This shift in population coincided with the development of the new craft of potting. The new technology provided containers for carrying water, storing foodstuffs, and cooking. It brought about a revolution in cuisine because it enabled people to cook a much wider range of dishes than before. Pastoralism developed as a distinct way of life during these final centuries of the Neolithic. Henceforth, people could raise flocks of sheep and goats on the drier steppe lands that were otherwise unsuitable for more intensive farming. [*See* Pastoral Nomadism.]

Emergence of Town Life. The transition to the Chalcolithic (c. 7000 BP) was followed by an expansion of settlement into the steppe to the limits of dry farming, a process encouraged by a slight amelioration in climate. Most people continued to live in villages and to practice mixed farming, but a hierarchy of sites began to emerge. Some settlements, such as Tell Ḥalaf, Tell Brak, Hama, and Ras Shamra grew much larger and became production centers for the manufacture and distribution of pottery, as well as foci for long-distance trade. Several of these sites can be counted among the first towns. [*See* Ḥalaf, Tell; Brak, Tell.]

The two main cultures of this era were the Halaf (c. 7000–6500/6000 BP) and the Ubaid (c. 6500–5500 BP). [*See* Ubaid.] Recent research has demonstrated that the Halaf had its roots in the later Neolithic of the Jezireh (Akkermans, 1990). Halaf sites stretched across northern Syria and Mesopotamia from the Mediterranean Sea to the Zagros Mountains. In Halaf times pottery was produced on a larger scale and on a more systematic basis than in the Neolithic. The vessels were made in a greater variety of shapes, and the fine wares were painted in delicate designs that combined naturalistic and geometric motifs. The more delicate vessels were among the finest prehistoric pottery produced anywhere and were widely traded.

The Ubaid culture originated in southern Mesopotamia but expanded northward and westward until it extended throughout the old Halaf area. For the only time in late prehistory, the lands from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf were united in one cultural province. The hallmark of the culture was its pottery: the wares became much more standardized, with less variation in decoration, as production techniques improved. [*See* Ceramics, *article on* Mesopotamian Ceramics of the Neolithic through Neo-Babylonian Periods.] During Ubaid times, life in the Syrian countryside continued little changed from the Neolithic, despite the quickening of long-distance contacts. Growing populations, technological advances, and the beginnings of urbanism, however, presaged the new world of the Bronze Age.

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A. M. T. MOORE

Syria in the Bronze Age

There are only three known foci of literate civilization in the Bronze Age, all three of which are in the Fertile Crescent: the southeast (Sumer, Akkad, Elam); the north (Syria); and the southwest (Egypt). Nowhere else is there such sizable and consistent evidence of the use of writing as the basic pillar of social intercourse and of urban growth as early as the third millennium. The study of Bronze Age Syria introduces some marked peculiarities into this moment of history: while southern (Mesopotamian) models dominate in the early periods, new patterns soon emerge. The configurations of Syrian topography, specifically of the stepped region, favored the development of both a new type of territorial organism, the macroregional state, and an altogether different type of political construct that is not even territorial in nature, the tribe. In the Late Bronze Age, Syria presented

a systematic application of the formula of vassal states that served as the backbone for the provincial consolidation of the later Assyrian Empire; out of this, there developed what appears to be the first steppe kingdom. It is significant in that it begins the process of urbanization for the heart of the steppe, reclaiming for urban life one of the last frontiers still available.

There are important correlations between these developments and the nature of material culture, on the one hand, and the social and ethnic base of the people involved, on the other. At the dawn of the Bronze Age, the Sumerian presence is evidenced by a break in the local sequence of material culture: southern assemblages are present in northeastern Syria practically without adaptations. Soon, within the Early Bronze Age, however, two distinctive traditions begin to be identifiable. They have correlations with both artifactual and linguistic evidence: a Semitic urban area in the basins of the Euphrates and Orontes Rivers, and a Hurrian area on the Khabur plain. [*See* Sumerians.]

