



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros

Marf, D.A.M.

Citation

Marf, D. A. M. (2016, July 4). *Cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/41455>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/41455>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/41455> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Marf, D.A.

Title: Cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros

Issue Date: 2016-07-04

Chapter II

Immaterial Culture

Chapter II

Immaterial Culture

Introduction

In this Chapter I deal with the immaterial culture. I try to identify interactions in the immaterial culture between the Zagros and Assyria, mainly based on the ancient records from Assyria, Zagros, Urartu, the Bible, and elsewhere in the Near East.

The Assyrian records give valuable knowledge, particularly the correspondence with the Zagros. These letters show broad cultural and political interactions between Assyria and the Zagros.³³⁹

I shall also discuss some of the material culture from Assyria and the Northern Zagros, including representations on reliefs, seals and metalwork, etc. which give us evidence of material no longer actually preserved. In some cases those involved with field work show a special familiarity with the landscape of the Northern Zagros which they use to analyse aspects of local toponyms and topography.

2.1. Languages and writing systems

2.1.1. Introduction

Few written documents of the peoples of the Northern Zagros have survived. There was no ethno-linguistic unity in the Northern Zagros or even in the Zagros in general.

Generally speaking, the Middle Bronze Age marked the end of the prehistory and proto-history of the Northern Zagros. The oldest known record from there is the bronze stele from Bassetki (north of Nineveh and west of Duhok) with an inscription of King Naramsin of Akkad.³⁴⁰ However, it may not have been produced in the area but may have been brought to Bassetki from somewhere else.

The oldest known local records are the royal inscriptions of the Lullubean king Anubanini (Nubanini) on the Sarpul Zuhab rock reliefs,³⁴¹ and the inscriptions of Simurru.³⁴² These and the Old Babylonian tablets from Shemshara and Bakrawa/Bakr-awa are all written in Akkadian.³⁴³ At this time we have to describe most areas of the Northern Zagros as belonging to a proto-historic period, for as yet we have no evidence that any languages spoken there in the Bronze Age and Iron Age were ever written down. Future discoveries may reveal local records in local languages. It could also be that local records were written on perishable materials which have disappeared. From the kingdom of Mittani in Nuzi and Arrapha and the Zagros foothills Akkadian was used, including Hurrian terminology and personal names.³⁴⁴

³³⁹SAA V: p. xxiv.

³⁴⁰Ayish 1976: 26-62.

³⁴¹Ahmed 2012: 249-254.

³⁴²Ahmed 2012: 254-285; Shaffer & Wasserman 2003: 1-52; Al-Fouadi 1978: 122-129.

³⁴³For the Shemshara texts see Eidem & Læssøe 2001; Eidem 1992; Matous 1961: 17-66.

³⁴⁴For instance, Diakonoff discussed the Hurrian dialects according to its geographical divisions, with mainly deity names as examples. Diakonoff 1981: 77-89; Speiser 1941: 8ff.

We know almost nothing about Pre-Hurrian or Subartian substrata.³⁴⁵ The only possible relics of Gutian and Lullubean are some toponyms and personal names in the texts written in Akkadian, the only known recorded language in northern Mesopotamia and the Northern Zagros since the third millennium BCE, coexisting with lost languages from earlier times.³⁴⁶

According to Læssøe, the Middle Assyrian records in the Northern Zagros, with “*the formula of introduction used in the Bazmusian texts as well as the style of writing*”, are parallel to the Middle Assyrian texts of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1260-1232 BCE) discovered in Ashur.³⁴⁷

Assyrian royal inscriptions in the Northern Zagros on rock reliefs from the Iron Age include those from Mila Mergi,³⁴⁸ Shikaft-i Gulgul,³⁴⁹ and the inscriptions of Sennacherib for the Khinis and Bastora water projects.³⁵⁰

We know of the local rulers of Idu from their brick inscriptions, some on glazed bricks, in Akkadian (Assyrian dialect).³⁵¹ Rabat Tepe also produced some glazed bricks with Akkadian inscriptions.³⁵² Assyrian also figures on the legal document from Tell Sitak northeast of Sulaimania.³⁵³ Apart from Akkadian records an Aramaic stele was found at the Mannean capital Izirtu, dated to the later 8th century BCE.³⁵⁴ Also, in Hinis a fragment of a Hittite Hieroglyphic inscription was found, and it was not the product of a local scribe in the area to the west of the Upper Zab, northeast of the Assyrian capitals. Perhaps it had been taken from Syria to Hinis.³⁵⁵

The only known local Median record is the inscription of Šilisruḥ, king of the Median city Abdadani, an Akkadian inscription on a small bronze plaque, 11.4 x 9.2 mm with an image of the king carved on the plaque. What remains of the text is in “*Babylonian language, but betraying Assyrian influence*”³⁵⁶ and is translated as follows:³⁵⁷

Šilisruḥ uttered a curse, (speaking) thus: ‘Two good textiles (and) one [...], this is the ilku obligation of the king’s men, be they builders or those who pluck the king’s goats. May Ištar, Šamaš and Bēl-mātāti be the witnesses! The king had a dream and freed them. If in the future Iasubeans,³⁵⁸ men of Abdadana, (or) Assyrians hereafter appear or

³⁴⁵For further details, see MacGinnis 2012: 19.

³⁴⁶Ahmed 2012: p.60, note 49; Gelb 1944.

³⁴⁷Læssøe 1959: 15-18.

³⁴⁸RINAP 1: 37, 1-54, p.89-92.

³⁴⁹Van Der Spek 1979: 45-47; Grayson & Levine, 1975: 29-38.

³⁵⁰Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935; General Directorate of Antiquities 1946: 50-52.

³⁵¹For further details see van Soldt 2013: 209-222.

³⁵²Afifi & Heidari 2010: 152-187.

³⁵³Saber, et al., 2013: 248-265; Saber, et al., 2015: 205-229; Radner, K. “A Neo-Assyrian legal document from Tell Sitak,” In Y. Heffron, A. Stone & M. Worthington (eds.), *Festschrift J.N. Postgate* (working title), Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming.

³⁵⁴Fales 2003: 131-147; Levine 1976-1980a, *RIA* V: 226.

³⁵⁵For further details see Jacobsen 1935 101-103; Gelb 1939: Pl.XL, fig.25.

³⁵⁶Radner 2003b: 121; Diakonoff 1978: 59. The bronze plaque was collected by Herzfeld in Hamadan. The object is now in the Metropolitan Museum. See Calmeyer 1973: pl.135. fig.29.

³⁵⁷Diakonoff 1978: 59; Radner 2003b: 122.

³⁵⁸The *Iasubu* is identified with the mountains, located east of the Diyala river; see Radner 2003b: 125, and the bibliography.

either Elamites or Ullubeans arise,³⁵⁹ (then) Ištar, Lady of the City, will carry (them) downstream like a river. Be it a future king, or [princes], or city lords, or [...] who say thus: 'They are not free,' may Ištar, Lady of the City, carry his house (and) his seed away, and may a war predestining non-existence angrily arise against him!"

Among the Urartian royal inscriptions discovered in Mannea and Musasir, some are bilingual Urartian-Assyrian, such as the Kelishin (Kêle-Shin) and Topzawa steles.³⁶⁰

Among the written records from the Northern Zagros there is nothing in any local Zagrosian language, the languages assumed to have been spoken there during the Middle Bronze Age and the Iron Age. All we know about these local languages are the toponyms and personal names recorded by Assyrians and Urartians, and therefore these names have been recorded with an imprecise pronunciation.

We cannot know how many local languages there were, or how many were lost, or how many of the indigenous population understood Akkadian and or Urartian, either in the Assyrian or the Babylonian dialect. There is no record of Mannean, but from personal names and place names in Assyrian and Urartian texts scholars have detected Kassite, Hurrian and even Iranian ethnolinguistic characteristics.³⁶¹

We know nothing about the language of the people of Hasanlu but the excavators of Hasanlu and others have tried to identify them and their rulers. Much debate has led to controversial views about Hasanlu V and IV. In different articles the excavators present different views about the origin of the Iron Age people of Hasanlu, identifying the people of Hasanlu V and IV as "*Hurrian speakers or an unknown, unidentifiable polity*," Manneans, or "*Indo-European-Speaking Iranians*".³⁶² Most of the Iron Age people of Hasanlu were probably Manneans, certainly before the destruction of Hasanlu IV, but the absence of local records means we do not know whether Mannean was a dialect of Hurrian or an independent language.

As for Urartu, there is no clear evidence to what degree and to what extent Urartian or other dialects in the Hurro-Urartian family were spoken. Hurrian was spoken during the third and second millennium BCE in the Northern Zagros in the Rania plain (Shemshara), Arrapha, Nuzi, among the Turukkeans, Musaserians, and among the Manneans.³⁶³ Also, during the first half of the first millennium BCE the so-called Hurro-Urartian dialects were used by the

³⁵⁹Diakonoff assumes that the *ú-lu-ba-ia* means the Lullubeans, probably written mistakenly (Radner 2003b: 126 and the bibliography). If the text meant the Ullubu people or auxiliaries, then probably it dates back to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, after 739 BCE, when he was the first Assyrian king to mention the Ullubeans by name and conquered their land north of Nineveh east of the Lesser Habur river (see Radner 2003b: 126). Some of the Ullubeans might have been deported to Media, and from them an auxiliary army was made. All we can be sure about from the texts is that some Ullubeans were deported to the city of Kilizi and they worked there digging out and cleaning a canal. For further details see SAA XIX 65.

³⁶⁰Urartian was used for Urartian royal inscriptions during the 9th century BCE until the mid-7th century BCE in the Urartian empire and the buffer zones between Assyria and Urartu in the Northern Zagros, mainly in the areas of the Upper Zab valley as far as the Urmia basin. For further details about the corpus of the discovered Urartian records see CTU I-IV.

³⁶¹See for instance, Zadok 2002a and Zadok 2002b.

³⁶²Muscarella 2013:328, with bibliography.

³⁶³Eidem & Læssøe 2001; Zadok 2002b:18ff, 44ff; Wilhelm & Stein 1989; Radner 2012b: 244ff; Gelb 1944.

peoples of the mountainous area in the kingdoms and districts between the Lower Zab and the Tigris.

Akkadian was probably not used in daily life as a spoken language, but as an official language in Assyrian administration palaces in the Zagros, for the hundreds of the studied correspondences in the Northern Zagros between the Assyrian court and the Assyrian deputies and the local governors, all of them written in Akkadian in cuneiform script on clay tablets. The Assyrian versions of the Urartian bilingual steles on the road between Musasir and the Urmia basin and the Assyrian inscriptions on the rock reliefs of Milamergi, Khinis, Bastora, and Najafabad all show that Akkadian was used in the Northern Zagros by priests, the scribes of the local Zagrosian kings, merchants, soldiers serving as auxiliaries in the Assyrian army, and interpreters.³⁶⁴ Slaves who traded between Assyria and the Northern Zagros, prisoners and others deported to Assyria and returned to their native land, some of the high officers in the local armies in the Zagros, and the spies, will all have contributed to an admixture of languages. We know that the Assyrians took princes (usually the great sons of the kings, i.e. the crown princes) as hostages from the Northern Zagros and the other occupied areas of Near East to educate them in Assyrian language and culture. Ultimately they were pro-Assyrian when they became the kings of their countries, well accustomed to Assyrian language and culture, facilitating easy communications with the Assyrian leadership. Good relations with the crown prince served Assyrian policy in the long term.

From the Middle and Late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age toponyms and personal names of the Northern Zagros contain some elements considered by scholars to have originated from two main languages: Urartian, bordering Assyria, and the Northern Zagros on the north, and Kassite, on the south. In the buffer zone between Assyria and Urartu in the Northern Zagros, in the kingdoms of Musasir, Ukku, Kumme and Nairi, probably dialects of Hurrian and or Hurro-Urartian were spoken.³⁶⁵

Surprisingly the Urartian bilingual steles and the seal of Urzana and other letters were never written in the language the Musasirians spoke. Since it is not even in the bilingual steles we conclude that literate Musasirians understood Assyrian and Urartian, including Urzana and or his scribes. That there were scribes in Musasir who could write and read Assyrian well is evident from several letters between Urzana the ruler of Musasir and Sargon II. Even the seal of Urzana has an Assyrian inscription.³⁶⁶

Every individual population group mentioned in the Assyrian annals may not have had their own language. Sometimes just beyond a mountain range or a pass another population group is mentioned, but they were probably tribes or clans speaking different dialects of one language. Assyrian scribes attached to the Assyrian king and his army in their campaign against the Northern Zagros recorded many details about daily life and architecture. They even commented on the accents of the Zagros people. The annals of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III mention many lands and cities in the land of Lullubi and Zamua which

³⁶⁴ For further details concerning the foreign auxiliaries in the Assyrian army see al-Fahdawi 1977: 127ff. Dezső (vol. II) 2012: 16ff.

³⁶⁵ Radner 2012b: 244ff. Also, see Chapter I, 1.2.3., and Chapter II, 1.2.

³⁶⁶ See CTU I-III; TCL III, Parpola 1970; Eidem & Læssøe 2001; Radner 2012b: 244ff.; For instance Urzana sent several letters to Sargon II, the letters are recorded in cuneiform script, as was all Assyrian correspondence during the reign of Sargon II and other Assyrian kings. For further details, see SAA V 92, 144, 145, 146.

probably all spoke Lullubean in different dialects. An interesting note about the languages of the people of one of the lands is recorded in the campaign of Ashurnasirpal II on Zamua who, returning to his camp at the foot of the mount Nišpi, observes:³⁶⁷

I returned to my camp. At that time I received bronze, bronze ..., bronze rivets, (and) beams, the tribute of the land Sipirmena whose (inhabitants) do their hair like women (KUR si-pir-me-na šá GIM MUNUS.MEŠ).

The description of the inhabitants can also be translated by Luckenbill "...Sipirmena who(se inhabitants?) speak like women."³⁶⁸ Later, Grayson translated the same expression as "the land Sipirmena whose (inhabitants) do their hair like women (KUR si-pir-me-na šá GIM MUNUS.MEŠ)." ³⁶⁹ If we accept Luckenbill's reading then the Assyrian note about the speech of the people of Sipirmena does not mean they had a different language, but that their language was a Lullubean dialect noticeably different from other dialects, suggesting to the Assyrians the "twittering of women".

In Media, Esarhaddon refers to two local names of one of the geographical names, he says that Barnaki [Paranki] (KUR.bar-na-ki) in the land Tīl-Ašurri called Pitānu "[in the language of the people] of the land Muhrānu."³⁷⁰ Median words can be traced through anthroponyms and toponyms in Assyrian and Persian records, as well as observation by Herodotus on Media.³⁷¹

From this we see that the peoples of the Zagros spoke different languages, some of them closely related to each other. Some terms probably refer to tribes or tribal groups, and they can be compared with modern societies who in reality spoke different dialects of one language. Someone familiar with modern dialects of Kurdish can see in the Northern Zagros different dialects of that one language. Someone less familiar may easily consider these dialects to be different languages. Some Kurdish speakers find it hard to communicate with speakers with other Kurdish dialects.

This division would have been more obvious in earlier times because of the topography of the Northern Zagros. The high mountain ranges and deep valleys, the rivers and their tributaries all formed natural barriers between neighbouring communities. A mountain pass or river presents such a barrier. The Upper Zab river separates the two main Kurdish dialects, Sorani and Badini/Kurmanji. Kurds west of the Upper Zab speak Badini/Kurmanji, and those to the east speak Sorani. Where the river meanders tribes such as the Surchi and Harki speak a mixed dialect. The division persists in Modern Aramaic (and Jewish) dialects, known as Transzab Jewish, where the Upper Zab separates the modern Aramaic dialects.³⁷²

Similarly, the end of the Sharizur plain and the beginning of the mountainous area east of the plain separates people speaking a distinctive Kurdish dialect called Hawrami. All the surrounding peoples in the plains and the valleys in both Iraq and Iran speak the Sorani or the

³⁶⁷RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 75-76a.

³⁶⁸ARAB I 456.

³⁶⁹RIMA II A.0.101.1: 75-76a. The translation of Grayson is more probable. Both the Victory Stele of Naramsin and the rock relief of Derband-i-Gawir show Lullubeans even in the Middle Bronze Age with female looking hair; braids. For further details see Marf 2007; and for the victory stele, see Chapter III, 3.1, 3.9.

³⁷⁰RINAP IV 79: 25b-33.

³⁷¹For further details, see Rossi 2010: 289-329.

³⁷²For instance see Noorlander 2014: 201-224.

Gorani dialect, but in this mountainous circle we find the Hawrami dialect, a dialect spoken in the mountains between Halabja, Sinnadej and Mariwan. This dialect is very much different from the Sorani and Gorani dialects, spoken from the Transzab and along banks of the Diyala.³⁷³

The Assyrian language was one of the strong points which unified the peoples of the Assyrian heartland. This sometimes provoked a comment on the language spoken by a foreigner. Ashurbanipal, describing the arrival of an ambassador in Nineveh from a distant country (assumed to be Lydia), says:³⁷⁴

He reached the border of my land. When the people of my land saw him, they said to him, 'Who are you, stranger? From a country no messenger ever set foot on the road (hither)?' They brought him before me in Nineveh, my capital. But of the languages of east³⁷⁵ and west, over which Ashur had given me authority, there was no one who commanded his language. His language was strange. And they could not understand his speech. He brought with him from the border of his land...

2.1.2. Bilingual and trilingual records in the Zagros, Multilingualism in the Zagros

In the Northern Zagros the oldest known bilingual inscriptions are the Urartian-Assyrian inscriptions of the Urartian kings Menua and Ishpuini on the stele from Kelishin (Kêl-e-Shin). Three other Urartian-Assyrian inscriptions are of Rusa, the Topzawa, Mergeh Karvan and Movana steles. These bilingual inscriptions were aimed at locals and foreigners who passed by them. The four bilingual Urartian inscriptions along the way from Musasir to the area of the Urmia Basin and its west shores also demarcated that area and the main routes as Urartian, with the Assyrian version aimed at the Assyrian kings and their armies, as well as caravans travelling between Assyria (and beyond) and the Urmia basin (and beyond).³⁷⁶

Assyrian kings and their scribes would probably have read the Urartian inscriptions in the Urmia basin. The Urartian inscription of Rusa in the royal city Ulhu near the Urmia basin was probably read by Assyrians during Sargon II's eighth campaign. When they crossed these passes they would have seen these steles commemorating local history. Roaf notes that "*it is surprising that the Assyrian king Sargon II should have devoted so much space in his inscription to the building activities of his Urartian enemy*".³⁷⁷ He also agrees with Zaccagnini's suggestion that this passage was based on an Urartian royal inscription.³⁷⁸

Moreover, I observed that Sargon II on his campaign on Musasir in 714 BCE read the bilingual steles at Movane or Topzawa, erected by Rusa in both Assyrian and Urartian versions. Sargon quoted from one of the steles in his annals when describing the coronations

³⁷³For further details about some of these Kurdish dialects and their differences see for instance, Allison 2007: 135-158; Mackenzie 1962; MacCarus 1985; Blau 1975.

³⁷⁴Saggs 1984: 130.

³⁷⁵This probably indicates that in the Assyrian court there were translators for the languages of the east, including the languages of the Zagros.

³⁷⁶For instance see Benedict 1961: 359-385; CTU I-III.

³⁷⁷Roaf 2012a: 200, note.39.

³⁷⁸Roaf 2012a: 200, note.39; Zaccagnini 1981: 259-295; ARAB II 161; Muscarell 2013: 378.

of one of the Urartian princes in the temple of Haldi in Musasir. He was chosen among his brothers, and gifts and sacrifices were given to Haldi. Sargon says:³⁷⁹

(Haldia)...who before him had not borne scepter and crown, the insignia (?).....prince, shepherd, the people of Urartu.....bring him (or to him), and one among his sons, as (?) heir (lit., seizer) of his throne, together with (?) gold and silver, all kinds of precious treasure from his palace³⁸⁰ they brought in before the god Haldia, in the city of Musasir, and presented (as) his gifts. Heavy cattle, fat sheep, without number, they sacrificed before him. For the whole of his city they spread a banquet. Before Haldia, his god, they crowned him with the royal crown and gave him the kingly scepter of Urartu.

This part of the text shows that the Assyrian scribes had read an Urartian text and transcribed the events of the coronation and the accompanying festivals. This prince was probably Rusa who was crowned in the temple of Haldi in Musasir and is reminiscent of a paragraph in Rusa's Movane stele:³⁸¹

[14/15 days in] the city of Musasir I stayed and all [the sacrifices] I sa[crified] to the city of Musasir. [For the people] in the city of Musasir..[...] [...] every day for the banquet I entered. I am [Rusa], [the servant of God Ha]ldi, the true shepherd of the pe[ople], [he who] approached to the House (temple) of Haldi, he who does not fear the fight. Haldi gave (to me) might and strength [and joy].

