. → C. A. Burney, *Anatolian Studies*, XVI (1966), 74 (hereafter *AS*, XVI).

² Cf. *Altintepe*, p. 41 → *AS*, XVI, 74.

³ Now fully published in *Altintepe*.

⁴ Y. Boysal, *Belleten*, XXV, No. 98, 200 f.; Kemal Balkan, *Anatolia*, V (1960), 99 f.; Kemal Balkan, *Atatürk Konferansları 1963* (Ankara, 1964), pp. 235 f. → Machteld Mellink, *AJA*, 67 (1963), 182 f.

⁵ A. Erzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 395 f.; W. Kleiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 f. → M. Mellink, *AJA*, 67 (1963), 1 → *AJA*, 68 (1964), 158; → *AJA*, 69 (1965), 141. For earlier references see both C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, II (1931), 453 f. and R. D. Barnett, *Iraq*, XII (1950), 1 f. and *Iraq*, XVI (1954), 3 f.

⁶ A. Erzen, *TTKR*, 1963, pp. 32-34 and *TTKR*, 1964, pp. 27 → *Anatolian Studies*, XIV (1964), 23; → M. Mellink, *AJA*, 69 (1965), 141 → *AJA*, 70 (1966), 151.

⁷ *AS*, XVI, 88 f.

⁸ K. Oganesian, *Arin-berd*, I (1961), Fig. 12.

⁹ For one other settlement from central Urartu that may prove to have a tower temple see Carl Nylander, "Remarks on the Urartian Acropolis at Zernaki Tepe," *Orientalia Suecana*, XIV-XV (1965/66), 146 and Fig. 6.

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footing of each wall consists of three or more courses of well-dressed masonry, while above this point the walls were completed in mudbrick. As regards location, each temple was placed on, or at least close to, the highest ground available.¹⁰

Additional appointments vary, but notable features include internal wall paintings;¹¹ a pedestal against the rear wall of the cella;¹² a short flight of steps up to the door;¹³ reveals on each side of the door;¹⁴ and altars,¹⁵ tripods,¹⁶ and stelas¹⁷ in front of the door. Surface ornamentation appears to have included ceremonial spears and shields of various sizes.¹⁸

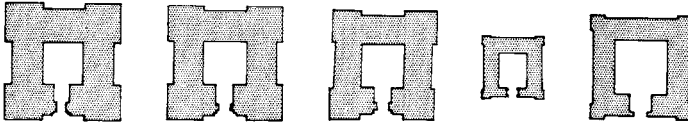


FIG. 1.—Restored plans of Urartian and Achaemenian tower temples: (1) Altintepe; (2) Toprakkale; (3) Kayahdere; (4) Pasargadae; (5) Naqsh-e Rostam. Not to scale

Each building was provided with a forecourt, even if the difficulties of the ground did not always allow the builders to leave an open space on all four sides of the temple;¹⁹ the sides of the court could possess a roofed colonnade; and, in one case at least, the tower and its surrounding court are thought to have been part of a large palace-temple complex.²⁰

As can be seen below, certain of the principal dimensions of the temples are remarkably consistent:

- (1) Altintepe. External dimensions 13.80 × 13.80 m.; cella 5.20 × 5.20 m.; corner buttresses protrude for 50 cm.
- (2) Aznavur. Main façade 13.63 m.; cella 5.03 m. × 5.03 m.
- (3) Toprakkale. External dimensions 13.80 × 13.80 m.; cella 5.30 × 5.30 m.; corner buttresses protrude for ca. 50 cm.
- (4) Çavuştepe. External dimensions 10 × 10 m.; cella 4.50 × 4.50 m.
- (5) Kayahdere. Main façade 12.50 m.; cella 5 × 5 m.; two of the four buttresses protrude for 50 cm.

The only major discrepancy stems from the relatively small measurements of the Cavustepe temple. But since its walls are only 2.25 m. wide, as opposed to 4.35 m. at

¹⁰ Cf. *Altintepe*, p. 40.

¹¹ Best preserved at Altintepe, *ibid.*, pp. 56 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁴ As can be seen at Altintepe (*ibid.*, Pl. 8); Aznavur (Boysal, *op. cit.*, Plan 2); and Kayahdere (*AS*, XVI, Pl. Vb).

¹⁵ From Toprakkale (Barnett, *Iraq*, XVI, Pl. 1, 2); Kleiss, *op. cit.*, Fig. 12; Mellink, *AJA*, 69, 141; and Altintepe (*Altintepe*, Pl. IX, 2).

¹⁶ From Kayahdere (*AS*, XVI, 72).

¹⁷ From Kayahdere (*ibid.*, pp. 71-72).