A major shift occurs between the Middle and the Late Bronze Ages that, in terms of political development, appears to be of even greater significance than the shift to the Iron Age, some five hundred years later. Prior to about 1500 BCE, there is, among the various urban areas of Syria and the south, a substantial cultural integration, in spite of the differences in material culture and ethnic affiliation. This is a very coherent international order within the outer boundaries of what is properly called Syro-Mesopotamia, of which only the Syrian component will be discussed here. This world comes to an end in the Late Bronze Age. What emerges is the first sharp break between east and west, more or less along the line of the Middle Euphrates; correlative to it is the first sharp break between northern and southern Mesopotamia (Mitanni first and then Assyria in the north and Babylonia in the south). While the epicenter of Mitanni is still in Syria, in the Khabur basin, the east–west split becomes stronger with the advent of Assyria and the shift of the epicenter to the area of the Tigris River. [*See* Mitanni; Assyrians.]

Core Territorial States. The end of the prehistoric age witnessed a hiatus in the unfolding of an indigenous Syrian tradition of material culture. Following the earlier Halaf period, which is strongly marked as North Syrian, especially in its distribution of ceramic types, there was a vacuum, possibly the result of volcanic eruptions of some magnitude of that seems to have left traces in both the geological and the archaeological record (Chaghar Bazar, Ziyada). [*See* Ḥalaf, Tell.] The Sumerians entered this vacuum and, toward the beginning of the Bronze Age, settled in large urban enclaves. Their ethnic identification rests almost exclusively on elements of material culture that associate, with extremely close correlations, the Syrian sites with Uruk and other cities of the Mesopotamian south. [*See* Uruk-Warka.] The motivation for this expansion, and the administrative mechanisms that characterized it, are still under discussion (Algaze, 1993); however, what appears certain is that the first cities, such as Tell Brak and Habuba Kabira, owed their initial momentum to a southern impulse. [*See* Brak, Tell; Habuba Kabira.]

Sumerian influence waned rapidly, and a vigorous indigenous tradition was resumed, as evidenced by EB material culture. The type of ceramic known as metallic ware is the most obvious indicator of such stylistic autonomy, but a variety of other elements confirm the conclusion—whether it be the absence of plano-convex bricks or the development of an independent figurative style. This autonomy is associated with two distinct ethnic groups. The first is Semitic and is closely linked to the Akkadian cities of the south. It is referred to in the literature as the Kish civilization (Gelb, 1981) because its earliest documents come from that city; however, its most distinguished (i.e., archaeologically productive) representatives are Ebla and Mari. [*See* Kish; Ebla; Mari.] The second urban tradition is characterized by a Hurrian ethnic component—although this is still at the level of a working hypothesis. It is predicated on a number of considerations: the importance of the landscape of the Khabur plain in Hurrian mythology (known from later Hittite archives but reflecting an EB context), especially the urban center of Urkeš, now identified with Tell Mozan; the presence, however limited for now, of Hurrian texts and onomastics from the latter part of the third millennium; and the distinctiveness of material culture traits in the great urban centers of the Khabur plain. [*See* Hurrians; Mozan, Tell.] Other major cities on the northern plains illustrate an exceptional urban growth toward the middle of the third millennium (Tell Chuera, Tell Brak, Tell Leilan), which may be followed by a temporary period of decline at the end of the same millennium. [*See* Chuera, Tell; Leilan, Tell.]

What is known of the political configuration of the EB Syrian states is still very limited. The term *core territorial state,* suggests that these were city-states on their way to a limited territorial expansion. The critical issue is to know the extent to which cities that had been politically independent at an earlier stage of their development did, or did not, come under the political control of other dominant city-states. That any city-state would have included a hinterland seems obvious; however, in terms of political structure, the question is whether this hinterland was in turn urban or purely rural. There are no answers yet to this question for the Early Bronze Age.