What is interesting is that Sargon probably read only the Assyrian version of the Topzawa stele, for he quoted only that one. It also shows that Rusa erected the Topzawa stele before Sargon II's campaign. There may have been two steles, one from before 714 BCE destroyed by the Assyrian army, and the other, the Topzawa stele, erected after 714 BCE. Another text of Rusa in Musasir was inscribed on his bronze chariot:³⁸²

1 statue of Ursa, with 2 of his horsemen, (and) his charioteer, with their shrine, cast in bronze, on which was engraved his own haughty (inscription), "With my two horses and one charioteer, my hand attained to the kingdom of Urartu".

In the Zagros some cuneiform inscriptions show that the sculptors had an inadequate knowledge of cuneiform. They may have copied the text inaccurately on to the rock relief or stele from a properly written clay tablet. The Middle Bronze Age rock relief of Horên-Shaikhhan (also called Bêlule) is dated from the iconography to the 19th century BCE. I have inspected the inscription on the rock face and seen that the sculptor who carved the inscription was not able to read or write cuneiform script properly. Assyriologists have noted several mistakes and unclear signs in that inscription.³⁸³

Another example, an inscription on a glazed brick from Rabat Tepe, dates to the ninth/eighth century BCE, according to Reade and Finkel:³⁸⁴

³⁷⁹ ARAB II 172

³⁸⁰ He probably means the palace of Rusa I.

³⁸¹ Andre-Salvini & Salvini 2002: 20ff, the Assyrian version, *Face III: 49-57; Roaf 2012a: 193ff; CTU I-III.*

³⁸² ARAB II 173.

³⁸³ For further details about the rock relief and its inscription see Roaf & Postgate 1997: 143-155; Calmeyer 1975: 504-505.

³⁸⁴ Reade and Finkel 2014: 593.

It is probable that we are dealing with a formulaic connected text along the lines of “Belonging to RN, king of GN, priest of DN1 and DN2 ...”, although the order of the brick inscriptions is provisional. The presence of the relative pronoun ša before a king’s name on a building inscription would be unusual, but this feature and any defective signs might be attributed to the likelihood that the person writing on the bricks was not a professional Akkadian-speaking scribe but was copying the text from the inscription on some other object in the king’s possession.

Another example dates to the Neo-Assyrian period. In Kani-Derbend/Kani Darband village northeast Erbil (Arbela) farmers found a stele inscribed in cuneiform but the mistakes show that the text was written locally by someone incompetently quoting other texts.³⁸⁵

Assyrian governors, deputies, and eponyms needed in the Zagros Assyrian scribes in these vassal territories of the Zagros. The governor of Der requested a scribe in a letter to Sargon II for his office in Der.³⁸⁶

To the king, my lord: your servant Sin-na’di. Good health to the king my lord! I have no scribe where the king sent me to. Let the king direct either the governor of Arrapha or Aššur-bel-taqin to send me a scribe.

Radner has noticed that “the governor was able to write this letter himself, exhibiting command over a good range of cuneiform signs, although a bit rusty in regard to the spelling conventions, and successfully adhering to the formal and linguistic conventions governing state letter writing.”³⁸⁷

After the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE Akkadean and Aramaic languages and scripts had been used in the Zagros, for instance the trilingual inscription of Behistun (Bêstûn) of Darius I in 522 BCE in the Zagros was the first key for decoding cuneiform script and Akkadian.³⁸⁸

2.1.3. Writing systems

In the mid-8th century and during the 7th century BCE Aramaic became the language for international relations, competing with Assyrian not only among the population of the Assyrian heartland but also among the peoples under Assyrian domination and in some areas of the Northern Zagros. On several reliefs and wall paintings Assyrian and Aramaic scribes stand beside each other recording the royal events. For the Assyrian campaigns they are accounting for the tribute, looted objects, captives and deportees. On the wall painting of Til Barsib there are two scribes, one holding a clay tablet and the other a scroll. Two similar scribes are seen on Assyrian reliefs of the military campaigns against the Northern Zagros recording the loot from Musasir (fig.2.1.a),³⁸⁹ and two scribes recording Zagrosian prisoners in front of a camp in the Zagros (fig.2.1.b).³⁹⁰

³⁸⁵For further details see Abadah 1972: 77-79, fig.5-9. Also see Chapter III, 3.1.

³⁸⁶SAA XV 17; Radner 2014a: 69.

³⁸⁷Radner 2014a: 69.

³⁸⁸For instance see Von Voigtlander 1978.

³⁸⁹Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl.141, Room VIII, slab 4.

³⁹⁰Botta & Flandin, 1972: Vol. II, pl. 146, no.10-11, Room XIV. Although we cannot be sure whether the language being written on the scroll was Aramaic or a local language written in Aramaic script, generally scholars consider it as Aramaic. In some occasions, the person with the scroll beside the Assyrian scribe could be an artist sketching the scene for the Assyrian sculptors to carve on stone reliefs in the Assyrian palaces. But more



fig.2.1.a. Details of the depicted scenes of the looting of Musasir by Sargon II, on a relief from Khorsabad (after Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl.141, Room VIII, slab 4).

b. Recording Zagrosian prisoners by Sargon II's scribe in front of a camp, details of a relief from Khorsabad (after Botta & Flandin, 1972: Vol. II, pl. 146, no.10-11, Room XIV).

Sargon II communicated with what we assume is the besieged Mannean city Pazaši in their own language. The Assyrian relief from Khorsabad shows an Assyrian “*official, reading from a parchment scroll, urging the inhabitants of a besieged Mannean city to surrender.*” (fig. 2.1.c)³⁹¹. That figure “*was regarded as a scribe reading in Aramaic, turning to ‘the people on the wall’ and simultaneously translating the text into the Mannean language.*”³⁹² Eph'al interprets the scene differently, saying that “*the officer is indeed speaking in Aramaic, and not in Mannean, but his words are not directed to ‘the people on the wall’, but rather, to the leaders of Pazaši, who are familiar with this language.*”³⁹³

However, the scene gives no clear details of that Assyrian soldier/officer. The scenes show that he leads the Assyrian advance of the ‘tank’ on the city walls, with the additional duty of pouring water over the tank to extinguish firebrands thrown by the enemy. What he holds in his hands could be a water skin. Because the original relief was lost in the Tigris when Botta was on his way to the Gulf, we only have to rely on details in the drawings. A scroll was usually used by Assyrians for writing Aramaic, so this text was being written in Aramaic or some other linear script suited to a scroll and not cuneiform.³⁹⁴ After all, Aramaic became the official international language in Assyria from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, which is why we think the two scribes on the reliefs were making duplicate records of the booty.

probably he was a scribe expert in Aramaic. Beside scrolls, some objects from Nimrud bore Aramaic inscriptions, such as ivories and seals; see Millard 1962: 41-54.

³⁹¹Parpola 2004: p.9, note. 21.

³⁹²Eph'al 1999: 119.

³⁹³Eph'al 1999: 119. For further details see Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.145.

³⁹⁴Radner 2014a: 81.



Fig.2.1.c. Details of the Assyrian siege of the Mannean city Pazashi depicted on a relief from Khorsabad. Inside the Assyrian tank, an Assyrian soldier read a scrole or threw water from a skin on the thrown flamed bundle of grasses (after Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.145).

In Assyria Aramaic personal names or names with Aramaic elements are more common, as can be seen from the lists in *APN* and *PNA*. Aramaic names, especially in the 7th century BCE, were more common than Assyrian names in the Assyrian heartland. Nissinen assumes that the majority of West Semitic personal names in the Assyrian heartland were Aramaic.³⁹⁵ Also, Parpola assumes that in the 7th century BCE Assyria two major languages were spoken: “*Speakers of Aramaic — in practice the entire population of the country — and speakers of Akkadian, including the largely bilingual inhabitants of the Assyrian heartland and the fully bilingual ruling class.*” He adds: “*This dichotomy was, however, largely social, not cultural, and it came to an end with the fall of the Empire.*”³⁹⁶

The scarcity of cuneiform inscriptions from Tepe Qalaichi (Izirtu), Ziwiye and Hasanlu may mean that in these cities another script, such as Aramaic or one similar, was used for documents, and the scrolls and writing boards have perished. The Aramaic stele of Bukan in Tepe Qalaichi, in an area far removed from where Aramaic and other Semitic languages were spoken, according to Eph‘al “*indicates that the spread of Aramaic did not necessarily reflect demographic changes, which were mainly the consequence of massive deportation.*” Eph‘al continues, “*(that) this is a royal inscription suggests that Aramaic was used among the upper class of the Mannean society, which seems to have lacked a script of its own.*”³⁹⁷ Eph‘al assumes that Aramaic was adapted in the royal inscriptions as early as the mid-eighth century

³⁹⁵Nissinen 2014: 273-296.

³⁹⁶Parpola 2004: 5-22; also see Parpola 2003: 341.

³⁹⁷Eph‘al 1999: 118f.

BCE, and that the inscription of Bukan dates to the late 8th century or early 7th century BCE, when Aramaic “started to become a *lingua franca*.”³⁹⁸ The Aramaic stele of Bukan is the oldest known Aramaic record in the Northern Zagros. One of two Mannean kings, Aza and Ullusunū, or a Hubušian king may have been the author of the text. Ullusunū is considered the most likely by Lemaire.³⁹⁹

As for Urartu, we have many royal inscriptions on rocks and steles by Urartian kings but surprisingly few Urartian tablets.⁴⁰⁰ Urartians may have used scrolls for everyday documents. What we do know is that Urartians mainly used cylinder-stamp seals, clear evidence that another way of writing was used apart from clay tablets and stone steles and rock inscriptions. Perishable writing material such as scrolls for stamping have not survived. All we have are clay tablets for which cylinder seals were used.⁴⁰¹

2.1.4. Interpreters

When Ashurnasirpal II rebuilt Kalhu, his capital city, he conscripted corvée workers from Zamua and other areas of the Zagros. So many people were deported to the Assyrian capital that the population could have been described as an ethnic mosaic. Many non-Assyrian names are attested in the legal documents from the Assyrian capitals. Among the names in the wine ration lists many population groups recognized, who were needed as *interpreter* “*targumān*”.⁴⁰² These foreign workers would have needed interpreters in the Assyrian heartland, for most of them would not have been able to speak Assyrian or Aramaic. Over time they would have learned some basic Assyrian words, especially those related to their work.

An Assyrian letter from the reign of Esarhaddon mentions ‘[Man]naean scribes,’ or interpreters.⁴⁰³ According to Eph‘al even the mention of the weather god as Hadad in the Aramaic inscription on the stele of Bukan does “*not necessarily reflect local religious and linguistic reality*”, but rather “*they may point to the existence of scribes who were trained in foreign languages and literary traditions*.”⁴⁰⁴ Similarly, Sokoloff assumes that the Aramaic epigrapher of the Bukan stele was not a native speaker of Aramaic,⁴⁰⁵ but he was probably a local Mannean scribe.

Sargon II asked Šarru-emuranni to find a local interpreter in Zamua. He assured the Assyrian king that “*I have now se[nt] (word), and I shall find an interpreter in [...], acquire him for the king, my lord, and send him*.”⁴⁰⁶ Another letter, very badly preserved, mentions an interpreter in Zamua.⁴⁰⁷

One interpreter in the Northern Zagros is named in a letter sent by Adad-issiya the Assyrian governor of Zamua to Sargon II, reporting on preparations for war on the Mannean

³⁹⁸Epha‘l 1999: 118.

³⁹⁹For further details see André Lemaire 1998a: 300, and the bibliography.

⁴⁰⁰CTU IV CB AY-51, pp. 195-201.

⁴⁰¹Marf 2007: 6; Collon 1987: 399-404.

⁴⁰²Radner 2008: 502f, and the bibliography; also see SAA 16 148: 9-1.

⁴⁰³Eph‘al 1999: 117, the note 6; SAA XI 31.

⁴⁰⁴Eph‘al, I., 1999: 116-121.

⁴⁰⁵Sokoloff 1999: 106.

⁴⁰⁶SAA V 203: r 4-7.

⁴⁰⁷SAA V 212.

border. He was called Kubaba-ila'i, EN *li-šá-ni šú-u*, “masters of language”, Adad-issiya sent Kubaba-ila'i to the city Tikriš, and he gave the Assyrians a “detailed report”.⁴⁰⁸ Such an interpreter would have been needed in this war on the Mannean border. Perhaps he knew more than two languages, and was an important person for the Assyrians, which is why the governor of Zamua sent him to the city of Tikriš (a city in Mannea).⁴⁰⁹ He came back with a detailed report which he may have prepared as a spy in that city:⁴¹⁰

The king, my lord, knows that Kubaba-ila'i is a master of language. I sent him to (the city of) Tikriš, and he gave us this detailed report. We are herewith sending it to the king, my lord.

Another Assyrian letter mentions a Mede who sent a letter from Media to the Assyrian governor of Zamua Nabû-hamatua, but we do not know what language or script he used:⁴¹¹

The forts of the king, my lord, are well. A Mede forwarded me the (attached) letter from the governor, saying: “Let your messenger bring it to the Palace.” I have spoken kindly with the countrymen of the son of Bel-iddina and encouraged them. The son of Bel-iddina (himself) is a criminal and a traitor; he does not obey [the king's orders]. [I said]: “Do your work, each in [his house and] field, and be glad; you are now subjects of the king. They are peaceful and do their work. I have brought them out from six forts, saying: “Go! Each one of you should build (a house) in the field and stay there!”

The Assyrian campaigns in the Northern Zagros always needed local support. Individuals were paid for their loyalty, pro-Assyrian rulers and the elite ensured their control of their land with Assyrian support. Of the Mannean rulers some were pro-Assyrian and others were pro-Urartian. Among those needed were local Zagrosian quislings to work as guides or translators. They are mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions and administrative documents but seldom by name to determine if they were Assyrian or indigenous. Most probably they were local individuals who served in the Assyrian army. These points all led to formal interaction by the elite and informal by other individuals.

⁴⁰⁸ SAA V 217:18.

⁴⁰⁹ SAA V 217: r.1.

⁴¹⁰ SAA V 217: 16-18.

⁴¹¹ SAA V 210: 4-r.7; aslo, in other letters, the Assyrian king advices his men to speak with the leaders and peoples of Media kindly, for further details see SAA XV 90, 91, 96.

2.2. Personal Names

Our information about the Assyrian personal names mainly comes from Assyrian letters, administrative and legal documents, and other records. But the majority of non-Assyrian names occur in Assyrian royal inscriptions, which usually do not mention many Assyrian names. Usually they deal with foreign enemies, international issues and Assyrian territorial expansion. Some letters and administrative and legal documents include the names of foreigners who were deported or migrated to Assyria. There, during their daily lives, they were named as buyers, sellers, witnesses or slaves.

Zagrosian names are mainly recorded in Assyrian royal inscriptions, administrative letters and legal documents. The very few local sources are the Shemshara letters, the royal brick inscriptions of Idu (modern Satu Qala) in Akkadian,⁴¹² and the inscription of the Median king Šilisruḥ.⁴¹³ Some Nuzi personal names give important details for understanding Hurrian personal names.⁴¹⁴ Very little is known about female names in the Northern Zagros. Rēmūte-Allate / Remutti-Allati has an Akkadian name. She came from Dara-ahuya, a town in the mountains,⁴¹⁵ she was a priestess prophecying in the temple of Ištar of Arbail and was trusted by Esarhaddon to read omens.⁴¹⁶

Apart from the Akkadian names, in the Zagros most other names do not have a divine element. Even the royal names of Idu do not include theophoric names.⁴¹⁷ The one name which may be regarded as an exception is the Lullubean name Erishtienu in Zamua, “*Desire of the gods*”.⁴¹⁸ Except the Hurrian names, no conclusion about the Zagrosian names is yet possible, because the data is scarce, and we do not know the meaning of most names, especially of non-Semitic and non-Iranian names.

Of the many publications dealing with Assyrian personal names and contemporary names, the *APN* and *PNA volumes* are most important. They deal with Assyrian personal names and prosopography. Zadok’s publications are best for the personal names of the Zagros.⁴¹⁹ Here I do not deal with all the Assyrian and Zagrosian personal names or prosopography but only personal names which provide information about cultural interactions between Assyrian and the Zagros.

2.2.1. People in the Zagros with Assyrian (Akkadian) names

Of the Akkadian names in the Northern Zagros attested during the Middle Bronze Age records we have the énsi of Lullubum called Waburtum (*wa-bur-tum*). There is no information about his origin, and we do not know if he was a local ruler or an Akkadian/Sumerian one appointed by the Ur III king Šū-Sîn as “[é]nsi of [Lu?]lubum.”⁴²⁰

⁴¹²van Soldt, et. al, 2013: 209-216.

⁴¹³Diakonoff 1978: 59; Radner 2013: 122.

⁴¹⁴For further details see for instance *NPN*.

⁴¹⁵SAA IX 1.3: 13-15

⁴¹⁶SAA IX 1.3, p.6; Marf, D. A., (forthcoming) “Who was who in Arbela during 722-522 BCE),” In: Mattila, R., et al., (eds.), *Proceeding of the international conference: Ancient Arbela: Pre-Islamic History of Erbil qui s’est tenue à Erbil les 7-10 avril 2014*. Syria (supplement series), IFPO.

⁴¹⁷van Soldt, et. al, 2013: 209-216.

⁴¹⁸van Soldt, et. al, 2013: 214.

⁴¹⁹For instance see Zadok 2002a: 89-151.

⁴²⁰RIME III/2: E3/2.1.4.5. 1-3, p.312.

From the fragments of the Middle Assyrian tablets of Tell Basmusian in the Rania plain two proper names are preserved, Warad(?)–Enlil (^dBE) and Kiribtu (^mKi-rib-te). They are probably Akkadian names found also elsewhere.⁴²¹

One of the kings of Idu is called Ba'auri.⁴²² Also, a Lullubean Ba-IA-ú-ri (Bayuri or Bayauri), who acted as a seller of a slave girl, is attested in a Middle Assyrian sale document.⁴²³ That person originated from the Land of Lullubu, and an Urartian suggestion about the etymology of the name is possible.⁴²⁴

In Zamua *Nūr-Adad* (^mZÁLAG-^dIŠKUR) is the name of the sheikh who revolted against Ashurnasirpal II. It could be read as Akkadian *Nūr-Adad*, or locally it may have been pronounced differently. Scholars use logograms (^mZÁLAG-^dIŠKUR) to keep the question open.⁴²⁵ During the Neo-Assyrian period there are some Akkadian names in the Northern Zagros. Ashur-le' (the king of Karalla) is a very rare Assyrian name in the Northern Zagros, only attested once. Information about the origin of that king comes from an interesting and politically complicated Assyrian letter in SAA V, entitled by Parpola and Lanfranchi "*Ullusunū Bribes Aššur-le'i of Karalla*".⁴²⁶ The Assyrian deputy in Zamua, Nabû-hamatua informed the writer of the letter that "*Aššur-le[i] is going to Ullusunū,*" and that "*Ullusunū (at the time king of Mannea) had given five horses to Ashur-le'i.*" It seems that Ashur-le'[i] wanted to play a political game and received the horses from the Mannean king Ullusunū, but then gave the horses to the Assyrian deputy Nabû-hamatua, as is stated in the letter: "*Nabû-hamatua has itemized the horses; he gave him by colour in a clay tablet (which) he (also) sent me.*"⁴²⁷ Then the Assyrian author of the letter "*forwarded the letters of Nabû-hamatua to Nineveh, and they will have read them to the king (by now).*"⁴²⁸

⁴²¹Læssøe 1959:17-18, fig. I; 3; Tallquist 1966: 115f.

⁴²²van Soldt, et. al, 2013: 214f.

⁴²³van Soldt, et. al, 2013: 214f.; Postgate 1988: p.123, text no. 52:7.

⁴²⁴van Soldt, et. al, 2013: 214f.

⁴²⁵RIMA II A.0.101.1; ii23b-31a. Also, see below.

⁴²⁶SAA V 218.

⁴²⁷SAA V 218.

⁴²⁸In the letter another person appears, "*the eunuch of Aššur-le'i*". The author of the letter informs the Assyrian king that the eunuch fled to Nabû-hamatua three years before and is still with him: "*it is the third year already since he fled to Nabû-hamatua.*" (SAA V 218). It appears that the Assyrian king asked the author of the letter to capture the eunuch, but he was not able to do that: "*....., so it is not possible to get him down from there. Let them bring him over to me when he is inside his country.*" (SAA V 218). If the eunuch was Assyrian, then was *Aššur-le'i* the owner of that eunuch also Assyrian? *Aššur-le'i* was among those Zagrosian rulers who was encouraged by Rusa to revolt against the Assyrians, and Sargon II assumes that he repossessed Karalla with Mannea: "*Aššur-le'u of the land of Karalla and Ittî of the land of Allabria he [i.e. Rusa] caused to revolt against me and called upon them to become vassals of Armenia [Urartu]. In the anger of my heart I overran (lit., covered) these lands like [a swarm] of locusts....*" ARAB II 10.

Aššur-le'u had been flayed by Sargon II, then later a brother of his, when the people of Karalla in the ninth year of Sargon II revolted against the Assyrian official and, in Sargon's words, "*they had made Amitashshi, brother of Aššur-le'u, ruler over them.*" (ARAB II 23). It seems that *Aššur-le'u's* brother had an Iranian name, perhaps that is indicating that he was a local Zagrosian and they were not Assyrian. In case if *Aššur-le'i* was a local Zagrosian, then probably his father named him (or he called himself) *Aššur-le'i*, to curry favour with the Assyrians. Similarly in the modern Iraqi Zagros in the 1980s some chieftains in the Zagros (Iraqi Kurdistan) called their sons Saddam to curry favour with Saddam Hussein.