¹⁸ Cf. direct and indirect indications from Altintepe (*Altintepe*, pp. 41 f.), Toprakkale (Erzen, *AA*, 1962, Figs. 13-19), Aznavur (Mellink, *AJA*, 69, 142) and Kayahdere (*AS*, XVI, 92 and Pl. 21, b).

¹⁹ Cf. *AS*, XVI, Fig. 4.

²⁰ *Altintepe*, p. 42.

پرستشگاه‌های برجی اورارتویی و هخامنشی

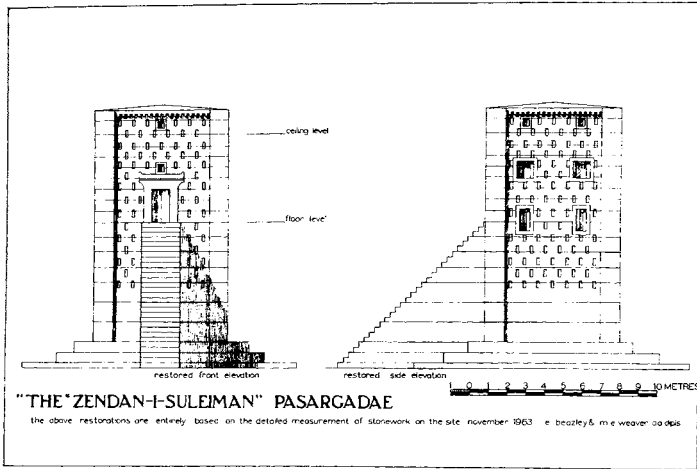


Fig. 2.—Restored front and side elevations of the Zendan

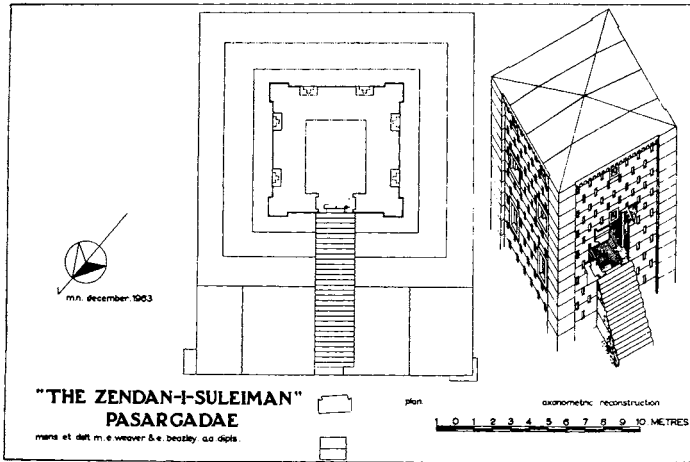


Fig. 3.—Plan of Zendan with axonometric reconstruction of roof and upper walls at right

Altintepe, we can assume perhaps that its reduced ground plan was matched by a proportionate reduction in height.

Coming to the question of the original appearance of these towers, Tahsin Özgüç has made the point that the thick mudbrick walls of the Altintepe temple "must have been very high."²¹ But despite this assertion, his published reconstruction of the Altintepe temple still looks far too squat.²² In Özgüç's illustration we see a very heavy-looking tower in which the top of the door reaches fully half way up the face of the whole building. More significant, perhaps, is Charles Burney's single reference to the Ka'bah-i-Zardusht and his explicit suggestion that "the general proportions of the (Kayalidere) temple may have been those of a double cube."²³

With regard to the form of roof that was used, Özgüç has suggested in his latest publication that the Altintepe temple may have had a flat roof with a small, central lightwell.²⁴ He suggests also that the upper parts of Urartian temple walls may have had windows.²⁵ Burney, on the other hand, opts for a gabled roof, observing that the roof of the Kayalidere temple "may well have resembled that of the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae."²⁶

Before examining the merits of these various suggestions in Section III, it may be useful to consider the evidence of two additional Urartian temples as well as that of the twin Achaemenian towers from Fars. In the case of the first Urartian structure, the temple of Susi at Arin-berd,²⁷ we see the remains of a rectangular building without corner buttresses. The walls of the building hardly look thick enough to suggest exceptional height, and, as Özgüç has indicated, the oblong plan may have called for a gabled roof.²⁸

The Haldi temple at Musasir, which was built before 810 B.C. and sacked by Sargon during his campaign of 714 B.C., presents many more problems.²⁹ All we possess is a strictly frontal view, seen with the eye of an Assyrian artist who, among other things, was anxious to crowd his scene with further local buildings and with the diverse actions of those involved in the city's fall. In addition, as Seton Lloyd and Charles Burney have pointed out,³⁰ the possibly compressed proportions of the temple (which looks much too squat to be called a tower) may stem from the restrictions imposed on the sculptor by the standard practice of depicting all the scenes of a relief between the upper and lower borders of a register.