There is another important dimension to the question of the hinterland. Besides the hinterland directly adjacent to the urban center, there were remote hinterlands that retained a great degree of autonomy but were nevertheless within the purview of certain specific urban areas. Of particular significance are the range of the Ṭur ʿAbdin and, farther north,

the Anatolian plateau (the "Outer Fertile Crescent"). They did not develop urban centers proper in the Early Bronze Age but were in close commercial contact with the great urban centers in the presumed Hurrian area, for which they served as purveyors of raw materials, especially copper and perhaps tin. The second remote hinterland was the steppe, on either side of the Middle Euphrates. All indications are that it remained very sparsely populated throughout the Bronze Age, although it came to be exploited more and more effectively as a vast range land by the rural classes at home in the narrow river oasis.

Alternative Political Structures. The nature of the steppe hinterland was such that the peasants of the Middle Euphrates developed a considerable degree of autonomy from the city (i.e., from Mari). Their pastureland in the steppe was too broadly scattered and generally too unimportant (except, precisely, as pasture land) to be closely controlled by the urban power structures. Thus, they developed a degree of political leverage not enjoyed by their counterparts in the rest of the Near East. In this perspective, it is easier to understand two phenomena that mark a profound structural innovation in the general political development of the ancient Near East and that are specifically Syrian in origin.

The first is the tribe viewed as a political organism, evidence of which is connected with the Amorites. [*See* Amorites.] In political terms, the tribe is the equivalent of the city in that it provides a mechanism for sociopolitical integration; however, it differs from it because in the tribe there is no presumption of territorial contiguity but, rather, a fictitious kinship system that replaces it. The result is analogous: large human groups develop a strong sense of solidarity and, in spite of the greater simplicity of the details of its institutional manifestations, there is an analogous articulation of power throughout the entire group. This also developed to a higher degree the phenomenon of ethnic self-identity, which became increasingly apparent in the texts.

The second major innovation in terms of political constructs is what may be called the macroregional state. Most of the EB and MB territorial states are generally lumped together into two vague categories, city-states and empires, depending on a generic perception of relative size. Territorial accretion does not, however, in and of itself, say much about the internal structure of the political entity. Some clues emerge if the differential nature of the territories and of the populations is considered. In this sense, a macroregional state subsumes geographically heterogeneous territories, so that regional identity has to be achieved through administrative means. The first clear instance of such a state is the one that includes the river oasis of the Middle Euphrates, the steppe on either bank of the river, and the plains of the Khabur triangle. The political center of this macroregion was traditionally in the Middle Euphrates, at Mari; a reduced version continued after the fall of Mari, possibly centered at Terqa. [*See* Terqa.] The titulary of the king includes the term *khana*, which refers precisely to the broader geographical horizon.

Of particular significance is the kingdom established in the same macroregion by Shamshi-Adad I, who was of Amorite origin and had come as an outsider to Aššur, where he succeeded in ousting the local dynasty. [*See* Aššur.] In his effort to reopen the western frontier, he eventually moved the capital of the state from Aššur to Shubat-Enlil, one of the splendid recent discoveries of Syrian archaeology (modern Tell Leilan), and conquered Mari, where he installed his son Yasmakh-Addu as governor. He thus achieved control, to an even larger degree, of the macroregion that had been Mari's special purview. In the east, he left his other son, Ishme-Dagan, as governor, residing in Ekallatum, just south of Aššur. There, the capital followed the state, rather than the other way around, as had been the case with the earlier city-states. The administrative triangle implemented by Shamshi-Adad I is revealing of the new administrative and political pattern identifiable as macroregional: the state is conceived as an entity in itself, not as an outgrowth of a city-state, which retains priority even when it is no longer in the center of action. The case of Ur, some two centuries earlier, may have served as a lesson: located in the extreme southern region of a unified Mesopotamian territory, but maintained as capital in spite of its locational disadvantage, Ur lost out to Ishbi-Erra when he took over the area of Nippur—at the same time the geographic, economic, and religious center of the state. [*See* Ur.] The triangle established by Shamshi-Adad broke forcibly with tradition: the original city-state, Aššur, was replaced by three centers placed strategically at the extreme north–center (Shubat-Enlil), the extreme southeast (Ekallatum), and the extreme southwest (Mari). It is a formula that reveals a high degree of political and administrative awareness, particularly because the first two of these cities were essentially new foundations—a formula that would have illustrious parallels in later times, all the way to the tetrarchy of the Roman Empire. In spite of all this, the state founded by Shamshi-Adad did not survive much beyond his death, and the centrality of the Khabur plains (Jezireh) was not to be found again until some three centuries later by the kingdom of Mitanni.