In Media there are some Akkadian names. The ruler of the city of Kišesim, deported to Assyria during the reign of Sargon, had an Akkadian name, Bêl-šar-ušur.⁴²⁹ Bel-iddina (^{md}EN-SUM-na, “Bel [‘the Lord’] has given”) was a local ruler with an Akkadian name in Media during the reign of Sargon II.⁴³⁰ Another Bel-iddina (^mEN-SUM-na) from Zamua is recorded in an administrative letter from the reign of Sargon II. He was an Assyrian ally, but his son did not want to go with the troop. That name is also attested in several Assyrian letters, showing that it was a name for many individuals in Babylonian and Assyrian cities, but mainly in Babylonia.⁴³¹ The use of these Akkadian names shows Babylonian and or Assyrian influence on Median culture.

2.2.2. People in the Assyrian heartland with Zagrosian/Iranian names

In the Assyrian heartland many personal names before the rise of the Assyrian power were Hurrian/Subarian. Hurrian personal names are preserved in the tablets dated to the first quarter of the second millennium BCE in the Tell al-Rimah archive, indicating that Hurrian culture was strong there.⁴³² And, even the ensi of Urbilum in the late third millennium BCE bore a Hurrian name, Neriš-ḫuḫa in the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir of Gutium.⁴³³

Not only in Assyria but similarly during the Bronze Age in the foothills and the mountains of the Zagros Hurrian culture was dominant, and the majority of the personal names were Hurrian, as can be seen in the tablets of Shemshara, Arrapha, Nuzi, and Simmumur.⁴³⁴

Some individual names recorded in the Assyrian capitals and neighbouring cities are Old Iranian, or more probably Median. The name of the man Barzî (^mbar-zi-i) is derived from Median “high”.⁴³⁵ People with that name are attested in some Assyrian legal documents as witnesses, two of them from the reign of Tiglth-pileser III, one from Kalhu and the other one from Imgur-Illil. Another person with the same name was the son of Sili from Ashur in the reign of Ashurbanipal.⁴³⁶

Another name considered as Old Iranian is Se-na-in-ni, but according to Zadok it may be a Hurro-Urartian name, derived from Hurrian *šen-* “brother”, and originally *Še-en-na-ni*.⁴³⁷ It is assumed that Hurrian was spoken in and around Kumme, Musasir, and other neighbouring provinces of northeast Assyria during the Iron Age.⁴³⁸

2.2.3. Some aspects of local names in the Zagros

The prosopography of the Northern Zagros is based on the names of the rulers of the cities, provinces and kingdoms. There are no specific group names for a particular area. For most of

⁴²⁹Lie 1929: p. 17, the lines 93-95.

⁴³⁰SAA V 210.

⁴³¹SAA V 199: r.9.; Baker 1999. *PNA* 1/II B-G: 311-313.

⁴³²For details about the Hurrian names in these records see Sasson 1979: 37-87.

⁴³³Kutscher 1989: Col. Xi BT 3:1-11, pp.59, 69.

⁴³⁴For further details see Eidem and Læssøe 2001; Eidem 1992. Also, for the personal names in Nuzi, see *NPN*, also, for Simurru personal names and their inscriptions, for instance see Ahmed 2012: 229-297.

⁴³⁵Interestingly, Barzi is a name still used among the modern people of the Zagros, with the same Median meaning (high), but mainly as feminine name, while during the Neo-Assyrian period it was a masculine name.

⁴³⁶Schmitt & Talon, *PNA* 1/II B-G: 274.

⁴³⁷Zadok 2000b: 10; *NPN* 255b.

⁴³⁸Zadok 1995b: 222; Radner 2012b: 243-264.

the names the origin is not known. Local personal names came from unknown languages, or contain obscure elements from known languages. Even in a particular kingdom, the names are not related to a specific language. The names of the kings, princes and rulers of Mannea belong to different languages. The name Aḫšēri, the king of Mannea during the reign of Esarhaddon/Ashurbanipal, is assumed to “belong to the widespread group of Hittite names.”⁴³⁹ Other Mannean names are considered Hurrian or Kassite, for instance, Ianzu, Ullusunu and Aḫšēri considered as Hurrian.⁴⁴⁰ For instance, the name of the Mannean princess Eresene is said to have a Hurro-Urartian origin, to be compared with Hurrian *Iri-šenni* “he has given the brother” and with Hurrian *Ariseni*.⁴⁴¹ In other areas of the Zagros we find “Kassite anthroponomy (though originally a title)” for the name of some Zagrosian rulers, such as Ianzu of Mannea, Ianzu of Hubuškia, Ianzu of Bīt-Hamban; the ruler of Allabria was called Ianzi-Buriaš.⁴⁴² Tallqvist considered the names of Artasari of Šurdira/Batri (Batir), Data/Dadi of Hubuškia and Upu of Gilzānu as the earliest known Iranian names of the ninth century BCE.⁴⁴³ Recently, Dadi of Hubuškia was considered an Akkadian by Mattila.⁴⁴⁴ Among the known names from Mannea are some Iranian names, including Bagdatti, the Mannean ruler of the city Wišdiš/Uišdiš in the district of Zikirti. His name is considered Iranian. This is the first attestation of the name Bagdatti, which later became frequent among the Zagrosian and Iranian peoples.⁴⁴⁵

Futhermore, the ruler of Larbusa in Zamua (a contemporary of Ashurnasirpal II) was called Kirtira (^m*ki-ir-te-a-ra*), a name considered by Tallqvist as an Old Iranian name, from *krtā* “made” with suffix /-(a)*ra*/.⁴⁴⁶ But although the root is Old Iranian, it has a Lullubean suffix /-(a)*ra*/, for there are other Lullubean rulers with similar suffixes. Shalmaneser III in his annals names **Nikdēme** (^m*nik-de-me*) and **Nikdēra** (^m*nik-de-e-ra*), as two Idean city rulers from beyond the pass of Bunais (KUR.*bu-na-is*) within Zamua (*Zamua ša bitani*).⁴⁴⁷ The names may have been Lullubean titles for city rulers, or the root /*nikde*/ with suffixes /*me*/ or /*ra*/ could have had specific meanings in the local language. Another ruler has a similar name, **Meqdiara** (^m*me-eq-di-a-ra*) of Nairi.⁴⁴⁸ **Nikdera**’s name is similar to **Meqdiara** (^m*me-eq-di-a-ra*), the father of Šaršina, ruler of 300 localities in Nairi in the reign of Shamshi-Adad V.⁴⁴⁹ Mount **Nikippa** in Mannea and the Median city of Nikkur both begin with /*Nik*-, which may be or not linked linguistically.⁴⁵⁰

Kakia is a well known Hurrian personal name attested in the records of Tell Fahar (Kurruhani) in the Mittani kingdom.⁴⁵¹ The ruler of Hubuškia was called **Kāki/Kaiki/Kakia**

⁴³⁹Tallqvist 1966 APN: XXIII.

⁴⁴⁰For instance see Zadok 2002b: 1.1.2.

⁴⁴¹For further details see Fuchs and Schmitt 1999e, PNA 1/II B-G: 403.

⁴⁴²Zadok 2013: 410; also see Reade 1978: 137-143; Fuchs 2000: 492-493.

⁴⁴³Tallqvist 1966 APN: XXII.

⁴⁴⁴Mattila 1999b: 360.

⁴⁴⁵Fuchs & Schmitt 1999a, PNA 1/II B-G: 251; Fuchs & Schmitt 1999b, PNA 1/II B-G: 251.

⁴⁴⁶Tallqvist 1966 APN: 291; Fuchs & Schmitt 2000: 620.

⁴⁴⁷RIMA II A.0.102.2: ii 75b-78a.

⁴⁴⁸RIMA III A.0.103.1: ii 24-25.

⁴⁴⁹RIMA III A.0.103.1: ii 16b-34a; Al-Qaradaghi 2008: 137, note.2.

⁴⁵⁰ARAB II 142; ARAB I 766.

⁴⁵¹NPN 78; Al-Qaradaghi 2008: 124: note, 3.

(*Ka-a-ki*).⁴⁵² **Kakuli**, the queen of Rusa I/II who is named on a gold handle of a fan, may also have originated from Nairi.⁴⁵³ These names sound like the names of the Hubuškian king, **Kaki/Kakai**.⁴⁵⁴ And of a capitan, **Kakkullānu** (^m*Kak-kul-la-nu*) in the Assyrian heartland, who is named in an Assyrian legal document when he purchased slaves.⁴⁵⁵ In Media a similar name occurs, **Kakī** (*Ka-ki-i*) king of Bīt-Zatti and the city Ušari during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III.⁴⁵⁶ Sound */-kki/* attested in the name of the city **Tikki** (*URU.ti-ik-ki*) on the border of Hubuškia, the city where the Assyrians obtained horses.⁴⁵⁷

Since we know of local Zagrosian names only from Akkadian records, we do not know exactly how they were pronounced by a native speaker of one of the local languages or dialects, which were non-Akkadian and non-Semitic. The language of the written record is different from the language of names themselves. The sounds of proper names, which were new for an Assyrian/Akkadian scribe, could be represented in cuneiform only approximately. A logogram is used for the name of the Urartian King Sarduri ^dXV-BĀD and the Urartian toponym Sārdauriana, suggesting a pronunciation *Issarduri* (= *Ištar-dūri*).⁴⁵⁸

The logogram LUGAL is used for Aramaic *milk* and Akkadian *šarru* or other unknown local epithets.⁴⁵⁹ The Median/Iranian word for King is recorded as *Ha-ša-at-ri-it-ti* and *Ka-aš-ta-ri-ti* and differently in other languages, Tallqvist noticed that Iranian *Xš* can be transcribed as *hš*, *kš*, or as *š*.⁴⁶⁰

The name of one of the rulers of Idu is read as *Ab-bi-ze-ri/Ab-bi-NUMUN*, which is hesitantly considered as Semitic,⁴⁶¹ but Zadok says that it is hardly Semitic.⁴⁶² Bel-aplu-iddina the ruler of Allabria during the reign of Sargon II has one of rare Babylonian styled names from the Zagros in the Neo-Assyrian period.⁴⁶³ Bêl-apal-iddina may not have been native to Allabria. The native ruler Ittî was deported with his family by Sargon II (ARAB II 10), and afterwards Bêl-apal-iddina became king of Allabria.

Recording names and toponyms from foreign languages necessitated approximating the local pronunciation. The name *Ni-bi-e* of Ellipi could be assumed to have originated from Iranian *naiba* “handsome”, but also could be compared to the Kassite name Nibi-Šipak.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵² RIMA III A.0.102.1: 23.

⁴⁵³ Cilingeröglü 2011 b: 355; Çilingiroğlu 2011a: 1062.

⁴⁵⁴ The name even compared with the modern Perisan and Kurdish Kaka “elder brother”. For further details see Berelejung 2000: 594-595.

⁴⁵⁵ Postgate 1970: 43; Postgate 1979: 96.

⁴⁵⁶ ARAB I 766; Zadok 2002b: 4.9.2.2; for the attestations of the individuals named Kakkullānu in the Assyrian heartland see Fales 2000: 595-597.

⁴⁵⁷ SAA III 17: 23-25.

⁴⁵⁸ Zadok 1998: 69-71.

⁴⁵⁹ Tallqvist 1966, *APN*: XVI.

⁴⁶⁰ Tallqvist 1966 *APN*: XXIV.

⁴⁶¹ van Soldt, et al, 2013: 214.

⁴⁶² Zadok 2013: 416.

⁴⁶³ However, there is no clear evidence that Bêl-apal-iddina was Allabrian native, because the native ruler of Allabria who was called Ittî deported with and his family by Sargon II (ARAB II 10). After him, Bêl-apal-iddina became the new king of Allabira, the confusion come from the point that he was not like Assyrian governor, but as local subordinated ruler he gave tribute to Sargon II (ARAB II 24).

⁴⁶⁴ Tallqvist 1966 *APN*: XXIII.

Some common elements occur in many Median personal names. The names of four Median rulers who gave tribute to Sargon II all have the suffix /-**ukku** or -**ukka**/; Paia**ukka** of Kilambate, Mašdaia**ukku** of Kingaraku, Pâu**ukka** of Bīt-Kabsi, Zardu**ukku** of Harzianu.⁴⁶⁵

Some names begin or end with /**akku**-/: Akkussu of Usi, Birtatu of Siburâ, Mašda**akku** of Aradpati, Satarpanu of Barikanu, Kara**akku** of Urikaia, Mašda**akku** of Andirpatianu, Mašda**akku** of Aradpati; Kitak**ki** of Uriangi ends with /-**akki**/.⁴⁶⁶ Part of the name of the Median ruler Mašdaia**ukku** is similar to that of the Mannean ruler Daia**ukku**, a pro-Urartian deported by Sargon to Hamath in Syria.⁴⁶⁷

Another suffix in Median names is /-**anu**/: Satarpanu of Barikanu, Mašda**akku** of Andirpatianu.⁴⁶⁸ There are Median chieftains whose names include the element /**satar**-/: Satarešu and Uksatar were chieftains of 'the river (country)' in Media, and another chieftain was called Uzitar of Kantâu.⁴⁶⁹ The suffix /-**parna**/ was a common suffix in Media, attested in the names of several chieftains: Šidir-**parna** and E-**parna** of Patušarri; in an Assyrian administrative we find the names Baga-**parna** attestates, and another Median chieftain with a similar name, Bagb/**pararna** of Zakrute.⁴⁷⁰ The name of the Cimmerian king **B/Partatua** and of the Median city **Partakka** begin with /**Parta**-.⁴⁷¹ In Media, also, two rulers which are Uakirtu of Nappi and Makirtu of Bīt-Sakbat both names include /-**akirtu**/.⁴⁷² The name of the Mannean ruler Ullusunu (^mú-li-su-nu) in the reign of Sargon II,⁴⁷³ is similar to Šulusunu (^mšú-lu-su-nu) of Harna (Hir/Kin/Murna) between Mannea and Paddira and Parsua; its capital was Masašuru.⁴⁷⁴ Ulušia (URU.ú-lu-ši-a), the name of a city on the Mannean border was similar.⁴⁷⁵

In his annals Shalmaneser III says that he received horses as tribute from the Hubušian king Dada (^mDatâ). He also received tribute from Datana (^mda-ta-na) king of Hubušia.⁴⁷⁶ Shamshi-Adad V mentions Dadî (^mDa-di-i) as ruler of Hubušia, who may have been a son with a name like his father's. In Habhu another king had almost the same name as his father. Ashurnasirpal II mentions Būbu (bu-ú-bu) son of Babua (ba-bu-a) as rulers of Ništun.⁴⁷⁷ And Babû was a city lord in the mountain, whose son met Mannu-ki-Adad.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁶⁵ ARAB II 147.

⁴⁶⁶ ARAB II 147.

⁴⁶⁷ ARAB II 12; Fuchs and Schmitt 1999: 370.

⁴⁶⁸ ARAB II 147.

⁴⁶⁹ ARAB II 147.

⁴⁷⁰ RINAP 4 1: iv 46-52; ARAB II 147; SAA XV 91; Fuchs & Schmitt 1999a, PNA 1/II B-G: 251. There are some Median toponyms had the same suffix /-parna/, see below.

⁴⁷¹ ARAB II 147.

⁴⁷² ARAB II 147.

⁴⁷³ ARAB II 10; SAA V 218: 6.

⁴⁷⁴ RIMA III A.0.102.14: 160-173.

⁴⁷⁵ SAA V 217: 6.

⁴⁷⁶ RIMA III A.0.102.14: 161.

⁴⁷⁷ RIMA II A.0.101.1: 67; RIMA III A.0.102.16: 223. Fuchs 1999:349.

⁴⁷⁸ SAA V 237.

2.2.4. Personal names with a divine element (theoforic names)

In the contemporary Assyrian personal names, hundreds of theoforic names contain the names of deities, such as Ashur, Nabû, Ištar, Ninurta.⁴⁷⁹ But in the Northern Zagros only a few personal names have divine elements. In Zamua, the sheikh of the city of Dagara, a contemporary of Ashurnasirpal II, was called **Nūr-Adad** (^mZÁLAG-^dIŠKUR). However, his name may not have been pure Assyrian/Akkadian, because the logogram for the god can be read in different ways. If we read the name as Nūr-Adad, then probably the Akkadian element /Nūr-/ was borrowed by the Lullubeans from the province of Arrapha. One reason for this suggestion is that Arrapha-Nuzi was closer to Lullubi than Assyria and Babylon, particularly the city of Dagara where Nūr-Adad was sheikh. It was directly beyond the pass of Babiti, not far from Arrapha. Another reason is that the Akkadian element /Nūr-/ is well attested in a commercial document from Nuzi (Late Bronze Age), where a certain merchant called **Nūr-Kūbi**, returning back to Nuzi, borrowed copper and bronze, probably from the Zagros.⁴⁸⁰ In the Assyrian heartland names with /Nūr/ as an element occur frequently in Nimrud legal documents, such as **Nūr(LÁḫ.)-damiq**, **Nūr(LÁḫ.)-Ištar (XV)**, and **Nūr(LÁḫ.)-(d)Ša-maš**.⁴⁸¹ This name was also common during the 9th century BCE. In the Habur area there was another ruler named **Nūr-Adad** in the reign of Adad-nārārī II.⁴⁸² Nūr-Adad of Zamua and Nūr-Adad of Habur were contemporaries. The name of the Zikritian ruler **Bagdatti** (a contemporary of Sargon II) begins with /**Baga-**/ the well known Iranian word for lord and god.⁴⁸³

2.2.5. Personal names in the Assyrian heartland with of the element Haldi

Several personal names are attested with Haldi, including an intelligence officer from the reign of Sennacherib called **Haldi-ahu-ušur**, “*O Haldi, protect the brother!*” an Akkadian name with a Hurrian/Urartian divine element.⁴⁸⁴ A gate-guard from Ashur in the reign of Esarhaddon was called **Haldiāiu**, “*The one belonging to Haldi*”, also an Akkadian name with a Hurrian/Urartian divine element.⁴⁸⁵ A man from Kalhu was called **Haldi-aplu-iddina**, “*Haldi has given an heir.*”⁴⁸⁶ The most interesting and important example is within a family living in Ashur after the reign of Ashurbanipal. Members of this family appear in legal documents. The father had an Akkadian (Assyrian) name, **Mannu-ki-Aššur**, as well as two of his sons, **Aššur-duri** and **Aššur-matu-taqqin**. But his third son had a mixed Assyrian and Hurrian/Urartian name, **Haldi-da”inanni**, “*O Haldi, strengthen me!*”⁴⁸⁷ Personal names with Haldi as a divine element are attested from the reign of Sargon II to the reign of Ashurbanipal and even later, in the legal documents from the Assyrian capitals, Nineveh, Kalhu and Ashur.

⁴⁷⁹Tallqvist 1966 APN: 250ff.

⁴⁸⁰Zaccagnini 1977: 186f.

⁴⁸¹Parker 1954: 50.

⁴⁸²RIMA II/I: A.0.99.2.

⁴⁸³Fuchs & Schmitt 1999: 251.

⁴⁸⁴Fuchs 2000a: 441; SAA VI 130 r.7.

⁴⁸⁵Fuchs 2000b: 441.

⁴⁸⁶Fuchs 2000c: 441.

⁴⁸⁷Fuchs 2000d: 441.442.

Probably Urartian or Musasirian people or those from other areas between Assyria and Urartu also worshipped Haldi, since several proper Akkadian names with the divine element Haldi can be seen in the Assyrian records. Some of the men with these names lived in major Assyrian cities.

A father with Ashur as an element in his name and with a son with Haldi as an element could mean that the son was adopted and that he kept his original name, or that the boy's mother was from outside Assyria and a worshipper of Haldi. There is no other evidence for the 'worship' of Haldi in the Assyrian heartland.