In a recent attempt to interpret the original design of the Musasir temple, W. Kleiss³¹ has suggested that the plan of the building may have been square and that the low, triangular "gable" with its distinct net pattern may represent one of the four sides of a tent or pyramidal roof. But in putting forward these useful suggestions Kleiss has also advanced the much less persuasive thesis that all the square temples found in Urartu

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

²² *Ibid.*, Fig. 1.

→ *AS*, XVI, 74.

²⁴ *Altintepe*, p. 41.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

→ *AS*, XVI, 74.

²⁷ K. Oganessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–50; and K. Oganessian, *Sovetskaya Archaologia*, 1960/63, pp. 292–94.

²⁸ *Altintepe*, p. 40.

²⁹ For previous references see among others, P. E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monuments de Ninive*, II (1849), Pl. 141; Lehmann-Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 556; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felerietiefs* (1910), pp. 8 f., Fig. 4; R. D. Barnett, *Iran*, XII (1950), 21, Fig. 11; R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens* (1955), p. 147, Fig. 167; B. B. Piotrovsky, *Karmir-Blur* (1959), Pl. 7; T. Özgüç, *Bulleten*, XXV, No. 98 (1961), 279; A. Erzen, *AA*, 1962, pp. 403 f.; and W. Kleiss, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

→ *AS*, XVI, 74.

³¹ W. Kleiss, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

must have shared the modest height of the building shown in the Musasir relief. From the very thickness of the walls of the chief excavated temples, this seems impossible. Furthermore, a total identity between the type of building shown in the Musasir relief and the excavated square form is ruled out by an important difference in plan: the Musasir façade shows six equally-prominent pilasters and, as Kleiss has demonstrated in his own restored plans, this arrangement cannot be made to fit the standard tower temple plan, which never attests any form of buttress immediately beside the door.³²

We have much to learn still about the different types of temple that were used in early first millennium Anatolia and, in this connection, the possible relevance of certain parallels from Phrygia should not be forgotten. If we compare the Musasir temple with but one of the rock-cut façades that are known from Phrygia—namely, the so-called Tomb of Midas³³—we find definite support for the view that the Musasir building could have been at least as broad as it was tall.³⁴

In other words, the Urartians probably knew at least three different types of temple, such as may reflect a significant measure of regional variety.³⁵

DESCRIPTION OF THE ACHAEMENIAN TOWER TEMPLES

Turning to the Achaemenian evidence we are concerned with only two monuments: the largely ruined Zendan-i-Suleiman or "Prison of Solomon" at Pasargadae and the almost intact Ka'bah-i-Zardusht at Naqsh-i-Rustam. Such is the similarity between these two monuments that a brief description of the Ka'bah may serve to define the chief features of both structures.³⁶

Viewed for the first time the Ka'bah gives the impression of being a three-storied building (Pl. XXIV, B). But in point of fact the lower half of the tower is solid, while the upper half accommodates a single room 5.58 m. in height. Erected on a triple stone plinth, the tower itself is square in plan with slim projecting buttresses at each corner (Fig. 1, 5).³⁷ The elevated cella was reached by a single, double-leaved door, set within double fasciae and approached by an imposing flight of steps. Also, as can be seen from the cliffs above, the roof is not flat as is sometimes maintained, but tent shaped with four sloping sides (Pl. XXVI, B).

The walls of the Ka'bah consist of twenty-one courses of finely dressed white limestone. To break the monotony of the otherwise light-colored walls, deeply recessed, black limestone frames were set into each of the blind windows while further relief was supplied by a series of small, vertical slots, disposed in alternate rows over all but the lowest stages of the building. Echoes of a partly wooden prototype stem from both the elaborate architrave over the door and the neat dentil cornice at the edges of the roof.

It is often said that the Zendan and the Ka'bah are identical, but there are in fact a number of features that distinguish the two structures from each other, each fully con-

³² *Ibid.*, Figs. 5 and 6.

³³ A. Gabriel, *Phrygie*, IV (1965), Pl. 27.

³⁴ For the suggestion that these rock-carved façades should be taken to represent cult buildings rather than tombs see especially R. D. Barnett, "The Phrygian Rock Monuments," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, X, 3 and 4 (1953), 78 f.

³⁵ Above all, compare the correspondence in form between the *Haldî* temple at Topprakkale and the *Irmûšî* temple at neighbouring Çavustepe.

³⁶ Among earlier accounts see M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, I (1884), 14 f.; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910), pp. 3-5 and 152-54; K. Erdmann, "Das iranische Feuerheiligtum", *11. Sonderschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (1941), pp. 17-21; R. Ghirshman, "La Tour de Nurabad," *Syria*, XXIV (1944-45), 175 f.; Ali Sami, *Pasargadae* (1956), pp. 78 f.; and D. Stronach, *Iran*, III (1965), 11-17 (hereafter *Iran*, III).

