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Cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros

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Chapter I

The landscape and the Peoples of Assyria and the Northern Zagros

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Introduction

In this chapter I shall deal with the topography, landscape and peoples of Assyria and the Northern Zagros. I shall discuss the topography and natural sources of lowland Assyria as well as those of the highlands of the Northern Zagros. Both were areas where the indigenous populations mixed with groups who had migrated or had been deported. These peoples stimulated cultural interactions between the different landscapes of Assyria and the Northern Zagros. There were also some foreign individuals who lived in Assyria and in the Northern Zagros, functioning as merchants, scribes, translators, and craftsmen; some were runaways, individual migrants, or slaves; they will all have played a role in stimulating cultural interaction.

Our evidence about the landscape and the natural sources of these two areas comes from ancient records, visual art, and other material evidence. The evidence from ancient records mainly depends on Assyrian sources, but extra hints come from the Babylonian chronicles, Urartian documents, and few records from the Zagros itself. I shall supplement previous published studies with my personal observations about the landscape as it is today. This will involve discussing the location and identification of certain lands and peoples in the Northern Zagros, based on my familiarity with routes through the mountain passes and along the rivers and their tributaries.

1.1. Assyrian Landscape, topography and its peoples

The Assyrian heartland is located in the northern part of Mesopotamia along the Tigris. Its western limit begins on the banks of the Tigris, reaching the Jazirah to the west of the Tigris and the banks of the Lower Zab in the east.¹ Its southern limits begin at the Jabal Hamrin and the Makhul Mountains south of the city of Ashur stretching to the north of the Nineveh plain to the hills in the first lower ranges of the Zagros.²

In the Assyrian heartland the historical capital and holy city was Ashur, but it only served as a political capital in the Middle Assyrian period. Even then there was a small interruption to its importance when Tukulti-Ninurta I started to build a new capital nearby which he called

¹Altaweel 2008: 10.

²Saggs 1984: 2f; Oates 1968: 19f; Altaweel 2008: 9ff; Fales 1995: 203ff.

Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, modern Tulul-al-‘Aqr, to the east of the Tigris.³ Nineveh (Ninua) was the capital most used by the Assyrians, especially during the Neo-Assyrian period.⁴

The Middle Assyrian city of Kalhu (Calah/Nimrud) was rebuilt by Ashurnasirpal II to be used by him as his capital, and continued to be an important city until the reign of Sargon II, who built a new capital, which he called Dur-Sharrukin, at modern Khorsabad.⁵ After he died unexpectedly, his successor Sennacherib made Nineveh again the capital, and it maintained this status until the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE.⁶ Of the other important Assyrian cities to the east of the Upper Zab there were Kilizi/Kilizu and Arbail.⁷ Arbail was the cult-centre for Ishtar, the goddess of war, and Shalmaneser I built a ziggurat for her there.⁸ At Kilizi there was an important temple for Adad, and it functioned as the eastern arsenal and the departure point for some Assyrian campaigns to the Zagros, for it is located between Kalhu and the Zagros.⁹

Assyria outside the Assyrian heartland was bound to the west by the Middle Euphrates. Its northern boundary was the same as that of the Assyrian heartland, the lower Zagros ranges north of Nineveh and Arbail and Idu (Satu Qala).¹⁰ To the east it extended beyond the Assyrian heartland, across the Lower Zab to include Arrapha.¹¹

The extent of Assyria and of the Assyrian empire varied from one king’s reign to another, and even during one reign, depending on whether or not there was any rebellion. Assyrian annals continually refer to Assyrian campaigns against specific lands.¹²

The landscape of the Assyrian heartland is low compared to the highlands of the Zagros, of which the foothills mark its boundary to the northeast. It includes diverse topographical features in the plains of Nineveh, Erbil, Qaraj and Kandênawa, and the plains between the Tigris and the Lower Zab east-northeast of Ashur, with many ravines. The western boundary consists of semi-desert west of the Tigris. There is some higher ground, such as the Makhmur-Qarachugh ranges south of Arbail and southeast of Kilizi, continuing eastwards as far as the west bank of the Lower Zab, and north of Nineveh near Khorsabad, to Mount Maqlub. There

³Cancik-Kirschbaum and Johnson 2013: 87-152; Deller, et al., 1994: 459-468. Archaeological evidence shows continuous settlement in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta after the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I until the Neo-Assyrian period and later, in the “Median or Babylonian” period; for details see Beuger 2011: 189.

⁴Nineveh was first inhabited in prehistoric times and Nineveh V (in the early third millennium BCE) it’s well known layer. During the historical periods it was first called ‘Ninua,’ a name assumed to be Hurrian. See Layard 1853a; Layard 1853b; Rova 1988; Russell 1998; Ahmed 2012: 202; Cancik-Kirschbaum and Johnson 2013: 87-152.

⁵Llop 2011: 600; RIMA I p.231.

⁶Gadd 1923: Tablet B.M. 21, 901: lines 23-29.

⁷Radner 2011a: 321-329.

⁸RIMA I A.0.77.16: iii 11-12. Also see Llop 2011: 600; Cancik-Kirschbaum and Johnson 2013: 87-152; Russell 1991.

⁹RIMA II A.0.101.17: ii 107b-109; Russell 1991.

¹⁰RIMA III A.0.103.1: iii 19; Waters 2005: 523; van Soldt, et. al, 2013: 218f; van Soldt 2008; Ahmed 2010.

¹¹Arrapha was occupied by Shamshi-Adad I (see RIMA I A.0.39.1001), and during the Middle Assyrian period the Hurrian kingdom of Arrapha was destroyed by Tukulti-Ninurta I (see RIMA I A.0.78.10: 79; Llop 2011: 597; Saggs 1973: 156; Saggs 1984: 2ff; Liverani: 1992: 103). Then, during the Neo-Assyrian period, Adad-nārārī II says that he brought back Arrapha “into the boundaries of Assyria.” (RIMA II A.0.99.2: 29). Arrapha had become one of the eastern provinces annexed to Assyria.

¹²ARAB II 10, 12, 23. Also see Lie 1929.

is also Mount Makhul to the west of the Tigris south of Ashur, and the range of Jabal Himirin (Hamrin) to the east of the Tigris which mark the southern limit of the Assyrian heartland and of Assyria (Map 1.1 and 1.2).¹³

Many rivers with their tributaries flow into the Assyrian heartland from the Zagros of which the most important are the Tigris, the Upper Zab and the Lower Zab. As for the tributaries, to the north east of Erbil the Khanzad meets the Upper Zab northeast of Kalak town, northeast of Nineveh the Khazir meets the Upper Zab, and the Upper Zab itself meets the Tigris around 30 km. southeast of Mosul and 10 km south of Kalhu (Nimrud). The Lower Zab River meets the Tigris southeast of Ashur.¹⁴ There are also other seasonal rivers.¹⁵

The fertile plains of the Assyrian heartland produce crops of cereals, pastoral grazing and are rich in fauna. Perhaps sometimes surplus cereals were marketed outside Assyria,¹⁶ but we have to bear in mind that there were years of drought and times when locust swarms disrupted agriculture so that foodstuff would have to be imported from outside Assyria.¹⁷ Moreover, in the Assyrian heartland during 7th century mass deportations would have swelled the population and led to pressures on food supplies. Cereals could have been produced in territory conquered outside Assyria and military campaigns aimed to satisfy any shortfall.¹⁸

The climate of the Assyrian heartland was moderate compared to Babylonia and Sumer elsewhere in Mesopotamia. The hot summer starts in June and ends in September, when temperatures can reach around 45-48 degrees Celsius. Autumn and spring are short. The autumn rains start in October and persist until the spring rains end in mid-April. Winter is cold but mostly sunny. There is rarely any snow, even in mid-winter, but in places like Arbail and in the plain north of Nineveh it can fall in December-February. The cold snowcapped ranges of the Zagros can be seen from the plains of Nineveh and Arbail, and also from the capital cities of Nineveh and Dur-Sharrukin, which makes winter and early spring nights feel much colder.¹⁹

Assyria also faced arid years. Several Assyrian administrative letters refer to destruction by locusts to be reported to the king.²⁰ Recently it has been proposed that Assyria experienced at least two climate changes, first in the 11th-10th centuries BCE,²¹ the time when the limits of the Middle Assyrian Empire were reduced. In the Middle Assyrian records there is no direct evidence for that, but such a change could have led to the famine mentioned at the time of the Aramean penetration of the Assyrian heartland, when the citizens of Assyria fled to the

¹³Altaweel 2008: 9ff; Liverani 1988: 81-98.

¹⁴Saggs 1984: 3; Mason 1944: 81-82; Altaweel 2008: 9ff.

¹⁵Altaweel 2008: 9ff; Oates 1968: 20; Fales 1995: 203ff.

¹⁶Radner 2014b: 102.

¹⁷Grain was produced at Hiptunu (Tell Haudian/Tell Haftun) in the midst of the mountains for Kalhu to the east of the Upper Zab. However, the reason for that trade is not clear. It could have been to buy a specific type of grain or because of scarcity in the Assyrian heartland. For further details see Parker 1954: 44-45; Postgate 1976: No.29, Rev.12; 29 B; Zadok 1978: p.170. Rev.11, p.137; Marf 2015: 127-140.

¹⁸Radner 2014b: 102.

¹⁹For further details about the weather and cold temperatures in Assyria and the Zagros, see Saggs 1973: 159-160; Van Buykaere 2009: 295-306; Olmstead 1923: 14; Marf 2014: 13-29.

²⁰SAA 1 103, 104.

²¹Neuman and Parpola discussed the possibility of a climate change in the late Middle Assyrian period, for further details, see Neuman and Parpola 1987: 161-182. Also, see Reade 1995a: 41ff.

Northern Zagros, to the land of KIRRURI, as recorded on a fragment of a Middle Assyrian Chronicle.²²

[At that time?, a famine occurred, so that peopl]e ate one another's flesh [to (save their) life?]. [Like? A flood's? ra]ging ([ex]-zu-ti) [water?] the Aramean 'houses' [increased], plundered [citizens of Assyria t]o the mountains of KIRRIURI to (save their) life [fled]. They (the Arameans) took their [gold], their silver, (and) their property.

At that time other places faced similar situations. A record from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I tells us that the Arameans invaded: “[The lands of GN1, GN2], Idu, the district of Nineveh, the land of Kili[zu they plundered]. [In that year, Tiglath-pile]ser, king, of Assyria, [marched] to the land of Katmuḫu.”²³

Ashurnasirpal II refers to Assyrians who went northward to the land of Nirbu to Tušhan (modern Ziyaret Tepe east of Diyarbakir (Amad) because of a famine in Assyria. He renovated the ruins of Tušhan and settled the exhausted Assyrians there. “I brought back the enfeebled Assyrians who, because of hunger (and) famine, had gone up to other lands to the land Šubru.”²⁴ On both occasions the Assyrian citizens left Assyria for the mountains north or northeast of Assyria, an area which was perhaps unaffected by famine, because it had better sources for agriculture and fruit with a climate more moderate than that of the Assyrian plain.

The second climate change is assumed to have happened in the late 7th century BCE, and this, according to Schneider and Adali, was one of the reasons for the fall of Assyria.²⁵ They made many examinations of samples taken from the shores of inland natural lakes and the banks of rivers in Anatolia, Syria, and also samples from Lake Zrêbar (Zeribar) in the Northern Zagros. The results of their geological and geochemical examinations show that from the mid-8th century BCE the climate of the Near East was tending towards drought and aridity. No samples were taken from Assyria itself, but they propose that the samples they studied from the Near East and the Zagros prove that the intervening area of Assyria faced similar years of drought. According to them the trouble, which faced Assyria was exacerbated by the expanding population of the Assyrian heartland, for Nineveh was the capital of the greatest empire in the world of that time and many thousands of deportees and captives arrived in the Assyrian heartland.²⁶ Their theory needs substantiation with evidence from the Assyrian heartland, and from geological and geochemical studies related to the climate of Assyria, as well as from the written records.

There are several Assyrian administrative letters to the king containing information about natural disasters relevant to climate change. Men were also appointed to supervise gangs to destroy swarms of locusts that were threatening agricultural production and as well the flocks. Unless an immediate solution was found people and animals would starve. Locusts swarmed

²²Na'aman 1994: 34, lines 2-9; also see Lipinski 2008:189f.

²³Na'aman 1994: line 12-13.

²⁴RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 2b-12a.

²⁵Schneider & Adali 2014: 435-446.

²⁶For further details see Schneider & Adali 2014: esp. 436ff, map 1, and fig.2. And also see the used bibliography concerning the studied samples from the lakes and rivers.

into the Assyrian heartland as far as the mountain ranges of the Zagros to the northeast of Assyria, and Sargon II gave orders to kill them.²⁷

In most areas of the Assyrian heartland agriculture depended on rainfall. Most agricultural produce there consisted of cereals, especially barley. There were diverse varieties of natural and cultivated flora, of trees, shrubs and grasses. Pastures are at their best from late winter to late spring. In summer the ground is parched. Most plants die and grass becomes yellow, except in areas of semi-desert and irrigated land.²⁸

In irrigated plains orchards of fruit trees occur in Assyrian art and texts from which we know of date-palms, vineyards, pomegranates, pine trees and cotton plants.²⁹ The Assyrian kings were proud of their water projects, designed not only to supply water to the cities but also to irrigate orchards and gardens nearby. Sennacherib describes his park in Nineveh on his octagonal prism in detail:³⁰

A great park, like unto Mt. Amanus, in which all kinds of herbs (and) fruits of the orchards, trees such as grow on the mountains and in Chaldea, as well as trees bearing wool, were set out, I planted by its side (i.e. beside the palace).

The animals living in the Assyrian heartland included many mammals: wild bulls, wild asses,³¹ lions, deer, gazelles, rabbits, hyenas, jackals, leopards, pelicans, and flamingos,³² foxes, hares.³³ Among the birds were ostriches,³⁴ and a cock is depicted on some Neo-Assyrian seals.³⁵ Many types of fish are found in the Tigris, the Upper Zab and the Lower Zab today.³⁶ Assyrian reliefs depict animals being brought to the Assyrian court as gifts and tribute. These include Indian and African monkeys, elephants from Egypt, and camels with two-humps from the Gilzānu.³⁷ Assyrian kings could also enjoy what we may call a “safari park” or a kind of zoo. Ashur-nasir-pal says, “*I caught animals alive. I collected in my city Calah, herds of wild oxen, elephants, lions, ostriches, male and female donkeys, wild asses, gazelles, deer, bears, panthers*”. They were even on public display: “*all the beasts of plain and mountain, and I displayed them to all the people of my land.*”³⁸

²⁷For further details see SAA 1 103, 104. Locusts on a skewer prepared as food by Assyrians, depicted on Assyrian reliefs, see SAA XIX: fig.30.

²⁸Oates 1968: 3; Saggs 1984: 3ff; Altaweel 2008:12ff.

²⁹Altaweel 2008: 12,14; Saggs 1984: 163. For more details, see Baqir 1953: 3-44; Fales 1989: 53-59; Saggs 1984: 163. Also for the Assyrian reliefs which are depicted orchards and fruit trees in the Assyrian heartland, see Smith 1938: pl.LXVIII.

³⁰Heidel 1953: 1167; col.VII, l. 60-63. For further details see Chapter IV, 4.10.

³¹Reade 1983: 60.

³²Reade 1983: 35. fig.46; Altaweel 2008: 15.

³³Bleibtreu 1980: 113, Abb.41.

³⁴Collon 2001: 171, fig.334; Reade 1983: 60. For the scene of hunting lion, bull and wild asses, scenes of hunting of many of these animals are depicted on the Assyrian reliefs and on the Assyrian seals, for instance see Hall 1928: Pl. XLVII-XLIX, and pl.LI – LII; Reade 1983: 35, fig.46.

³⁵Collon 2001: 109-111, fig.207.

³⁶Pallis 1956: 16; Mason 1944: 204f.

³⁷Barnett, et al., 1975: plates.7, 46, 49.

³⁸Saggs 1984: 267.

On Assyrian reliefs there are many scenes of Assyrian kings in chariots followed by guards hunting lions, wild bulls, wild asses, rabbits and birds.³⁹ Lion and bull hunts end with rituals and celebrations, with the corpses of the animals being collected and libations being poured out in front one of the Assyrian deities, a ceremony called by Reade an Assyrian “*thanksgiving*.”⁴⁰

It seems clear that the Assyrian heartland was self-sufficient economically to provide for the daily life of the people there, and perhaps to produce a surplus for external trade.⁴¹

Assur was the supreme deity of the Assyrians.⁴² Ashur was a personification of the hill on which the city of Ashur was built.⁴³ Lambert has been followed by others in assuming that Ashur was seen as the divine presence (numen) of the holy hill of Ashur and the region around under its administration.⁴⁴ Lambert says that the Assyrian sense of identity was based on their worship of Assur and their distinctive Assyrian dialect.⁴⁵ Assyrian royal inscriptions indicate that this Assyrian sense identity when Assyrian kings annexed foreign lands. They called these conquered peoples Assyrians, provided they were ready to submit to Assur and pay taxes. Otherwise they were seen as enemies of Ashur and Assyria. Sargon II says “*The people of the province of Musasir I reckoned with the people of Assyria; tax and task work I imposed upon them as upon Assyrians.*”⁴⁶ even though there were no Babylonian soldiers among them. Plundering the holy city of Musasir would have been a great task, for it was regarded as the third most important temple after those of Marduk in Babylon and Ashur in Ashur. So he may have mentioned Marduk with Assur to legitimate an unexpected plundering of a holy city.