2.2.6. Toponyms as personal names

Assyrian records name many peoples and individuals after their homeland, usually with the suffix /a-a/. Sometimes a city name was used, and Arbail in Assyria features in many names, such as **Arbailāiu** (^mURU.arba-īl.KI-a-a), "*The one from Arbela*" **Arbailītu** (MÍ.URU.arba^{1?}-īl-i-tú), "*The girl from Arbela*" denoted various slaves in Ashur and Nineveh.⁴⁸⁸ Kalhu, Ashur, Nineveh, and Bīt-Dagan are toponyms that occur in other personal names. Some of these men served in the Assyrian army, or as witnesses, deputies, or shepherds.⁴⁸⁹ The *šangû* of Kurbaile was called **Dayyān-Kurbail** denoting his office and his location.⁴⁹⁰ The Zagrosian toponym Hubuškia occurs as a personal name in a sale document dated to the mid 8th century BCE from Nimrud. ^mAD-ul-ZU and his brother Hubuškaia, the sons of Šamaš-še[...], were selling their land in Salimanu near Kalhu.⁴⁹¹ Hubuškaia had probably come from Hubuškia, a land and city in the Northern Zagros. The slave-girl **Subaritu** (*Šubrītu*), 'The Subarean' was also called after her homeland.⁴⁹² The geographical name Lullubum occurs in the name of an Old Assyrian king, **Lullāiu** (^mlu-ul-la-a-a "*The Lullean*", someone not from the royal family and considered a usurper who ruled six years.⁴⁹³ In the reign of Sargon a ruler from the Northern Zagros was called **Lullupāiu** (^mlu-ul-lu-pa-a-a "*Born in Lullubi*"). Lullāiu was mentioned in a letter sent to Sargon by the deputy of the Palace Herald Shulmu-beli.⁴⁹⁴ Someone called **Lullubean** (*Lu-ul-lu-pa-[A+A]*) was "*a commoner active northeast of Assyria proper*".⁴⁹⁵ The Median land **P/Barnaki** (KUR.bar-na-ki) includes elements of the names of two Median chieftains, *Šidir-parna* (and) *E-Parna*.⁴⁹⁶ and the same suffix appears in the city Urakazabarna, where Ramateia was the chieftain.⁴⁹⁷ Other Median chieftains whose names end with /-parna/ suffix were mentioned above.

⁴⁸⁸Schmidt 1998a:127; Schmidt 1998b:127; Mattila 1998: 124-126; Marf, D. A., (forthcoming) "Who was who in Arbela during 722-522 BCE)," In: Mattila, R., et al., (eds.), *Proceeding of the international conference: Ancient Arbela: Pre-Islamic History of Erbil qui s'est tenue à Erbil les 7-10 avril 2014*. Syria (supplement series), IFPO.

⁴⁸⁹SAAV 227: 5, 12.

⁴⁹⁰MacGinnis 1988: 67-72.

⁴⁹¹CTN 2: 30:2, 9, 15; Jursa PNA I A.: 20.

⁴⁹²Diakonoff 1949: 222, 226.

⁴⁹³Luukko 2001, PNA 2/II: 669; Speiser 1930: p.90, note.8; Ahmed 2012: 80, note. 257.

⁴⁹⁴SAA V 138: 6; Luukko 2001, PNA 2/II: 669; Zadok 2002a: 92.

⁴⁹⁵Zadok 2002b: 8.9.8.2.

⁴⁹⁶RINAP IV 79: 25b-33.

⁴⁹⁷RINAP 4 1: iv 32-45.

2.2.7. The proper names of the Zagrosian deportees

Deportees will have influenced the local population, which will in turn have been influenced by them. But without documents from the Northern Zagros we have no direct data on which to base a conclusion. But we can infer something of the situation that would have arisen by observing the influences between minority and majority groups in the population of the Northern Zagros of today. Similarly, some Kurdish Jews in the Northern Zagros were given Kurdish names, some of which had been introduced into Kurdish from Turkish, Persian or Arabic. Examples from the first half of the 20th century include the male name Darweš and the female names Khatun, Zakiya, and Šabriya.⁴⁹⁸ These are names that were common among the people in Iran and Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East, but clearly at least not Aramaic or Hebrew in this form.

In Ashur two well-known families were called Hundurāya. They had been deported to Ashur in 714 BCE from their city Hundur in Media. Their archives in Ashur cover the years 681-618 BCE. It has been assumed that they were culturally assimilated into Assyria and gave their children Assyrian names.⁴⁹⁹

2.2.8. Personal names and ethnicity

A personal name may be a sign of ethnicity provided there is other support, such as the name occurring in a specific context, area and period, extra information about the names of family members. But when the name occurs in a multi-ethnic context, it gives no clue to a person's ethnicity. Such a context is the Assyrian heartland during the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, when the Assyrian capitals and major cities and their rural areas were crowded with tens of thousands of deportees from all over the empire, from Media and beyond in the far east to Egypt in the far west. This means that we have to be careful with any decision about the ethnicity of a person based on his/her name, especially on Aramaic names in the Assyrian heartland, because it will not be certain in most cases.

The Assyrian imposition of their power and their culture resulted in the Assyrian language becoming the lingua franca and Aramaic with its simple script as its young Semitic sister, was welcomed in the Assyrian court and by the peoples of the Assyrian heartland, of Assyria in general and even of the Northern Zagros from the middle of the 8th century BCE.

2.2.9. Assyrian Eponyms in the Northern Zagros

Many Assyrian eponyms of the vassal lands and provinces of the Northern Zagros are mainly Akkadian, with no local Zagrosian name among them (see. Table.2.1). For administrative efficiency Assyrian personnel were sent by the Assyrian kings to act as deputies or governors of the vassal territories. Some of them moved from one province to another, such as Nabû-bela-ušur, who was governor of Arrapha in 745 BCE, and governor of Se'me (a province near Arrapha) in 732 BCE.⁵⁰⁰ Šarru-emuranni was appointed as governor of Zamua during the reign of Sargon II, and before that Sargon II had appointed him as governor of Qunbuna (perhaps it was located somewhere in Zamua near Mannea). He was a

⁴⁹⁸For further details, see Sabar 1974: 43-51.

⁴⁹⁹Radner 2007: 196; Parpola 2004: 5, 10, note. 13; *TCL* III 270.

⁵⁰⁰Grayson 1993: 35.

“house-born slave,” as he tells Sargon in a letter: “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.”⁵⁰¹

Even though all the Assyrian eponyms are Akkadian (Assyrian) there might have been among them some local personnel with Akkadian names. Probably they were administering pro-Assyrian provinces and the eponyms were in reality only titular names,⁵⁰² but that remains speculative until more written evidence is available. Table 2.1. below lists the eponyms of the vassal provinces in the Northern Zagros and of some of the Assyrian provinces at the foothills of the Zagros during the reigns of Shalmaneser III, Adad-narari III, Shalmaneser IV, Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon and Sennacherib.⁵⁰³

It seems that Zamua during the reign of Esarhaddon for the first time after the reign of Shalmaneser III had a local ruler, who was called *La-ar-ku-ut-la*. He was announced as city lord of KUR.Za-mu-u-a.⁵⁰⁴ Most of the vassal provinces and lands are not far from the Assyrian heartland, such as Arzuhina, Mazamua, Kurbail, Kurruri, situated directly over the eastern and northeastern borders of the Assyrian heartland. Karalla, which was annexed to the city of Lullume (URU *lu-lu-[m]e*) by Sargon II, is an exception.⁵⁰⁵ Nai’ri occurs once in the eponym list. It probably later came under the direct control of Assyria, and then the area came under the control or political influence of the Urartians. The position of Nergal-ilaiia the field marshal, recorded as governor of Media in 808 BCE, is uncertain, and it is not clear which city and province of Media was governed by him.⁵⁰⁶

Another example from the Assyrian inscriptions is the Assyrian field marshal Shamshi-ilu (ca. 800-752 BCE). He seems to have been more than a field marshal, for in some of his inscriptions he mentions his military activities, but not the name of the Assyrian king. He claims to be not only the “field marshal” but also “the governor of the lands Hatti, Gutu, and Namri.” Grayson says that this means that “he claims to have governed the lands stretching all the way from central Anatolia, through Armenia, Kurdistan, as far as the East Tigris region around the Diyala River. Thus, this is an unusual case of someone remaining in the same position.”... “he goes on from there to become a virtual king in practice, if not in title.”⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰¹ SAA V 243: 4-7.

⁵⁰² There are many Aramaic names among the Assyrian governors and eponyms in Syria, Upper Mesopotamia, and even sometimes in the Assyrian heartland; see Nissinen 2014: 273. Of these eponyms with Aramaic names, few were probably Aramaean. An Aramaic name is not a reliable indicator of ethnicity especially during the 8th-7th centuries BCE, when Aramaic had become one of the most common languages in Assyria and the Near East. Probably the majority of the people in the western part of the empire were speaking Aramaic and a significant number also in the Assyrian heartland.

⁵⁰³ For further details about the Assyrian eponym (*limmu*) list, see SAAS II: 25; Reade 1998a: 254-265; Millard 1998: 280-284; Finkel & Reade 1988: 248-253. Also, for the Old Assyrian eponyms from Karum Kanish, see Veenhof 2003.

⁵⁰⁴ Zadok 2002b: 8.9.8.2. Also see SAA II 6:3a, p.108, 110.

⁵⁰⁵ Levine 1972: lines, 31-32.

⁵⁰⁶ Grayson 1993: 37f.

⁵⁰⁷ Grayson 1993: 19-52.

Although he did not have the title of king in practice he held power as the strong and trusted authority. He lived during a period when some Assyrian kings were not as strong as the kings before 800 BCE and after 750 BCE. The field marshal Shamshi-ilu could have been governor of Hatti, Gutu, and Namri in different years, not all at the same time, or he could have been turning the spotlight on himself against the shadow of a weak king.

Table 2.1. The Assyrian eponyms in the vassal provinces of the Northern Zagros mountains and its foothills

Year	Limmu/Eponym	province/city	Reign of the Assyrian king
849	Hadi-lupušu	Nai'ri	Shalmaneser III
839	Šulmu-beli-lamur	Arzuhina	Shalmaneser III
839/837	Ninurta-ilaiia	Arzuhina	Shalmaneser III
838	Ninurta-kibsi-ušur	Na'iri	Shalmaneser III
837	Q/Kurdi-Ashur	Kirruri	Shalmaneser III
835	Šepa-šarri	Kirruri	Shalmaneser III
829	Hubaiia??	Arrapha	Shalmaneser III
828	Ili-mukin-ahi ?	Mazamua	Shalmaneser III
813	Mušekniš	Kirruri	Šamši-Adad V
811	Shamash-kuma	Arrapha	Šamši-Adad V
810	Bel-qata-šabat	Mazamua	Adad-nārārī III
808	Nergal-ilaiia (field marshal)	Media	Adad-nārārī III
801	Ninurta-ilaiia	Arzuhina	Adad-nārārī III
802	Ashur-bašti/balti-ekurri	Arrapha	Adad-nārārī III
798/796	Aššur=bela/u-ušur	Kirruri	Adad-nārārī III
787	Šil-Ištar	Arbail	Adad-nārārī III
784	Marduk-šarra-ušur	Arbail	Adad-nārārī III
783	Ninurta-našir	Mazamua	Adad-nārārī III
769	Bel-ilaiia	Arrapha	Aššur-dān III
768	Aplāya/Aplaia	(Mā)zamua, Amedi/ Arakdi, and Aššur/ Dūr-Aššur ⁵⁰⁸	Aššur-dān III
759	Pan-Ashur-lamur	Arbail	Aššur-dān III
765	Ninurta-mukin-niši	Kirruri	Aššur-dān III

⁵⁰⁸ Assur stela 34 reads *Aplāya, Ša-kin KUR.Za-mu-u-a URU.A-me-di URU.Aššur*, “Aplāya, governor of (Mā)zamua, Amedi, and Aššur”. Reade and Finkel comment on the context and the translation of the text, and assume that he had “an extraordinary range of responsibilities”, since Māzamua was in northeastern Iraq (the Sulaimania region) and Amedi was in southeastern Turkey (Diyarbakir). Because “the text is abraded” they suggest another reading for the second name: URU a-ʿrakʿ-di; see Reade and Finkel 1998: 248-254; Grayson 1993: 42-45. That is more likely, since Arakdi was also mentioned by Assurnasirpal II as one of the cities in Zamua: “I went down to the city Tuku1ti-Aššur-asbat which the Lullu call Arrakdu.” RIMA II, A.0.101.1, ii 77). Radner assumes that probably the last mentioned toponym in the last line is the same Dūr-Assur/Atlila of Zamua. This is also mentioned in the annals of Assurnasirpal II, see RIMA II: A.0.101.1ii 84b-86a. For further details about the cities and the eponym see SAAS XI 251; PNA I/1.

Chapter II.....Immaterial Culture

757	<i>Ninurta-iddin</i>	Kurbail	Aššur- nārārī IV
759	<i>Pan-Ashur-lamur</i>	Arbail	Aššur- nārārī IV
745	Nabû-bela-ušur	KUR.ul-lu-ba	Tiglath-pileser III
735	Ashur-šallimanni	Arrapha	Tiglath-pileser III
733/732	Aššur-da'inanni	Mazamua	Tiglath-pileser III
732	Nabû-bela-ušur	Si'me/Simme (near Arrapha) ⁵⁰⁹	Tiglath-pileser III
729/728	Liphur-ilu	<i>Kirruri (Kir-ru-ri)</i>	Tiglath-pileser III
714	Ištar-duri	Arrapha	Sargon II
712	Šarru-enyrabbu/emuranni	Mazamua	Sargon II
712	Šarru-emuranni	Lullume (KUR.lul-lu-mi-e)	Sargon II
710	Šamaš-bel-ušur	Arzuhina	Sargon II
708	Šamaš-upahhir	Kirruri	Sargon II
702/701	Nabû-le'i	Arbail	Sennacherib
699/698	Bêl-šarrani	Kurba'il	Sennacherib
640/635?	Ashur-gārûa-niri	<i>rab šāqê</i>	Ashurbanipal
640?	Šarru-metu-uballiṭ	<i>Mazamua</i>	Ashurbanipal

⁵⁰⁹Grayson 1993: 35.

2.3. Toponyms and Geographical names

2.3.1. Toponyms and Geographical names in the light of the Assyrian records.

Hundreds of toponyms and geographical names of the Northern Zagros are mentioned in the ancient records of the ancient Near East in Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Urartian inscriptions.

The kings of the Zagros who mention local toponyms in their inscriptions record them in Akkadian in cuneiform. The Bukan stele is the only known Aramaic record to mention toponyms, Zi'tar which probably stands for the Mannean capital Izirtu/Zirta, and Musasir, which occurs several times in the Assyrian annals. No toponym or geographical name is as yet recorded in a local language. In fact no text in a local language of the Northern Zagros is known. Nevertheless, from the known inscriptions we have the names of lands, countries, kingdoms, provinces, districts, cities, towns, villages, with geographical features such as rivers, seas, lakes, mountains, and passes.

2.3.2. Toponyms marked with the determinative URU

The names of cities, towns, forts, strongholds and villages are prefixed with the determinative URU/*ālu*, but some cities have KUR or URU. In the Assyrian inscriptions '*the interchange of KUR and URU is well attested.*'⁵¹⁰ URU can also refer to villages in general which are not specifically named in the Assyrian annals, when the Assyrian kings occupied or destroyed them. Some were named with the determinative URU but many remain anonymous, probably to exaggerate. When the Assyrian annals refer to villages in the western empire and the Assyrian heartland, *kapru* is the term translated as "*village*", for a settlement in the open country or a suburban settlement.⁵¹¹ Shalmaneser III campaigning in Rašappa, Laqê, Anat, Suhi, and the Mount Sangar often refers to villages in general as URU *kap-ra-ni-šú*.⁵¹² Postgate assumes that URU.ŠE is the writing for the Akkadian *kapru*, "*village*".⁵¹³

2.3.3. Zagrosian cities prefixed with Bīt/É

The names of some Zagrosian cities, especially in Media during the late 8th and 7th century BCE, begin with the prefix *Bīt*, it is translated as "*house of*". a common Semitic (Babylonian, Assyrian and Aramaic) designation for a city or tribe title. The Median cities named in that way include Bīt-Zatti, Bīt-Abdadani, Bīt-Kapsi, Bīt-Sangi, Bīt-Uzakki, Bīt-Ištar, Bīt-Hamban, Bīt-Bagaya/Bīt-Bagaia (renamed to Kār-Ištar), Bīt-Parnakki, Bīt-Ḥamba, Bīt-Kari,⁵¹⁴ (Bīt-) Ramatua of ^mRa-ma-te-ia,⁵¹⁵ Bīt-Sagbat, Bīt-Ḥirmami, Bīt-Umargi, Bīt-Kilamzah (^{ur}É-^mKi-lam-za-ah) and Bīt(É)-^mKu-bat-ti etc.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁰Kataja 1987: 67, note.9. For further details about the Iron Age villages in Assyria and the Zagros see Chapter IV, 4.6.

⁵¹¹CAD K p.189-190.

⁵¹²Also, URU *ḥu-r[a-di]*, *ḥurādu* "*settlement, village*" see RIMA III: p. 31, note.vi 6, and RIMA III A.0.104.9: 13-20.

⁵¹³Postgate 1970: 33, note.4.

⁵¹⁴Wiseman 1958:12.

⁵¹⁵Wiseman 1958: iv; Lie 1929: p.16, l.98; Radner 2003b: 120.

⁵¹⁶Lie 1929: p.17, l.95, l.100; see also Zadok 2002a: 92.

Its use in Media may have been influenced by Kassites or Babylonians, since these cities were not far from the Babylonian frontier. Zadok assumes that “*names beginning with Bīt are continuing the Middle Babylonian practice of naming regions after Kassite and other tribes.*”⁵¹⁷ The Assyrian scribes when using *Bīt* may well have considered the Medes a tribal society,⁵¹⁸ ruled by chieftains, where every city was the main settlement of a tribe (a *Bīt*). It could also be that *Bīt* was the Assyrian translation for a Median term with similar meaning.

2.3.4. Rivers, seas and waters of the Northern Zagros in the Assyrian records

Rivers and seas (inland lakes) related to the Zagros and Assyria are also mentioned in the records, with the same determinative for both. For a wide stretch of water in a river, such as Idu (modern Satu Qala) and the Sea of Zamua, the Assyrian scribe uses *mû*. In the Lower Zab boats and *calaks* were used, where modern scholars translate as “sea”, because they located Idu near Lake Zrêbar.⁵¹⁹ Now we know that Idu was located on the west bank of the Lower Zab, ca. 250 km to the southwest of Lake Zrêbar.⁵²⁰ Therefore, when Shalmaneser III mentions *mû* he did not mean “sea” but the water of the Lower Zab river near the city of Idu, where the river becomes wider.

When rivers and tributaries are recorded both are prefixed with the determinative ID₂.⁵²¹ Sargon II in his eighth campaign in 714 BCE on his way from Nairi to Musasir refers to the Upper Zab river, and says that the local people of Nairi and Kirhi (Habhu) called it Elamunia:⁵²²

...I set out and took the road to Musasir, a difficult road..... The Upper Zab, which the people of Nairi and Kirhi called the Elamunia, I crossed,....

In the annals of Tiglath-pileser I, in Habhu, Alamun (KUR.A-la-mu-un) is mentioned as the name of a land or mountain in the same area as the land Habhu.⁵²³ Names of rivers and mountains remain unchanged or have slight changes for many generations and feature in folk-

⁵¹⁷Zadok 2013: 413.

⁵¹⁸Usually in the Assyrian inscriptions which deal with the Zagros Medes and Scythian are mentioned only as tribes, see Zadok 2013: 416.

⁵¹⁹The name of the lake is incorrectly recorded by Speiser as Zeribor, see Speiser 1928: 19.

⁵²⁰For further details see Marf, D. A., (in preparation), “The Sea of Zamua: no where!”

⁵²¹For further details about the recorded toponyms in the Neo-Assyrian sources see Parpola 1970; Parpola and Porter 2001.

⁵²²ARAB II 170. The river mentioned here was not the ‘Upper Zab’ as Sargon II’s scribe supposes, because both Nairi and Habhu (Kirhi) were located to the east of Musasir, while the Upper Zab was located to the west of them. Since Habhu was perhaps located in the area to the west of the upper stretches of the Lower Zab, this river was the upper stretches of the Lower Zab, or the Jagatu river, to the southwest of Lake Urmia, on the way to the pass of Kêl-e-Shin, or other passes to the southwest. Sargon II came back from Mannea, then crossed the river and reached Musasir. The first mention of Habhu is on a boundary stone of Merodach-Baladan I: “*the ruler of the land Habhi crossed over the river Zaban and engaged in plundering*” in the area of Arrapha (Lambert 2011: Col. I 6-10). Lambert says the Zaban river is not the Lower Zab but the Upper Zab (Lambert 2011: 15). In my opinion, from that text and other Neo-Assyrian records we may conclude that the Zaban was a name for the Lower Zab with one of its tributaries, or for two tributaries of the Lower Zab in the mountainous area north of Arrapha. For further details and similar opinions see Al-Qaradaghy 2008: 86, 122, 127, 136. Also, see Chapter I, 1.2.3.