³⁷ Cf. also Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1.

firming the probable association of the first building with Cyrus the Great (559–530 B.C.) and the second with Darius the Great (522–486 B.C.). In the first place it is evident that the Zendan possesses that most characteristic feature of the architecture of Pasargadae: a rectangular—as opposed to a square—chamber (Fig. 1, 4). Second, in keeping with the outstanding quality of all early Achaemenian masonry at Pasargadae, there is a significant difference between the very careful grading of the seventeen courses of the Zendan (Pl. XXIV, A and Fig. 2) and the often irregular appearance of the thinner, more numerous courses of the Ka'bah (Pl. XXIV, B).³⁸ And third, as has been stressed in several recent papers,³⁹ there is an important distinction in the actual stone dressing of the two monuments, for, while the original dressing of the Zendan is apparently free of multi-toothed chisel marks, that of the Ka'bah, in line with all other free-standing monuments of Darius and his successors, can be seen to have many such marks.

Nothing is known of the original, internal appointments of either cella, but at least something more concrete can be said concerning the doors of these buildings. It is now almost certain for example that a white limestone fragment from the Citadel or Tall-i-Takht at Pasargadae (Pls. XXV, A and B)⁴⁰ should be regarded as part of one of the door leaves of the Zendan. This seemingly remote possibility becomes more feasible when we realise that the fragment bears precisely the stepped end (Pl. XXV, B) that is common to Achaemenian double-leaved doors⁴¹ and that it exhibits a width entirely in keeping with the probable dimensions of the door of the Zendan. In greater detail, the stone can be said to come from a door leaf *ca.* 47 cm. wide, while the width of the original door of the Zendan has been estimated at 94 cm.⁴² The modest thickness of the stone (8.5 cm.) may also be said to accord with the small size of the door sockets known from the threshold of the Zendan (Fig. 3).

If the insistence laid on the above points should seem to be too strong, it should be added that of all the buildings at Pasargadae only the Zendan and the tomb of Cyrus (with its much narrower doorway) are known to have had double-leaved stone doors; that the original stratification of the stone itself is not recorded; that many stones at Pasargadae were displaced and carried to other parts of the site (not least to the Takht); and that neither the unfinished first period on the Takht nor the relatively mundane second period would seem to represent appropriate contexts for such advanced architectural decoration.

As a decorative element alone this fragment has been discussed already by Carl Nylander.⁴³ Talking of the three carved rosettes found on the stone, he notes that the piece "has exact counterparts on Samos and in Ephesos and that it was undoubtedly made under strong Greek influence." The force of his remarks is not only reflected in the parallels cited⁴⁴ but also by the fact that no other rosettes from Iran are known to possess an extra sepal between each petal.

To be sure, the presence of this exceptional type of rosette is not something that one would immediately look for in a building with so few western elements. But here we have to consider the numerous Greco-Lyidian traits that can be seen in the stonework of

³⁸ Especially immediately above the door.

³⁹ *Iran*, III, 17. → C. Nylander, *AJA*, 69 (1965), 49 f. and *AJA*, 70 (1966), 373 f.

⁴⁰ First illustrated by Ali Sami, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 68.

⁴¹ An observation that I owe to Giuseppe Telia.

⁴² *Iran*, III, 13. Cf. also Fig. 1, 4, where the original dimensions of the door are restored.

→ C. Nylander, *AJA*, 70, 374, Note 17.

⁴⁴ E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, 72 (1957), Pl. 16: 2, 17 and D. G. Hogarth, *Ephesos* (1908), Atlas, Pl. VIII.

Cyrus' capital. As examples of either Greek or Lydian architectural influence it is possible to cite the Cyma mouldings on Cyrus' tomb; the sophisticated stone jointing techniques that occur in all major structures at Pasagardae;⁴⁵ the horizontally-fluted torus bases that occur in the Residential Palace;⁴⁶ the small specialized clamp forms that were used to connect superimposed courses;⁴⁷ the strong red or brown stains that still survive on joining stone surfaces in the A staircase of the Takht and in the pavement of the Palace of Audience;⁴⁸ and the rusticated masonry from the Takht which, at its best, looks extremely like that known from both the Lydian citadel at Sardis and the curved wall of the Gyges tumulus.⁴⁹

The complete form of the door itself is suggested by the appearance of a door recovered from one of the royal tombs at Persepolis, for, just as this last door in the Persepolis Museum⁵⁰ exhibits a series of plain horizontal bands, so may that of the Zendan have possessed a set of similar bands each decorated by a line of rosettes.