The Assyrians were one of the Semitic groups which had immigrated into northern Mesopotamia during the late third millennium and the beginning of the second millennium BCE. They spoke an Assyrian dialect of Akkadian. Scholars call the Assyrians “*immigrants and not indigenous*” people of Assyria.⁴⁷ They first settled in Ashur and elsewhere in the Assyrian heartland. Their first rulers in Ashur did not bear the title of king. The first known ruler of Ashur was Ititi who during the Akkadian period called himself a “PA,” to be translated as “*ruler*.”⁴⁸ Šilulu, the ruler of Ashur in the 19th century BCE, was the first to call himself ÉNSI a-šûr.KI “*vice-regent of Ashur*.”⁴⁹

³⁹The Mesopotamian lion was smaller than the African variety with which we are most familiar today. For more details see Reade 1983: 53-57, 60; Marf, et al., 2011: 30-34.

⁴⁰Reade 1983: 60. The Assyrians used a type of dog (Gadd 1936: pl.33), this type in modern times survived in Pishder valley beyond Rania plain and Dukan lake in the Zagros, the dog locally known as *Haushar*, the biggest known type of dogs in modern times in the area, and they are very strong, in modern times they are mainly used by shepherds and rabbit hunters.

⁴¹Pallis 1956: 15.

⁴²Saggs 1973: 157; Frame 1999a: 7.

⁴³Lambert 1983: 82f; Frame 1999a: 8.

⁴⁴Lambert 1983: 82-83; Radner 2014a: 64.

⁴⁵Lambert 1983: 82-83.

⁴⁶ARAB II 175.

⁴⁷Saggs 1984: 5-6.

⁴⁸RIMA I A.0.1001. 1:1; Veenhof and Eidem 2008.

⁴⁹RIMA I A.0.27.1:4.

Before the Semitic Assyrians arrived there were other national groups in the Assyrian heartland. In the third millennium BCE the people there probably mainly spoke ‘Subarian’ and or Hurrian, and from the late third millennium to the late second millennium most spoke Hurrian.⁵⁰ Lewy and Ahmed state that there seems to have remained a Subarian or Mittanian or Hurrian “*ethnic substratum of the land for a long time afterwards.*”⁵¹ Ušpia (Ušpija) and Kikia (Kikkija), the names of the rulers of Ashur in the 19th century BCE, are considered to be Subarian or Hurrian.⁵² It was in the late 3rd millennium BCE that the Semitic Assyrians arrived in Assyria, and in the late second millennium the Semitic Arameans penetrated from the west.⁵³ Later, in the mid-eighth century BCE, the Aramaic script and language competed for attention in the Assyrian culture of the Assyrian heartland, until in the 7th century BCE Aramaic was formally spoken at the Assyrian court and more generally spoken than Assyrian, among Assyrians.⁵⁴

Several smaller communities or individuals can be identified as living in Assyria. These were mainly groups of deportees from all around the empire, from the Zagros, Anatolia, Syria, Levant, Egypt, Babylonia and Elam.⁵⁵ There were also individual immigrants, merchants, hostages, traders, soldiers and auxiliaries, deserters and slaves. Non-Assyrian individuals can be identified by their names, and sometimes a person’s homeland was recorded.⁵⁶ Although a person’s name may not correspond to his ethnicity, studies suggest that there were many purely Aramaic or mixed Aramaic-Assyrian names, as well as Egyptian, West Semitic, Urartian, Zagrosian and Iranian names of people living in Assyria, serving at court or in temples in Assyria, or active in commercial activities.⁵⁷

⁵⁰However, these hypotheses are mainly based on studying available prosography, and there are controversial views about considering Subartu as geographical name, or called its people as a group of people as Subarian. For further details see Lewy 1971: 732f; Ahmed 2012: 58; Astour 1987: 3-68; Michel 2011-2013, *RIA* XIII: 225-227.

⁵¹Ahmed, 2012: 58. For further discussion concerning the cultural influence of Subarian (also Hurri-Mittani) on the Assyrians, especially in their art and religion, for instance, see Lewy, 1971:731f.

⁵²Gelb 1944: 5; Ahmed 2012: 58; NPN, p.185; Læssøe 1963.

⁵³Na’aman 1994: lines 2-9, p.34; Nissinen 2014: 273-296.

⁵⁴For further details about “*the Aramization of Assyria*” see for instance, Tadmor & Cogan 2011: 179-203; Fales 1991: 99-117; Millard 2008: 267-270.

⁵⁵See Oded 1979; and *PNA* volumes. Further details will be discussed in this chapter.

⁵⁶There are several Assyrian documents which are related to foreigner communities, for instance concerning the Kummian merchants in the Assyrian heartland see *SAA* V 100; also, see *SAAS* IV 66; *SAA* V: p.11. And for the Median Hundurean deported to the city of Assur by Sargon II, the family lived in Assur and hold commercial and trade activities and in addition of holding position in the temple of Assur in Assur. *For further details see TCL* III 270; Radner 2007: 196, see Chapter I, 1.4., and Chapter II, 2.8..

⁵⁷For further details about the proper names of peoples in Assyria see Talqvist 1910; *PNA* I-III series. And Chapter II, 2.2.



Map.1.1. Topography of Assyria and the Zagros.

1.2. The Northern Zagros's landscape, topography, and its peoples

The area of the Ancient Near East on which this study will focus is located in Southwestern Asia known by archaeologists and Assyriologists as Assyria and the northern part of the Zagros Mountains. The geography, flora and fauna of the Assyrian heartland and the Northern Zagros will be discussed.

The Zagros is the largest mountain range in Southwestern Asia, extending from north-west to southeast.⁵⁸ Mostly it constitutes the entire western borderland of modern Iran,⁵⁹ and there is a small part in southeastern Turkey. The mountains of northeastern Iraq (i.e. almost all the mountain ranges in Iraqi Kurdistan except Maqlub, Qarachugh, Sinjar, and Hamrin, which are in or bordering the Assyrian heartland) are part of the Northern Zagros.⁶⁰ Approximately the length of the range is 1600 km. (see, map.1.1), and the width from east to west varies between 200-350 km, the widest point is south of Qum about (350km), and the narrowest southwest of Isfahan (200 km), in area the Zagros is roughly 332000 sq. km.⁶¹

Geographic distinguish several sub-ranges in the Northern, Central, and Southern Zagros.⁶² Other terms that are used include “the Iranian Zagros/Zagros Mountains proper,”⁶³ “*the Mountains of Kurdistan*,”⁶⁴ “the Iraqi/Iraqi-Kurdistan Zagros,” “the Southern Kurdistan Mountains,”⁶⁵ “the Mountains of Kurdistan” (usually referring to the Northern Zagros in Iran, from the Mahidasht south of Kermanshah to Lake Urmia).⁶⁶ Most of these terms are based on modern political areas or those defined by demographic/ethnic or linguistic divisions, such as Kurdistan, Luristan, and Hawraman.

I prefer the neutral geographical subdivisions, used by most archaeologists who work there: Northern, Central and Southern.⁶⁷ These coincide with natural boundaries, for example, the Diz River (in the Kirmanshah/Kirmashan valley) separates the Northern from the Central areas, and Dalkhan River (northeast of Shiraz) separates the Central from the Southern areas, and the Southern Zagros extends to the Hurmuz strait east of the Persian Gulf.⁶⁸

The Northern Zagros covers an area between the Tigris and its tributaries in the west, and the Iranian plateau in the east.⁶⁹ This is the area on which this study will focus. The ranges in Iran start west-north-west of Lake Urmia, where the borders of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey meet.⁷⁰ The

⁵⁸Fisher, *CHI* I, 1968: 6.

⁵⁹Fisher, *CHI* I, 1968: 7.

⁶⁰Parpola and Porter 2001: 10, map no.4.

⁶¹Potts 1999: 12; Gafur 2005: 25.

⁶²Gafur 2005: 28.

⁶³Maisels 1993: 104.

⁶⁴Gosse 1852: 5.

⁶⁵Ghafur 2005: 29; Mason 1944:195.

⁶⁶Hole 1987: 43.

⁶⁷Archaeologists have different views about the southern border between the Northern and the Central Zagros, so that some parts of the Northern Zagros are moved to the Central Zagros. A recent excavation and survey in Bestansur by a British team was called “*The Central Zagros Archaeological Project Investigating the Neolithic in the Central Zagros*,” see (<http://www.czap.org/bestansur>). But the Sharezur plain where Bestansur is located is not part of the Central Zagros, and the team gave no exact answer for locating it in the Central Zagros.

⁶⁸Fisher, *CHI* I, 1968: 8.

⁶⁹In its most upper north-western corner, the Northern Zagros ranges get close to the Tigris, but in the its southwestern corner close to the Diyala.

⁷⁰Matthews 2000: 6.

northern limits stretch from the modern Armenian frontier as far as east of Tabriz. The Northern Zagros extends east of Lake Urmia to the Qazvin (Caspian) and south to Hamadan and Kirmansha, then southeastward to the Diz River south of Kermanshah, the southern frontier of the Northern Zagros.⁷¹

The north-western point of the western Zagros, according to the “*Helsinki Atlas of the Ancient Near East*”, joins the Eastern Taurus Mountains inside the Turkish border south of Lake Van,⁷² so that the Taurus and Zagros chains meet.⁷³ According to Levine the North-western Zagros border is roughly defined by the Upper Zab,⁷⁴ but he does not specify, which area of the Upper Zab. In Iraq several parts of the Northern Zagros are west of the banks of the Upper Zab, such as the Matin ranges south west of Amêdi (al-’Amadiya), and the Bêhêr ranges in the Akrê (Aqra) district north east of Nineveh plain (fig.1.1).



Fig.1.1. A view of the northern limits of the Northern Zagros, on the Iraqi-Turkish border to the south west of the Hakkari-Dağ inside the Iraqi border (photo by the author).

Only rarely do sources refer to the extension of the Zagros in Turkey south of Lake Van. Sometimes they refer to the Hakkari-Dağ as a separate range in the southeastern corner of Turkey, together with the Eastern Taurus, west of Hakkari-Dağ.⁷⁵ The Hakkari-Dağ can be considered as a separate range from the Zagros or the Taurus, or it can be considered as an extension of the Zagros ranges. Other ranges west-southwest of the Hakkari-Dağ can be considered as an extension of the Northern Zagros. The Northern Zagros ranges extend westward as far as Zakho east of the Tigris, then to the east of Sirwan/Upper Diyala river the Bamo range extends across the western border of Iran to Sar-Poli-Zahaw and Behistun (Bêstun), where it overlaps with other parts of the Northern Zagros inside Iran.

⁷¹Ghafur 2005: 29; Fisher, *CHI* I, 1968: 8.

⁷²Parpola 2001: 10, map No.4.

⁷³Zimansky 1985: 12.

⁷⁴Levine 1973: 5.

⁷⁵Izbirdak 1977: 32.

The other western ranges are not so high. They get lower and lower as they reach the foothills of the Zagros westwards, linking the Assyrian plains to the Northern Zagros ranges,⁷⁶ These ranges start in the north-west at Mount Zawa, then south of Dohuk, east of the Tigris, including the Akrê ranges east of the Nineveh plain, and the Harir, Safin and Khanzad, Bawaji, Haibat Sultan, Khalkhalan, Bazian, Baranan and Qaradag ranges, the Bamo ranges, Sar-Poli-Zahaw, and Behistun. In the Iraqi Zagros the Halgurd (3607m. above sea level) is the highest peak in the Hasarost range.⁷⁷

The **Central Zagros** occupies a central western area of present day Iran. It begins at the southern end of the Northern Zagros, on the south bank of the Diz in the Kermanshah valley⁷⁸ and then extends to Kashan,⁷⁹ to the ranges of Luristan, Pishti-Kuh, Bakhtiyari, Khorramabad, and to the Highlands of Elam, which is also part of the Central Zagros.⁸⁰ The Khuzestan plain is not part of the Zagros.⁸¹ The Central Zagros extends south to the Dalkhan River north east of Shiraz. Zard Kuh (4548m) is the highest peak of the whole Zagros.⁸²

The **Southern Zagros** occupies the southwestern part of Iran. It starts at the southern edge of the Central Zagros, on the south bank of the Dalkhan River, then extends from northeast of Shiraz⁸³ southeastwards to Bandar-Abbas and the Hurmuz Strait, exception for the Fars Plain, most areas between Shiraz and Hurmuz Strait fall are part of the Southern Zagros, with Kuh-e Farengan (3240m) as the highest peak.⁸⁴ (See: Map.1.1)

In contrast of the Assyrian lowland the **weather of the Zagros Mountains** is cold in autumn, winter and early spring, and moderate and hot in late spring and summer. Late spring and summer are dry, but autumn, winter and early spring are wet and cold. The rain starts in late September or early October and lasts to early May. The annual rainfall in the Zagros is different in the high ranges and its foothills, varying between 400-1100 mm, while in Assyria it is between 50-500 mm.⁸⁵ Snow starts falling in November, and in December and March large amounts fall in the mountains, blocking the roads. In February and even in April snow can fall.⁸⁶ In April-May most snow melts, except for the snowcapped peaks, where it remains cold for the whole year, until the old snow is covered with new snow.⁸⁷

The heavy snow in the mountainous area of the Northern Zagros blocking the roads and passes was one of the reasons that the Assyrians were never able to control the Northern Zagros territories for a long time. Most of the Assyrian kings had to campaign regularly to

⁷⁶Buringh 1960: 34, fig.13; Bagg 2000: Tafel 1 b.

⁷⁷Braidwood 1983: 130; Reade 1983: 36; Redman 1987: 44, fig. 2-24. For the ranges east of Kirkuk, see Redman 1978: fig. 3-2; Matthews 2000: 6; Oppenheim 1964: 71; Ghafur 2005; Marf 2014.

⁷⁸ Redman 1978: 44, fig. 2-23; Braidwood 1983: 130-132.

⁷⁹ Redman 1978: p.45, fig.2-25.

⁸⁰Henrickson 1983: 5; Redman 1978: p.43, fig.2-22; Fisher, *CHI* I, 1968: 7.

⁸¹Potts 1999: 12; Maisels 1990: 102 ; Maisels 1993: 211.

⁸²Ghafur 2005: 29; Abdi 1999: 33-45.

⁸³Ghafur 2005: 29.

⁸⁴Fisher, *CHI* I, 1968: 8, and p.27, fig.9; Potts 1999: 12.

⁸⁵ Bagg 2000: Tafel 4.

⁸⁶In the Assyrian correspondence there are several administrative letters which mention that the snow blocked the mountainous roads, for further details see Chapter IV, 4.11. And also see SAA V II 146: 7-10; Neumann and Parpola 1987:161-182; SAA XV 83; SAA XIX 190.

⁸⁷Mason 1944: 194.

recontrol territories which had been controlled by them earlier or by their fathers. Sometimes campaigns were repeated year after year. Assyrian campaigns usually began in late spring or summer, at other times the mountain roads were blocked by as much as 1 metre of snow. In Assyrian administrative correspondence several times roads blocked by snow are mentioned.⁸⁸ Not only the Assyrian campaigns but perhaps also those of the Ur III king Shulgi against the Zagros kingdoms and cities of Simmurum, Lullubum, Urbilum were affected by snow.⁸⁹ Assyrian kings were given news about the weather and the harvest from the Northern Zagros. A letter sent by the Assyrian deputy Mannu-ki-Ninua from Kar-Šarrukin in Media to Sargon II says “*the harvest has sprouted, (but) the ...is badly ravagedand it is raining and snowing continually.*”⁹⁰

In the Northern Zagros there are two major natural **inland lakes**, and both without an outlet and located in Iran. Lake Urmia⁹¹ is called in Assyrian records A.AB.BA šá KUR na-i-ri, “the sea of the land of Nairi.”⁹² Lake Zrebar is located ca. 15 km outside Iraq, 160 km north-west of Kermanshah,⁹³ and identified with A.AB.BA šá KUR za-mu-a šá be-ta-a-ni, “the sea of the interior of the land Zamua”, which Shalmaneser III records in his campaign on the land of Lullubi.⁹⁴

Many **rivers** have their source in the Zagros and cross the Zagros valleys. The principal source of the Lower Zab (Akk. *Zaba šaplīu*)⁹⁵ is about 20 miles south of the edge of Lake Urmia,⁹⁶ It cuts southwestward through the Zagros chain and meets the Tigris south of Ashur. There are many small tributaries of the Lower Zab. In the Sharbazzhê plain the Kanarwê is fed by the Qalachwalan.⁹⁷ Other tributaries of the Lower Zab are in the Peremegrun valley, where the Chermaga⁹⁸ and Tabeen tributaries flow into the Chami-Razan which flows into the Lower Zab at the Dukan dam (see fig.1.2.).

⁸⁸ Olmstead, 1908: 113, n.36.

⁸⁹ For the details of Shulgi's campaigns see Frayne 1999; Frayne, *RIME* I, 2008: 33-56; Ahmed 2012: 183. In the Kurdish calendar which reflects the weather and climate of the Northern Zagros two months of the winter season with snow and its effects, are called *Befranbar* (snow falling, from 21st of December to January 20th), and *Rebandan* (roads blocked/freeze, from January 21st, to February 21st).

⁹⁰ SAA XV 100: r.10-16. For further details see Chapter IV, 2.11.

⁹¹ Zimansky 1985: 12.

⁹² RIMA III A.0.102.1: 33-34; Parpola & Porter 2001: 5, map.11; Parpol 2007: 122; Salvini 1995: 45.

⁹³ Reculeau 2011: 35-36.

⁹⁴ RIMA III A.0.102.5: 2. However, after discovering the city of Idu, which was near “the sea of the interior of the land Zamua”, the sea has to be relocated somewhere within the Lower Zab. And since there was no lake there, perhaps Shalmaneser III's scribe here referred to a pool in the Lower Zab, where Iduans used the water for transport, and where the battle happened on the water (sea?). for further details see Marf, D. A., (in preparation) “The Sea of Zamua, no where?”.

⁹⁵ AEAD 132. The headwaters of the Lower Zab are formed by small streams which gather in a trough at Lahijan near Mhabad, see Stein 1940: 354. Today the Upper Zab is called *Zab(Zê)-i-saru* and the Lower Zab (*Zê-i-khwaru*) local people in Kurdish and Arabic.