⁵²³RIMA II A.0.87.1: iv 11.

etymology. We find in the land of Namri (KUR.ZÁLAG) the River Namritu (ID *nam-ri-te*).⁵²⁴

2.3.5. Renamed cities

Some cities faded away, but after centuries were reoccupied and given a new name. Gasur was used as the name of one city in the Akkadian period, but later during the Mitanni period it was given the Hurri-Mittanian name of Nuzi.⁵²⁵ When the Lullubean city Atlila was rebuilt by Ashurnasirpal II it was renamed Dur-Aššur.⁵²⁶ Sometimes Assyrians used different names from Urartians. Gilzanu in the Assyrian records, to be identified with modern Hasanlu, is referred to in Urartian inscriptions as Mešta.⁵²⁷ Similarly, the holy city Artini/Ardini in the Urartian inscriptions was referred to in Assyrian inscriptions and in the Neo-Assyrian versions of the Urartian bilingual inscriptions as Musasir. But during the Middle Assyrian period Assyrians called it Arinu, KUR *Arini*, the indigenous name.⁵²⁸ The Mannean capital in the annals of Shalmaneser III is *Zirtu* (URU.*zi-ir-ta*),⁵²⁹ in the annals of Sargon II *Izirtu*,⁵³⁰ and in the Aramaic stele of Bukan as *Za'tar*.⁵³¹

2.3.6. Two cities, one name!

In the Assyrian empire two cities share the same name. Dûr-Aššur (URU.BÂD-*aš-šur*) was the name given to a city in the land of Zamua by Ashurnasirpal II, and also of a city in the land of Laqê in Syria mentioned in the annals of Adad-nārārī III.⁵³²

Dur-Enlil (URU.*Dûr*-^dBE) is a similar case.⁵³³ In two of the omens of Esarhaddon, it is mentioned as a town on the Mannean frontier, not far from the town Šarru-iqbi. Esarhaddon wished to capture it.⁵³⁴ However, it is confused with Dûr-Enlil to the west of Kurruri, on the west bank of the Upper Zab, under the control of the *rab šāqê* ('the Chief Butler').⁵³⁵ On the basis of an Assyrian record from the reign of Sargon II, Kessler shows that Dûr-Enlil was controlled by the *rab šāqê*.⁵³⁶ Following Kessler's suggestion, Postgate assumes that if there

⁵²⁴RIMA III A.0.102.6: iv 8-10.

⁵²⁵Wilhelm & Stein 1989: p.14; pp.52-3.

⁵²⁶RIMA II/I: A.0.101.1ii 84b-86a.

⁵²⁷Röllig 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; Reade 1994: 185; Kroll 2012a: 277-284; Muscarella 2006: 82; Muscarella 2012b: 5-17.

⁵²⁸CTU I, A 3-11, Ro.23, 33; RIMA I 1.47-55, A.0.77.1; RIMA II, 1:67-81, A.0.87.1; RIMA I A.0.77.1 ll. 47-55; RIMA II: A.0.101.30 l. 147; Radner 2012b: 245-246; Frame 2011: no.72:1-2, p.147.

⁵²⁹RIMA III A.102.14: 166b.

⁵³⁰ARAB II 56; Levine 1976-1980a, RIA V: 226.

⁵³¹Identified with modern Tepe Qalaichi; for further details about the mention of the city and its identification see Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi 2011: 409; Levine 1976-1980a, RIA V: 226; Postgate 1987-1990: 340-341; Greardi 1987: 14,72, 232; ARAB I 587; Fales 2003: 131-47; Eph'al 1999: 116-121; Kargar, 2004: 230, note.4; Mollazadeh 2008: 108.

⁵³²RIMA III A.0.104.7: 16.

⁵³³SAAS XI: p.51

⁵³⁴SAA IV 30:1-11; 31: 2-8; SAAS XI: p.51.

⁵³⁵The adminsitartion of the *rab šāqê* is generally considered to be between the Tigris and the Upper Zab; see Postgate 1995: 7f.

⁵³⁶Postgate 1995:7f; Kessler 1980 = UTM: 150ff.

is only one Dūr-Enlil under the *rab šāqê* it is “located east of abarakku’s province.”⁵³⁷ But this could be an example of the Assyrian policy of renaming cities. They renamed several cities in the Zagros mountains with Assyrian names, and so the Assyrians may have renamed a city as Dūr-Enlil, with only one of them under the *rab šāqê*. Postgate says that the city of Dūr-Enlil “presumably had a different non-Akkadian name earlier in its existence.”⁵³⁸ A city on the Mannean border, located by Postgate approximately in the area of Aqra/Akrê, would be far from the control of the *rab šāqê*. Dūr-Enlil is suggested by Postgate as the capital of the administration of the *rab šāqê* instead of Šabirê-šu, previously proposed as the capital. That city is located by Kessler in the Silopi plain in southeast Turkey near Zakho and the Lesser Khabur, but by Postgate as Uweinat in the area of the Jebel Sinjar.⁵³⁹

Because the Mannean border never reached the banks of the Upper Zab, and Kirruri, Gilzanu, and Hubuškia were in between the Upper Zab and Lower Zab rivers, probably there were two different towns both called by the Assyrians Dūr-Enlil, but which might have had other indigenous names.

2.3.7. Local linguistic elements in toponyms

In the names of some of the Lullubean cities and lands indigenous linguistic elements are preserved, for example, when Shalmaneser I occupied the land **Halila** (KUR.*ḥa-li-la*).⁵⁴⁰ Later, in the land of Zamua, the Late Bronze and Iron Age city of **Atlila** (URU.*at-li-la*) was recorded by Ashurnasirpal II, and Shalmaneser III occupied and destroyed the city of **Kinabilila** (URU *ki-in-ab-li-la*) to the south west of **Atlila**.⁵⁴¹ **Kinabilila** (URU. *Ki-in-ab-li-la*) was said to be located in Media, near or on the way to the Median city **Harḥar**.⁵⁴² These three toponyms, **Halila**, **Atlila** and **Kinabilila**, are similar in type and are all located near the banks of the Upper Diyala/Sirwan river. That they all end with *-lila*, may not be an accident. It was probably a local suffix or had a specific meaning in the local language. Similarly, several names in Zamua end with *-du/* or *-tu/*, such as **Idu/Itu**, **Parsindu**, **Iritu**, **Suritu**, and some other Lullubi names end with *-ru/*, such as **Zamru**, **Ammaru**, or with *-ku/*, such as **Arasidku**.⁵⁴³

To the west of the Lower Zab, and east of Kirruri, in the land of Tummū, some toponyms began with */Aru-/*, such as **Arura**, **Arubê**, and **Arunu** mountain.⁵⁴⁴ In the same area names of

⁵³⁷ Postgate 1995:7f; Kessler 1980= UTN: 150ff.

⁵³⁸ Postgate 1995: 8.

⁵³⁹ For the details see Postgate 1995: p.8; SAA IV 31; Kessler 1980= UTN: 150ff; Parpola & Porter 2001: p.15, map.4.

⁵⁴⁰ The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age land Halila was among the eight lands occupied by Shalmaneser I around (1275 BCE). The Assyrian king claims that he occupied these lands belonging to the country of Uruatri. *RIMA* 1 A.0.77.1 34.

⁵⁴¹ *RIMA* III A.0.102.14: 123.

⁵⁴² *RIMA* III A.0.102.14: 123. The remains of the city Kinabilila probably lay in one of the archaeological sites near the village/pass of Belula, with its local Middle Bronze Age rock relief.

⁵⁴³ *RIMA* II A.0.101.1: 69.

⁵⁴⁴ *RIMA* II A.0.101.1 i: 43b-54a.

mountains had /-**nu**/ ‘suffixes’, such as **Urinu**, **Arunu**, and **Etinu**.⁵⁴⁵ Some mountains have similar endings, /-**unu**/ or /-**inu**/: **Urinu**, **Etinu** and **Arunu**.⁵⁴⁶

To the east of the Rania plain and the Lower Zab is Mount **Kullar**,⁵⁴⁷ and in one of the Shemshara letters Kularum occurs as a personal name that is possibly related to Mount **Kullar**.⁵⁴⁸ It was mentioned by Sargon II in his eighth campaign as **Kullar** (KUR *Kúl-la-ar*).⁵⁴⁹ Tukulti-Ninurta I in his annals refers to the mount **Lalar** (KUR *la-la-ar*) in the same area.⁵⁵⁰ **Kullar** and **Lallar** are both located on the Lower Zab, and both end in /-**la-ar**/.⁵⁵¹

In Zamua beyond Mount Nispi are two cities with names beginning with /**ár**-/: **Arzizu** (URU *ár-zi-zu*) (Rabat Tepe) and **Arsindu** (URU *ár-si-in-du*).⁵⁵² In Lullubu the cities **Paranzi**, **Parsindu** (URU *pár-sin-du*) both begin with /**Pár**-, as does **Parsua** (URU *pár-su-a*) to the east of Lullume written with the same sign.⁵⁵³ Two Median cities begin with /**Par**-/ and end with /-**kka**/: **Partakka** and **Partukka**.⁵⁵⁴ The suffix or sound /**ndu**/ is found in **Parsindu**, **Arsindu** and **Hualsundu** toponyms in Zamua.⁵⁵⁵

In the land Daiēnu the first known Urartian capital **Arzašku(n)**/**Aršašku(n)** existed, and to the south east of it the River **Aršana** bordered the land Daiēnu. Both the capital **Aršašku(n)** and the river **Aršana** begin with /**Arša/Arza**-.⁵⁵⁶

Ništun has the Hurrian suffix /-**un**/ like other toponyms in that area beyond the passes of Kirruri, including **Hiptunu** the centre of the office of the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekali*), Mount **Išrun** (KUR. *iš-ru-un*),⁵⁵⁷ the cities of **Birdunu**, **Kipšuna**, **Bargun**, **Uuadkun** and **Arzaškun** (the Urartian capital during the time of Aramu) and **Hudun** (URU.*hu-du-un*, a city near Hibushkia and Gilzanu).⁵⁵⁸ Also, the city **Barzaništun** has the same Hurrian suffix /-**un**/.⁵⁵⁹ Three lands end with the Hurrian suffix /-**un**/: **Uadkun**, **Bargun**, **Zingun**, not coincidentally.⁵⁶⁰ All these toponyms have /-**un**/ or /-**unu**/ as suffixes.⁵⁶¹ The capital city of the nearby land of Qumeni, URU.Kib/p-šu, Ki-ib/p-ša (URU.Ki-ib/p-šu-**na**) also, has the Hurrian suffix **-un**.⁵⁶² Another element was /**Hab**-, its attested in name of two lands in the

⁵⁴⁵ RIMA II A.0.101.1 i: 43b-54a.

⁵⁴⁶ RIMA II A.0.101.1 i 43b-54a.

⁵⁴⁷ **Kullar** is identified with modern Mount Kolar/Kolara east of Lake Dukan and the Rania plain, and also with the Bazian range east of Kirkuk (Arrapha). See Parpola and Porter 2001: 12; Levine 1977:137.

⁵⁴⁸ Eidem & Leasso 2001: 62: 8.

⁵⁴⁹ TCL III, line: 11, p.4.

⁵⁵⁰ RIMA I A.0.78.2: 17-36.

⁵⁵¹ ARAB II 142.

⁵⁵² RIMA II A.0.101.1:73; SAA V 243.

⁵⁵³ RIMA II A.0. 101.1: 69; Speiser 1928: 27-28.

⁵⁵⁴ RINAP 4 1: iv 32-45.

⁵⁵⁵ RIMA II A.0. 101.1: 69; Speiser 1928: 28, note. 50.

⁵⁵⁶ RIMA III A.o.102.2: ii 45-65a.

⁵⁵⁷ **Išrun** was name of the mountain mentioned after Kirurri by Tukulti-Ninurta II; for further details see RIMA II, A.0.100.15: 38; Zadok 1978: 170.

⁵⁵⁸ RIMA II A.0.101.1: 56; ARAB I 114.

⁵⁵⁹ RIMA II A.0.101.1: iii 104.

⁵⁶⁰ ARAB I 114.

⁵⁶¹ For further details about the Hurrian suffix /-**unu**/ or toponyms end with /-**un**/ suffix, see Zadok 1995a: 443; Deller & Postgate 1985: 75.

⁵⁶² Zadok 2000b: 11.

same direction one after another, which are the KUR.*Hab-ru-ri* (Habruri) and KUR.*Hab-hu*.⁵⁶³

Some ‘Median’ cities and tribes mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III have specific suffixes. Sangillu (LÚ.*sa-an-gi-il-lu*) is linked to people from Illilu (*il-lil-a-a*), and it has the same element /*Sangi-*/ as in Bīt-*Sangi-būti*.⁵⁶⁴ In Parsua two fortified cities had the same suffix /-*hamānu*/: Šalahamānu (URU *šá-la-ha-ma-nu*) and Kিনিhamānu (URU *ki-ni-ha-ma-nu*) which were occupied by Shalmaneser III.⁵⁶⁵

2.3.8. Zagrosian city-names prefixed with Akkadian Dūr/BĀD

The Sumerian logogram BĀD in Akkadian is translated as *Dūr* (*du-ú-rum*), “city wall,” “fortification,” and as “fortress.”⁵⁶⁶ Several names in the Northern Zagros have this Akkadian prefix to mean it was a stronghold. We have *Dūr-Ashur* in Zamua,⁵⁶⁷ and in Zamua there is a mention of *Dūr-Lullumê*, also, two Zamuan postal stages are recorded in an administrative letter from the reign of Sargon II. They are mentioned in the course of organizing and improving postal services between Arzuhina and Zamua and beyond as *Dūr-Taliti*, *Dūr-Atanate*, and *Dūr-Lullumê*.⁵⁶⁸ Also, we have *Dūr-Enlil* on the Mannean border, as well as *Dūr-Enlil*, the capital of the district office of the *rab šāqê*. /*Dūr-*/ may be the translation of the Assyrian scribes for a local term with a similar meaning, or the term was borrowed from Assyria or Babylonia. It was well known to the Kassites, who called their capital *Dūr-Kurigalzu*, and in the same period there was *Dūr-Kadašman-Enlil*.⁵⁶⁹

Sometimes scribes preferred using archaic names. In some Neo-Assyrian inscriptions we find Karduniaš, a name used first time by the Kassites in the second millennium BCE for Babylonia. Similarly Neo-Babylonian scribes called Assyria Subartu, the name of the land before the Assyrians⁵⁷⁰. References in Neo-Assyrian annals to Gutu (KUR. *Gu-te₉-e*) fail to recognise that this land and people⁵⁷¹ probably did not survive into the Iron Age as a distinct group and state.

⁵⁶³Habruri is one of the readings of Kirruir, however, both readings still are use by scholars, see Saggs 1980:79-83; Marf 2009b: 676-679.

⁵⁶⁴RINAP I 26: 5-7.

⁵⁶⁵RIMA III A.0.102.14: 186.

⁵⁶⁶CAD D 1959: 192-198.

⁵⁶⁷*Dūr-Assur* was identified by Speiser with modern Tell Bakrawa. (see Speiser 1928: 28). It is located in the southeastern part of the Sharezur plain. This identification has been widely and without question accepted by scholars (see for instance *Altaweel, et al.*, et. al, 2012: 1-35). But the recent German excavation at the site, and precisely in the Neo-Assyrian level, found nothing related to that city. (Sollee, A., et. al, 2013: 47).

⁵⁶⁸SAA V 227; Radner 2014a: 77; Speiser 1928: 27f; Zadok 2002a: 90; Klengel, H., 1987-1990 “Lullu(bum),” RIA 7: 164-168.

⁵⁶⁹Brinkman 1976a: 134, note. 14.

⁵⁷⁰For Subartu, see Michel 2011-2013, RIA XIII: 225-227. For the attestation of Subartu and Subarian in some of the Neo-Assyrian texts as a description of Assyrian and the Assyrians, especially in Assyrian astrology texts, see SAA VIII: 20: 2; 316:10; 440:2, etc; also, Speiser 1948: 1-13; Gelb 1944.

⁵⁷¹RIMA III A.0.104.2010:9.

2.3.9. The Assyrian policy of re-naming Zagrosian cities

When assyrianising the people of the occupied lands the Assyrians left themselves open to the cultures of those they had made vassals. Deportees and emissaries and auxiliary foreign units in the Assyrian army were depicted on Assyrian reliefs in their traditional dress, for there were no uniforms in the Assyrian army. The Assyrian influence on toponyms of the Zagros and other areas of the Near East which they occupied is clear. Perhaps it is more noticeable in the Zagros because there, unlike Syria or Babylonia, they did not speak Semitic. Akkadian, Aramaic, and Hebrew are all Semitic languages and close to each other, but the Zagrosian languages were not Semitic and very different from Akkadian.

The Assyrians processed re-naming toponyms in two ways. The first and most common way was shaping the local toponym to a meaningful term in Assyrian. The pronunciation of some names or toponyms changed from one period to another, often through folk-etymology. *Urbilum* was a city from the Bronze Age until now. The third millennium city *Urbilum* (modern Erbil) was called *Urbēl* (*ma-a-at ur-bi-e-el*) during the second millennium BCE.⁵⁷² In the Neo-Assyrian records it was called *Arbail*. Later the /l/ of *Arbail* was changed into /r/ in the Achaemenid period, and so we find Persian *Arbirā*.⁵⁷³ *Arbera/Arbaira* (*A-r-b-i-r-a*) became *Arbela* in the classical records.⁵⁷⁴ Eventually *Arbil/Arbir* changed to *Hawler*, through a long process of folk-etymology, with /A/ changing to modern Kurdish /Ha/, and /b/ changing to /u/ or /w/. By consonantal metathesis *il/ir* changes to /lêr/, giving the sequence *Urbilum-Urbel-Arbail-Arbira-Arbela-Erbil*, and nowadays *Hawlêr* or *Arbil/Erbil*.

Some toponyms are recorded with signs indicating Akkadian and Semitic sounds such as /š/ or /t/. Probably these sounds did not exist in the languages of local Zagrosian groups, because they did not speak Akkadian or any other Semitic language which are typified by these sounds. Local Zagrosian languages may have had sounds like /š/ or /t/, but not the same as in Akkadian. Without local records, this cannot be proved.

The Assyrian scribes probably recorded the Hurrian sound /ž/ of some of the Hurrian toponyms as /z/ or /s/ or even /š/. But there is no contemporary evidence of such a recording of the Hurrian toponyms by the Hurrian themselves, because we have no indigenous Hurrian records. When transliterating some of the toponyms the cuneiform signs chosen by one scribe were different from those used by another scribe. *Musasir* could be a name given by Assyrians in the Assyrian versions of the Urartian inscriptions, or a local name pronounced locally probably in a Hurrian dialect as *Musasir* (not *Musasir*), *Muzazir*, or even might be pronounced locally as *Mužažir*.⁵⁷⁵ We have to bear in mind that one of the suggested readings for the name of *Musasir* on the seal of *Urzana* suggested in Collon 1994 is *šàr URU.Mu-šá-sir*, “king of ‘the city’ *Musasir*.”⁵⁷⁶

Sometimes the toponym was not written as a logogram, but phonetically, such as the Gutian city “*Mašhaṭ-šarri on the opposite bank of the Lower Zab*.”⁵⁷⁷ Perhaps locally it was pronounced differently.

⁵⁷²RIMA I A.0.39.1001: III 1-12.

⁵⁷³Tallqvist 1966 APN: XXIV.

⁵⁷⁴Tavernier 2007: 93.

⁵⁷⁵Marf 2014: 13-29.

⁵⁷⁶Collon 1994:37. For further details see Chapter III, 3.5.

⁵⁷⁷RIMA I A.0.78.2: 17-36.

A second way Assyrian scribes recorded Zagros toponyms was to follow the Assyrian policy of renaming Zagrosian cities with names of Assyrian deities or kings.⁵⁷⁸ Other Zagrosian toponyms were renamed by the Assyrian kings intentionally for a specific purpose. This Neo-Assyrian policy of renaming starts with Ashurnasirpal II, who renamed several cities. After Ashurnasirpal II's campaign on Ḫabḫu, occupying its capital the city of Ništun, he claims to have made an inscription and probably renamed Ništun, he says "*I erected (it) on the ēqu-mountain in the city (called) Ashurnasirpal II at the source of the spring.*"⁵⁷⁹ In his annals there is an indirect indication that after Ashurnasirpal II captured the city of Ništun beyond Kurruri in the land of Habhu, he renamed it "the city of Ashurnasirpal" (URU ^maššur-PAB-A).⁵⁸⁰

Assyrian kings referring to some cities said "*I renamed it*" but for others they said that the local people called it another name. Ashurnasirpal II when at Zamua refers to Tukulti-Aššur-ašbat and says, "*I went down to the city Tukultī-Aššur-ašbat which the Lullu call Arrakdia.*"⁵⁸¹ But for the Zamuan city Atlila he says "*I renamed it Dur-Ashur.*"⁵⁸²

Sargon II renamed six Median cities, all prefixed with *Kār* followed by the name of an Assyrian god or king name. Radner translates the prefix as "*trading quay*".⁵⁸³ Harhar became Kār-Šarruki.⁵⁸⁴ Kišešlu became Kār-Nabû,⁵⁸⁵ and Kišesim became Kār-Nergal.⁵⁸⁶ Sennacherib renamed the Median city Elenzaš as Kār-Sen-ahhe-eriba (*trading quay of Sennacherib* or "*Sennacheribburg*").⁵⁸⁷ This renaming was for political and economic purposes.⁵⁸⁸

Elenzash I turned into the royal city and stronghold of that district. I changed its former name, calling its name Kār-Sennacherib. Peoples of the lands my hands had conquered I settled in it. To my official, the governor of Harhar, I handed it over. Thus I extended my land.