There is another mechanism of political expansion that is not specifically Syrian but finds its major implementation in Syria: the development of a relationship between suzerain and vassal states. In the political terminology of the times, vassal kings "follow" their respective suzerains—where following presumably implied payment of tribute, preferential trade agreements, and dependence in foreign policy; autonomy was probably guaranteed in most internal matters, as well as in the transmission of power from father to son. Aleppo was the most important suzerain state in the whole

of Syro-Mesopotamia, which makes it especially regrettable that excavations in the levels dating to this period are wellnigh impossible. [*See* Aleppo.]

Cosmopolitan Age. Toward the middle of the second millennium BCE, some radical transformations took place in the Near East that marked a sharp break between two eras. The cultural fracture witnessed in about 1500 BCE appears to have been of greater consequence than the one that took place some five hundred years later. The latter is normally considered the most significant because, with the introduction of iron, the "Bronze Age" came to an end; however, the impact on terminology was perhaps greater than on history.

In about 1500 BCE, politically, the world of the Syro-Mesopotamian territorial states came to an end. In its stead, large macroregional states extended beyond the borders of Syro-Mesopotamia and developed further the premises laid by the earlier formula implemented at Mari and Shubat-Enlil. In Mesopotamia there was, for the first time, the clear regional breakup into Babylonia (in the south) and Assyria (in the north). For the first time Egypt become directly involved in a policy of territorial expansion and military (if not quite administrative) control in Southwest Asia. The Hittites brought Anatolia into close contact with Syria, where yet another kingdom completed the new configuration of these new major world powers: it was the kingdom of Mitanni, which controlled the entire region from the Tigris to the Mediterranean. [*See* Hittites.]

Unlike the Amorite states of Syro-Mesopotamia, these new macroregional states were all quite different from each other, beginning with their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Mitanni is centered at the Upper Khabur and is heavily imbued with Hurrian and Indo-European elements. The question as to the location of its capital has been renewed: it would seem to have been either Waššukanni, presumably to be found on the mound of Tell Fakhariyah or Taidu (presumably Tell Hamidiya). Recent excavations suggest that the entire citadel at Hamidiya may correspond to the royal palace, which would then be of extraordinary proportions for that place and time. The kings of Mitanni were on a par with the great powers: their letters have been found in the archives of the Egyptian pharaohs, with whom they intermarried. Like the other documents exchanged among the new regional kingdoms, these letters were written for the most part in Akkadian which, except for Assyria and Babylonia, was not the language of the parties involved. These kingdoms were so foreign to each other they needed a common lingua franca of diplomacy—the first such case in history. [*See* Akkadian.]

Mitanni was the last world power of the Bronze Age to be centered in Syria. Following its demise in the fifteenth century BCE, Syria was broken up into a number of vassal states. Those states recognized their allegiance to the Hittites, following the pattern of suzerain/vassal relationships first defined in the Middle Bronze Age. The internal, institutional history of these kingdoms is of great interest and well documented—particularly Alalakh and Ugarit. [*See* Alalakh; Ugarit.] They were essentially city-states and expanded territorial states, of the type already known from earlier periods throughout Syro-Mesopotamia. The best documentation of a type of imperial control, known also from other areas and periods, but not otherwise well documented, regards the foreign relations these states had with the great external powers, Egypt and Ḫatti. Both Egyptians and Hittites ruled as suzerains vis-à-vis vassals. Because political stability was in the interest of the overlords, as long as the vassals remained loyal, the local kings came in fact to rely on their suzerains as guarantors of their own position. Two details distinguish the Egyptian from the Hittite system. The pharaohs maintained garrison cities manned by Egyptians (e.g., Beth-Shean in Canaan): the high officials in these towns were not really regional governors, but rather contact points in a communication network linking the Syrian kings with the pharaoh. The Hittites, on the other hand, placed a Hittite prince as ruler of a Syrian city (especially Carchemish) almost in the function of a viceroy over Syria. [*See* Beth-Shean; Carchemish.]