⁹⁶ Gosse 1852: 6.

⁹⁷ Its recorded by Liverani as Qaracholan (Liverani 1992: 47, note. 186), but more correctly pronounced as Qalacholan, i.e. the abandoned castle, perhaps because it was the old capital of Kurdish Baban principdom on the bank of Qalacholan. In 1784 CE, the castle and the town abandoned.

⁹⁸ It is recorded by Liverani as Cham-i-Cahmaga, (see Liverani 1992: 47, note.185). Its correct pronunciation is Charmaga (Charm-a-ga i.e. bull leather), including an /r/.

The Upper Zab (Akk. *Zāba elū*) rises south east of Lake Van and joins the Tigris south of Nineveh. Its tributaries include small rivers and seasonal streams, such as the Khazir, the Gomel on the west bank of the Upper Zab, and the Khanzad/Bastora north-west of Arbail.⁹⁹ The River Sirwan (Akk. *Radanu?*)¹⁰⁰ rises near Sanandaj (Sina) inside Iran east of the Sharaezur Plain. Its main tributary is the Tanjero, which flows from the western part of the Sulaimania valley below the Baranan range to merge with the Sirwan in the Sharezur plain. The many smaller rivers and seasonal streams provide water for the Zagros. After crossing Lake Derbandikhan they flow southward as the Diyala (Akk. *Turnat*),¹⁰¹ and then from the Zagros inside Iran the Alwand meets the Diyala after crossing Qasri Shirin.

In the Northern Zagros ranges there are many plains and valleys, used for agriculture as well as for housing, such as the basin plains of Rania, Sharezur, and Urmia, and the Ruwanduz, Musasir, Qaradagh, and Hawraman valleys. The mountain ranges separated groups of peoples who formed their own small kingdoms and territories. Most spoke different languages or dialects. This isolation led to diverse communities, and they never united as one state until at least the fall of Assyria. There are hundreds of tells in the plains and valleys, the remains of ancient Northern Zagros towns.

These valleys and plains have the mountain ranges as protective walls and they are linked together by mountain passes and gorges. These were the main passage ways for merchants, migrants, pastorals, and armies. In some of the passes the Assyrians or local Zagrosian kings carved commemorative reliefs or inscriptions on the rock faces, such as at the passes of Gundik, Gal-I Ali-Beg, Bazian, Basarra, Ahmadawa, and Tang-i Var (fig.1.3. a-d).¹⁰² As well as the valleys and plains the mountain slopes and tops were occupied by the ancient inhabitants. Musasir was built on a mountain slope.¹⁰³ The Zagros Mountains contain many ancient fortifications.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹Ur 2005: 317-345; Safar 1950: 118-123.

¹⁰⁰The Radanu river is mentioned in the campaign of Ashurnasirpal II to Zamua after the pass of Babiti. It is identified by Liverani with modern Tauq Chai, the Daquq (Liverani 1992: 51), but that is too far from the land of Zamua. Perhaps Radanu was one of the tributaries of the Lower Zab from the east in the mountainous area after the pass of *Babiti* (Bazian pass? See Liverani 1992: 46), so Cham-i-Razan (Razan tributary) would be a better identification. The Tauq Chai (Daquq) originated in the Basarra pass to the east of the Bazian pass, but it is not in the territory of Zamua. Radanu occurs in an administrative letter sent to Tiglath-pileser III by the eponym of Urzuhuina, Nergal-uballit. See Saggs 1958: 188f.

¹⁰¹Liverani 1992: 51.

¹⁰²Levine 1972: 1-76; Marf 2015; Greco 2003: 65ff, pl. 2. For further details see Chapter III, 3.1.

¹⁰³Marf 2014: 13-29.

¹⁰⁴For further details see Chapter IV, 4.8. And also see Marf, D. A., (forthcoming), "Ancient Fortifications and Architectural Ruins between Lower Zab and Sirwan (Upper Diyala) rivers (Preliminary report on field work)," in: Nathan Morello, Simone Bonzano, and Cinzia Pappi, (eds.): *BEYOND MILITARY: FORTIFICATIONS AND TERRITORIAL POLICIES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST*, Brill. Also, see Chapter IV, 4.4.



Fig.1.2. A view, of the Lower Zab from Satu Qala (Ancient Idu), with the high ranges of the Zagros in the distance and the foothills in between.



Fig.1.3.a. A view, from the Qamchugha pass that links the Sharbazhêr plain and the Iranian border with the Lower Zab basin south of Dukan, then to the plains of Erbil and Kirkuk. (Photo by the author).

b. A view of the Basarra pass where the damaged local Lullubean carving carved. The pass links Zamua with Arzuhina. (Photo by the author).

c. A view of the Gundik Pass. In the cave beside the pass several rock reliefs were carved. The pass is in the Akrê ranges to the west of the Upper Zab northeast of Nineveh. (Photo by the author).

d. A view, from the Ahmdawa pass that link Hawraman and the Iranian Zagros with Sharezur plain. (Photo by the author).

The woodland and steppe of the Zagros with its Mediterranean weather has varied vegetation according to altitude.¹⁰⁵ The Northern Zagros is very rich in flora and fauna, with thousands of types of plants, shrubs and trees, most of which grow naturally.¹⁰⁶ In the mountains, valleys and plains with its cold autumn and winter and moderate spring and summer we find pine, oak, *dara-ban* (gum-tree) and poplars,¹⁰⁷ as well as blackberry, pear, grape vine for edible fruits.¹⁰⁸ The plains and valleys produce grain.¹⁰⁹

The mountain slopes are cultivated for vineyards and fruit trees, which ripen in summer and early autumn. Cultivation of grain starts in the autumn and the harvest is in late spring or early summer.

There are dozens of types of fruit trees naturally growing in the Northern Zagros as well as cultivated grain and plants, especially wheat, barley, and corn. Most of the agriculture and the vineyards depend on rainfall without irrigation.

Barley, wheat and seed-corn from the Northern Zagros are mentioned several times in records of trading grain from Hiptunu in Nimrud.¹¹⁰ Barley from Zamua was bought as tribute, and barley and straw from the surrounding lands of Dur-Ashur (Attila) was stored by Ashurnaripsal II in Zamua.¹¹¹

The vineyards in the Northern Zagros were also recorded in Assyrian records, such as those of the royal city of Ulhu (identified with Hatevan III), the capital of the Urartian king Ursa/Rusa I, near Lake Urmia. Ulhu had important vineyards and plenty of fruit trees and stores full of wine (perhaps made from the grapes).¹¹² These vineyards in the district of Zamua were referred to in the Assyrian records.¹¹³ Archaeological excavations in the Northern Zagros prehistoric sites give details of the first domesticated flora, and have found bones of goat (also goat horn-core), roe deer, gazelle, sheep (also sheep horn-core), fox, leopard, cat, lion?, lynx, common otter, badger, beech marten, polecat?, onager, hare, and pig. Some of these animals were wild and others were domesticated.¹¹⁴ Excavations at Jarmo (Charmūu) yielded the remains of plants, including wheat and barley.¹¹⁵

We also know about the ancient flora and fauna of the Northern Zagros from Assyrian art and texts, mostly arising from Assyrian campaigns. Sargon II on his way to Mannea, Zikirtu and Andia mentions tree covered mountains: “*Between Mount Nikippa and Mount Upâ, high mountains, covered with all kinds of trees, whose surface was a jungle, whose passes were frightful, over whose area shadows stretch as in a cedar forest, the travelers of whose paths*

¹⁰⁵Mason 1944:196.

¹⁰⁶ Van Buren 1939.

¹⁰⁷Diakonoff 1985, *CHI II*: 72.

¹⁰⁸Gosse 1852: 6, 549.

¹⁰⁹Gosse 1852: 549, 6; Mason 1944: 194.

¹¹⁰Marf 2015: 129ff.

¹¹¹*RIMA II* A.O. 101.1: ii 53-56; *SAA XIX* 95. For further details about the economy and agriculture of the Northern Zagros see Chapter II, 2.8.

¹¹² Burney 1977:4f. Also, see Chapter II, 2.8..

¹¹³Kinnier Wilson 1972: x.

¹¹⁴See Stampfli 1983: 431-483; Lawrence & Reed 1983: 485-489.

¹¹⁵Watson 1983: 501f.

never see the light of the sun, I marched.”¹¹⁶ Sargon II on the mountains Sinahulzi and Biruatti saw “vegetation consisting of sweet smelling karshu (cherry) and sumlalu.”¹¹⁷

Ashurnasirpal II lists the plants he brought from the mountains, some of them probably from the Zagros:¹¹⁸

In the lands through which I marched and the highlands which I traversed, the trees (and) plants (lit. 'seeds') which I saw were: cedar, cypress, šimiššalû, burāšu-juniper, ..., daprānu-juniper, almond, date, ebony, meskannu, olive, susūnu, oak, tamarisk, dukdu, terebinth and murrānu, mehru, ..., tīyatu, Kanish-oak, haluppu, (45) sadanu, pomegranate, šailūru, fir, ingirašu, pear, quince, fig, grapevines, angašupear, šumlalû, titipu, sippūtu, zanzaliqqu, 'swamp-apple', hambuququ, nuhurtu, urzīnu, and kanaktu. The canal cascades from above into the gardens.

In the Zagros Mountains many mammals, birds, fish, and reptiles are found. The mammals include bear, leopard,¹¹⁹ wolf, fox, jackal, wild-cat, goat, sheep, deer, boar, hare, oryx, wild ass, and horse.¹²⁰ From east of the Zagros during the Iron Age Zagrosians brought Bactrian camels (with two humps) to Gilzānu (Hasanlu) and to Media, and the Assyrians received these camels as loot or tribute from the Zagros.¹²¹

Many of these animals were hunted for meat and others for their skins, and as such functioned as an economical resource, leopard skin cloaks are shown on almost all ancient Zagrosian populations, including the Lullubeans, Musasireans, Manneans, and Medes.¹²² The horses obtained by the Assyrians as tribute are mainly from the Zagros, especially from Gilzānu in the 9th century BCE and later from Media.¹²³

There are many birds inhabiting the mountains but not the plains, and many fish swimming in the rivers of the Northern Zagros, they are mainly similar to those fish which are swimming in the rivers in the Assyrian heartland, even though those same rivers flow down from the mountains.¹²⁴

Our knowledge concerning **the peoples of the Northern Zagros** comes mainly from the Assyrian records. There are other contemporary records such as the Urartian steles, which were erected between Musasir and the Urmia basin,¹²⁵ and a few local records from Idu (Satu

¹¹⁶ ARAB II 142.

¹¹⁷ ARAB II 143.

¹¹⁸ RIMA II A.0.101.30: 40-52; Wilkinson 2012 :18.

¹¹⁹ Mason 1944: 198ff. In November 2011 the Iraqi Nature Organization reported to the local media a photo from one of the cameras they had located in the Iraqi Zagros, in the ranges near the Upper Diyala river, which appears to show the rare leopard *Panthera pardus saxicolor*. According to this organization this would be one of only 1300 that have survived in the world. In 2010 hunters illegally killed another one in Mount Bamo east of the Upper Diyala/Sirwan river. Also for further details concerning the survival Zagros leopards, see Schwartzstein 2014. Mesopotamian Art, Akkadian, and Assyrian steles, reliefs and rock reliefs, show Zagrosians wearing leopard skins; see Albenda 1986: Pl.33, Room 10 slab 13-14; Winter 2004: fig.2; Marf 2014: 24.

¹²⁰ Mason 1944: 198ff.

¹²¹ RINAP I 35: iii 24-30; Bulliet 1990: p. 160, fig. 73; Brown 1986: 111, note. 13; ARAB II 147; RIMA III A.0.102.28: 15--18.

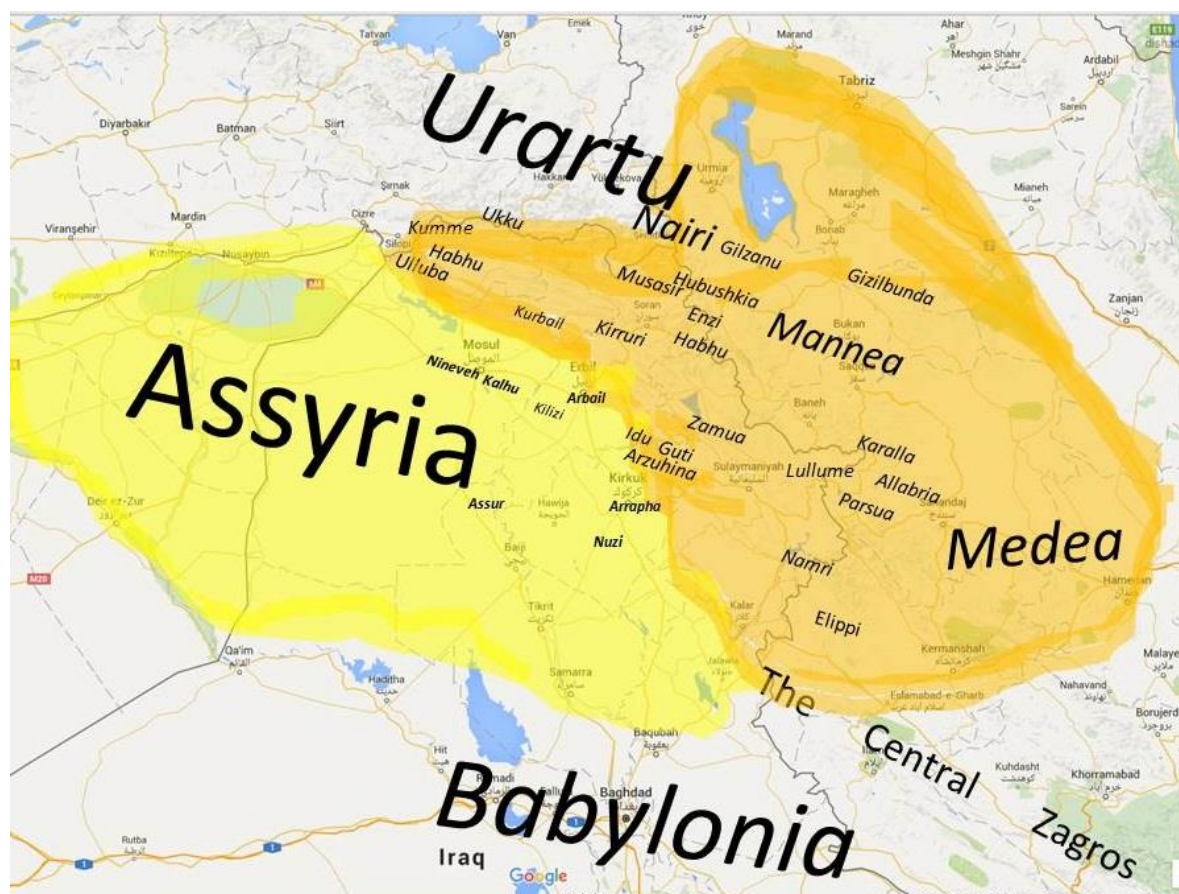
¹²² Gosse 1852: 548; Winter 2004: fig. 2, p.609; Marf 2014: 24. For further details see Chapter III, 3.9.

¹²³ Salvini 1995: 43; RIMA III: A.0.102.14, lines: 168-174; for further details see Chapter II, 2.8.1.c, 2.8.2.c.

¹²⁴ Mason 1944: 204ff.

¹²⁵ As steles of Kêl-e-Shin and Topzawa, etc. For further details see CTU A 3-11 20; A.10-5; Benedict 1961: 359-385.

Qala),¹²⁶ and Media.¹²⁷ Later records, such as the Bible and the Classical sources, refer to them also.¹²⁸ Archaeological evidence includes ceramics, artistic impressions and architecture which show the material culture of some groups (for further details about the peoples of the Northern Zagros, their kingdoms, capitals and their cities (see, Table 1.2.;1.3 and 1.4, in the appendix).¹²⁹ Also, for the general location of the mentioned kingdoms and districts (see map 1.2).



Map1.2. Map of the major cities and capitals in the Assyrian Heartland and the districts, kingdoms in the Northern Zagros districts.

Middle and Neo-Assyrian records name several groups, lands and districts in the Northern Zagros, but there was not necessarily a specific people living in a specific place. They spoke various languages. Physical geographical features such as a valley, rivers or mountains could separate one group from another and passes and bridges facilitated communications between them. From the Assyrian records we learn that the population of the Zagrosian cities was not so big, perhaps in each city only a few thousand people were living, for instance, the largest

¹²⁶van Soldt, et al.: 2013: 212ff.

¹²⁷For further details see Chapter III, 3.4.a. The bronze plaque of *Šilisruh*, for the inscription on the plaque see Chapter III 3.1.3. Also see Radner 2003b: 122.

¹²⁸For instance Herodotus give many details about the Medes and the Scythians, however, there are many doubts about it, for further details see Herodotus, Book I. 72-73; Fuchs and Schmitt 1999d, PNA 1/II B-G: 370; Helm1981: 85-91.