Even toponyms in the Central Zagros in modern Luristan were renamed. Esarhaddon mentioned Til-Aš(š)urri which was called Pitānu by people from Meḫrānu in Media.⁵⁸⁹ Tiglath-pileser III in his annals mentioned several cities in the land of Ulluba. One of them had an Assyrian name, Aššurdāya, although the local population may have pronounce this

⁵⁷⁸The Ottoman policy of Turkization of the Iraqi Zagros toponyms was achieved by translating the meaning of the original names into Turkish, or by finding a Turkish word or name similar in sound to the Kurdish name. Under Saddam Hussein the policy of Arabaization was applied to the names of hundreds of Kurdish and Turkmen villages in the area of Kirkuk, Diyala, Erbil and Nineveh. A well known example is Kirkuk (ancient Arrapha), renamed as al-Ta'mim, referring to the nationalization of the oil.

⁵⁷⁹RIMA II, A.O. 101.1: 69a.

⁵⁸⁰RIMA II A.O.101.1: i 58b-69a

⁵⁸¹RIMA II, A.O.101.17 101-102.

⁵⁸²RIMA IIA.O.101.1 ii 84b-86a.

⁵⁸³Radner 2013: 450.

⁵⁸⁴Harhar (Kar-Šarrukin) identified by Radner with modern Tepe Giyan. (SAA V 199, 207, 226; SAA XV 100; Radner 2013: 446; Brown 1986: 107-119).

⁵⁸⁵Radner 2013: 450.

⁵⁸⁶Lie 1929: p.17, lines 93-95; located by Radner in the area of Najafehabad; see further Radner 2013: 444f.

⁵⁸⁷Heidel 1953: 129; Col. I: 65.

⁵⁸⁸Heidel 1953: Col. II. 43-47.

⁵⁸⁹RINAP 4 18 iii 56-58; 29 ii 17: 37 ii 28; RINAP 1, 51: 11f.; Fales 2014a: 34

name differently. Ulluba, a buffer province between Assyria and Urartu and an ally of Urartu, Tiglath-pileser III occupied and annexed it to Assyria.⁵⁹⁰

I annexed to Assyria the land of Ulluba in its entirety, the cities of Bitirru, Parīsu, Tašuḥa, Maṇṭun, Sardaurrianan, Diulla-ana-Nal, Sikibsa, Aššurdāya, Babutta, Luisa, (and) Tapsia, fortresses of the land Urartu that (are located) behind Mount Nal.

Tiglath-pileser III continues: “*I built a city in the land Ulluba (and) I named it Aššur-iqīša. I placed a eunuch of mine as provincial governor over it.*”⁵⁹¹ He is supposed to have used it as an administrative post.⁵⁹²

During his campaign to Mannea, Tiglath-pileser III claims that the Mannean king Ianzu came to the city Dūr-Tiglath-pileser (URU.BÂD-^m *tukul-ti-A-é-šár-ra* “Fort Tiglath-pileser”) to submit, and that Ianzu brought tribute of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, goats and military equipment.⁵⁹³ Dūr-Tiglath-pileser was not in the Assyrian heartland, but somewhere in the Zagros, to the west of Mannea and to the east of the Assyrian frontier. We do not know if the city was built by Tiglath-pileser III himself or if it existed already and was renamed by Tiglath-pileser. Table 2.2. lists the Zagrosian toponyms renamed by Assyrian kings from the 9th to the 7th centuries BCE.

There are some cases where the local name of a river or mountain was first preserved and later renamed. In the Middle Assyrian period, Tiglath-pileser I campaigned against the land of Musri (Musasir) and mentioned the Elamuni mountain near the city of Arinu/Ardini.⁵⁹⁴ But later Sargon II in his campaign in 714 BCE says that Elamunia is the local name of the Upper Zab river: “The Upper Zab, which the people of Nairi and Kirhi[Habhu] called the Elamunia, I crossed.”⁵⁹⁵ Also, Ashurnasirpal II says “*Mount Nišir which the Lullu call Mount Kiniba.*”⁵⁹⁶

Sometimes Assyrian scribes could not record names properly because they could not pronounce them properly. During the plundering of metal objects at Musasir, the Assyrian scribe wrote “120 great and small bronze objects (*udî*), of the workmanship of the land, whose names are not easy to write.”⁵⁹⁷ Luckenbill comments on that expression and he says it is “an interesting touch. The difficulties the Assyrian scribe encountered when trying to render foreign proper names were many and were variously met.”⁵⁹⁸

From what we have said about the toponyms of the Northern Zagros, it becomes clear that our knowledge about them during the Iron Age mostly comes from the Assyrian inscriptions, where they are recorded in Akkadian. These records do not give an accurate representation of local pronunciation. But it is all we have for understanding the languages of the Northern Zagros, and these toponyms provide only fragmentary information. The Assyrians, in seeking to control the Northern Zagros militarily, followed a policy of renaming

⁵⁹⁰ RINAP I 39: 24b-25a; 41: 28-31.

⁵⁹¹ RINAP I 39: 28b-29.

⁵⁹² RINAP I 39: 28b-29.

⁵⁹³ RINAP I 47:39b-41.

⁵⁹⁴ RIMA II A.0.87.1.

⁵⁹⁵ ARAB II 170. Perhaps, Sargon II here means by the Zab, the Lower Zab or one of the north-western tributaries of the Lower Zab.

⁵⁹⁶ RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 34.

⁵⁹⁷ ARAB II 172.

⁵⁹⁸ ARAB II p.104, note.I.

the Zagrosian cities to assimilate their culture, religion and political control over the land, the people, the economy and trade. This culminated in the annexation of the occupied territories.

Table 2.2. Cities in the Northern Zagros renamed by the Assyrians

Indigenous name	Renamed to	Land/Province	Renamed by	Source
Atlila	<i>Dûr –Aššur</i>	Zamua	Ashurnaripal II	<i>RIMA II A.0.101.1 ii 84b-86a.</i>
Arrakdia	Tukultî-Aššur-ašbat	Zamua	Ashurnasirpal II	<i>RIMA II A.0.101.17 101-102.</i>
Ništun	Ašurnasirpal	Habhu beyond Kurruri	Ashurnasirpal II	<i>RIMA II A.0. 101.1: i 58b-69a</i>
Ulluba	Ashur- iqīša	Ulluba	Tiglath-pileser III	<i>RINAP I 39: 28b-29.</i>
?	Dûr-Tiglath-pileser (URU.BÂD- ^m <i>tukul-ti-A-é-šār-ra</i>)	On the border of Mannea-Assyria	Tiglath-pileser III	<i>RINAP I 47:39b-41.</i>
Harhar	Kâr-Šarrukēn	Media	Sargon II	<i>ARAB II 11.</i>
Kišešlu	Kâr-Nabû	Media	Sargon II	<i>ARAB II 14.</i>
Bīt-Bagaia	Kâr-Ištar	Media	Sargon II	<i>ARAB II 10, 11, 14.</i>
Kindâu	Kâr-Sîn	Media	Sargon II	<i>ARAB II 14.</i>
Kišesim	Kâr-Urta/Kâr-Nergal	Media	Sargon II	<i>ARAB II 14.</i>
Anzaria	Kâr-Adad	Media	Sargon II	<i>ARAB II 10.</i>
Elenzaš	Kâr-Sin-ahhe-eriba	Media	Sennacherib	<i>RINAP III/1 3:32.</i>
Pitānu	Til-Aš(š)urri	Meḥrānu/Media	Esarhaddon	<i>RINAP IV 18 iii 56-58.</i>

2.4. Literature and mythology

Ancient Mesopotamian literature in its early period dealt with the Zagros mountains and beyond, both geographically and mythologically. The Zagros foothills were on the eastern frontier of Sumer, Babylon and Assyria. These were the heights seen far to the east from some of the main ancient Mesopotamian cities. It was the place where the Sun (UTU/Shamash) rises every morning. It was one of the places which supplied Sumer, Akkad/Babylonia and Assyria with raw materials and with human resources (slaves, corvéé labour, and captures). Therefore, it was treated as a place to be conquered, as a place from which devils and a threat of destruction and occupation came, a place where some of the events and scenes of epics and myths happened. The earliest example in Sumerian literature are the Epic of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta. An important part of the story of the Epic of Enmerkar is set in the Zagros ranges and beyond, and so are the references to economic relations between the Zagros and beyond, and Sumer.⁵⁹⁹

Assyria inherited the culture and literature of Sumer and Akkad/Babylonia, so most of these epics and myths were well known to the Assyrian scribes of the temples and the court, sometimes they were quoting from the available literature when they record the Assyrian annals. Some were copied by the Assyrians, and there are Assyrian versions of most of the Sumerian and Akkadian/Babylonian originals, such as the Gilgamesh Epic, the Epic/Myth of Anzu, and the Creation Myth Enūma Eliš.⁶⁰⁰

The Assyrian annals sometimes include literary descriptions of the landscape of the Northern Zagros. For instance Sargon II describes the road that he took to Musasir:⁶⁰¹

...I crossed, among Sheiak, Ardikshi, Ulâiau and Alluriau, high mountains, lofty ridges, steep mountain peaks (?) which defy description, through which there is no trail for the passage of foot soldiers, among which mighty waterfalls tear their way.... A narrow road, a straight passage, where the foot soldiers passed sideways, I prepared ("made good") for the passage of my army between them.

Such a poetic description indicates that the king's scribes joined his campaigns in the mountains and were interested in recording many details.

2.4.1. The Mount Nišir/Nimuš of the Gilgamesh Epic where the Ark landed

In the story of the Flood in the Epic of Gilgamesh the name of the mountain where the Ark landed is recorded as Nišir/Nimuš in Zamua.⁶⁰² One reading of the toponym is *Nišir* (KUR.*ni-šir*), and the other one is *Nimuš* (KUR.*ni-MUŠ*). The modern name is Pir-e-Megrun, east of the Lower Zab, about 40 km north-west of Sulaimania.⁶⁰³ Finkel prefers reading *Nišir* instead

⁵⁹⁹For instance see Kramer 1952.

⁶⁰⁰See Talon 2005.

⁶⁰¹ARAB II 170.

⁶⁰²SAATU I: XI 141, 142, 144, 145; Parpola 2014: 476.

⁶⁰³Parpola agrees with Lambert in reading the name as *Ni-mu-uš* basined on Old Babylonian personal name. Parpola 2014: 470. Lambert 1986: 185-186. The Nineveh version also has *Nimuš*, Parpola 2014: 470; George 1999: 93, 224; George 1993; Speiser 1928: 28.

of Nimuš.⁶⁰⁴ Mount Nišpi (KUR *ni-is-pi*) in Zamua is mentioned as a “rugged mountain” in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II in ca. 882 BCE.⁶⁰⁵ According to Ahmed this is Mount Nisbe, the same as Nišba of the Middle Bronze Age when it was sanctified and deified as the supreme patron deity of the Simurru kingdom.⁶⁰⁶ Speiser identified Mount Nišpi with the Hawramān Mountains southeast of Sulaimania on the Iran-Iraqi border, but that is less probable.⁶⁰⁷ Nišpi is identified by Ahmed with Middle Bronze Age Mount Nišba and with modern Pir-e-Megrun.⁶⁰⁸ According to the inscription of Ashurnasirpal II, the capital city Bunasi of the land of Lullubi in Zamua was located on Mount Nišir/Nimuš, where the Ark landed according to the Epic of Gilgamesh.⁶⁰⁹ Ashurnasirpal II gives the local name of the mountain, “*which the Lullubeans call Kinipa*.”⁶¹⁰ In that area also the mount Sabbu(m) (Sa-a-bu) mentioned in the Old Babylonian and Assyrian records. The Mount called as “*mountain of Enlil*”.⁶¹¹

Parpola called the place where the ark landed and where an offering was made by Utnapishtim (the Babylonian Noah) on a rock of the mountain a ‘ziggurat’ or ‘church’. Parpola explains this assumption by interpreting several terms from ancient, medieval and modern stories about the flood in Aramaic, Akkadian and other ancient and modern languages. He discusses different elements from stories about the Flood, and when referring to the place as the ‘church’ or ‘ziggurat’ he tries to find a link between the religion of the ancient Assyrians and the modern Nestorian/Syrian Christians of northern Mesopotamia and the Zagros. Calling them modern Assyrians is a rather weak suggestion. Parpola’s assumption is based on interpreting an expression from the epic which he translated as “*a church built on rock, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail*.”⁶¹² Parpola called this a “*prototype of the Assyrian church*,” by which he means “*Assyrian church*” of modern Nestorians. But in early Christianity, in the medieval period, as late as the late 19th century CE, they themselves never had any notion of a link to the ancient Assyrians of the first millennium BCE.

2.4.2. Gilgamesh and Enkidu killing Humbaba

The iconography of the depicted figures in the art of the Northern Zagros include depictions of some well-known motifs from Mesopotamian mythology and epics. One scene on the golden bowl of Hasanlu seems to come from the Epic of Gilgamesh, showing Gilgamesh and Enkidu killing Humbaba (fig. 2.2. a.).⁶¹³ According to Muscarella the

⁶⁰⁴ According to Finkel, the reading of the name of the mount as Nišir is more preferable, because its Babylonian root make sense, derived from Niširtu and translated by Parpola as “secret” [ni]-šir-ta. For further details see SAACT I: GILG. 1997: 135; also Finkel 2014: 279ff.

⁶⁰⁵ RIMA II: A.O. 101.1, 74.

⁶⁰⁶ RIMA II: A.O. 101.1, 74. For Nišba, see Ahmed 2012: 294f, 258. Col.1.1-7; Col.II 95-105; Ahmed 2012: 294f, 258. Col.1.1-7; Col.II 95-105.

⁶⁰⁷ Speiser 1928: 28.

⁶⁰⁸ Ahmed 2012: 153-4.

⁶⁰⁹ For further details see Finkel 2014: 279ff.

⁶¹⁰ RIMA II A.O.101.1: ii 33b-38.

⁶¹¹ The mentioned mount (KUR Sa-bu-a) of Zamua in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II identified by Stol with the mount Sa-a-bum of the Old Babylonian records. For further details see Stol 2006-2008, RIA 11: 479-480; RIMA II A.O.101.1: 68.

⁶¹² Parpola 2014: 476.

⁶¹³ Winter 1989: 190; Porada 1965: fig.63, pp.97-99.

“Humbaba” motif in Hasanlu art was inspired by North Syrian art.⁶¹⁴ However, that is not clear. A similar scene from the epic of Gilgamesh was depicted on a bronze beaker said to have come from the Ziwiye treasure.⁶¹⁵

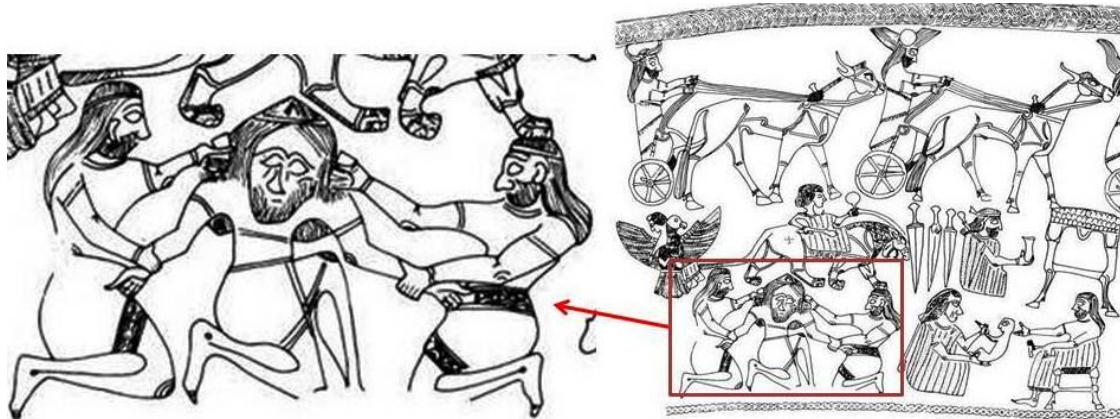


Fig. 2.2. a. A scene from the epic of Gilgamesh on the golden bowl of Hasanlu (drawing by M. de Schauensee, after Porada 1965: fig.63-64).

On an Assyrian cylinder seal some figures are depicted.⁶¹⁶ A figure who holds a bow and a quiver is probably Gilgamesh, he is killing a bearded *lamassu*. The goddess standing behind him is probably Ištar/Innana, unhappy about the killing of the *lamassu*/the bull of heaven. Another hero, probably Enkidu, pulls the tail of the *lamassu* to help Gilgamesh kill the *lamassu*. Calmeyer comments that the style of the dress of Gilgamesh is second millennium, a “slightly old-fashioned outfit of Babylonian royalty, and Enkidu has the curly hair of a half-civilised creature from the steppes.”⁶¹⁷

Gilgamesh in Assyrian art killing Humbaba is seen on Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals. Some details here are similar to those on the bronze beaker of Ziwiye. In both Humbaba wears a short skirt, Gilgamesh wears the headdress of a god and a long robe open at the front over a short skirt. Enkidu in a short skirt joins Gilgamesh in killing Humbaba with short swords or daggers and they both have quivers on their backs.⁶¹⁸

Gilgamesh is also depicted on an Assyrian relief-sculpture in the palace of Sargon II in Dur-Sharrukin. That depiction is the biggest known depiction of Gilgamesh in the known Near Eastern art, measuring 5.52 m height. It shows a huge hero with curled hair, identified as Gilgamesh, holding a lion.⁶¹⁹ According to Battini, sculpting an image of Gilgamesh in the palace of Sargon II was related to Assyrian kingship.⁶²⁰

The question which is raised here is whether the scenes on the Zagros objects were carved under a direct Babylonian influence or whether an influence transferred from Assyria indirectly to the Zagros. There was Babylonian contact with the Northern Zagros, but the contact with Hurrians and Mittani in the second millennium BCE was also significant.

⁶¹⁴ Muscarella 1980b: 211.

⁶¹⁵ Calmeyer 1995: 44, fig. 20.

⁶¹⁶ Collon 1987: 858; George 1993: fig. 7, p. 53.

⁶¹⁷ Calmeyer 1995: 44.

⁶¹⁸ Collon 1987: fig. 856.

⁶¹⁹ Parrot 1961: fig.36; Battini 2014: no.2: 81-82.

⁶²⁰ Battini 2014: no.2: 81-82.

Gilgamesh figures in the Mittanni art of Nuzi, and Nuzi had strong economic relations with the Northern Zagros, since it was located in the Zagros foothills. (fig. 2.2.b.).⁶²¹ This may explain why the epic was known in the foothills of the Northern Zagros, and probably also among the Hurrian speaking peoples in the Zagros. There is no doubt that Hurrians after the fall of the Mittani Empire were part of the population of Assyria in the Northern Zagros towns and kingdoms. This might probably be the reason that the epic appears in the Iron Age art of the Northern Zagros.



Fig. 2.2.b.: A Mittanian seal impressions from Arrapha (Kirkuk). The right scene shows Gilgamesh and Enkidu killing Humbaba with daggers (after Frankfort 1939: p. 184, Text-fig. 53).

2.4.3. The story/epic of Etana

The epic of Etana is an interesting story in ancient Mesopotamian literature, about the Sumerian king Etana, who had to fly to heaven to visit the god Anu, to ask for a child. It is well recorded in cuneiform records, including a Neo-Assyrian version of the story.⁶²² But in Mesopotamian art it is recorded in visual art only on some Akkadian and contemporary Elamite seals.⁶²³ Both depictions select the part of the story when Etana departs on the back of the eagle (fig. 2.3).

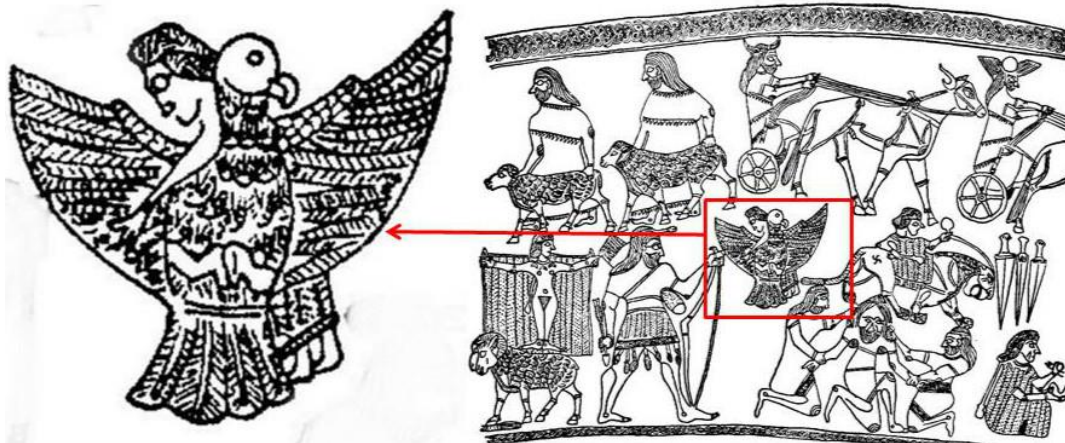


Fig.2.3. A scene from the golden bowl of Hasanlu, showing a person (lady) on the back of an eagle (after Porada 1965: fig.63).

⁶²¹ Mellink 1966: 72-87; Frankfort 1939: text figure 53, p.164; Steymans 2010: fig.2.

⁶²²For for further details see SAACT III 2001: xff; concerning the Middle Assyrian version see Wilson 2007: 66ff.