Finally, in this description of the Zendan and the Ka'bah it is interesting to note a substantial difference between the door sockets of the two buildings. While those of the Zendan were small and shallow, without accompanying troughs (Fig. 3), those of the Ka'bah were of considerable depth with long, sloping troughs behind each floor socket.⁵¹ When we remember that a similar contrast exists between the floor sockets of the tomb of Cyrus and those of the tomb of Darius, it seems clear that Darius must have favored heavier leaves together with an entirely new method of inserting them.⁵²

THE COMBINED EVIDENCE

The two most telling parallels between the Urartian and Achaemenian tower temples may be said to lie in their common plan (Fig. 1) and their similar concern for tall proportions. From these two elements alone the Urartian ancestry of the Achaemenian model is virtually assured. Yet there are many other features in the two Persian towers that point in the same direction. These include the use of surface wall slots, triple tiers of recessed windows and clear dentil cornices—all of which can be found on bone or bronze models of Urartian buildings.⁵³ In addition, an enigmatic series of recessed, black stone slabs from the area of the Haldi temple at Toprakkale⁵⁴ would seem to bear a

⁴⁵ On the introduction of a true anathyrosis technique, with smooth marginal dressings and sunk central areas, see especially C. Nylander in *Orientalia Suecana*, XIV-XV, 149.

⁴⁶ E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, I (1929-30), Pl. 2.

⁴⁷ Comparable to those shown by R. Martin in *Manuel d'architecture grecque* (1965), Fig. 134.

⁴⁸ Stronach, *Iran*, I (1963), Fig. 4 and *Iran*, II (1964), Fig. 5.

⁴⁹ See G. Hanfmann, *ILN*, March 20th, 1965, Fig. 5. For still another parallel with western Asia Minor compare the hanging "tails" in the masonry of the Takht (Stronach, *Iran*, I, Pl. IIIa and *Iran*, II, Pl. Vb) with those known from the Pyramid Tomb at Sardis (H. C. Butler, *Sardis*, I (1922), Pl. 174) and those thought to come from the palace of Pharnabazos at Daskylion (E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Altanatoliens* (1961), Fig. 262).

⁵⁰ At present being reassembled for exhibition.

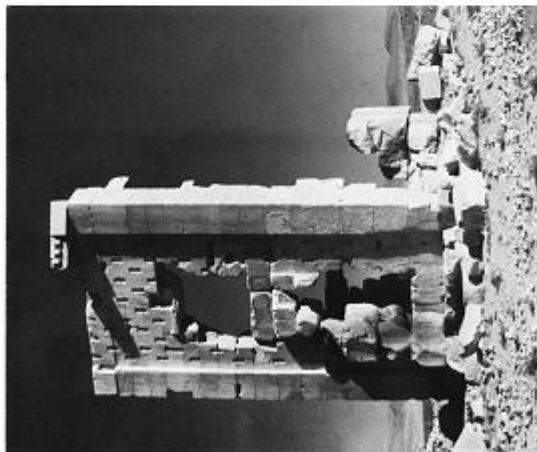
⁵¹ Cf. Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* and for a schematic view of the section only) M. Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, Fig. 19.

⁵² This circumstance may even account for the absence of any inner "jambs" in the plan of the Ka'bah (our Fig. 1, 5). As for the two outer jambs—such as were only 88 cms. apart (Fig. 1, 5)—their former presence is indicated by the incomplete side fasciae shown in the lintel (Pl. XXIV, A); certain lines visible on both the surface of the threshold and the underside of the lintel; and by the well preserved anathyrosis found on each of the existing jambs.

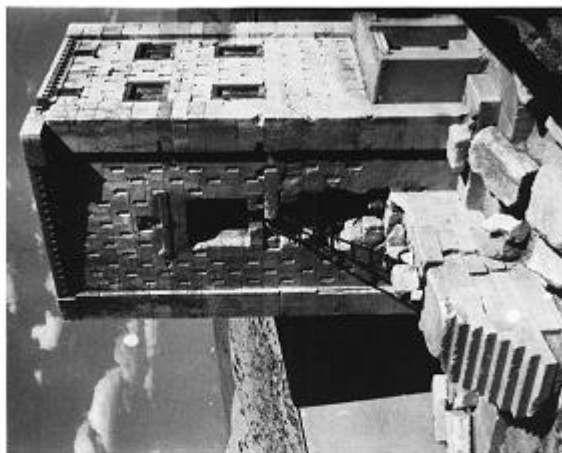
⁵³ Cf. R. D. Barnett, *Iraq*, XII, Pl. 1; E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935), Fig. 8; R. Naumann, *op. cit.*, Fig. 449; and B. B. Piotrovsky, *Iskusstvo Urartu* (1962), Figs. 55 and 56.