¹²⁹ See Chapter II, III.

number we know of is for Musasir; Sargon II counted 6210, and other records have 6110, or 6170.¹³⁰ In Andia, there were 4200.¹³¹ Tiglath-pileser deported 1200 Medes from Bīt-Sangibūti, and 6208 from several other Median tribes.¹³² Apart from the capital cities there were smaller cities, especially mountain strongholds. Assyrian annals are prone to referring to towns and villages as cities.¹³³ Most of the rulers of the Zagros have no honorific title, simply the male determinative, as in ^mAraštua,¹³⁴ but some were called sheikhs (*nasiku*). In Zamua, Nūr-Adad (^mZĀLAG-^DIŠKUR) the sheikh of Dagara led the revolt against Ashurnasirpal II.¹³⁵

Assyrian records refer to the districts of the tribes of the Medes with the prefix *Bīt-*, perhaps as a translation for a Median term for House. We find Bīt-Zatti, Bīt-Hamban,¹³⁶ Bīt-Sakbat, and Bīt-Kabsi.¹³⁷ In Assyrian the “chieftain” was called the LÚ.EN.URU. Esarhaddon names Uppis of Partakka, Zanasana of Partukka, and Ramateia of Urakazabarna.¹³⁸ In the Assyrian records which deal with the Zagros, KUR determinative was used as a determinative for mountains, lands and also for districts, which can cause confusion, for instance, Ashurnasirpal II mentions the districts of Dagara, and Sipirmena in the land of Zamua, all with KUR determinative.¹³⁹ Similarly URU was used as determinative for cities, strongholds, towns, and even villages. When Šamši-Adad V describes Ušpina as the ruler of 200 “cities” (2 ME URU.MEŠ) in the land Nairi¹⁴⁰ he clearly indicated towns and villages.

Urtian is the only language recorded from the Northern Zagros in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods. But we know Aramaeans had emigrated to the west of Zamua, on the banks of the Lower Zab, they were living there with the Lullubeans, and other Arameans also later deported to Mazamua.¹⁴¹ In Mannea the Aramaic stele of Bukan was discovered, perhaps recorded by a Mannean king.¹⁴²

Other languages will have been spoken. From toponyms and personal names in the Assyrian and Urtian records linguistic elements can be identified. Urtian records are contemporary, but only cover the northern limits of the Northern Zagros. Hurrian is also relevant. This language was spoken in the Bronze Age in the Habur region and Assyria.¹⁴³

¹³⁰ ARAB II 22; 176; Kartvitz 2003: 82. Fuchs 1994.

¹³¹ ARAB II 13, 56.

¹³² RINAP 1, 14: 5b-6a.

¹³³ For further details about the ceramic, art and architecture of the peoples of the Zagros, see below, Chapter III and IV, and concerning the languages, toponyms, personal names of these groups and their categorization see Chapter II, 1.1., 1.2., 1.3.

¹³⁴ Araštua was ruler of the city Ammali during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, see ARAB II 452. In the Northern Zagros, there is no mention of a queen as a ruler of a kingdom, except an example, which is remained as anonymos queen, who was assassinated in unclear circumstances perhaps related to the Urtian penetration in the local issues of Habhu. See SAA V 108: r. 18-28. Also, for further details see Chapter II, 2.7.9.a.

¹³⁵ RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 23-31; Speiser 1928; Unger 1938b, *RIA* II: 101; Brinkman 2001, PNA 2/II, L-N:967

¹³⁶ Unger 1938a, *RIA* II: 41.

¹³⁷ ARAB II 147, 766, 768; Brinkman 1976-1980 b, *RIA* V: 473-464.

¹³⁸ RINAP IV 1: iv 32-45.

¹³⁹ RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 10-15; 75b-78; RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 48-84.

¹⁴⁰ RIMA III A.0.103.1: ii 23-25.

¹⁴¹ RINAP 1 5 10-11.

¹⁴² Fales 2003: 131-147.

¹⁴³ Edzard and Kammenhuber (1972-1975): 507-519; Wilhelm 1989.

Later, in the second half of the second millennium, Hurro-Mittanian influence can be seen in the Nuzi texts.¹⁴⁴ Hurrian suffixes have been identified in toponyms and anthroponyms from the Zagros. Iranian elements in Neo-Elamite and Persian (Achaemenid) records are found in Media and Mannea and other smaller districts in the Northern Zagros.¹⁴⁵ Elements from other languages or specific dialects can perhaps be found in names of cities or mountains or rulers.¹⁴⁶

The main rivers and their tributaries marked linguistic boundaries as did mountain ranges. The main spoken languages and their dialects identified in the Northern Zagros in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods would be Urtian, Hurro-Urtian, Gutian-Lullubian, Iranian, and Aramaic; Assyrian was perhaps used for formal political correspondence and trade. My analysis of the campaigns described in the Assyrian royal inscriptions and administrative letters have led me to distinguish six main groups of peoples and their languages in the light of previous scholarly publications.

The first group are the peoples who lived in the area, which covered the entire mountainous lands of the western part of the Northern Zagros from the Tigris (in the area of Zakho) to the western banks of the lower Zab and Lake Urmia. They spoke **Hurro-Urtian dialects**. These districts and lands which laid under this category were the lands and kingdoms of **Mušru/Mušri**,¹⁴⁷ **Kumme/Qumenu**,¹⁴⁸ **Ulluba/Ullubu**,¹⁴⁹ **Ukku**,¹⁵⁰ which laid in the area between the Tigris from the west and the Upper Zab from the east. Other lands and kingdoms which laid to the east of the Upper Zab were **Kirruri**,¹⁵¹ **Habhu**, **Tumme**, **Enzite/Enzi**, **Daiēnu**, **Musasir**,¹⁵² **Nairi**, and its capital **Hubuškia**. The land of **Šurda**, the peoples of **Gilzānu**, and the northern districts of **Mannea** may also have been slightly influenced by others in this category. Below in some details I refer to some of the peoples and lands of this first group:

Mušru/Mušri

The land of Mušru/Mušri for the first time mentioned in the annals of Adad-nirari I with Šubar.¹⁵³ It is located in the area to the northeast of Nineveh.¹⁵⁴ The land of Mušri also occupied by Shalmaneser I in the same campaign that he occupied the city Arinu (Ardini of Musasir),¹⁵⁵ perhaps the Middle Assyrian land Mušri was the same land/kingdom of Musasir of the Neo-Assyrian records. Also,

¹⁴⁴For the Hurrian languages see Speiser 1941; Wilhelm (1993-1997): 286-296; NPN.

¹⁴⁵For instance see *NPN*; *APN*; and *PNA* volumes. Also see Zadok 2002a, Zadok 2002b; Zadok 1984.

¹⁴⁶For further details see Chapter II, 2.2., and 2.3.

¹⁴⁷ Kessler 1993-1997: 497.

¹⁴⁸Kumme not discovered yet, it is located in the area between the Tigris and the Upper Zab north of Nineveh, in the area near Amadia(Amēdi) or under the citadel of Amadia itself. For the different suggested opinions see Radner 2012b: 254ff; Otten 1980-1983: 337-338; Radner 2006-2008: 206; Röllig 1980-1983): 336-337; Eidem and Læssøe 2001: 22f; Richter 2004: 294; Pfälzner and Sconzo 2015: 90-123.

¹⁴⁹ Postgate 1973b: 58; Salvini 1995: 51-53.

¹⁵⁰ Dubovský 2006: 55; SAA I 31; SAA I 29; Radner 2014a: 90f.

¹⁵¹Levine 1976-1980b, RIA V: 606-607; Saggs 1980: 79-83; Marf 2009c.

¹⁵²Radner 2012b: 246; Salvini 1995a: 445.

¹⁵³RIMA I A.0.76.1: 27-32.

¹⁵⁴Kessler 1993-1997: 497.

¹⁵⁵RIMA I A.0.77.1: 47-55.

the mount on which Sargon II built his new capital Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad) was called Musri (modern Jabal Bashiqa/Bashik or Jabal Maqlub).¹⁵⁶

Ukku

The city and kingdom of Ukku (URU/KUR.*uk-ku*) was one of the buffer kingdoms between Assyria and Urartu.¹⁵⁷ The first known mention of Ukku came in the Assyrian intelligence reports/administrative letters in the last years of the reign of Sargon II, from there the Assyrians could be able to collect news about the Urartians. Maniye the king of Ukku was able to have a good relation with both Assyria and Urartu.¹⁵⁸ But, after the reign of Sargon II the situation changed, and Sennacherib attacked “*the city of Ukku of the land of Daie*” and burned the royal city of Ukku with 33 cities (towns or villages).¹⁵⁹

Habhu

The lands of Habhu and Inner Habhu. Two areas along the Tigris as far as the Lower Zab banks were called Habhu in the Assyrian records. The main one was “*Habhu beyond Kirruir east of the Upper Zab*”, Habhu beyond Kirruir, east of the Upper Zab. The other Habhu was mentioned in the Middle Assyrian annals of Tiglath-pileser I. This king mentions Habhu (“KUR.*Hab-hi*”) as a land located beyond Kurruri with the lands “*Tummu, Daiēnu, Himua, Paiteru, and Habhu*”.¹⁶⁰ Another area was called Inner Habhu KUR.*hab-hi šá be-ta-nu* “*the interior of the land Habhu*,” located before Himua and Paiteru.¹⁶¹ The land of Habhu was considered as a part of Nairi or on its border. Habhu was laid by Sargon II on Nairi and Musasir’s border. On his way from Urmia passing Musasir he says that he crossed the Upper Zab, the river which is called Elamunia¹⁶² by the peoples of Nairi and Habhu (read by Luckenbill as Kirhi).

Tumme

The land of Tumme (KUR.*tum4-me/tu-um-mi/KUR.nim-me*) was located beyond the Kurruri passes to the east of it, a neighbour of the land *Daiēnu*, in the southeast of the Ruwanduz valley. It was mentioned for the first time in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I and considered as one of the lands of Nairi.¹⁶³ After that it was mentioned in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III.¹⁶⁴ Tumme perhaps laid to the southeast of Diana and the Ruwanduz plain and valley, perhaps modern village Tutmê’s name is derived from that ancient toponym at its folk-etymology as proposed first by Al-Qaradaghi.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁶Kessler 1993-1997: 497.

¹⁵⁷Radner 2012: 257ff.

¹⁵⁸Dubovský 2006: 55; SAA I 31; SAA I 29; Radner 2014a: 90f.

¹⁵⁹ARAB II 245.

¹⁶⁰RIMA II A.0.87.4: 15-17; A.0.87.1: iv 7-31; RIMA I, A.0.87.1:iv 8; Parker 2001: 42; Parpola and Porter 2001: map.4; Levine 1972-1975a, RIA IV: 12-13.

¹⁶¹RIMA I A.0.87.10: 17-20.

¹⁶²ARAB II 170; Parker 2001: 42.

¹⁶³RIMA III A.0.102.12: 15-16; Fuchs 2014: 184-185; Russell 1984:188f; RIMA II A.0.87.13: 1-3; A.0.87.4: 15-17; A.0.87.2: 25-27.

¹⁶⁴RIMA II A.0.101.1: i 43b-54a; A.0.101.1: I 54b; RIMA III A.0.102.12: 15-16.

¹⁶⁵Al-Qaradaghi 2008: p.93, note.5.

Enzite/Enzi

In the Middle and Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions several times the land of Enzatu (KUR.*En-za-tu*), and the city of Enzi (URU.*En-zi*), and the passes of Enzatu (KUR.*en-zi-te*)/Enzi are mentioned.¹⁶⁶ It is the toponym always mentioned with/within Urartu and/or within the lands of Nairi. The River Aršana separated Enzite from the land of Suhme (its capital/fortified city was Uaštal), and Suhme/Suhni (KUR.*su-uh-ni*) bordering on the land/city Daiēnu, and Daiēnu bordered on the city Aršašku(n), the royal city of Aramu, the Urartian king.¹⁶⁷ The eastern neighbor of Enzite was Hubuškia. In his annals Shalmaneser III speaks of “*the passes of the land Enzite,*” “(and) *came out through the passes of Mount Kirru[ri] before Arbail.*”¹⁶⁸ In another record from Enzi more directly to Arbail, he says “*I entered the pass of the land Enzi and came out before Arbail.*”¹⁶⁹ Tiglath-pileser III conquered two cities of the land Enzi, the cities Anganu and Benu, which are called “*as fortresses of the land Urartu on the Kalla... River.*”¹⁷⁰ Very probably the land Enzatu/Enzi was located in the area to the east of Kurruri and southeast of modern Ruwanduz. There are passes in that area that lead to many directions. Moreover, there is a modern village called Ênzê, a name that does not have any meaning in the modern Kurdish language. Therefore, perhaps it is a *volksetymologie* which remained till now. Al-Qaradaghi reached a similar conclusion.¹⁷¹

Daiēnu

For the first time the land Daiēnu is recorded in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I. The king of Daiēnu, together with 23 united kings of the lands Nairi, including kings of the area, prepared 120 chariots for the battle, but Tiglath-pileser I claims that he defeated them.¹⁷² He considered all the area of the lands of Nairi to be “*the extensive lands [Nairi], from Tammu to the lands Daienu, Himua, Paiteru, and Habhu.*”¹⁷³ And he captured 30 kings.¹⁷⁴ The land Daiēnu mentioned in the Assyrian annals has to be located at the modern Diana plain beyond Kurruri.¹⁷⁵

Nairi

The lands of Nairi was a very broad geographical term for the tribes who lived in the area from the Upper banks of the Tigris to the lake of Nairi (the Urmia basin). In Middle Assyrian records the mentioned lands and tribes of Nairi cover the tribes who lived from the area of the Upper banks of the Tigris to the area below the Lake Van, as far as the Upper banks of the Upper Zab. However, the Neo-Assyrian records locate Nairi and its lake in the area from Kurruri to the Lake

¹⁶⁶RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 63b-66a.

¹⁶⁷RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 34b-65a.

¹⁶⁸RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 63b-66a.

¹⁶⁹RIMA III A.0.102.28; Salvini 1995: 46.

¹⁷⁰RINAP I 39: 34-36.

¹⁷¹Al-Qaradaghi 2008: 125, note.5; Unger 1938c, RIA II: 405-406.

¹⁷²RIMA II A.0.87.1: 77-90.

¹⁷³RIMA II A.0.87.4: 15-17.

¹⁷⁴RIMA II A.0.87.2: 25-27.

¹⁷⁵Marf 2015: 132ff.

Urmia. In the annals of Shalmaneser III the lands of Nairi covered the lands of Daiēnu, Himu, Hubuškia, and the area of the Nairi sea. However, Hubushkia itself was called a land and a city, but sometimes it was called the capital of Nairi. During the reign of Sargon II it becomes clear that Nairi was located in the area east of Musasir, to the southwest shores of the Lake Urmia.¹⁷⁶ This is also support for the first mention of Nairi in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I. He considered the whole area as “*the extensive lands of [Nairi], from Tammu to the lands Daienu, Himua, Paiteru, and Habhu.*”¹⁷⁷

Hubuškia

The city and the land of Hubuškia (KUR/URU. *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a*, URU.*hub-uš-ki-a*, Hubuša (*hu-buš-a-a*) and Hubhušna, the city of the Hubuškeans (URU *hu-buš-ka-a-a*).¹⁷⁸ For the first time it is mentioned in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II. When he camped in Zamua he received tributes from many lands and cities including Hubuškia and Gilzanu.¹⁷⁹ Its location was to the area southwest of Kilzanu and the Lake Urmia, to the west of Mannea. Shalmaneser III conquered and captured the Šilaia headquarter, the stronghold of Kāki the king of the land Hubuškia. Then he went back through the passes of the land Enzite to the passes of Mount Kurruri and went out before Arbail. Zaba-iqiša was another city in Hubuska.¹⁸⁰ In his annals Sargon II regarded the stronghold of Hubuškia as the headquarters of Ianzû, and he calls Ianzû the king of Nairi.¹⁸¹

Šurda

The land Šurda and its king Adâ are mentioned only once in the annals of Sargon II, it was located between Karalla and Media.¹⁸² If the Adâ of Arzizu, mentioned in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II during his campaign on Zamua, was the same as Ata the ruler of Arzizu mentioned on the glazed brick of Rabat Tepe, then perhaps Rabat Tepe was the ancient city Arzizu. It belonged to Zamua, or it was located at its northeastern border, at least during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II. The Adâ (*Da-da-a*) mentioned in Assyrian administrative letters was not the ruler of “Šurda?” as Parpola and Lanfranchi proposed with a question mark¹⁸³. However, the Adâ mentioned in a letter (SAA V 190) was the ruler of a city, either in Ukku or in Kumme on the Urartian frontier, because the letters deal with issues related to the area of the Upper Zab and the Lesser Khabur, not the area of the Lower Zab (between Zamua and Mannea). According to the letter (SAA V 190) Adâ was active in Ukku: “[N]ow Adâ [has ...ed] Baziya, the s[on of] the Ukk[ean].”¹⁸⁴ But, the Adâ mentioned in SAA V 168 is the author of the admini-

¹⁷⁶ ARAB II 170; Salvini 1998-2001: 87-91.

¹⁷⁷ RIMA II A.0.87.1: 77-90; A.0.87.4: 15-17; A.0.87.2: 25-27.

¹⁷⁸ SAA I 30: 3'-5'; Lanfranchi 1995: 131; RIMA III A.0.102.2: 64; RIMA II A.0. 101.1: 80.

¹⁷⁹ RIMA II A.0. 101.1: 80.

¹⁸⁰ Mattila 2000: 83.

¹⁸¹ ARAB II 21, 56. For further details about Hubushkia see SAA V, p. XVIII; Zimansky 1990: 1-21; Reade 1994: 186; Levine 1977: 147; Frame 2009: 74, 77; Levine 1972-1975b, RIA IV: 479; Fabritius 2000: 475.

¹⁸² Frame 2009: 74, 77; ARAB II 79: 118.

¹⁸³ SAA V p.243; SAA V 168 and 190.