⁶²³ For the Akkadian seals which depict Etana see Collon 1987: p.176, fig.849.

In the Northern Zagros this scene is not depicted, but there is a depiction of a lady on the back of an eagle on the golden bowl of Hasanlu. Here perhaps the queen is flying to Anu instead of the king Etana. If so, it shows that in the Zagros the epic was adapted. The depicted lady would represent the wife of Etana, so that his wish be granted and he would have a successor for his throne. The child on the back of the eagle is meant to be the result of Etana's request to Anu for a child. Alternatively, the people of the Iron Age in the Northern Zagros in the area of Urmia basin might have had another version of the story, different in detail from the Sumerian and Akkadian versions. At the moment, this speculation unprovable, but it would fit in with folklore related to the mountains, the habitat of the eagles.

2.4.4. Capturing Anzu in the 'Zagros' mountains

The Sumerian epic of Anzu is about a bird born on the mountain and taken by Enlil to be his door keeper. But Anzu stole the Tablet of the Destinies of the Universe from Enlil and fled to the mountain. The Sumerian pantheon chose a brave god to fight Anzu and bring back the Tablet of Destinies from the mountains (probably the Zagros).

After Anzu had stolen "*the insignia of Enlilship*" he went to the mountain, which is assumed to be the same Šaršar mountain where Anzu was born:⁶²⁴

*On, the high mountain [...] in her bosom Anun[naki...] Anzu was born [...] A saw was [his] beak [...].*⁶²⁵

Ninurta was appointed to fight, and he killed Anzu with a flood in the midst of the mountains:⁶²⁶

He flooded, brought mayhem to the mountain meadows,

He flooded the vast earth in his fury,

He flooded the midst of the mountains, he killed wicked Anzu.

The Akkadians seem to have had another version of the story, not known from any text but reflected in their art. On several Akkadian cylinder seals Anzu was not killed but was captured and brought before Enki.⁶²⁷ Anzu threatened the gods by stealing the tablet because this would lead to disorder. In the Sumerian version of the myth, Lugalbanda (the Sumerian king of the First Dynasty of Uruk) did not fight Anzu, but invited Anzu to a feast. There he made him drunk and he captured him and retrieved the Tablet of Destinies. It was in the Assyrian version of the epic that the pantheon chose Ninurta to fight Anzu. Ninurta captured Anzu and brought him back before Enki.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁴ SAATU III: xii, (col.1, line: 36-39). Mount Šaršar and Mount Zabú probably refer to one mountain or to two mountains either side of a pass probably in the Northern Zagros. It seems that these mountains were not so far from the banks of the Lower Zab. The name Zabú may allude to the name of the Zab river. Šaršar is probably the modern Sarsar(d)/Sird range, on the east bank of the Lower Zab below Dukan, on the right bank of the Lower Zab, by the Qamchugh pass. Or probably it was the range in front of there, which is called Mount Sara, on the eastern bank of the Lower Zab at the start of the mountainous area of Dukan (Dokan).

⁶²⁵ SAATU III: xxv.

⁶²⁶ SAATU III: x, col.III: 17-20.

⁶²⁷ Marf 2007: 142-144, fig. 93. a.; Collon 1987: fig. 446. 847. 848, pp. 98,180.

⁶²⁸ SAATU III: XXX 66ff;

This story spread to other cultures of the Near East. Several copies have been found in Babylon, Susa, Sultan Tepe (in Anatolia), and Assyria.⁶²⁹ Ninurta's capture of Anzu is described as flooding the mountains, "*He flooded the midst of the mountains, he killed wicked Anzu!*"⁶³⁰ Scholars have noticed that in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, some "*literary allusions*" to mythical texts including the Anzu Epic and the Babylonian Creation Epic. Annus suggests that Shalmaneser III compared himself with Ninurta when he "*slew all his enemies and annihilated (them) like a flood.*"⁶³¹ In choosing the term 'flooding' in the Assyrian annals for attacking their enemies in the Zagros the Assyrian kings, like the Sumerian and Akkadian kings, used a literary allusion to give themselves the role of Ninurta fighting Anzu in the mountains. If their enemies were to take control of Assyria, the power of the Assyrians and their deities would fall into disorder and their universe would crumble, as Anzu had threatened to do. The Sumerians similarly described the Gutians and the Lullubeans as barbarous, wild rams, and fanged snakes in the mountains. They considered the Gutian period as a period of chaos, conforming to the bad image of the Gutian people in Sumerian literature.⁶³² In that way the Sumerian king Utu-ḫeḡal, in his inscription about defeating the Gutians in Sumer, describes the Gutian control of Sumer.⁶³³

Gu[tium], the fanged serpent of the mountain, who acted with violence against the gods, who carried off the kingship of the land of Sumer to the mountain land, who fi[ll]ed the land of Sumer with wickedness, ...

That type of the Sumerian records are considered by Ahmed as Sumerian propaganda against the mountain people.⁶³⁴

This quotation from the inscription of Utu-ḫeḡal shows that Anzu is the mythical image for the mountain people of the Zagros in the Sumerian view. As Anzu stole the tablet of destinies and fled to the mountain, also the Gutians "*carried the kingship of the land of Sumer to the mountain land, ...*"⁶³⁵ leading to disorder in Sumer, and "*fi[ll]ed the land of Sumer with wickedness, ...*"⁶³⁶ The Assyrian kings in their royal inscriptions called some of the leaders and peoples of the Zagros the 'wicked' enemy. Referring to the mountainous lands as Guti relates to the traditional equation of Enzu with the Guti, who were contemporary with Akkadians and the Ur III period. A passage from the literary composition "*Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Akkad,*" recorded during the reign of Ibbi-Sîn, the last Ur III king, describes a Gutian attack on Ur and equates them with Anzu:⁶³⁷

Enlil then sent down Gutium from the mountains. Their advance was as the flood of Enlil that cannot be withstood. The great storm of the plain filled the plain, it advanced before them.

⁶²⁹ Pritchard, *ANET* (1969): pp.111, 514; Collon 1987: figs.446, 847, 848.

⁶³⁰ *SAATU III*: x, col.III: 20.

⁶³¹ *SAATU III*: xxi.

⁶³² Ahmed 2012: 72ff, and the footnotes.

⁶³³ *RIME II*: text E2.13.6.4.

⁶³⁴ Ahmed 2012: 130ff.

⁶³⁵ *RIME II*: text E2.13.6.4.

⁶³⁶ *RIME II*: text E2.13.6.4.

⁶³⁷ *RIME III/2 Ibbi-Sîn E3/2.1.5.*, p.365; Michalowski 1989: 40-45, lines 74-147).

The Assyrians were influenced by these records. Ashurnasirpal II in one of his campaigns to the Northern Zagros says: “*I thundered like the god Adad, the devastator, against the troops of the lands Nairi, Habhu, the Shubaru, and the land Nirbu.*”⁶³⁸ Adad-narari III described the troops of the Urartian king Argištu as: “*whose forece is huge like a thick cloud,*”⁶³⁹ then he says “*he (Argishtu) rebelled and assembled the people together at the land of the Gutu. He put his (forces for) battle in good order (and then) all his troops marched into the mountains for battle.*”⁶⁴⁰ And then Adad-narari II attacks them: “*with the great roar of drums (and) weapons at the ready which reverberate terrifyingly, he rushed forth like terrible strom. He left fly the stormy steeds, harnessed to his chariot, against him (Argishtu) like the Anzu-bird and defeated him.*”⁶⁴¹

Such a description and metaphor is seen in many Assyrian royal inscriptions. The royal scribes may have had in their hand Sumerian, Akkadian, or Babylonian records, and they adapted some expressions to equate them with the Urartians and the Assyrians. The mention of the Gutu sometimes may simply be quoted from an older texts. The scribes of the Assyrian kings would have been familiar with motifs from the epics and myths and would have been able to quote these texts. A scribe of Shalmaneser III in his narrative of the campaign against Aramu of Urartu and his capital Arzashkun compares the Assyrian king’s aggression towards the Gutu with that of Erra and Adad.⁶⁴²

.... *To save his life he (Aramu) ascended a rugged mountain. I slaughtered the extensive Gutu like god Erra. I thundered like the god Adad, the devastator, against (the territory stretching) from the city Arzashkun to the land Gilzānu (and) from the land Gilzānu to the land Hubuškia. (Thus) I laid my lordly brilliance over the land Urartu.*

The scribe alluded to ancient mythology as a literary device. Furthermore, as S. Adali has suggested, during the Neo-Assyrian period the Gutu referred in general also to other peoples such as the Urartians and the Medes.⁶⁴³

The Urartians were considered to be as rebellious as the Gutu using the well known Anzu-bird as a metaphore. Sargon II called Urzana “a wicked mountaineer”.⁶⁴⁴ Sargon II also called “...*the people of the land of Kakmî/ê, wicked enemies.*”⁶⁴⁵ He also, called “*the armies of Urartu, the wicked enemy.*...”⁶⁴⁶

The birth of Anzu brought with it flood and dust storms,⁶⁴⁷ as the one responsible for the flood produced by Ninurta.⁶⁴⁸ Probably this meant the flood which came from the rivers flowing from the mountains (the Tigris, Diyala, Lower Zab and Upper Zab). They usually in

⁶³⁸ RIMA II A.0.101.1: iii 120.

⁶³⁹ RIMA III A.0.104.2010: 11b-12.

⁶⁴⁰ RIMA III A.0.104.2010: 12-13b.

⁶⁴¹ RIMA III A.0.104. 2010: 11b-13a.

⁶⁴² RIMA III A.0.102.5: ii 5b – iii 3a.

⁶⁴³ SAAS XX: pp. 60-63.

⁶⁴⁴ ARAB II 169; “LÚ.šad-da-a-’u-ú,” translated by Radner as ‘mountain dweller’ (Radner 2012b:251; and also see Lie 1929: 310).

⁶⁴⁵ ARAB II 137; 148.

⁶⁴⁶ ARAB II 155.

⁶⁴⁷ SAATU III: x, col.I. 36-39.

⁶⁴⁸ SAATU III: xi, II 9.

the spring season bring unexpected floods to the Mesopotamian plains producing destruction of fields and cities in the plains.⁶⁴⁹

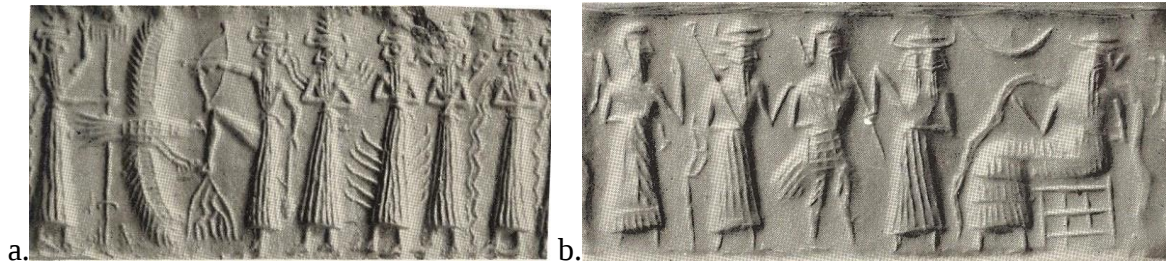
Demonizing peoples of the mountain in Mesopotamian literature is normal. Linking mountainous enemies with Anzu continues that theme. According to the epic Anzu was born on the mountain, Mount Šaršar, probably in the Northern Zagros.⁶⁵⁰ Anzu lived in the mountain and was appointed as “the doorkeeper of Enlil’s throne room.”⁶⁵¹ But in the Sumerian Epic of Lugalbanda, when Lugalbanda met Anzu on Mount Zabū, Anzu said to him:⁶⁵²

My father Enlil brought me here. He let me bar the entrance to the mountains as if with a great door (^{giš}ig gal-gin).

Sumerian and Babylonian myths make the heads of some devils in the Netherworld similar to the head of Anzu. The head of another devil is described as a lion’s head, but its hands and legs are like Anzu.⁶⁵³ Anzu was considered one of the deities of the Netherworld. Probably that was after his defeat and capture and as punishment he was killed and went to the Netherworld.⁶⁵⁴ In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Enkidu in his fourth dream saw Enzu/Imdugu: “I saw a Thunderbird in the sky, up it rose like a cloud, soaring above us.”⁶⁵⁵

The epic of Anzu is well attested on Akkadian seals. There the depictions focus on two events. One is the fight with Anzu as a normal bird (perhaps an eagle) in flight (see fig. 2.4.a),⁶⁵⁶ and the other is Anzu before Enki. Anzu appears with a human head, and a bird’s legs and tail. He is chained and guarded by deities including Ninurta (see fig. 2.4.b).⁶⁵⁷

In the Northern Zagros an Akkadian style cylinder seal has recently been accidentally discovered inside a jar in one of the passes east of Ruwanduz in the direction of the Urmia basin near the Iranian border (fig.2.4.c-d).⁶⁵⁸



⁶⁴⁹For further details about the relation of Anzu with water and rivers see Wiggermann 1992: 157; Porada 1981-1982: 52.

⁶⁵⁰SAATU III: p. x-xii; (I 23-28), p.19.

⁶⁵¹SAATU III: p. xi;

⁶⁵²SAATU III: p. xi;

⁶⁵³Kvanvig 1988: 390f.

⁶⁵⁴Marf 2007: 144f; Baqir 1976: 233; 225.

⁶⁵⁵George 1999: 117.

⁶⁵⁶Collon 1987: 849; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXIII f, g.

⁶⁵⁷Marf 2007: 42-47, Table 46, fig.93; Table, 47, fig.94; Collon 1987: fig.446, 847, 848.

⁶⁵⁸Shkak 2007: table.1.fig.2. I’d like to thank the anthropologist Mr. Ismail Shkak. He gave permission to publish the photo of the seal.

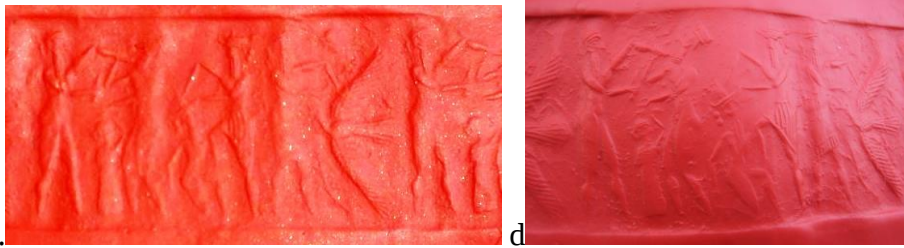


Fig. 2.4. a. Ninurta and other deities fighting Anzu, depicted as an eagle, and trying to take a plant from Ninurta. Impression of an Akkadian cylinder seal (after Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXIII g).

Fig. 2.4.b. Anzu captured and presented before Enki (after Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXIII f).

Fig.2.4.c-d. Impression of a cylinder seal discovered east of Ruwanduz near the Iraqi-Iranian border. (Photo by the author, with permission, from Ismail Shkak).

The seal depicts several scenes of battles between gods. One of them is probably Ninurta fighting Anzu. The bird is depicted as a normal eagle, and is similar to an Akkadian seal published by Frankfort.⁶⁵⁹

The discovery of this cylinder seal in the Northern Zagros is of some interest. Firstly the area of Ruwanduz and the Urmia basin during the Akkadian period was used by merchants from Mesopotamia, for the seal is carved in a standard Akkadian style of iconography. Secondly this mythological scene and other scenes of fighting gods may tell us that some such scenes were related to the gods of the Zagros, those who are considered as deities of the mountains in Akkadian and Sumerian mythology. Anzu is the creature especially related to the mountains, stealing the Tablet of Destinies and fleeing there, and captured there.

The eagle in the Mesopotamian records, including Assyrian records, is usually connected with mountain peaks. In the Assyrian annals the Zagrosians who fled to the mountains were pursued by the Assyrian kings and their armies to peaks where even eagles cannot reach. Tukultī-Ninurta II (890-884 BC), fighting the Aramaeans and the Lullu on the bank of the Lower Zab, describes an attack in a mountainous area:⁶⁶⁰

.... I ascended after them on foot up the hills of Mount Išrun, a rough area wherein even the winged eagle of the heavens [cannot go].

An Assyrian relief from Nimrud from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II depicts Ninurta/Adad fighting Anzu (fig. 2. e).⁶⁶¹ The depiction of Anzu here is similar to the Akkadian Anzu in some details, with the legs, tail and wings of a bird. But it differs in other details, for instance instead of hands and a human face it has lion's paws and a griffin's head.

In the contemporary Assyrian Iron Age art of the Northern Zagros there is no depiction of Anzu. The Assyrians considered Ninurta as the god of battle, and politically his flags and epithets symbolise the Assyrian army.⁶⁶² The Assyrian annals dealing with the campaigns against the Northern Zagros show the Assyrian kings using symbols and names of deities

⁶⁵⁹Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXIII g; also see Collon 1987: 849.

⁶⁶⁰RIMA II A.0.100.15: 37-39.

⁶⁶¹Black & Green 1992: fig. 117, p. 142.

⁶⁶²Black and Green 1992: 142f; Anus SAACT III 2001: II 35, III 21, 37; II 44, 45, 72; RIMA II A. 0.87:13; ARAB II 142.

differently for each stage and in each province in their campaigns. Sargon II at every stage of his Eighth Campaign mentions a group of Mesopotamian deities, who he claims supported him against the peoples of the Zagros:⁶⁶³

Whereupon I caused the armies of Shamash and Marduk to jump across the Lower Zab....In the Sumbi district....With the strong support of Ashur, Shamash, Nabû and Marduk. For the third time I directed the line of march into the mountains. Against the lands of Zikirtu and Andia I guided the yoke (i.e. the chariot) of Nergal and Adad....

The attacking demon depicted on the Assyrian reliefs is considered by Green and Black as *Asag* (*Asakku*) from the Sumerian poem *Lugale*. In Sumerian mythology *Asag* was a monstrous demon defeated by *Ninurta/Ningirsu* or *Adad* (*Ishkur*).⁶⁶⁴ According to the Sumerian poet *Anzu* was born from “the mating of *Anu* and *Ki*, and *Asag* himself mated with the *Kur* (mountains) to produce offspring. He had an army called “stone allies” (the stones of the mountains)”⁶⁶⁵ and he fought with *Ninurta*. According to Green and Black “the defeat of *Ninurta* in this myth of the *Asag* and the stones expresses the unease felt by the inhabitants of the Mesopotamian plains about the inhabitants of the Zagros mountains.”⁶⁶⁶ According to Green and Black the slab relief, which was erected at the side of the entrance of the *Ninurta* Temple at *Kalhu*, dated to the reign of *Ashurnasirpal*, represents the battle between *Ninurta* and *Asag*.⁶⁶⁷ The demon *Asag* is considered as the demon “who attacks and kills human beings, especially by means of head fevers, sometimes called “Seven *Asakkû*.”⁶⁶⁸ Both *Asakku* and *Anzu* were killed by *Ninurta*.⁶⁶⁹

In the Assyrian records, *Assur* takes the role of *Marduk* of *Babylon* and *Ea* of *Sumer*, and he sends *Ninurta* to kill *Anzu*. In the *Ashur* version of the *Marduk Ordeal*, *Assur* takes the role of *Marduk*:⁶⁷⁰

When Aššur sent Ninurta to vanquish Anzû, Nergal [.....] announced before Aššur, “Anzû is vanquished.” Aššur [said] to the god [Kakka]: “Go and tell the good news to all the gods!” He gives the good news to them, and they rejoice about it [and go].

And in the *Nineveh* version of the *Marduk Ordeal* *Anzû*, *Ashur* and *Ninurta* are named:⁶⁷¹
[When Aššur] s[ent Ninurta to vanquish] Anzû, Qingu and Asakku, [Nergal announced before Aššur, “Anzû, Qingu and Asakku are vanquished.”

2.4.5. The monstrous bird *Imdugud*

Many mythological creatures are carved on Iron Age metal objects from the Northern Zagros and beyond. The well-known Sumerian mythological creature *Imdugud* features in the art of *Marlik*, on a golden bowl dated to late second millennium BCE. The lion headed bird “*Imdugud*” is attacking two sheep.⁶⁷² This is similar to the iconography of *Imdugud* on a

⁶⁶³ ARAB II 142.

⁶⁶⁴ Black and Green 1992: 142f.

⁶⁶⁵ Black and Green 1992: 142f.

⁶⁶⁶ Black and Green 1992: 142f.

⁶⁶⁷ SAATU III: xii ff.; Black and Green 1992: 142f.

⁶⁶⁸ Green and Black 1992: 35-36

⁶⁶⁹ SAATU III: xii ff.

⁶⁷⁰ SAA III 34: 58-60.

⁶⁷¹ SAA III 35: 52.