⁵⁴ Cf. R. D. Barnett, *Iraq*, XVI, 5 and Fig. 1.

PLATE XXIV



A.—FRONTAL VIEW OF THE ZESTON



B.—FRONTAL VIEW OF THE KSHAI (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUDOLF, TIRKAS)

پرستشگاه‌های برجی اورارتویی و هخامنشی

PLATE XXV



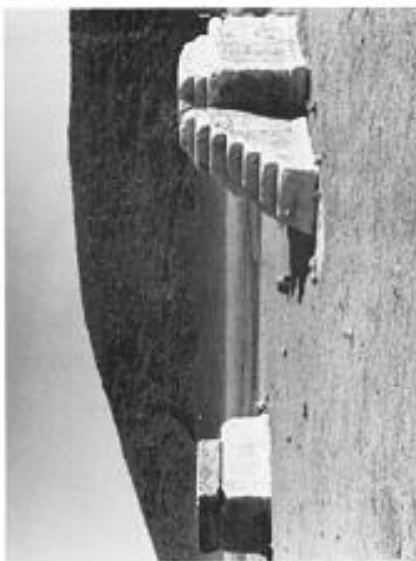
A.—FRAGMENT OF DOOR LEAF. FRONT VIEW



B.—FRAGMENT OF DOOR LEAF. REAR VIEW



C.—PART OF A STEREO FINE ALTEA FROM PASARGADAE



D.—ONE THREE PLATES FROM THE SACRED PRECINCT BEFORE EXCAVATION

PLATE XXVI



A.—FUNERARY RELIEF OF DARIUS THE GREAT



B.—VIEW OF THE KA'BAH-I-ZARDUSHT FROM THE CLIFF-TOP AT NAQSE-E-RUSTAM

distinct resemblance in size and shape to the lowest row of blind stone windows found in the Zendan and the Ka'bah.⁵⁵

Such anomalies as do occur, such as the low, compressed shape of the tent roof, can almost certainly be ascribed to the difficulties of translating an original, wooden type of roof into a solid stone form. The more compact ground plan of the Achaemenian towers may be ascribed also to the new stone medium since the stone-roofed cella could no longer be quite so large and its stone walls no longer had to be quite so thick. Even in the case of the unique elevated cella (Fig. 2) it may well be that the Achaemenian architects had doubts about extending the walls of the cella beyond a certain height and that it was at least partly for structural, as well as more important ritual, reasons that they decided to raise the level of the chamber, adding a monumental ascent to it. In a more modest sense, of course, a stepped approach was already present in certain of the Urartian temples—and this local feature may have provided the inspiration for the bold Achaemenian staircases.⁵⁶

From these various observations, then, we may list some six points that help to document the original appearance of the Urartian tower temple. First, the great width of the Urartian stone socles must speak for walls of great height. If we use the proportions of a double cube as a guide, the massive walls of the Altintepe temple must have soared to a height of at least 26 metres. Second, whatever other decorations may have been applied to the walls, we should expect blind if not real windows to have been let into the upper walls. Third, despite various arguments in favour of a gabled, flat, or even partly open roof, there is every indication from the otherwise parallel Achaemenian evidence that a tent roof must have been preferred. Fourth, some form of dentil cornice was almost certainly used. Fifth, small wooden slats may well have been used to cover the surface of the roof; not only does the net pattern on the Musasir gable suggest this,⁵⁷ but also the contemporary treatment of many village roofs in the mountains south of Trebizond.⁵⁸ And sixth, from the evidence of both the rock-cut monuments of Phrygia and the Musasir relief, we might postulate, as Kleiss has already,⁵⁹ a dominant religious symbol at the highest point of the roof.

At the same time the extensive appointments round each Urartian temple are a sharp reminder that far from enough has been done to test the environs of either the Zendan or the Ka'bah. At Naqsh-i-Rustam the ground round the Ka'bah only appears to have been explored for a distance of five or six meters, while our present understanding of the supporting appointments at the base of the Zendan can hardly be described as complete either.⁶⁰ In particular, Schmidt's aerial view of the Zendan⁶¹ appears to illustrate a large square enclosure well beyond the limits of any recent excavations.

CONCLUSIONS

It is not within the scope of this paper to comment on the possible origins of the Urartian tower temple, although an attempt must be made to explore two related points: the date at which the Persians first borrowed this unique Urartian form and the reasons for which it was borrowed.

⁵⁵ The one published slab from Toprakkale measures 1.47 m. in height, while the black limestone windows from the lowest register in the Zendan were probably not more than 10 cm. taller.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Altintepe*, Pl. 10, 1.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kleiss, *op. cit.*, Fig. 5.

⁵⁸ Personal observation.