¹⁸⁴ SAA V 190: r.6-8.

strative letter that deals with the “Urartian Camp” on the Assyrian frontier.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, according to Haidari the Adâ mentioned in the inscription on the glazed brick of Rabat Tepe was the ruler of Šurda.¹⁸⁶

Gilzānu

The land and the city of Gilzānu KUR *gīl-za-ni*,¹⁸⁷ and the city of the Gilzanians (URU *gīl-za-na-a-ia*)¹⁸⁸ bordered from the east on the Nairi sea (the Lake Urmia), from the north-west on the land of Nairi and Musasir, from the southwest on Hubuškia, and from the southeast on Mannea, as mentioned for the first time in the annals of Ashurbanipal II. At the time of Shalmaneser III the king of Gilzanu was called Asua/Asû.¹⁸⁹ Gilzanu and Hubuškia never fought against the Assyrians. They paid their regular tributes to them, consisting of horses, camels with two humps, cattle, sheep and metals. Salvini identified Hasanlu with the city of Mešta of the Urartian records.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, Reade identified Hasanlu with Gilzanu, and Kroll and Muscarella supported this identification.¹⁹¹

The second group consisted of the **Urartians** and their land Biainili,¹⁹² and other groups that spoke Hurro-Urartian dialects. The Urartians originated in the area between Musasir, Hubuškia, Nairi, and the area to the northeast of Kurruri. There were the first Urartian capitals and the strong cities **Arzashkun**, **Sugunia** (see fig.1.4.a-b).¹⁹³ It is possible that from the ninth century to the eighth century BCE the royal family of Urartu originated from that area. Even later, the royal family of Rusa either originated from Musasir or from Nairi to the west of Lake Urmia. Sargon II called Arbu “*the city of the father’s house Ursâ*.”¹⁹⁴ Perhaps the Urartian royal family originated from the area of Musasir, and probably that was one of the reasons to consider Haldi as the supreme deity of Urartu. Zimansky assumes that it was perhaps “*because of ancestral ties to that area*.”¹⁹⁵

In the 9th century BCE Musasir was probably in the Urartian heartland, and the first royal city Arzashkun was not far from Musasir.¹⁹⁶ But the Urartians left that area because of Assyrian pressure, it is during the reign of Aramu that Shalmaneser III destroyed two of their capitals, Arzashkun and Sugunia. Arzashkun was located near Musasir, probably to the southwest of it, and Sugunia was located to the east of Musasir, between Hubuškia and Nairi, to the west of

¹⁸⁵SAA V 168.

¹⁸⁶Haidari 2010: 150; Reade and Finkel 2014: 594; Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 67; Fuchs 1998: 20f; Mattila 1999a: 359f; Mattila 1999b: 360.

¹⁸⁷RIMA II A.0.101.26: 4.

¹⁸⁸RIMA II A.0.101. 17: i 80.

¹⁸⁹RIMA III A.0.102.1: 33b-40a.

¹⁹⁰Röllig 1957-1971b, *RIA* III:375; RIMA II A.0.101.17: i 77-81; A.0.102.1: 33b-40a; Salvini 1995:25, 41-43, 46.

¹⁹¹Reade 1979; Reade 1994: 185; Kroll 2012a: 277-284; Muscarella 2006: 82; Muscarella 2012b: 5-17.

¹⁹²Dinçol and Dinçol 2011: 175; Zimansky 1995a: 1136; Tarhan 2011: 288.

¹⁹³RIMA III A.0.102.1: 29b-33a; Radner 2011a: 745; Marf 2015: 127-140; Piller 2012: 378.

¹⁹⁴ARAB II 20; Zimansky 2012: 101-107.

¹⁹⁵Zimansky 2012: 105. Zimansky 1995b: 171-180.

¹⁹⁶Radner 2011a: 745; Marf 2015: 130, note .24; Piller 2012: 378.

lake Urmia.¹⁹⁷ Sarduri I moved its capital to Turushpa (in Van). However, the people of the area of Musasir, such as the Nairians, Ullubeans, and Habhu perhaps all spoke a Hurro-Urartian dialect. Perhaps it was close to the dialect of Musasir and the language that was chosen by the Urartian kings for their inscriptions.¹⁹⁸ The first known Urartian king Aramu was mentioned in the annals of Shalameser III in the 9th century BCE, but Uruaṭri (Urartu) was first mentioned in the annals of Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 BCE).¹⁹⁹ It was also mentioned in the annals of Ashur-bel-kala (1074-1056 BCE), in the annals of Adad-nerari II (911-891 BCE) and those of Ashurnasirpal II.²⁰⁰ Moreover, the 40 Nairi kings mentioned by Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 BCE) and the 23 kings and other 60 kings of Nairi mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BCE) are considered by scholars as a continuation of Urartu, the Urartu that is meant by Nairi.²⁰¹ However, this is not clear, because during the reigns of Shalmaneser III (1274 BCE) and Sargon II the lands Urartu and Nairi were both mentioned in their annals.²⁰²

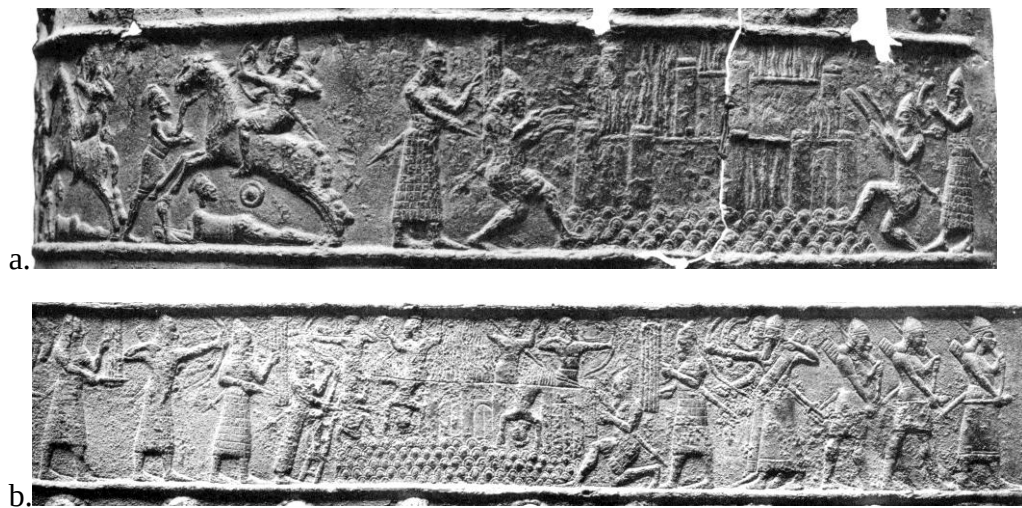


Fig.1.4.a-b. Two scenes depicted on the Bronze Gate of Balawat. It shows Shalmaneser III's campaign, the Urartian capital Arzashkun (a) (After: King 1915: Pl.XXXIX, Band VII.3) and the Urartian city Sugunia (b) under heavy sieges and flames (after King 1915: Pl.III, Band. I.3).

The third group spoke the **Old Zagrosian languages and its dialects**. These languages were spoken by groups known from Sumerian and Akkadian records since the mid-third millennium BCE in the Early Dynastic, Akkadian, and Old Babylonian periods, and the local records (which are mainly recorded in Akkadian).²⁰³ These groups appeared also in the Middle Assyrian records and some of them even in the Neo-Assyrian records. Some names were contemporary but a few were historical names for specific geographical areas.

¹⁹⁷RIMA III A.0.102.1: 29-40a; A.0.102.2: 47b-56a.

¹⁹⁸Zimansky 2012: 103; Roaf 2012a: 205; Marf 2014: 13-29.

¹⁹⁹RIMA I A.0.77.1: 22-46.

²⁰⁰Salvini 2015: 393.

²⁰¹Zimansky 1995a: 1136; Zimansky 2012: 101ff; Reade 1994: 186. Levine 1977: 147; Zimansky 1990: 1-21.

²⁰²ARAB II 170.

²⁰³The local records as Shemshara letters (Eidem & Læssøe 2001), rock reliefs and steles inscribed with Akkadian by local kings of the Zagros, during the Middle Bronze Age. (See Ahmed 2012: 306ff; Postgate and Roaf 1997: 143-155).

The group includes the Lullubeans. Zadok and others say that the Lullubeans did not have their own ethnic language, but from a geographical and linguistic perspective they are distinct from their neighbours, being neither Semitic, Hurrian nor Iranian. They were an ancient people with a specific language and dialects, although no common elements have been identified in their names.²⁰⁴ This is the area between the Lower Zab and Upper Diyala/Sirwan, on the modern map from the plains of Koya and Rania, from the west bank of the Lower Zab, the plains of Chemchamal, Sangaw and Garmian, between modern Kirkuk and Sulaimania governorates, as well as the area administered by the Sulaimania and Halabja governorates to the border with Iran. In that area there were the **Lullubeans** (in Zamua/Mazamua and the interior Zamua)²⁰⁵ and other peoples. The **Gutians** perhaps lived from Kirkuk on the eastern banks of the Lower Zab to the mountain ranges near Dukan.²⁰⁶ Then there were **Kassites** who after the fall of Kassite Dynasty lived in the mountains of Qaradagh and in **Namri**. In Namri were various groups of Kassites, Hurrians, Babylonians, and individual Medes.²⁰⁷ The people of **Kakmum**,²⁰⁸ and **Turrukkum** lived somewhere on the banks of the Lower Zab near the Mannean border. There were also **Aramean**²⁰⁹ immigrants and deportees. The immigrants settled in the land of Ladānu on the west bank of the Lower Zab²¹⁰ and in **Arzuhina**²¹¹ and **Zamua**.²¹² Below in some details I refer to some of the peoples and lands of this third group:

Turukkum

The Turrukeans of the land Turukku (KUR.*tu-ru-ki-i*) were one of the ancient peoples of the Northern Zagros. According to Læssøe and Eidem the Turrukeans were one of the Hurrian speaking groups that lived on the Upper banks of the Lower Zab. The Turrukeans were very active in the events of the 19th century BCE on the banks of the Lower Zab.²¹³ Turukku is only once mentioned in the Middle Assyrian records, Adad-narari I called himself the conqueror of Turukku (KUR.*tu-ru-ki-i*).²¹⁴

Guti/Quti

²⁰⁴For further details about these linguistic elements see Chapter II, 2.2., and 2.3.

²⁰⁵The mentioned Mazamua (KUR *ma-za-mu-a*) In the annals of Shalmaneser III was meant by the same the interior land of Zamua, because in the Shalmaneser III's annals when it refers to the pass of the land Bunais then the land of the interior land of Zamua mentioned, except the only record concerning Mazamua (KUR *ma-za-mu*) (SAA V 227: 13), and in an Assyrian administrative letter there is a mention of the city of Mazamuans. (for further details concerning Zamua/Mazamua and the interior Zamua, see RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 75b-78a; SAA VI 119: r. 18; SAA VI 119:r. 18; Klengel 1987-1990: 164-168; Eidem and Læssøe 2001: 30f; for Nullu see Lacheman 1940: 22f.

²⁰⁶Hallo 1957-1971: 706-720; Eidem and Læssøe 2001: 31f; Hallo 2005; .

²⁰⁷Kessler 1998-2001: 91-92; Kessler 1998-2001: 189-190 .

²⁰⁸Röllig 1976-1980a, *RIA* V: 289.

²⁰⁹Na'aman 1994: lines: 2-9; Na'aman 1994: lines:11-12, p.33f; RIMA II A.0.98.1: 22-16; van Soldt, et al., 2013: 219; RIMA II A.0.100.5: 30-40; A.0.101.1. I.58; Zadok 2013: 414; see SAAS XI: 146; Malamat 1973:134.

²¹⁰RIMA II A.0.100.5: 30-40.

²¹¹SAAS XI: 153-154. For further details about Arzuhina see Nashef 1982: 40; SAA V 227: 8; SAA XIX. 115 r.6 -12, pp.117-118.

²¹²Klengel 1987-1990: 164-168.

²¹³Ahmed 2012: 280, 342; Eidem and Læssøe 2001: 25f; Ziegler 2014: 209-212.

²¹⁴RIMA I A.0.76.1: 18-24; Læssøe and Eidem 2001: 20.

The Gutians were one of the first known groups of the Zagros in the Sumerian and Akkadian records. They struggled against the Akkadians, attacked Akkad, and ruled Mesopotamia. They were first mentioned by Sargon of Akkad, and the last Akkadian king Šar-kali-šarrī named one of regnal years “*the year Gutium was defeated.*” The name is written *Gu-ti-um^{ki}/Gu-tu-um^{ki}*. The first known king of the Gutians is Erridu-pizir. He ruled a vast area of Mesopotamia and the Zagros, including the Assyrian heartland.²¹⁵ The Gutian dynasty that succeeded the Akkadian dynasty is recorded in the Sumerian King List with forty rulers. Their last king was Tirigan who was defeated by Utu-hengal, the Sumerian king of Uruk.²¹⁶

In Ashur, some of the first known ENSI governors left commemorative inscriptions, names of some of them are considered as Gutian and/or Lullubean. The governors were Ushpia, Kikia and also Ititi, son of Iakulaba.²¹⁷ These names were considered as names of rulers who ruled Ashur during the period of the ‘Gutian dynasty’, the period when the Gutians and other peoples destroyed the Akkadian empire, the plains of Mesopotamia and the foothills of the ‘Iraqi Zagros.’²¹⁸ In the Shemshara letters, there is a mention of Gutian soldiers crossing the river (probably the Lower Zab) to participate in the conflicts of the kingdoms along the banks of the Lower Zab, and between these kingdoms and Šamši-Adad I.²¹⁹ Moreover, after Šamši-Adad I, Hammu-rāpi says that he defeated the armies of Gutium, Subartu and Eshnunna.²²⁰

During the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods the Qutu and their land (KUR.Qu-tu/Qu-ti) were mentioned in two different ways, the first and most common way was considering the highlanders as Gutians, it did not matter for the Assyrian scribes that these peoples were Urartians, Gutians or Medes, they were called Qutu/Gutu.²²¹ And in some times the Assyrian scribe referred to the Qutu meant by the Gutians of the historical records of the Middle Bronze Age. On the other hand, in some of the Assyrian records the Gutians were mentioned as a contemporary group of people living in the area on the east bank of the Lower Zab in a district beside or with the Lullubeans during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian period. Moreover, the Assyrian records refer to Gutians in Media.²²²

The Gutians were mentioned first in the annals of the Middle Assyrian king Adad-narari I, who called himself a defeater of the army of “*the Kassites, Qutu, Lullumu, and Šubaru.*”²²³, and as “*conqueror of the land*”, “*all rulers of the mountains and hills of the extensive district of the Qutu.*”²²⁴ Tukulti-Ninurta I called himself the “*defeater*

²¹⁵RIME 2 E2.1.5. iv:n. p.183; E2.2.1: I-3, p.220ff.

²¹⁶RIME 2, E3/2.1.1.d. p.11.

²¹⁷ARAB I 17 and 18; also, see Speiser 1930: p.90, note.8. Also, see Ahmed 2012: 80, note. 257.

²¹⁸ARAB I 17 and 18.

²¹⁹Eidem & Læssøe 2001: 11, 4; 42, 14; 47, 8, 3.

²²⁰RIME IV, E4.3.6.4: 5, p.339; RIME 4, E4.3.6.4: 5, p.339.

²²¹RIMA III A.0.102.5: ii 5b – iii 3a.

²²²RIMA III A.0.102.1002:5; A.0. 104.2010: 8-11.

²²³RIMA I A.0.76.1: 1-4.

²²⁴RIMA I A.0.76.1: 19-21; A.0.77.4: 10-16.

of the princes of the Qutu.”²²⁵ He claims that he destroyed the Gutian cities.²²⁶ Mentioning Gutian cities here may be used as an indication that at least not all the Gutians were nomads at that time. Tukulti-Ninurta I mentions another area of Gut/Qutu, and he called them “*the land of the distant Qutu*”. Perhaps that land was a rough mountainous area, and for that reason it is described as follows: “*the paths to which are extremely difficult and the terrain of which [is unsuitable] for the movement of my army, ...*”²²⁷ The land of Qutu with the land of Lullubu are mentioned together as lands located “*on the opposite bank of the Lower Zab, in its mountainous area*”.²²⁸ From that record of Tukulti-Ninurta I it appears that the Gutians were living in the east of the Lower Zab river, the same area that was considered as the land of Lullumu. Its border is described as follows: “*(The region) between the city Šasila (and) the city Mašhaṭ-šarri on the opposite bank of the Lower Zab, from Mount Zuqušku and Mount Lallar – the district of the extensive Qutu.*”²²⁹

After Tukulti-Ninurta I, there is no known mention of the Qutu in the Assyrian records as far as the reign of Shalmaneser III. After mentioning Shalmaneser III's plundering of the Urartian capital Arzashkun the scribe ends with the following details: “*I [Shalamneser] poured out my lordly splendour over the land of the extensive Guti. I entered the pass of the land Enzi and came out before Arbail.*” Here are mentioned “*KUR.qu-te-e DAGAL-ti at-bu-uk*”, and “*the land of the extensive Guti.*”²³⁰ Then it says “*I slaughtered the extensive Guti like the god Erra.*”²³¹ Here Shalmaneser compared himself with the god Erra, and the Urartians with the Gutians.

In his annals, Adad-nirari III says that the Urartian king Argištu (Argišti I) “*rebelled and assembled the people together at the land of the Guti.*”²³² In Tiglath-pileser III's annals the Gutians were meant by some of the tribal ‘highlanders’ of Media, he deported them to the Mediterranean coast in Syria.²³³ Diakonoff called these Qutu people “*the local aboriginal population of the still not-Iranized valleys of the Zagros.*”²³⁴ Sargon II in his annals refers to occupying “*all of Gutium,*” he mentioned them beside the great known lands Amurru, Hatti, the distant Medes, and Elam.²³⁵ There was a lunar eclipse on the evening of 24 October 714 BCE, when Sargon II was in the Northern Zagros on his eighth campaign. That was an omen which encouraged him to plunder Musasir. The Assyrian priests interpreted it as “*the god Magur, lord of the disk, came to rest at the “watch” (portending) the overthrow of Gutium.*” (Magur was “The moon” god).²³⁶ However, that omen and other omens with sacrifices to

²²⁵RIMA I A.0.78.7: 2-3.

²²⁶RIMA I A.0.78.1: ii 14-iii7.

²²⁷RIMA I A.0.78.1: iii 8-10.