One of the LB kingdoms in Syria deserves special mention: Amurru. It is known primarily from complaints lodged against its kings by the rulers of neighboring states and from texts from Ugarit that vividly describe events affecting both kingdoms. There are reasons to suggest, however, that the kingdom of Amurru developed structural particularities that set it apart from the other Syrian vassal states. Its political epicenter was in the inland parts of the steppe, and the cities it occupied, which became the hub of new political activity (such as Sumura, most probably Tell al-Kazel), do not appear properly as capitals: in this respect, Amurru may be regarded as the first state formation properly based in the steppe, possibly without a fully established urban center, unless Palmyra was already beginning to develop then. [*See* Kazel, Tell al-; Palmyra.] Because it reached from the steppe across the coastal ranges all the way to the Mediterranean, it appears as a macroregional state in its own right. It presumably served as a buffer state for the Hittite suzerain kingdom at the border against Egypt, in much the same way that Carchemish functioned against Assyria to the East.

The political system of the "cosmopolitan age" was a total system, in the sense that it did not allow any individual or groups to operate apart from the system. Within the state, everyone had to pay allegiance to the political system, as a subject of the ruler. Refusal to do so could only result in armed conflict or escape. Both patterns are attested. Armed conflict is normally at the level of the ruling class, especially when one dynasty is replaced by another: however, in such cases there is simply a violent transmission of power within

the same type of political system, not an institutional revolution aimed against the regime. Escape of single individuals, or small groups, from one state to another is instead attested more frequently throughout the second millennium BCE. The common term used to refer to them is *ḫapiru:* fugitives, stateless individuals, and social outcasts uprooted from their original homeland and unable to find full legal status in the country to which they have fled. As such they are first attested in MB Syro-Mesopotamia, and then especially in LB Syria, where they became a constant object of international legislation in the numerous treaties of the period. They disappeared in the first millennium BCE, when the empire precluded any effective possibility of escaping from one state to another, as in the earlier periods. Their appearance in the second millennium BCE, then, underscores a specific political dimension of the state organization as it was becoming consolidated: the political will to impose the same political status on all members of the state allowed no exceptions. The self-identity of the state was so well defined and exclusive that escape into exile became a pattern of the evolving world of urban civilization.

Technology for a New Age. In about 1500 BCE, a whole series of new technological advances took place specifically identified with Syria that have not yet been properly assessed for what they mean when taken together. The best known is the domestication of the horse: what is remarkable is that this process entailed not just the taming of the animal (as it had been with earlier species), but its specific training to respond to specific commands and to perform specific tasks in close collaboration with its human rider or driver, as in the case of the chariot. The use of such technology was reserved for the military. [*See* Chariots.] What is even more remarkable is that the whole process was written down in a "how-to" manual, one of the first such manuals. Although its extant version comes from Hittite archives outside of Syria, both its cultural and linguistic origins were in the kingdom of Mitanni in northeast Syria.

The second great technological innovation, the manufacture of a new chemical substance—glass—reflects greater human control over the forces of nature. [*See* Glass.] It appeared at about the same time as the domestication of the horse, in about the same area. A technical instructional manual describes the process of manufacturing; here, too, the actual manual is found in later versions from outside the area (southern Mesopotamia in this case).

The innovations from the western littoral are well documented from direct Syrian evidence. The first is a system of musical notation, a musical score. The earliest-known example comes from Ugarit. It was originally thought to be a mathematical text, but the numbers turned out to be references to the strings of a musical instrument—hence, "notes"—written in conjunction with a lyric, presumably religious in content. The people of Ugarit may have written this down because the song originated in a linguistic context (Hurrian) no longer well understood. [*See* Hurrian.] They may have wanted to retain the text and music in their pure form, for which the oral tradition was deemed insufficient. Modern decoding of the score is still tentative, but several interpretations (and corresponding musical renderings) of the text have been produced by scholars (see, for example, Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin, *A Hurrian Musical Score from Ugarit,* Malibu, 1985).