⁵⁹ Kleiss, *op. cit.*, Fig. 9.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Iran*, III, 14 and 16.

⁶¹ E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I (1953), Fig. 5.

To judge from an Assyrian relief of the Median city of Kharkhar,⁶² the Medes, as neighbors of the Urartians, were acquainted already with monumental stone platforms. But neither the ninth century evidence from Hasanlu nor the eighth century evidence from Kharkhar, nor indeed the evidence from eighth or seventh century Takht-i-Suleiman, suggests that any of the peoples living in Iran had adopted any variant form of tower temple before the sixth century B.C.

Further, if we accept the veracity of Herodotus' statement that the Persians (meaning the population as a whole down to the middle years of the fifth century B.C.) were not acquainted with the use of temples or altars⁶³ there is little reason to suppose that either the Medes or the early Persians would have borrowed the tower temple design or have preserved any special memory of it.

Accordingly, the sudden appearance of the tower temple form at Pasargadae can hardly be ascribed to any long-cherished interest in this exceptional type of building. Instead we have to acknowledge that Cyrus was almost certainly without any earlier Median, Persian, or even East Iranian temple models that he could turn to and that here, as in much of his purely secular building program, he had to look further afield for suitable inspiration.

In addition, the fundamental question remains: why was Cyrus concerned with religious construction at all? Remarkably little has been said about the religious beliefs of this great monarch, chiefly because our available written evidence is so slight. Yet if we survey the chief features of his religious monuments we see that important and eloquent documents of another kind have been surprisingly neglected.

Thanks to the recent researches of Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh and others,⁶⁴ it is now generally agreed that the great Iranian prophet, Zoroaster or Zarathuštra, was born not at some distant and uncertain remove of time but rather within the last decades of the seventh century B.C. Furthermore, as Henning has pointed out,⁶⁵ his protector, Kavi Vištāspa, was probably the last ruler of the Khwarezmian state of Marv and Herat in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Thus—if Henning is right—Zarathuštra is no longer a remote figure whose possible influence on Cyrus is too abstruse to consider, but rather an almost contemporary prophet whose ethical teachings had already won over one of the first rulers whom Cyrus was to depose.

We know more than enough of Cyrus' repute from foreign sources—not least from the prophesies of the Jews of Babylon and from what Xenophon tells us in his "Cyropaedia"—to be certain that his view of life was not solely guided by the precepts of an ambitious conqueror. Furthermore, as Walther Hinz was the first to stress, there are several internal clues from sixth century Iran concerning the nature of his beliefs.⁶⁶

First and foremost, it should never be forgotten that Darius the Great was exercised in his Bisitun inscription to affirm the essential continuity of Achaemenian political and religious leadership: "The kingdom which had been taken away from our family, that I put in its place; I re-established it on its foundation. As before, so I made the sanctuaries (*āyadanā*) which Gaumata the Magian destroyed."⁶⁷

⁶² Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (1963), lower figure on p. 425.

⁶³ Herodotus i. 131.

⁶⁴ See especially Taqizadeh, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, X, 129 f.

⁶⁵ W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster Politician or Witch-Doctor?* (1951), p. 43.

⁶⁶ W. Hinz, *Zarathuštra* (1961), pp. 146 f.

⁶⁷ R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (1953), p. 120.

As Hinz has observed,⁶⁸ the ruined *āyadanā* can hardly have been constructed in the brief, broken reign of Cyrus' son Cambyses II; instead the monuments in question must have been built by Cyrus himself.

The parallel argument that the Zendan must have been one of the *āyadanā* that were destroyed by Gaumata is tempting but less convincing. Apart from all else, a crude repair to one of the supporting plinths, where the stone-masons made vigorous use of the toothed or claw chisel, is an almost certain indication that the building remained substantially intact after 522 B.C.⁶⁹

At the same time, however, Darius' claim to have maintained the exact character of the religious constructions already associated with the Achaemenian royal house can be said to find its most vivid confirmation in the close resemblance between the Zendan and the Ka'bah. This exclusive form had already graced the first dynastic home and, whatever other temple models may have started to appear elsewhere, the king clearly wished this special form to find an honoured place at the new dynastic abode too.