²²⁸RIMA I A.0.78.1: ii 24-36.

²²⁹RIMA I A.0.78.2: 17-36. Concerning the names of these two cities, see Chapter II, 2.3. (See Hallo 1957-1971: 708-720; Parker 2001: 59, note.255.

²³⁰RIMA III A.0.102.28: 41.

²³¹RIMA III A.0.102.5: iii 2.

²³²RIMA III A.0.104.2010: 11-13.

²³³RINAP 1, 14: 5b-6a; Rogers 1912: 320ff.; RINAP 1, 14: 8b-10a.

²³⁴Diakonoff 1991: 16.

²³⁵ARAB II 54, 96.

²³⁶ARAB II 170; Jakubiak 2004: 193; Oppenheim 1960: 133-147.

Shamash did not lead Sargon to Gutium, but to Musasir. Here Gutium was used as a general name of the ‘*mountain dwellers*’. In another inscription, Esarhaddon mentions the Gutians beside the Manneans and the Scythians, as “*qu-tu la sa-an-qu*” ‘*undisciplined Gutians*.’²³⁷ The Elamites and the Gutians/Qutu sent messengers to Assyria for peacemaking: “*they sent their messengers (with messages) of friendship and peace to Nineveh, before me, and they swore an oath by the great gods.*”²³⁸ After the fall of Assyria, the Gutians and Guti people are mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicles and in the Cylinder of Cyrus.²³⁹

Kassites and Namri

After the fall of the Kassite Dynasty in Babylon, part of the Kassites went back to the Zagros, most of them settled in the area between Arrapha and Diyala in the mountain ranges of Qaradagh. Sennacherib in his second campaign in 702 BCE attacked the Zagros ranges east of Arrapha to the west of Diyala, he captured the fortified city Bīt-Kilmazah that was inhabited by the Kassites and Yasubigallians. They were deported and resettled in the cities of Hardišpu and Bīt-Kilmazah, the territory under the control of the governor of Arrapha.²⁴⁰ Sennacherib only mentions one city, Bīt-Kilmazah, and he refers to “*smaller settlements, which were without number.*” Also, he says that he burned with fire “*the pavilions (and) tents*” and among the booties he only mentions “*horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats*”²⁴¹. Therefore the Kassites and Yasubigallians probably were both semi-nomads living in difficult mountains of the Zagros somewhere to the east of Arrapha in the Qaradagh range, but there were also Kassite people in Namri, and several names of rulers in the Zagros, in Mannea, Media, Namri, etc.²⁴²

The **fourth group** were peoples in the **Urmia basin** and east of it as far as Qazvin, the **Manneans** with district names as **Andia**, **Zikirtu**, **Surikash** and **Missi**.²⁴³ The **Gizilbundeans**²⁴⁴ were also there. In these districts the linguistic influence of Hurrian, Urartian, Kassite, and Iranian languages can be seen in different degrees. Some local unrelated linguistic elements are also seen. Manneans and Gizilbundeans who are not mentioned in the Middle Assyrian or the Bronze Age records were not the Newcomers, but perhaps remnants of ancient groups. The **Cimmerians** and **Scythians** were the Newcomers who crossed the northeastern frontier of Urartu and destroyed the Urartian fortresses on their way to the Urmia basin from Caucasia in the late 8th century BCE.²⁴⁵ The Cimmerians attacked the southeastern

²³⁷RINAP 4, 1: iii 59-61.

²³⁸RINAP 4, 1: v 26-27.

²³⁹See Finkel 2013: 5, line 13; 6-7: lines 29-31; Parpola 2003: 343ff; Hallo 1971: 708-720.

²⁴⁰RINAP 3/1: 20-26; Zadok 2002b: 8.10.

²⁴¹RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

²⁴²For Namri see above, and for the Zagrosian rulers with Kassite names see Chaoter II, 2.4, personal names, for the Kassites in the second millennium, their origin and their dynasty see Brinkman 1976-1980 b, *RIA* V: 464-473, esp.470ff.

²⁴³Postgate 1989: 340-341; ARAB II 148; Levine 1976-1980a, *RIA* V: 226; Diakonoff 1985 *CHI II*: 65, 73; *RINAP4*: 1 iii 59-61; 2 ii 20; 3 ii 30; Ezekiel 27.17; Fuchs 1994; Boehmer 1964: 11-24.

²⁴⁴*RIMA III* A.0.104.7: 5b-14; Parpola 1970: 134; Zadok 2002b: 49; Rölling 1957-1971a, *RIA III*:407.

²⁴⁵Kroll 2014: 204; Kristensen 1998.

Uartian provinces and fought the Mannaeans. The Scythians arrived in Media and under Kaštaritu, ruler of the ‘Median?’ city Kar-Kašši, they attacked the Assyrians.²⁴⁶

Many scholars attribute the evidence of destruction and burning of Uartian forts and fortifications along the route from Armenia down to the Urmia basin to the penetration of the Cimmerians and the Scythians into these areas. Kroll says: “*It is now evident that major centres of the kingdom of Urartu were destroyed around the middle of the 7th century BCE,..... Places like Karmir Blur, Armavir, Altintepe, Bastam, Ayanis went up in flames.*”²⁴⁷ Moreover, Horom was abandoned,²⁴⁸ Ziwiye was burnt down.²⁴⁹ Zendan-i Suleiman was destroyed.²⁵⁰ Kroll concludes that “*The attackers may have been Cimmerians, Scythians, or Medes.*”²⁵¹ Zimansky reached a similar conclusion that “*the destruction of the major Uartian citadels in the mid-seventh century may have been Scythian work, although the details are elusive.*”²⁵² But, the Medes have to be excluded, because there is no direct textual or clear archaeological evidence to support Median penetration into that area.

Similarly, Musasir faced the same destiny, and it was destroyed by the Scythians and/or Cimmerians.²⁵³ We can now add other Iron Age sites in the Iraqi Zagros to the list of those plundered and burned in Scytho-Cimmerian invasions. Recently discovered architectural remains of some houses of Musasir show they had been abandoned, burned and destroyed in the area of the villages of Sidekan-Topzawa. According to Danti these are buildings of Musasir and other scholars assume that Musasir “*must have been destroyed shortly after 24th October 714 BC.*”²⁵⁴ That was the date of a lunar eclipse in the Zagros. The Assyrian priests advised Sargon that it was a good omen leading him to attack Musasir and plunder it.²⁵⁵ But in fact Sargon does not claim to have destroyed Musasir, only to have plundered the city and its temple. The reliefs of Khorsabad confirm this. On his way to Musasir he proudly claimed to have besieged, burned and destroyed Median cities.²⁵⁶ Therefore any destruction in the late 8th

²⁴⁶SAA V 92: 145: 4-8, r.6-14; 144: r.5-11; SAA I 32: 11-16; Zimansky 2011: 120; Drews 2004: 96; Kristensen 1998; SAAS XX: p.21; Tadmor, Landsberger, and Parpola, 1989: 3-51; Weaver 2004: 61-66. SAA V 92. And in the letter queries of Essarhaddon to Shamash god, see SAA IV 24: 7-11; 269: 2-5; 35: 4-5; 36: 2-5; 43; Genesis 10:2 it is mentioned beside Madai and other sons of Japheth. In Genesis 10:3, Ashkenaz, Riphath and Togarmah are sons of Gomer. For further details see Ezekiel 38:6; SAA IV 4: 21; Teppo 2005: 44; RINAP 4, 1: iii 59-61; SAA IV 43: 4-12; SAA IV 295 and 296; SAA IV 24: 9-11; Marf, D. A. (forthcoming), “Who Destroyed Musasir?” *Proceeding of the presented papers in the 61st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Geneva, on July 22nd 2015, Orbit Biblicus et Orientalis (OBO).*

²⁴⁷Kroll 2014: 204.

²⁴⁸Kohl & Kroll 1999: 243-259.

²⁴⁹Kroll 2000: 379-384.

²⁵⁰Kroll 2014: 204; Thomalsky 2006: 223.

²⁵¹Kroll 2014: 204. Also, see Muscarella 2012a: 276.

²⁵²Zimansky 2011: 120; also see Steel 2008:5-16.

²⁵³ Further details appear in: Marf, D. A. (forthcoming), “Who Destroyed Musasir?” *Proceeding of the presented papers in the 61st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Geneva, on July 22nd 2015, OBO.*

²⁵⁴Jakubiak 2004: 193; Danti, 2014: 29ff; Oppenheim 1960: 133-147.

²⁵⁵ARAB II 170.

²⁵⁶ See ARAB II ; Lie 1929: 152-154; ARAB II 171, 172, 175, 176, and for the relief see Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.141, Room XIII, slab 4, also see Chapter III, 3.1, and Chapter IV, 4.2, and 4.3. architecture of Musasir.

century or early 7th century BCE in Musasir was caused by Scytho-Cimmerian invasions into that area. This fits Assyrian intelligence reports,²⁵⁷ and the evidence of other contemporary destruction east and northeast of Musasir, between Lake Urmia and Lake Van.

The life-size burial statues that were discovered in the area of Musasir are identical with Scythian burial statues discovered north of the Black Sea and the recently discovered Scythian burial statues in Shandukha in the Dohuk valley north of Nineveh.²⁵⁸ The iconography is similar. As grave-stone monuments on sloped mound burials they date to the period of the Scythian penetration in the 7th-6th centuries BCE.²⁵⁹

The **fifth group** were living in the area **south of Mannea**, south of the Urmia Basin as far as Luristan/Central Zagros and the banks of the Diyala/Sirwan, as well to the south east of Mannea as far as Qazvin and the Iranian plateau. It was in this area after the ninth century BCE that the Newcomers had settled. They came from the so-called Iranian groups, who mainly spoke Median,²⁶⁰ with its different tribal dialects. The whole area to the south and southeast of Mannea and east of Lullubu included several Median tribal districts mentioned in the Assyrian records. Other small kingdoms and districts included Allabria, Karalla,²⁶¹ Parsua²⁶² and Ellipe.²⁶³ In and around the Median areas Kassite, Hurrian, Akkadian and sometimes Old Iranian and Elamite elements occur in personal names and place names, although Median was the dominant language. I refer to Allabria and its neighbours in this group in some detail:

Allabria, the land and city of Allabria (KUR/URU *al-lab-ri-a*), the neighbour of Karalla was bordered from the west with Lullume, from the north with Mannea, and from the south with Parsua, its fortified/capital city was Paddira, plundered by Shalmaneser III. At the time of Shalmaneser III the king of Allabria was Ianziburiaš.²⁶⁴ Later, Itî, the king of Allabria revolted against the Assyrians, and became an Urartian vassal. Consequently Sargon II

For more details about the Scytho-Cimmerian penetrations into Musasir see Marf, D. A, (forthcoming), "Who Destroyed Musasir?" *Proceeding of the presented papers in the 61st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Geneva, on July 22nd 2015, OBO.*

²⁵⁷ SAA IV 23: 5-9; Lanfranchi 1995: 127-137.

²⁵⁸ A few Scythian statues discovered in Kherson in Ukrain at the shore of the Black Sea, also in modern Armenia and elsewhere in Western and Central Asia. For further details see Sulimirski 1985, *CHI* 2: *fig.1 a-c*; Rice 1965: 66, *fig.54-55*; Potts 2012; Sulimirski 1954: 282-318..At Shandukha several burials with life size statues discovered, for further details see Al-Barwary 2015: 18-37.

²⁵⁹ For further details about these burial statues, see Marf 2014: 13-29.

²⁶⁰ There is no clear record in Median language, but from dozens of Median toponyms, names of rulers and tribes, scholars could be able to identify some features of the Median language and recognized as one of the Old Iranian languages. For the toponyms and names for instance see Zadok 2013: 407-422; also see APN, and PNA volumes.

²⁶¹ Röllig 1976-1980b, *RIA* V: 405; *ARAB* II 10.

²⁶² Waters 2011: 285-293; Diakonoff *CHI* 2, 1985: 63. Also, see Postgate 1987-1990: 340-342; *RIMA* III A.0.102.6" iii 58-iv 6; A.0.102.10: 33b-37a; A.0.102.14: 102b-126a; Zadok 2001b: 30ff; Mentioned in the annals of Shalmaneser III, *RIMA* III A.0.102.14: 185-187). Mentioned in the annals of Shamshi-Adad V (*RIMA* III A.0.103.1: ii 40), Adad-nariri III (*RIMA* III A.0.104.7:8). Tiglath-pileser III Annexed Parsua to Assyria (*RINAP* I 17: 5-7). Sargon II added the cities of Ganu and Shurgadia to Parsuash (*ARAB* II 10).

²⁶³ *RINAP* 3/1: 2:27; *RIMA* II A.0.101.81: 83; *ARAB* I 47; 739; 795.

²⁶⁴ *RIMA* III A.0.102.6: iii 58 – iv 6.

deported Ittî and his family.²⁶⁵ After him, the new king of Allabria Bêl-apal-iddina gave tribute to Sargon II.²⁶⁶ Latashê was the name of a river and land called “*a district of Allabria*” by Sargon II.²⁶⁷ Also, the land of Lâruete was another district of Allabria on the border of Izirtu.²⁶⁸

The **sixth group** consisted of small communities, including foreign individuals, Assyrian governors and administrators, military men, and merchants. They had taken up residence in vassal districts as is clearly mentioned in Assyrian texts.²⁶⁹ The places in the Northern Zagros with Akkadian names could be translations of local toponyms by Assyrian scribes. Alternatively they may have been given new names. Assyrian records sometimes give the old name as well as the new name they gave to a place. There was an Assyrian policy to rename occupied cities.²⁷⁰ This group also includes deportees from other lands and kingdoms who were brought to the Northern Zagros; others were taken from the Northern Zagros to Assyria and beyond as deportees.²⁷¹ Deportees and runaways will be discussed later.

In the Bronze Age and Iron Age some groups of peoples of the Zagros are recorded as living in more than one geographical area. These areas are sometimes far away from each other. Sometimes it seems that Assyrian scribes (or in case of the Bronze Age, the Akkadian/Sumerian or Babylonian scribes) recorded these groups at the places where they met them during military expeditions. Some may have been semi-nomadic and therefore recorded in two different areas. Looking at the distribution of some modern tribes in the Zagros we see clans with the same name in very different locations. The Jaf, the biggest Kurdish tribe, mainly live on the banks of the Upper Diyala/Sirwan. Earlier they were based at the sources of Sirwan between Mariwan and Sanandaj, but moved later to the southwest to the banks of the Upper Diyala near Kalar. They were semi-nomads, and their chieftain built a castle on top of Shêrwana Tell. Today there are Jaf clans living in three different areas, far away from each other and separated by several non-Jaf tribes. One lives on the east bank of the Lower Zab, east of Dukan, another in Iran at the sources of Sirwan (their homeland), while the main one is in Kalar on the banks of the Upper Diyala.²⁷²

Similarly, we find a clan of the Goran tribe living in an area north of Nineveh in the ranges to the west of the Upper Zab. But most of the Goran are living in the Iranian Zagros east of Upper Diyala between Sanandaj and Kermanshah. The Kurdish dialect called Gorani is spoken by the Goran and other tribes as well. The Cimmerians first attacked and defeated the Urartians in their vassal district of Guriania, which was the most northeastern vassal border of the Urartians in Caucasia between Urartu and Cimmeria.²⁷³ D. Potts in his recent published

²⁶⁵ ARAB II 10.

²⁶⁶ ARAB II 24.

²⁶⁷ ARAB II 145.

²⁶⁸ ARAB II 210; Ebeling 1932: 70.

²⁶⁹ For instance see the list of the Assyrian eponyms in the Northern Zagros, Chapter II, 2.7.

²⁷⁰ For further details see Chapter II, 2.3, and 2.7.

²⁷¹ For further details see the deportees see below.

²⁷² For further details concerning the Kurdish tribes and principalities in the medieval period see al-Badlîsi 2007; van Bruinessen 1992: 50ff. Also, for similar Bronze Age tribes and peoples of the Zagros and their ethnic extensions in a vast area, see Ahmed 2012: 503f.

²⁷³ SAA V 92.

paper discusses the similarities between the modern Kurdish Guran (locally pronounced as *Gorān*), with Guriana, and says the Kurdish *Gūrānī* dialect is “North-west Iranian or Median.”²⁷⁴ According to him the Gurani (Gorani) dialect is not a Kurdish dialect, but a pre-Kurdish dialect. This hypothesis is cautionary in the absence of Median records. Moreover, in his paper there is no mention of the other Kurdish tribe of Goran, who are living in the Nineveh plain between the Upper Zab and the Tigris. Also, they speak the Gorani dialect, not the Kurmanji dialect, the common dialect in that area. Moreover the main Kurdish dialects in Iraq are Sorani and Kurmanji, the Sorani which is also called Gorani (Sorani is a name with political overtones, added after the Kurdish principality of Soran, between the Lower Zab and the Upper Zab, it was destroyed in 1835 AD by the Ottomans.²⁷⁵ Therefore most Iraqi Kurds are speaking the Gorani dialect. In his paper Potts could not trace linguistic relationships between modern Gorani and the Median language to strengthen his argument.

Even today outsiders unfamiliar with the people and the landscape of the area find it difficult to draw a distribution map of the Zagros tribes. Similarly the Assyrian scribes who followed the Assyrian kings in their campaigns must have found it difficult to record the names of all the peoples, cities and tribes in their correct locations. The Guti/Qutu are mentioned with the Urartu, Musasir, Lullubu and Medes, in a vast area from the upper banks of the Upper Zab to the east banks of Diyala/Sirwan.²⁷⁶ Habhu is mentioned in two different places. The main one was Habhu in the mountains east of Kurruri, west of Nairi and Hubuškia.²⁷⁷ The other is Habhu near Ullubu on the banks of the Lesser Habur.²⁷⁸ A tribe may have lived in one area when the Assyrian annals were written, but later that same tribe could have moved to another area, following the Winter-Summer migration pattern (*gar-miyan & quēstan*²⁷⁹) of pastoral semi-nomads.