The last innovation is the best known. What the microchip did for the computer industry, the alphabet did for writing—and its introduction and first general use is attested from the ancient Syrian city of Ugarit. So much so, in fact, that the first full-fledged alphabetic script ever is called Ugaritic. [*See* Ugaritic.] As with the preceding "inventions" of this period, a technical document is extant: a tablet that records, with the utter majesty of simplicity, nothing but the alphabet itself.

Infrastructure of Empire: The Arameans. The political structures that followed the great cosmopolitan age of the Late Bronze period were on a much larger scale than anything known. They were truly "empires," in the sense of a universal state that imposed uniform administrative structures over people of different backgrounds and cultures. In its early form, the empire was dominated by the Assyrians, at home in northeastern Mesopotamia and thus outside Syria. What Syria contributed to the empire was its ethnic infrastructure, and this began to take shape in the Late Bronze with the origins of the Arameans. They were at home in the Syrian steppe, which had already served as the pastureland of the Amorites in the early periods: there and in the adjacent river valleys they gave rise to a series of territorial states with their own characteristic art. As their states came to be subsumed more and more under the ever-encroaching political arm of Assyria, the Arameans spread as a people beyond their original enclave. Their language came to be used beyond the limits of Syria. They eventually achieved what the Amorites had not succeeded in doing in the earlier periods: Aramaic came to be the common language of the empire, a lingua franca that was no longer that of the ruling chancery at the top, but that of an originally rural people at the base. [*See* Aramaic Language and Literature; Arameans.]

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GIORGIO BUCCELLATI

Syria in the Iron Age

The beginning of the Iron Age in Syria is marked by a wide movement of peoples, sometimes barbarians, coming from the sea and inland, as well as by the establishment of numerous kingdoms. The invaders from the sea swarmed into Asia Minor.

Sea Peoples. Invaders from the sea, known as the Sea Peoples, attacked Egypt by land and sea and were thrown back by Pharaoh Rameses III. He did, however, allow them to settle on the Palestinian and Syrian coast. Contemporary with the advance of the Sea Peoples in Egypt, a number of noted Syrian Cities, such as Carchemish, Alalakh, Ugarit, and Summurru, were overrun and destroyed. [*See* Carchemish; Alalakh; Ugarit.]

Egyptian records make it clear that the Sea Peoples were a composite group drawn from a number of tribes. Rameses III mentions six tribes, the Peleset (Philistines), Sherden, Dannu, Shekelsh, Tjeker, and Weshesh, while other Egyptian lists add some eight more names. [*See* Philistines, *article on* Early Philistines.] The Philistines occupied the land named after them, while the Danunians occupied the land around Adana in Cilicia. [*See* Cilicia.] In Syria there is little in the archaeological record to attest to the Sea Peoples. There is, however, one example of the material culture that may reasonably be associated with the newcomers. This is a type of pottery decorated with elaborate patterns, characteristic of which are metopes enclosing stylized birds.

The invasion of the Sea Peoples into Asia Minor induced its populations to go in search of new lands. They migrated to North Syria, where they established the so-called Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Other groups established themselves with the Arameans in Hadatu (Arslan Tash), Til Barsip (Tell Ahmar), Aleppo, and Hama. [*See* Arameans; Til Barsip; Aleppo; Hama.] In all these places archaeologists have discovered a number of inscriptions written in Luwian/hieroglyph Hittite. [*See* Hittite.] It is assumed that the Aramean kings used this language with those of their subjects for whom it was a native tongue. It seems that the immigrants from Asia Minor were integrated with the Arameans and even with the area's older population.

Arameans. The original homeland of the Arameans and their first appearance in Mesopotamian documents are matters of dispute. Some scholars have suggested that the Syrian desert was their homeland. The first Arameans whose existence is documented lived on the fringes of the desert in the area of the Upper and Middle Euphrates River and in the area between Jebel Bishri and the oasis of Palmyra. [*See* Palmyra.]