Among other parallels it is clear from a fragment of a stepped altar from Pasargadae (Pl. XXV, C),⁷⁰ such as is quite without toothed chisel marks, that Cyrus employed exactly the same type of portable fire altar as that illustrated by Darius in his funerary relief.⁷¹ Also, as a third significant comparison, it seems legitimate to suggest that the twin plinths at Pasargadae (Pl. XXV, D) and the twin plinths in Darius' relief each performed a similar function: in each case the king ascended a stepped plinth in order to worship before an altar on a second plinth but a little distance away.⁷²

As to the religious beliefs of Darius and his son, Xerxes, Gershevitch⁷³ has done much to show that the supposed inconsistencies between the gathas—Zarathuštra's own verses—and the inscriptions of these last two rulers have little force. Darius emerges as a deeply committed Zarathuštrian while Xerxes, a man of less penetrating intellect, is seen to have tried at least to follow in his father's steps. Thus, taking together the unusual qualities of Cyrus, his not improbable opportunity to absorb the faith and principles of Zarathuštra, the evident importance of the passage quoted from the Bisitun inscription, and the remarkable identity of the religious symbols used by both Cyrus and Darius, it seems difficult to deny that Cyrus himself must have been a Zarathuštrian too.

Not the least consequence of Cyrus' conversion must have been a wholly new spur to royal construction. Permanent structures are not mentioned in the Avesta,⁷⁴ and Zarathuštra himself probably had little interest in the outward symbols that would become the mark of his message. But for Cyrus the position had to be otherwise. No monarch of his standing could aspire to be less than a monumental builder and, as such, he had to devise the first permanent religious installations of his new faith.

In this context the eclectic nature of Achaemenian art and architecture offered no regional barrier: he was free to choose any evocative but no longer current religious symbol that could be re-used in a new setting. Less than thirty years later, we should remember, Darius was to turn to Assyria and the image of the god Assur in his search for a suitable symbol to represent Ahura Mazdāh, the "wise lord" of Zarathuštra's teaching.

⁶⁸ W. Hinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 f.

⁶⁹ Cf. C. Nylander, *AJA*, 70, 374 and 376.

⁷⁰ First published in *Iran*, III, Pl. VI d.

⁷¹ Despite its damaged condition, the form of Darius' altar is still clear (Pl. XXVI, A).

⁷² For clear confirmation that only one plinth possessed a staircase see *Iran*, III, Figs. 5 and 6.

→ I. Gershevitch, *JNES*, XXIII (1964), 16 f.

⁷⁴ H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (1939), p. 360.

From an architectural standpoint, Cyrus' choice was probably most strongly influenced by the welcome opportunity to raise the height of the cella within such a tall outer frame. For although an elevated cella never became a common feature in Achaemenian temples, we should be wrong to discount either the Persians' ancient regard for "high places"⁷⁵ or the extra significance that elevation alone may have had in Iran in the first phases of religious construction.⁷⁶

It is probably relevant too that Cyrus' first opportunity to see temples of any size—albeit partly ruined—must have come with his control of Media's Urtartian province. The alternative suggestion that the Zendan was inspired by the remote tombs of Lycia⁷⁷ has never seemed very likely and now seems all the more improbable. Given the clear Urtartian ancestry of the Zendan, any evident points of contact between that structure and the monuments of Lycia can be seen to depend on still older, presumably broadly diffused, traits in the architecture of Anatolia.

Finally, aside from all other arguments concerning the function of the two Achaemenian towers, it is not without value to learn of the strictly religious, rather than funerary, antecedents of both monuments. Such knowledge complements many clues of Fratadara and still later date⁷⁸ and may even dispel the last lingering suspicion that each was built as a tomb.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Cf. Herodotus i. 131.

⁷⁶ Compare especially the height of the two plinths in the Sacred Precinct.

⁷⁷ Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 f.

→ D. Stronach, *JNES*, XXV (1966), 220 f.

⁷⁸ Even in terms of providing sufficient ventilation for the eternal fire—if it were the religious function of these buildings to harbour a fire at all—the regular visits of the priests (cf. Strabo XV. iii. 15) must have helped to balance the closed character of each cella.

URARTIAN AND ACHAEMENIAN TOWER TEMPLES

David Stronach

Abstract

Ancient excavations in Urartu have revealed a wealth of new material that must command the closest attention of all concerned with eastern Asiatic archaeology. In the field of architecture alone the tempo of discovery has been exceptional, and we can now survey whole new patterns of town, palace, temple, and military architecture that call for further study. Not the least important of these developments has been the dramatic recovery of a distinct and satisfying form of tower temple of almost as much interest to the Achaemenian, as to the Urartian, excavator. Whereas we knew only one Urartian tower temple imperfectly some ten years ago, a whole series of such monuments is now available for study. Not all have been published in detail as yet, but the few that have been would seem to serve as adequate models for the rest. Since this new Urartian form was first recognized several scholars have discussed possible reconstructions and almost all of them have attempted at one time or another to link the newly excavated form with the relief of the Musasir temple found at Khorsabad. But, remarkably enough, almost nothing has been said about the strong architectural parallels that exist between the newly-excavated tower temples of Urartu and the Achaemenian tower temples found at Pasargadae and Naqsh-i-Rustam.

Key words: Urartu, Medes, Achaemenians, Urartu temple, Achaemenid temple