Although Assyrian records record the names of so many districts, kingdoms and peoples of the Northern Zagros, we cannot be sure that in any one place a certain people lived. There were far less languages spoken than the numbers imply. Several places will have used the same language or a dialect of that language. Some groups had their own language and culture such as the Urartians who ruled the north-western part of the Zagros. Their royal family may have originated from Musasir or Nairi. They had their own language and type of cuneiform script, and had distinctive styles of pottery, art, and architecture. But for the rest as yet we have no record of their languages or distinctive architecture, though some ceramic is distinctive. From an archaeological prospective Mannans, Musasirians, Medians and

²⁷⁴Potts 2014b: 566ff.

²⁷⁵For the Kurdish dialects see Allison 2007: 135-158; Sykes 1908: 451-486; Nebes 1970; Mohammad 2007.

²⁷⁶RIME 2 E2.1.5. iv:n. p.183; RIME 2, E2.2.1: I-3, p.220ff; RIME 2, E3/2.1.1.d. p.11; Hallo 1957-1971: 708-720; Parker 2001: 59, note.255).

²⁷⁷See above.

²⁷⁸The Habhu on the bank of the Lesser Habur, that Habhu was neighbours of Ulluba and Kumme, its mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I, Adad-narari II and Shalmaneser II, as well Tiglath-pileser III (SAA 1 45: 9-12). Adad-narari II occupied “KUR. *Hab-hi ša betani*” ‘inner Habhu,’ or “the interior of the land Habhu.” (RIMA II A.0.99.2: 30-32; Postgate 1973b: 58; Parpola and Porter 2001: map.4). See Chapter I, 1.2.3.

²⁷⁹*Gar-miyan & quēstan* a Kurdish terms used for description of the seasonal movements of the semi-nomad/black tent tribes who move and follow the pastorals in two main movements annually, in early spring up to the mountains and in autumn down to the valleys, plains and foothills of the Zagros. For further details see Chapter II, 2.8.c.

Lullubeans dressed similarly in the fur cloaks.²⁸⁰ Mannea had glazed bricks and ivories as distinctive;²⁸¹ Media had distinctive architecture; the Scythians had distinctive graves and statues.²⁸²

While some Bronze Age peoples are mentioned only in Old and Middle Assyrian records and not in Neo-Assyrian records, such as the Turukkeans and the Subareans, far more new names appear in Neo-Assyrian records. Some may be remnants of ancient groups, such as the Manneans, but most were Newcomers: Medes, Cimmerians, Scythians, etc. Occasionally we find mention of a Middle Bronze Age group, for instance the Kakmum, who after the Old Babylonian period are not mentioned in Middle and Neo-Assyrian records until Sargon II mentions them living in northeastern Mannea.²⁸³ A confused Assyrian scribe may have connected the ancient Kakmum with that group or in fact the Middle Bronze Kakmum had moved from the banks of the Lower Zab far northeast to northeastern Mannea.

Adad-nirari I was the first Middle Assyrian king mentioning **Šubaru**, with the land **Mušru** to the north of Nineveh east of the Tigris.²⁸⁴ Shalmaneser I called himself as conqueror of the Lullubu and Šubaru, and Qutu.²⁸⁵ In the annals of Tukultī-Ninurta I it became clear that Šubaru was meant by the same Neo-Assyrian Šubaria province and its surrounding to the east of the Upper Tigris. Later there was an Assyrian vassal and its capital was Tušḫan (Ziyaret Tepe/Tepe Barava).²⁸⁶

1.3. Immigrants and Migrants

Emigration and migration are part of human life and history on earth. Among the many groups that migrated to the Northern Zagros during the Iron Age, most from northeast and east, were Iranian speaking groups, Medes, Cimmerians, and Scythians, and from the west Arameans came and settled on the banks of the Lower Zab.²⁸⁷ The Kassites from Babylonia returned there and settled in the mountains to the west of the Upper Diyala/Sirwan and to the east bank of the river in Namri.²⁸⁸ Smaller groups will also have migrated, but these are hardly mentioned.

²⁸⁰See Chapter III, 3.9.

²⁸¹See Chapter III, 3.4.

²⁸²For further details see Marf, D.A. (forthcoming), 2016 "Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012)," in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) Forthcoming. *The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress; Marf 2014: 13-29.

²⁸³Röllig 1976-1980: 289; Frayne 1999:171; Eidem and Læssøe 2001: 23f., and no.69: 32; Ahmed 2012: 492; ARAB II: 118.

²⁸⁴RIMA I A.0.76.1: 27-32.

²⁸⁵RIMA I A.0.77.4: 14-16; A.0.77.17: 1-5.

²⁸⁶RIMA A.0.78.1: iv 24-31; MacGinnis 2012: 13-19; Kessler 2011-2013: 239-241.

²⁸⁷RIMA II A.0.100.5: 30-40.

²⁸⁸RINAP 3/1: 20-26. Also, see above, the Kassites and the Namri;

1.4. Deported peoples from and into the Zagros

Kings in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods followed a policy of deportation in the lands they occupied to make them submit. Mass deportations changed the demography of some areas, including the Northern Zagros.²⁸⁹ Thousands from different groups were deported to the Assyrian heartland, and to Syria, Phoenicia, the Levant and Anatolia. Within the Zagros people were also moved from one city to another (see, table: 1.1.a), and outsiders were brought into to the Northern Zagros (see, table: 1.1.b).

There is no record of any Assyrians deported to the Zagros by the Medes or any other Zagrosians at the fall of Ashur or Nineveh in 614-612 BCE. But earlier Assyrian deportees mentioned in the Urartian records were taken to Urartu to dig canals and work on construction projects.²⁹⁰

The peoples, groups and lands are identified in Table 1.a-b, and further discussion about their professions and their social and political positions is required. Some of the royal families were deported. Diaukku, a ruler of one of the Mannean districts, was pro-Urartian. Sargon II in his eighth campaign in 714 BCE captured Diaukku and deported him with his family to Hamath.²⁹¹ In a mass deportation Sennacherib sent the Kassites and Yasubigallians, their “*people, young (and) old,*” from the mountains to the east of Arrapha (west of Upper Diyala/Sirwan). He destroyed their fortified city Bīt-Kilmazah and sent their semi-nomads away from their tents and pavilions to the plain in Arrapha, to Hardišpi and Bīt-Kubatti. He then settled unnamed people in their city after restoring it.²⁹²

Some towns were destroyed and the people brought to the capital city of their kingdom. Tiglath-pileser I attacked Mušri (later called Musasir) and “*destroyed their cities.*” As for the people, he “*confined them to one city, the city Arinu*” and he says “*they submitted to me (and) I spared that city. I imposed upon them hostages, tribute, (and) impost.*”²⁹³

Oded discussing Assyrian deportations notes the terminology used by the Assyrian kings in their annals, “*I carried,*” “*I brought out,*” “*I brought away,*” “*I uprooted*” concerning peoples deported to the Assyrian heartland or elsewhere.²⁹⁴

The Assyrian kings had various reasons for deporting people from defeated kingdoms and lands. The main reason was to make them submit. They punished those who had revolted and not paid tribute with deportation by the Assyrians, and this apparently justified their acts of destruction, plundering and deportation. On this the stability of the Assyrian empire was based, to discourage revolt in neighbouring places. Otherwise the might of the Assyrian empire would be weakened in a short period. That is why kings and their families and parts of the population were deported. Mass deportations were followed by replacements of the population from other areas, because they did not want areas denuded of people. That would be bad for the economy and balance of the empire.

²⁸⁹For further details see Oded 1979: 26. Also, see Saggs 1984: 124ff, 268; Na’aman and Zadok 1988: 36-46.

²⁹⁰Zimansky 2012: 106; Cilingiroğlu 2011: 347; CTU A 14-1; Stone 2012: 89. Also, see Zimansky 2011: 111f; for further details see Chapter IV,4.10; also see Chapter II, 2.5.

²⁹¹ARAB II 56. For further details concerning Diaukku, see Chapter II, 2.2.

²⁹²RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

²⁹³RIMA II A.0.87.1: v 67-81.

²⁹⁴For further details about these expressions in the Assyrian annals see Oded 1979: 2-5; as well see the Assyrian annals in RIMA I-III, RINAP I-4, ARAB I-II.

Assyrians also needed deportees to work on building constructions.²⁹⁵ Ashurnasirpal II deported peoples from different lands and kingdoms. Including people from Zamua, to Kalhu (Nimrud) as corvées to construct the city and to dig the *Patti-hegalli* canal.²⁹⁶ Sennacherib deported peoples from Mannea, soldiers from Que, Chaldea and Hilakku to Nineveh and says “*I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks.*”²⁹⁷ The skilled craftsmen among them were probably assigned to workshops in the Assyrian palaces, especially experts in mining metal and ivory carving. Ivories found in Assyria and the Zagros were made by Syrian and Phoenician craftsmen, probably deportees.²⁹⁸ Those able to fight were assigned to the Assyrian army as foreign auxiliary units. Some are depicted on Assyrian reliefs wearing traditional costumes and holding traditional weapons.²⁹⁹ Deportation enabled the Assyrians to assert control in the Near East.

Not much evidence is available to estimate the role of the deportees in any cultural interaction. What is clear is that the Assyrians did not impose a cultural uniformity, but were content to allow cultural diversity. Ivory and metal art work show the influence of different cultures: Syrian and Phoenician and even Egyptian elements appear.³⁰⁰ The foreign auxiliary army units add to the diverse picture. Aramaic came to be used with Assyrian.³⁰¹ The Assyrians were proud to depict such diversity on their reliefs.³⁰²

The Assyrian heartland became a multi-cultural and multi-lingual area through deportations.³⁰³ Some deportees held important positions in the Assyrian heartland. The Hundurean family, deported by Sargon II from Hundur in Media to Ashur, within a few decades rose in status to serve in the temple of Assur in Ashur, and to supervise overland trade with Media (their homeland).³⁰⁴ It has been assumed that that family also joined the battle which led to the fall of Ashur to the Medes in 614 BCE, since houses of the Hundureans with their archives were discovered inside the city of Ashur near the Tabira Gate.³⁰⁵ Culturally exchange will also have occurred between the deportees themselves. That Aramaic was used by Manneans on the stele of Bukan shows the influence of Arameans deported to Mazamua, they became the western neighbour of Mannea, or perhaps Aramaic used by the Manneans may have been a direct Assyrian influence.³⁰⁶

²⁹⁵Oded 1979: 62; also see Radner 2014b: 106.

²⁹⁶*RIMA II*: A.O. 101.1:ii 3b-6. For further details concerning other deportees as Ullubeans and Turrakeans who were worked in digging canals in the Assyrian heartland, see Chapter IV, 4.10; also see *SAA XIX* 65.

²⁹⁷*RINAP* 3.1: 70-72.

²⁹⁸For further details see Chapter III, 3.6.

²⁹⁹For further details see Barnett 1975; Albenda 1986. Also, concerning foreigner auxiliary units, for instance an Assyrian administrative letter deals with the Philistines auxiliary who disobeyed the Assyrian commander Nergal-uballit, they went to village of Luqaše (near) Arbela (see *SAA* 1: 155; Dezső, 2012 A, pp. 52, 158), perhaps visited their deported families there.

³⁰⁰For further details see Chapter III, 3.6., and 3.7.

³⁰¹See Chapter II, 2.1.

³⁰²For further details see Chapter III, 3.1.

³⁰³Kinnier Wilson 1972: p.xi.

³⁰⁴Radner 2013: 448f ; *ARAB II* 165. For further details see Chapter II, 2.5., and 2.8.2.

³⁰⁵For further details see Radner 2013: 448f; Miglus 1999: 301, Abb. 341-342.

³⁰⁶*RINAP* 1 5 10-11; Eph'al 1999: 118; Fales 2003: 131-147. For further details about the stele, see Chapter III, 3.1. Also see Chapter II, 2.1., and 2.5., and for the Aramean emigrant presence in the area of the Lower Zab and in Lullubum see above. Saggs assumes that the Assyrian deportations were one of the main reasons “*that*

Oded assumes that there were a few cases of deportees being enslaved.³⁰⁷ Identifying non-Akkadian slave names in Assyrian documents needs care. Slaves and deportees are different. In the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods slaves were bought and sold in Zamua,³⁰⁸ and slaves from the Assyrian heartland were taken to the Zagros to the area under the Assyrian palace herald (*nāgir ekali*) in commercial activities.³⁰⁹ Assyrian kings did not enslave deportees, for instance when Tiglath-pileser III deported the Qutu and Medes he says “*I considered them as inhabitants of Assyria, (and) [imposed upon them corvée labor like that of the Assyrians.]*”³¹⁰ The Assyrian reliefs do depict defeated enemies being killed and impaled, but an Assyrian letter shows that it did not always happen. An Assyrian commander told captured Urartian soldiers on the Assyrian frontier “*you are subjects of the king, my lord; you are no longer subjects of the U[rartian]!*”³¹¹

In the vassal treaty of Esarhaddon with the Medes he cautions the citizens of Assyria and the foreigners not to revolt against Ashurbanipal if “DUMU KUR *aš-šur TA ŠĀ-bi DUMU KUR šá-ni-tim-ma ú-šak-pa-du-ka-nu-u-ni* “(or any) one of the citizens of Assyria, (or) any foreigner, involves you in a plot.”³¹² The reference to “foreigner” is not clear. It could mean those peoples living outside Assyria, or deportees living in Assyria. If they were those living outside Assyria, then “the citizens of Assyria” could apply to deportees in the Assyrian heartland.

We know something about the daily life of Zagrosian deportees from the Hundurean family, who held positions in the temple of Ashur and traded with their homeland.³¹³ The Tabalians were deported to Media. No local record suggests that deportees faced social and religious trouble in exile, but according to 2 Kings 17:26-27 deportees from Samaria who were not familiar with the “*custom of the land*” sacrificed ‘*a lion*’, so that the Assyrian king sent a priest to Bethel to teach them how “*to fear the LORD.*” In fact deportees from Samaria would have been different from those from the Zagros, who worshipped many deities, like their Assyrian neighbours. Only the names of their gods were different. Sometimes the Assyrians deported the statues of the gods of the deportees and put them beside the gates of Assyrian temples as servants of Assyrian deities.³¹⁴

A series of actions preceded deportations. The Assyrians attacked, destroyed and burned the cities of their enemies, deported its people, then restored these cities as new administrative centres. They brought in people from other defeated places and re-settled them there. Tiglath-

prepared the way for cultural unification of the whole area. And this affected the whole subsequent history of the Near East. It provided a substratum of homogeneity which made possible the hellenization of much of the Near East after Alexander. Hellenization, in turn, was an important factor in the rapid spread of Christianity across the region, and, half a millennium later, of the spread of Islam.” Saggs 1984: 268.

³⁰⁷For further details concerning the aims behind deporting peoples by the Assyrians see Oded 1979, especially pp. 41-74.

³⁰⁸van Soldt, et al., 2013: 214f; Postgate 1988: 123; Faist 2001: 183fn. 165.

³⁰⁹For further details see Chapter II, 2.8.2, also see SAA V 150.

³¹⁰RINAP I 14: 8b-10a

³¹¹SAA V 184.

³¹²SAA II 6: §27: 221-223.

³¹³Radner 2013: 448f ; ARAB II 165.

³¹⁴For further details concerning the deported deities from and into the Zagros and the list of the deported deities from and into the Zagros, see Chapter II, 2.5.11.

pileser III did this at Nikkur in Media.³¹⁵ Sennacherib did it at Bīt-Kilmazah, deporting the Kassite people to Arrapha.³¹⁶ Some of the Tabaleans deported to Nikkur settled in houses, and received oxen, sheep and even women to marry. The Assyrian governor there wrote to Sargon II saying he did not know about these Tabalean runaways to Mannea. The letter suggests that some of the Tabaleans did not receive houses or other things, and so deserted to Mannea, probably to go back to their homeland via Urartu, and 20 men reached Mannea.³¹⁷ Such re-settled places were usually placed under the control of an Assyrian governor or official, often a eunuch, supervised by the king.³¹⁸

Perhaps the deportees did not lose their social ties and remained as a community in their exile. From an Assyrian administrative letter we learn that Kummean deportees in Assyria were visited by other Kummeans from their homeland (fig.1.4.c).³¹⁹

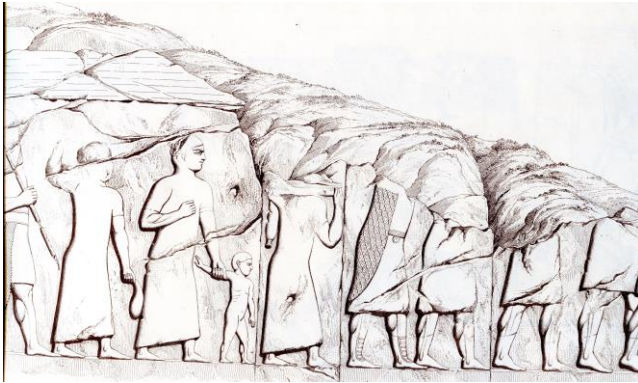


Fig.1.4.c. Zagrosian deportees on their way to exile. The women hold water skins. They and their nude children are bare footed (after Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.50).

From Assyrian records we know from where most of the deportees came, except for a few unnamed groups. But for the majority of them we know nothing about them in exile, about whether they had the opportunity to go back to their homeland or not. There are few records that directly or indirectly indicate that the deportees tried to go back to their homelands. An Assyrian administrative letter mentions deportees who ran away to their homeland. In the reign of Sargon II Tabaleans from Anatolia were deported by the Assyrians and settled in Nikkur, the capital of the Parsua province, but twenty of them deserted to Mannea, probably to go back to their homeland via Urartu.³²⁰

The people of Musasir were taken by Sargon II to a temporary camp outside Musasir, but there is no mention of actually deporting them to Assyria. Their gods were deported to Assyria, but later they returned to Musasir.³²¹

Many questions cannot yet be answered. Did deportees retain their mother tongues in exile? Did they ever go back? Did they keep their own names? Assyrian administrative and legal documents record some personal names which could refer to deportees, but we must remember that personal names do not always necessarily correspond to ethnicity.