The name *Aram* or the adjective *Aramean* occurred in the late third and in the first half of the second millennia BCE. However, it is uncertain whether the name *Aram* is connected to the later tribes by that name. The earliest possible reference to the Arameans is found in the topographic lists of Amenophis III (1413–1377 BCE). Among the places listed on statue D, which was found in this pharaoh's funerary temple, is the name *pirmw*, meaning "the people Aram," or the Arameans. The first incontestable mention of the Arameans comes from the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I (1117–1078 BCE). In the first Assyrian annal they are called Aḫlamu-Aram. A little later the name *Aḫlamu* disappeared. It must be noted that the name *Aram* in the Hebrew Bible was once written with the word *paddan*, as Paddan Aram. It is possible that they used the double name to distinguish one group from the other.

It seems that the Aramean tribes were the enemy, and a dangerous one, of Assyria from the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. This king said "Twenty-eight times I have crossed the Euphrates after the Aramean Ahlamu, twice in one year." They were spread into the settled areas of Syria and northern Mesopotamia during the eleventh century BCE and established many kingdoms; the Syrian coast, however, remained free of Aramean migrations. There existed a number of small Canaanite states: Siyanu/Ushnato, Arwad, Sumur, Gubla/Byblos, Sidon, and Tyros ('Iraq el-Amir). [*See* Arwad; Byblos; Sidon; 'Iraq el-Amir.] To the east there were numerous Aramean states, in the Euphrates and Khabur valleys and to the north of the sources of the Balikh and Khabur Rivers: Aram Zobah (later Aram Damascus), Hamath, Bit-Agusi, Bit-Adini, Sam'al, Bit-Baḫiani, Nisibis, Gidara, Hozirani, Bit-Zamani, Laqe, Hindanu, Bit-Ḫalupe, and Suhi. For two hundred years the Assyrian kings fought the Aramean states, defeated them, deported their kings and leaders to Assyria, and captured their capital cities and transformed them into Assyrian provinces. [*See* Assyrians.] The annals of the Assyrian kings report the Assyrian military campaigns in Syria. These Assyrian documents are the principal sources for writing Aramean history because Aramaic inscriptions are poorly represented. This discussion of the history of the main and best-known Aramean kingdoms is guided by the Assyrian annals.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ACOR	American Center of Oriental Research
AD	*anno Domini*, in the year of the (our) Lord
AH	*anno Hegirae*, in the year of the Hijrah
AIA	Archaeological Institute of America
AIAR	(W. F.) Albright Institute of Archaeological Research
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
Akk.	Akkadian
Am.	*Amos*
ANEP	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near East in Pictures*
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
AOS	American Oriental Society
APES	American Palestine Exploration Society
Ar.	Arabic
ʿArakh.	*ʿArakhin*
Aram.	Aramaic
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
Assyr.	Assyrian
A.Z.	*ʿAvodah Zarah*
b.	born
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
Bab.	Babylonian
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
B.B.	*Bava' Batra'*
BC	before Christ
BCE	before the common era
Bekh.	*Bekhorot*
Ber.	*Berakhot*
Bik.	*Bikkurim*
BP	before the present
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
BSAI	British School of Archaeology in Iraq
BSAJ	British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem
B.T.	Babylonian Talmud
c.	*circa*, about, approximately
CAARI	Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute
CAD	computer-aided design/drafting
CAORC	Council of American Overseas Research Centers
CE	of the common era
cf.	*confer*, compare
chap., chaps.	chapter, chapters
1 Chr.	*1 Chronicles*
2 Chr.	*2 Chronicles*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
cm	centimeters
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
col., cols.	column, columns
Col.	*Colossians*
1 Cor.	*1 Corinthians*
2 Cor.	*2 Corinthians*
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques*
cu	cubic
d.	died
DAI	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
diss.	dissertation
Dn.	*Daniel*
DOG	Deutche Orient-Gesellschaft
D.Sc.	Doctor of Science
Dt.	*Deuteronomy*
EB	Early Bronze
Eccl.	*Ecclesiastes*
ed., eds.	editor, editors; edition
ED	Early Dynastic
EEF	Egyptian Exploration Fund
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
Egyp.	Egyptian
Elam.	Elamite
En.	*Enoch*
Eng.	English
enl.	enlarged
esp.	especially
et al.	*et alii*, and others
etc.	*et cetera*, and so forth
Eth.	Ethiopic
et seq.	*et sequens*, and the following
Ex.	*Exodus*
exp.	expanded
Ez.	*Ezekiel*
Ezr.	*Ezra*
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	feminine
ff.	and following
fig.	figure
fl.	*floruit*, flourished
ft.	feet
frag., frags.	fragment, fragments
gal., gals.	gallon, gallons
Geog.	Ptolemy, *Geographica*
Ger.	German
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
Gk.	Greek
Gn.	*Genesis*
ha	hectares
Heb.	Hebrew
Hg.	*Haggai*
Hist.	Herodotus, *History*
Hitt.	Hittite
Hos.	*Hosea*
Hur.	Hurrian
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
ibid.	*ibidem*, in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
IDA(M)	Israel Department of Antiquities (and Museums)
i.e.	*id est*, that is

IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IES	Israel Exploration Society
IFAPO	Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient
Is.	*Isaiah*
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
Jb.	*Job*
Jer.	*Jeremiah*
Jgs.	*Judges*
Jn.	*John*
Jon.	*Jonah*
Jos.	*Joshua*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
J.T.	Jerusalem Talmud
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*
Kel.	*Kelim*
Ket.	*Ketubbot*
kg	kilogram
1 Kgs.	*1 Kings*
2 Kgs.	*2 Kings*
km	kilometers
KTU	M. Dietrich and O. Lorentz, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*
l	liter
l., ll.	line, lines
Lat.	Latin
lb.	pounds
LB	Late Bronze
lit.	literally
Lk.	*Luke*
LM	Late Minoan
Lv.	*Leviticus*
m	meters
M.A.	Master of Arts
masc.	masculine
Mal.	*Malachi*
MB	Middle Bronze
Mc.	*Maccabees*
M.Div.	Master of Divinity
Meg.	*Megillah*
mi.	miles
Mk.	*Mark*
mm	millimeter
mod.	modern
Mt.	Mount
Mt.	*Matthew*
n.	note
NAA	Neutron Activation Analysis
Nat. Hist.	Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (Natural History)
n.b.	*nota bene*, note well
n.d.	no date
Nm.	*Numbers*
no., nos.	number, numbers
n.p.	no place
n.s.	new series
O.P.	Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
p., pp.	page, pages
para.	paragraph
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
Pers.	Persian
Ph.D.	Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil.	*Philippians*
pl.	plate; plural
PN	Pottery Neolithic
ppm	parts per million
PPN	Pre-Pottery Neolithic
Prv.	*Proverbs*
Ps.	*Psalms*
pt., pts.	part, parts
1 Pt.	*1 Peter*
2 Pt.	*2 Peter*
r.	reigned, ruled
RCEA	*Répertoire chronologique d'epigraphie arabe*
Rev.	*Revelations*
rev.	revised
Ru.	*Ruth*
SBF	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
ser.	series
sg.	singular
Sg.	*Song of Songs*
Shab.	*Shabbath*
S.J.	Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
1 Sm.	*1 Samuel*
2 Sm.	*2 Samuel*
sq	square
St., Sts.	Saint, Saints
Sum.	Sumerian
supp.	supplement
Syr.	Syriac
Taʿan.	*Taʿanit*
Th.D.	Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
Ti.	*Titus*
Tk.	Turkish
1 Tm.	*1 Timothy*
2 Tm.	*2 Timothy*
trans.	translated by
Ugar.	Ugaritic
v.	verse
viz.	*videlicet*, namely
vol., vols.	volume, volumes
vs.	versus
Yad.	*Yadayim*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
Zec.	*Zechariah*
*	hypothetical; in bibliographic citations, English language pages in Hebrew journals
?	uncertain; possibly; perhaps
°	degrees
′	minutes; feet
″	seconds; inches
+	plus
−	minus
±	plus or minus
=	equals; is equivalent to
×	by
→	yields