³¹⁵ ARAB I 766.

³¹⁶ RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

³¹⁷ SAA XV 54.

³¹⁸ RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

³¹⁹ SAA V 105, 11-23; Radner 2007: 190.

³²⁰ SAA XV 54 ri: I 7-16.

³²¹ Kravitz 2003: 87ff, lines, 423-424, p.89; ARAB II 172.

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Table: 1:1.a. Zagrosian deportees by the Assyrians.

Assyrian king	Campaigned against land/people of city	Deportees number by	To land and city of	Sources
Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 or 1265-1235 BCE)	Qutu	Qutu/Gutu was a general name, at that time used by Shalmaneser I for the mountainous peoples of the Northern Zagros and Urartu.	the city of Ashur	RIMA I A.0.77.1: 88-106.
		2, 000 captives, from the capital Hunusa. And 20, 000 troops	Assyria	RIMA II A.0.87.2: 30-36.
Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056 BCE)	the city Ershu in the land Habhu.	3, 000 captives.	?	RIMA II A.0.89.7: 16-17
Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE)	people from “the entire land of Zamua.”	unknown	Kalhu (Nimrud)	RIMA II A.0.101.1: iii 132b-136.
	Kiṣirtu	unknown	Kalhu	RIMA II A.0.101.1: I.58
Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE)	city/land of Bīt-Haban in Media	Ianzū man of Bīt-Haban with his daughters, his sons, and his numerous soldiers.	Assyria	RIMA III A.0.102.14: 125-126.
Shalmaneser III	Parsua	captives	Assyria	RIMA III A.0.102.14: 171-174.
Shamshi-Adad V (823-811 BCE)	Land Nairi	Sons and daughters of Šarṣina son of Meqdiara (ruler/chieftain) of 300 cities (big villages).	Assyria	A.0.103.1: ii 16b-34a.
		Sons and daughters of Ušpina (ruler/chieftain) of 211 cities (big villages and forts).		
Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BCE)	Eastern part of Media	People of the city Nikur	unknown	ARAB I 766.
Tiglath-pileser III	Ullubu	Ullubeans	Some of their men were digging a canal in Kilizi (see SAA XIX 65. 65. Also see Chapter III and Chapter IV).	RINAP I 37: 33-43.
			Media	On the bronze plaque of the Median leader Šilisruḥ, there is a mention of Ullubeans. However, that is perhaps mispronunciation of the Lullubirs, that is in case if they were not the Ullubeans
		Highlanders (KUR.un-qi) Qutū (KUR.qu-te) of the land Bīt-Sangibūti, “1,200 people of the (tribe) Illilu” 6, 200 people of the (tribes) the ‘chieftains’ Nakkabu and	to the cities Šimirra Arqâ, (and) Siannu, (cities) on the seacoast.”	RINAP I 14: 5b-6a.

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Assyrian king	Campaigned against land/people of city	Deportees number by	To land and city of	Sources
		Büdu ...”,		
Tiglath-pileser III Tiglath-pileser III	Qutu/Gutu and Medes of Media	-588 people of the (tribes) of Büdu and Dunu chieftains ... -252 people of the tribe Bilu -554 people of the tribe Bānītu. -380 people of the (tribe) the chieftain Palil-andil-māti (LÚ.dIGI.DU.an-dil-KUR)“The god Palil is the protecting shadow of the land”). -460 people of the (tribe) of the chieftain Sangillu, -[.... ...] people of the (tribe) of the chieftain Illilu, -458 captive highlanders Qutu of the land Bit-Sangibūti. -555 of Qutu highlanders of Bit-Sangibutithe city Til-karme.	“province of the city Tu’imme”	RINAP I 14: 6b-8a.
Sargon II (722-705 BCE)	Qutu/Media	Nahri of Šurgadia in the fortresses of the Quti.	Assyria?	Levine 1972: p.39, lines §II: 34-35.
Sargon II (or other previous Assyrian the kings).	Kumme	Kummeans	Assyria	SAA V 105, 11–23
Sargon II	Mannea	Manneans, -Diaukku (the ruler of one of the Mannean districts), with his family deported.	land of Hamath.	ARAB II 23, 56.
Sargon II	Mannea	Manneans	Hatti and Amurru	ARAB II 6.
Sargon II	Mannea (Manneans and Kakmum)	people of the Mannean districts Šuandahul and Durdukka	unkown	ARAB II 6.
		“the people of the cities of Pāpa and Lallukna, ...the land of Kakmē..”	“Damascus of Amurru”	ARAB II: 9; Lie 1929: II.77, p.21-13.
		“the people of the cities of Sukka, Bala and Abitkna”	“Hatti of Amurru”	ARAB II 6.
Sargon II	Mannea	4, 200 people from the land Andia (the Mannean district).	unkown	ARAB II 13.
Sargon II	Land Karalla	Itti the ruler of Karall and his family.	land of Amattu (Hamath).	ARAB II 10.
Sargon II	Media	Bēl-šar-ušur (m.d.Bēl-šar-ušur) ruler of the Median city Kišesim (Kār-Nergal).	Assyria	Lie 1929: pp.16-17. Lines 93-95; Levine 1972: 16-17.
Sargon II	Media	Hundureans from the Hundur	the city Ashur	ARAB II 165; Radner 2013:

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Assyrian king	Campaigned against land/people of city	Deportees by number	To land and city of	Sources
		near Kishessim and from Harhar.		448; Fuchs 1994.
Sargon II	Ellipi	Taltâ ruler of the land Ellipi with his people	Assyria	ARAB II 58.
Sargon II	The land and city of Musasir	Urzana, his wife, daughters, and his sons, with 6,210 people.	taken to Sargon II's temporary camp outside Musasir then to Assyria?	Kravitz 2003: 87ff, lines, 423-424, p.89; ARAB II 172.
Sargon II	Media	"people from the [countri] of the east which I had conquered" probably he means by "the east" the Medes and others.	cities of Ashdod.	Lie 1929: 248-250, 258-262; Na'aman and Zadok 1988: 43f.
Sargon II	Peoples from the Zagros	unknown	Settled near the Besor River (the Brook of Egypt)" i.e. the Nail/the Hebrew <i>Nachal Mitrayim</i> .	According to Na'aman and Zadok, basing on, 2 Kings 17: 27-28. For further details Na'aman and Zadok 1988: 46.
Sennacherib (705-681 BCE)	The land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians.	"people, young (and) old," of the semi-nomad Kassites who were living in pavilions (and) tents and in the fortified city Bît-Kilmazah of in the mountain ranges northeast of Arrapha.	The cities of Hardišpi and Bît-Kubatti in eastern part of the province of Arrapha.	RINAP 3/1: 20-26.
Sennacherib	Mannea?	peoples from Menna,	To Nineveh Sennacherib says "I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks."	RINAP 3.1: 71. 1:70-72.
Esarhaddon (681-669 BCE)	"the land of the distant Medes,"	The "mighty cheitfians" Šidir-parna and E-parna of the land Patušarri "with their people".	Assyria	RINAP IV 1: iv 46-52.

Table 1.1.b. Deported peoples to the Zagros.

Assyrian king	Campaigned against land/people of city	Deportees by number	To land and city of	Sources
Ashur-bel-kala	Ershu	- from Ershu deported 3, 000 captives.	unknown	RIMA II A.0.89.7: 16-17.
Tiglath-pileser III	unknown lands	"...people of (foreign) lands"	-Ulluba and Habhu -In Ullubia, the deportees settled in the city Aššur-iqīša, the newly built administrative city by Tiglath-pileser III.	RINAP I 37: 25 b-45; 39: 25-29.
Tiglath-pileser III	people from Hamath and others the, Medeteranian coast.	1,223 people from Hamath and the other cities of Syrian on the Medeteranian coast.	the land Ulluba	RINAP I 13: 11b-12a.
Tiglath-pileser III	Arameans in Syria/Babylonia	5,000 of the Arameans	Mazamua	RINAP I 5: 4b-5a; SAAS XI: 146.
Tiglath-pileser III	"peoples f lands my hands had conquered	Bît-Abdadani and Bît –Kapsi.	Nikur	ARAB I 766.

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Assyrian king	Campaigned against land/people of city	Deportees by number	To land and city of	Sources
Tiglath-pileser III? or Sargon II?	Syria?	"Arameans of Arzuhina, of Arbela deportee unit".	Arzuhina, Arbela	SAAS XI: 153-154.
Sargon II	Tabal (in Anatolia)	Tabaleans deportees in Nikkur (the capital of Parsua province).	Fortress of Nikkur, Tizu, Kiguhtu and Kizahasi.	SAA XV 54 ri: 1 7-16.
Sargon II	unknown lands	"peoples of the land my hand had conquered"	Ellipi	ARAB II 11.
Sargon II	Ashdod on the Mediteranean shore southwest of Jerusalem	People from the cities of Ashdod	East (to Media?)	Lie 1929: 248-250, 258-261, pp.39-41; Na'aman and Zadok 1988: 43f.
Sargon II	Samaria (Shomron/As-Samira) capital of the northern Kingdom of Israel.	Israelits people	Halah on the Habur river, and "in the cities of the Medes" Media.	2 Kings: 17: 6, and 18: 11); Diakonoff 1991. The Biblical Hara compared with the 'Median' city on the border of Elam which is mentioned few times in the Assyrian records which is recorded as URU. Har, or as URU. Harā, harē māday ('the mountains of Media'). MacGinnis 2014: 154-156.
Sennacherib	unknown	"peoples of the lands my hands had conquered." "The people, great and small, male and female."	The royal city Elenzash (Kar-Sennacherib) and Harhar in Media.	RINAP 3/I 4: 29-30.
Sennacherib	unkown lands	"People of the lands that I had conquered."	city Bīt-Kilmazah the capital of the Kassites in the mountains northeast of Arrapha.	RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

1.5. Runaways

A few Assyrian letters refer to fugitives from and to the Northern Zagros. Some runaways arrived in Hubuškia from an unknown location. A letter, perhaps sent by the Assyrian commander, refers to news from the mountainous area in Hubuškia, Musasir and the Urartian governors. He tells Sargon II that the Hubuškians had told him that the foreigners in Hubuškia were not spies but runaways from Nuraea (URU.nu-ra-a-a) who had come there from somewhere else (broken GN),³²² probably from Urartu. We have already mentioned the Tabaleans who deserted to Mannea from exile in Media,³²³ who wanted to go back to their homeland via Urartu. And Sargon II deported Diaukku, the ruler of a Mannean district, with his family to Hamath in Syria.³²⁴ “*Daiaukku, together with his family, I snatched away; I restored quiet in the disrupted Mannean land.*”³²⁵ Herodotus says that the founder of the Median dynasty was Deiokes (Deioces).³²⁶ If he was Diaukku of Mannea would mean that Diaukku went back to the Zagros from exile in Hamath.³²⁷ But Deiokes may not be the same as Diaukku, because the story of Herodotus was recorded more than two centuries later, and there are doubts about what Herodotus wrote concerning Mesopotamia and Media.³²⁸ Even so, we know there was a tribe named KUR Bīt]-Da-a-a-uk-ki in Media [KUR Ma-]da-[a-a].³²⁹ On the other hand Daiku (Da-i-ku) was ruler of the Median city Šapardâ, Sargon II received tribute from Daiku in 716 BCE.³³⁰ According to Fuchs and Schmitt, that Daiku probably was the mentioned Deiokes by Herodotus, which considered by Herodotus as the founder of the Median kingdom.³³¹

In the reign of Sargon II people called “Sargon II’s subjects” from Carchemish went to Arzizi, a town in Mazamua/Zamua on the Mannean border. Šarru-emuranni, later to become the Assyrian governor of Zamua, wrote to Sargon II:³³²

I am not the son of the city lord of [Qunbuna]; I am a house-born slav[e], a servant of the king, my lord! The king, my lord, appointed me in Qunbuna.”

There was apparently a political issue between Dadâ, the local Zamuan ruler of Arzizi (Rabat Tepe) and Šarru-emuranni the Assyrian appointee on the city Qunbuna. It arose when a group of people from Carchemish arrived Arzizi and Šarru-emuranni arrested them and took them to the Assyrian court. They were probably runaways. Šarru-emuranni tells Sargon in a letter that:³³³

I tell everything that I see and hear to the king, I do not conceal anything from the king. As to the king [my lord]’s subjects who came to Ar[zizi] from Carchemish, about whom

³²²SAA V 11.

³²³SAA XV 54.

³²⁴ARAB II 56.

³²⁵ARAB II 12.

³²⁶Herodotus, Book I 95ff.

³²⁷ARAB II 23, 56; Hawkins 1972-1975: 67-70; Herodotus, Book I 95ff.; Helm 1981: 85; Diakonoff, CHI 2, 1985: 80.

³²⁸For instance see Helm 1981.

³²⁹For further details see ARAB II 56, 23; Helm 1981: 85; Diakonoff 1995 CHI 2: 80; SAA V 242, 245.

³³⁰Levine 1972: p.40, line 47; Kristensen 1998: 127.

³³¹Fuchs & Schmitt, 1999c, PNA 1/II: 369-370.

³³²SAA V 243: 4-7.

³³³SAA V 243: 8-17, e.18-20, r.1.

I wrote to the Palace, I have now had them arrested and am herewith handing them over to the king, my lord. From this act, it should be understood in the Palace that I speak earnestly with the king.

Dadâ and Šarru-emuranni both came to the Assyrian court and perhaps stayed for a few days and met the king separately. They wrote to the king separately. Perhaps Dadâ needed more evidence to support himself in front of Sargon II, so he sent messengers back to Zamua. Šarru-emuranni reports that he had brought the people from Carchemish he had arrested.³³⁴

Now, Dadâ does not have a lawsuit against me; [there is noth]ing belonging to him in [my] possession. [He has]now [gone] to the Palace in order to [litigate] against me; let the king, my lord, investigate whether there is anything belonging to him in [my] possession. His messengers constantly g[o back] and forth to the city [...] early in the morning; [.....] of the people of my country [.....] the people of my country [.....].

During the reign of Esarhaddon, the crown prince Ashurbanipal sent a letter to his father Esarhaddon about deserters at fortresses on the Assyrian northeastern frontier:³³⁵

As to the guards appointed to the fortress of Urartu, Mannea, Media (and) Hubuškia, about whom the king, my lord, wrote to me: 'Give them orders and make them that they must not be negligent in their guard duty. Moreover, let them pay attention to the deserters from their surroundings. Should a deserter from M[annea, Medi]a or Hubu[ški]a fall in their hands, you are to put him immediately in the hands of your messenger and send him to the crown prince. And if he has something to say, you will tell it to the crown prince accurately.

Perhaps the main aim of the runaway deportees was to go back to their homeland. There were other runaways mentioned in the letter of Ashurbanipal. They may have left their homelands because of political reasons: perhaps military leaders were preparing to revolt,³³⁶ or they may have been criminals. In the reign of Esarhaddon especially the northeastern and eastern frontier was not safe, because of the Scytho-Cimmerian threat. Kaštarītu, the ruler of Kar-Kašši had also prepared troops of Zagrosians to attack the Assyrians, intending to lead Scythians, Cimmerians, Medes and Manneans against Esarhaddon.³³⁷ The Assyrians needed to keep a close eye on this frontier. They feared that Zagrosians from this area would kill Assyrian messengers or raid Assyrian fortresses. Esarhaddon consulted Shamash about his messenger who wanted to go to Hubuškia to see if he would be attacked by Scythians, Cimmerians, Medes and Manneans.³³⁸

³³⁴SAA V 243: r.2-r.17. Further details concerning Arzizi and that issue see Chapter II, 1.2., 2.8.2.b.. Also, see Chapter IV, 4.2.

³³⁵SAA XVI 148.

³³⁶After that when Ashurbanipal campaigned against Mannea, he says that the people of Izirtu revolted against Ahšēri the Mannean king, and they killed him on the street of the city, ARAB II 851.

³³⁷SAA IV 41-46.

³³⁸SAA IV 41-46.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the Assyrian heartland was lowland, very different from the Zagros Mountains with different weather, flora, fauna and natural resources (metal, stone and timber). The two neighbours complemented each other economically and materials unavailable with the one were brought to the other. Access to the mountains was through passes which acted as gates to the Zagros and beyond. Invations, migrations, deportations, and runaways had important role in the process of cultural interaction between Assyria and the northern Zagros and beyond.

The deep valleys and high mountains separated the population groups of the Zagros into small political units with diverse languages and dialects, each developing separately. This ensured there was no central state in the Zagros. In contrast, the Assyrians in the lowland soon expanded and absorbed the Mittanian kingdom into their empire. For a short time in the late 12th century the Arameans were a threat to Assyria. Some of the Zagros kingdoms were considered by Assyrian kings as a threat, and the Assyrians had to deal with these threats, and from the continuous conflicts cultural interaction was initiated.

These two factors, the contrasting natural sources and the military threats, provoked regular Assyrian campaigns to the Zagros, but they were never able to sustain control over the whole area. After 714 BCE, Sargon II and Sennacherib controlled parts of it and built several *kārum* in the Median cities. But that lasted only until the early reign of Esarhaddon, who controlled Media east of the Zagros. Then soon the situation rapidly changed, with Cimmerians and Scythians invading Media and the Assyrian frontier.

The conflicts in the Old, Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods led to political interaction and cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros, and with other peoples outside Assyria and the Zagros. Emigrants, migrants, runaways and deportees were also involved in these interactions, and further details will be given in the next chapters.