⁶⁷² Negahban 1996: fig. 3.11.

contemporary Middle Assyrian cylinder seal of King Niqmepa (dated to the 15th /14th century BCE). Impressions of this seal are found on tablets of King Ilimilima, the son of Niqmepa, from Tell Atchana (Alalakh IV) in Turkey. According to D. Collon the seal was “*most likely made in Assyria.*”⁶⁷³

The oldest known depictions of Imdugud occur in Old Sumerian art from the Uruk and Sumerian dynastic periods. They occur also in the late Akkadian hoard from Tell Asmar in the Diyala region, where there are three figures of Imdugud made with lapis lazuli, gold and silver.⁶⁷⁴

This Sumerian monstrous bird Imudugu is equated with the Akkadian Anzû in the Sumerian poem of Lugalbanda, at the time when the Sumerian hero Lugalbanda wandering in the Zagros mountains found the Imdugud as a fledgling in its nest.⁶⁷⁵

The first depiction of Imdugud in the art of the Northern Zagros is on the rock relief of Gundik west of Akrê to the west of the Upper Zab. The rock face of the cave bears three different rock reliefs, which have mainly been compared with scenes in early Sumerian Dynastic art. Among these is a depiction of Imdugud in its Sumerian iconography which dates to the **Sumerian Dynastic period**, indicating that Imdugud was known to the people of the Zagros from the Early Bronze Age and the **Sumerian Dynasty Period**.⁶⁷⁶ Also, in Gasur (the Mittanian Nuzi) Imdugu is depicted on a cylinder seal dated to the Akkadian period.⁶⁷⁷

2.4.6. The demon Pazuzu

The Assyrian demon Pazuzu, who was a genie of sickness and fever, is well recorded in Assyrian art.⁶⁷⁸

In Tepe Nush-i Jan, a small bronze head of the ‘Assyrian Pazuzu’ was discovered. According to Stronach, it is a “*fully modeled head of the Assyrian demon Pazuzu*”. About its origin Stronach assumes that it “*is not at all unlikely to have been looted from Assyria.*”⁶⁷⁹

Excavations at Tell Shamlu revealed ten levels⁶⁸⁰. The first level dates to the late Islamic period, and the rest to the second millennium BCE. There a rare type of ceramic was discovered and it is named Shamlu Ware.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷³Collon 1987: fig.278, pp.66-67.

⁶⁷⁴Negahban 1996: fig. 3.11; Aruz 2003: 232. The iconography of the depicted sheep/ram’s head on the bowl of Marlik is compared by Negahban with similar Assyrian and Hasanlu examples. For further details see Negahban 1996: p.71ff.

⁶⁷⁵Green and Black 1992: 107; see Lugalbanda; in the Epic of Gilgamesh he was the father of Gilgamesh, see George 1999: p.2, I 35-39; Green and Black 1992: fig. 86, p. 107.

⁶⁷⁶B. Jamalladin (the local archaeologist) was the first who identified the image of Imdugud on the rock relief of Gunduk. Personal communication with B. Jamalladin during our visit to the cave in 2012.

⁶⁷⁷Star 1937:pl.55.R.

⁶⁷⁸For further details see Heeßel 2002: 29, 35, 36, 38, 141; Marf 2016.

⁶⁷⁹Stronach 1968: 177-186, fig.14; Muscarella 2013: 1020.

⁶⁸⁰Tell Shamlu is located in Sharezur plain in the Northern Zagros, near the confluence of the Zalim and Tanjero tributaries with the Sirwan/Upper Diyala river. Two tells near each other are called Shamlu. In 1960, an Iraqi team performed a salvage excavation in one of the tells. The one is locally known as Shamlu-i Khwaru, Southern Shamlu, distinguishing it from Shamlu-i Saru, the one to the north. The Iraqi team performed a long season of excavation there, from June 12th to September 1st 1960, when the Darbandikhan dam was already finished and the site was about to be flooded. Al-Janabi 1961: 174-193; Marf 2016: 48-51.

In level IV a small fragment of a black stone plaque was discovered (fig. 2.5). It is described by Al-Janabi, the head of the team, as “a fragment of a black stone 2.5cm x 3cm. found in the affiliation of square 4 south of the trench. There are three lines of inscription that bear a personal name. On the other face/side there is an image, a person like, with a mythological face, in his left hand is a throttling bird, and below his arm there is an animal with mouth, it looks like a dog, Jackal or a wolf. It seems that the object accidentally reached that level from the upper levels, because we did not find any other inscribed objects, or similar objects with images.”⁶⁸²



Fig. 2.5. Photos of both sides of the amulet (After: Al-Janabi 1961: plate: 17b).

The image shows a typical Lamashtu with a lion's head throttling a snake, not a bird as Al-Janabi assumed. The head of the dog or jackal, always in scenes where a Lamashtu attacks, is also preserved. Among the missing details were perhaps a snake in his right hand, a pig to his right, and probably the Lamashtu was on a horse, but we have only a fragment of the amulet, which was probably originally around 5 cm. in height. Some such Lamashtu amulets in addition of the incantation have a rounded image of Pazuzu depicted on the top, but that is missing from the amulet discovered at Tell Shamlu. The head of Pazuzu may or may not have been there.⁶⁸³

The ‘incantation’ on the other face of the plaque is written in Assyrian script. At least one line is missing above and two or more lines below. That inscription awaits further discussion by specialists.

Discovering that amulet in the Northern Zagros was important and it indicates that the people of that area were also influenced by the social beliefs of the peoples of Babylonia and Assyria, especially since it is probably an Assyrian object. Similar amulets with an image of Pazuzu throttling snakes and with dogs were discovered in Nimrud and other Assyrian sites.⁶⁸⁴

The Mesopotamian influence in that area of the Zagros began in the Old Babylonian period, and the Old Babylonian tablets discovered in Tell Bakrawa to the northeast of Shamlu

⁶⁸¹For further details see Al-Janabi 1961: 174-193. Also, recently the results of the discoveries at Shamlu were reevaluated and studied by Mühl 2013. Also, see Chapter III, 3.10.

⁶⁸²Al-Janabi 1961: 181.

⁶⁸³For further details concerning the depiction of Lamashu and Pazuzu on these types of plaque, especially the Neo-Assyrian examples, see Heeßel 2002: no.20, no.22, no.30; Black and Green 1992: 147f.

⁶⁸⁴Heeßel 2002; Marf 2016:48ff.

indicate that the people of that area, called the land of Lullubum, adopted many Mesopotamian cultural aspects, as well as their language and script for their records. According to Al-Janabi, the amulet perhaps came from the upper levels. He also discovered Assyrian style pottery there, but no clear Assyrian level. It is not easy to date that object, but generally, from the iconography of the depicted images and the script we can suppose a late Middle Assyrian or more probably a Neo-Assyrian date.

On glazed bricks from the Mannean site of Rabat Tepe near the banks of the Lower Zab in the Iranian Zagros images of demons and mythological creatures are depicted. On two of them the lower part of their body is like that of a Lamashtu, with eagle's legs, but human heads, not a Lamashtu's lion's head.⁶⁸⁵

2.4.7. Three headed dragon on the golden bowl of Hasanlu

On the golden bowl of Hasanlu a 'Mountain Throne'⁶⁸⁶ on a lion can be seen, and from behind the mountain itself, a dragon with three heads (fig. 2.6.a).⁶⁸⁷ On an Akkadian cylinder seal from Eshnunna in the Diyala region a dragon with seven heads is depicted. The deities fighting this dragon have killed four of the heads but the other three heads are still alive (fig. 6.b).⁶⁸⁸ The large recumbent lion on the bowl of Hasanlu was compared by Mellink with similar iconography of a lion under the throne of a deity on a Neo-Hittite relief.⁶⁸⁹

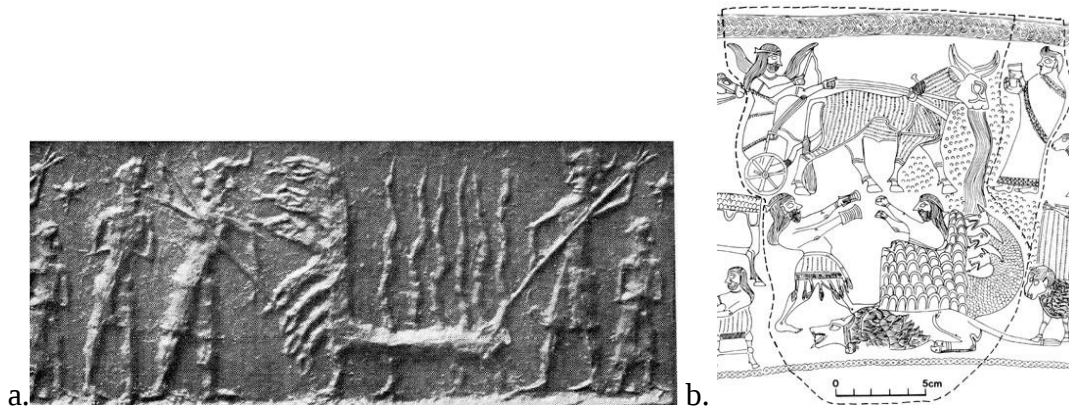


Fig. 2.6.a. A scene on an Akkadian seal, depicting the killing of a dragon with seven heads and seven tails (after Frankfort & Jacobsen 1955: pl. 45, no. 478).

Fig. 2.6.b. Details of the three headed dragon on the golden bowl of Hasanlu (after Porada 1965: fig.64).

2.4.8. Deities dwelling in the Zagros mountains

In the Assyrian inscriptions on several occasions deities are identified with specific peaks of the Zagros. In his eighth campaign, when he reached Mount Simirria in eastern Mannea, Sargon II called the mountain the residence of the goddess Bēlet-ilāni, and says that the lower

⁶⁸⁵For further details see Afifi & Heidari 2010: 152-187. Also see Chapter III, 3.4.

⁶⁸⁶I have called the throne a 'Mountain Throne' because the seat is depicted in a style similar to the depiction of mountains in the Mesopotamian art.

⁶⁸⁷Porada 1965: fig.63-64, pp.97ff.

⁶⁸⁸Frankfort & Jacobsen 1955: pl. 45, no. 478

⁶⁸⁹Mellink 1966: 72-87.

part of the mountain reaches the Netherworld. Such a literary description shows the cosmic dimension in which the Assyrians viewed the landscape.⁶⁹⁰

Mount Simirria, a large mountain peak, which stands out like the blade of a lance, raising its head above the mountains where the goddess Bēlet-ilāni resides, whose summit reaches to the heavens above, whose root strikes downward into the midst of Arallu (the lower world); where, as on the back of a fish, there is no going side by side, and where the ascent is difficult (whether one goes) forward or backward; on whose sides gorges and precipices yawn, to look at which with the eyes, inspires fear; --its road was too rough for chariots to mount, bad for horses, and too steep to march foot soldiers (over it). With the quick and keen understanding with Ea and Bēlet-ilāni have endowed me, (the same are the gods) who have freed my limbs (i.e., given me strength) to cast down the enemy's land, -I had (my men) carry mighty bronze pickaxes in my equipment, and they shattered the side of the highest mountain as (one does in breaking) blocks of building stone, making a good road.

2.4.9. The Netherworld and the Zagros mountains

Mountain ranges were an important part of the landscape of the Netherworld according to the ancient Mesopotamian literature. In the Sumerian records we find words for the foot, peak, edge, bottom, and midst of mountains. Some of these records probably refer to real landscapes and mountain ranges in the Zagros.⁶⁹¹ This is supported by the statement of Sargon II, during his campaign in the Zagros in 714 BCE when he had reached Mannean territory, saying that deities lived on Mount Simirria, and that “*its root strikes downward into the midst of Arallu (the lower world)*”.⁶⁹² Adali has linked the Netherworld and the deities mentioned in connection with Mount Simirria with their role in Mesopotamian literature, for Ea and Bēlet-ilāni figure in ancient Mesopotamian mythology.⁶⁹³

From this brief description of Assyrian and Zagrosian literature it appears that the Assyrians and the Zagrosians inherited the literature of Sumer and Akkad, and Babylonia. The Zagros was one of the important arenas for circulating the epics and myths which deal with the mountains of the east/northeast and beyond.

Although the Assyrians were familiar with most of the Sumerian and Babylonian records (epics and myths) and they borrowed and copied them in Assyrian versions, by contrast in the Zagros there is as yet no mention of Mesopotamian literature. But in both Assyria and the Zagros iconographic motifs from Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian and Assyrian epics and myths occur. They usually depict a crucial moment of the epic or myths and they are usually considered as reflections in art of the literature and religion of the people. Probably the Northern Zagros directly interacted with the southern plains of Mesopotamia, even in the later Middle Bronze Age. Later, probably from Nuzi and then from Assyria, artistic elements were borrowed in the Northern Zagros. The Zagros was part of the stories and events of these

⁶⁹⁰ ARAB II 142; for further details about the mentioned deities in this record and their role in the ancient Mesopotamian mythology, see Adali, S., SAAS XX 62f.

⁶⁹¹ Katz in detail discussed the landscape of the netherworld according to the Sumerian records, for these expressions and their interpretations see Katz 2003: 66ff.

⁶⁹² ARAB II 142.

⁶⁹³ SAAS XX: pp. 60-63.

literary records. In the periphery of Mesopotamia it was influenced by this literature and reflected in its art. It is still too soon to see how far this affected its literature, for we have no literary records from the Zagros. What we do know is that the Zagrosians expressed Mesopotamian literature in their art. Assyrian art, which borrowed elements from the literature, epics and myths of Mesopotamia, certainly influenced the art of the Northern Zagros, especially those elements which are related to Mesopotamian literature.

2.5. Religion and Festivals in war and peace

The known available data about the religion of the Zagros cannot compare with the huge data about the religion of Assyria. The Assyrian deity names, rituals, festivals are well recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions, and the available archaeological evidence tell us much about the temples, ziggurats, statues of gods and their symbols. However, in the Northern Zagros records and archaeological evidence is scarce, and usually gives no clear view about religion, pantheons, or rituals. On the other hand, in the process of looking for the links of interaction we have some evidence of Assyrian religion influence at the Zagros, and of Zagrosians participating in rituals, festivals and offerings in the Assyrian heartland.

Assyrian religion can be considered as a continuation of Mesopotamian religion of the third and second millennium BCE, a continuation of Sumerian, Akkadian and Babylonian religion. The only notable change was putting Ashur at the top of the Assyrian pantheon, instead of the Babylonian Marduk or the Sumerian Anu or Enlil.

2.5.1. Assur: the deity by which the city, the kingdom and the people were named

From the Assyrian records we learn that the Assyrians worshipped the main deities of Sumer, Akkad and Babylonia, and they added Assur at the top of the Assyrian pantheon. Assur was the main and the supreme deity of the Assyrians, and their first capital city, their state and the people were also called after name of Assur.⁶⁹⁴ The first record of Ashur as a deity dates back to the late third millennium BCE.⁶⁹⁵ Lambert assumed that the god Assur was the personification of the hill on which the city of Ashur was built,⁶⁹⁶ because Ashur is also described as a mountain “*The god Aššur, the great mountain*”.⁶⁹⁷ Assur had several divine symbols. One was the winged disk as represented in Assyrian art. The simple winged disk is depicted at the top of the mythological scenes on the seal of the Middle Assyrian king Eriba-Adad I, impressed on tablets from Ashur (fig.7.a-b).⁶⁹⁸

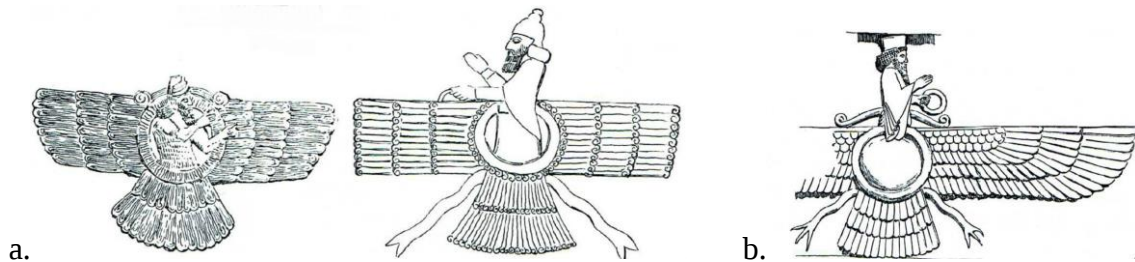


Fig. 2.7.a. Two examples of the Assyrian winged-disk (after: Herzfeld 1941: fig. 360, p.254).

Fig. 2.7.b. The depiction of the winged-disk on the rock relief of Behistun from the reign of Darius I (after Herzfeld 1941: fig. 359, p.254).

The origin of the winged disk is not clear, but generally, modern scholars agree that the first known attested winged disk dates back to the Mittani period in the mid-second

⁶⁹⁴Saggs 1973: 157.

⁶⁹⁵Frame 1999a: 7.

⁶⁹⁶Lambert 1983: 82f; Frame 1999a: 8.

⁶⁹⁷ARAB II 256.

⁶⁹⁸For instance it appears on several Assyrian seals and reliefs, see Collon 1987: fig.276, p.66-67.

millennium BCE.⁶⁹⁹ However, the Assyrian winged disk is considered also to be a symbol of the sun-god Shamash, or even of Ninurta.⁷⁰⁰ E. Herzfeld explained that when the winged-disk is depicted “*without the divine figure, it is the symbol of Shamash, the sun-god; with the figure, that of Ashur. In types belonging to the period of Ashurnasirpal, the god stands inside the disk; later he always rises from the disk.*”⁷⁰¹

The winged-disk was later borrowed in the Zagros and is found in the art of the Medes and Persians in the 6th century BCE as a symbol of ‘Ahuramazda’.⁷⁰² Although, the Assyrians occupied most of the Near Eastern kingdoms, including a big part of the Zagros, generally it is noticeable that they did not impose the cult of Assur outside the Assyrian heartland. Even in the Assyrian heartland it was only in the city of Ashur that Assur had a permanent temple, one which already existed and remained until the fall of Assyria. Later the temple was rebuilt during the Parthian period (138 BCE-224 CE).⁷⁰³ The temple was renovated several times during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian period. Another temple of Assur was built in Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta, but there is no temple of Assur in the Assyrian capitals of Kalhu and Dur-Šarrukin. When Sargon II built his new capital Dur-Šarrukin, he mentioned building several temples for several deities including minor deities, but no temple or shrine for Ashur. He says “*substantial shrines for Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad and Urta I constructed therein with (artistic) skill.*”⁷⁰⁴ He introduced the statues of Assur and other deities into his palace in Dur-Šarrukin, probably for a short visit. “*I invited them into Ashur, the great lord, and the gods who dwell in Assyria.*”⁷⁰⁵

Ashur remained the god of the Assyrians. Worship of Assur did not spread to the non-Assyrian peoples outside Assyria. Ashurnasirpal II called Assur the “Assyrian god” (*īlu Aššurû*). Similarly Ištar was called the “Assyrian Ištar” (*Ištar Aššurītu*), but the worship of Ištar spread outside Assyria. This is interpreted by Karlsson as an indication of a need to distinguish between different cults rather than to signify a national deity.⁷⁰⁶ Ashur is called once by Ashurnasirpal II “Assyrian Enlil” (*Ellil Aššurû*),⁷⁰⁷ indicating that Ashur took over the role of Enlil. The wife of Enlil, the goddess Ninlil, is called the wife of Assur in the Assyrian records. In mythology and in the Assyrian art she was depicted with Assur.⁷⁰⁸ Ištar and other goddesses are called wife or concubine of Assur.⁷⁰⁹

⁶⁹⁹Gavin 1981: fig.2, p.143; Collon 1987: 274.

⁷⁰⁰Black and Green 1992: 38; Mallowan 1966: fig. 24; Collon 1987: p.75-76, fig. 340-341.

⁷⁰¹ Herzfeld 1941: 255.

⁷⁰²The symbol of the winged circle with a male figure, which is incorrectly called as symbol of ‘Ahura-Mazda’ depicted on the Median rock-cut-tomb of Qizqapan east of the Lower Zab to the west of Sulaimania (Edmonds 1934: fig. 2). Also similar symbol depicted on the rock relief of Behistun of Darius I (Herzfeld 1941: fig. 359, p.254). It is depicted on the Achaemenid rock reliefs, cylinder seals and reliefs; see Frame 1999a: 11; Collon 1987: figs. 424, 425. For further details see Chapter III and IV, 4.8.e.

⁷⁰³For further details about the temple of Assur, see Andrae 1977.

⁷⁰⁴ARAB II 106.

⁷⁰⁵ARAB II 98:3.

⁷⁰⁶Karlsson 2013: 182

⁷⁰⁷Karlsson 2013: 182

⁷⁰⁸See Chapter III, 3.1.1.

⁷⁰⁹For further details about Assur, his role and position in the Assyrian mythology see for instance Lambert 1983: 82-86.

In the Assyrian version of the Creation Myth Assur took over the role of Marduk.⁷¹⁰ Little evidence about the cult of Assur outside Assyria is known from Babylon, Syria or Anatolia. The attestations we have relate to Assyrians on duty outside Assyria.⁷¹¹ The Zagrosians from Idu and Kiširtu did send offerings to the temple of Assur in the city of Assur.⁷¹² The people of Idu (modern Satu Qala) on the bank of the Lower Zab during the Middle Assyrian period sent offerings to the temple of Assur in Ashur,⁷¹³ and the deported Hundureans (from Media to Ashur) served in the temple of Ashur in Ashur during the 7th century BCE.⁷¹⁴

As yet there is no evidence of worship of Assur in the Zagros itself, but when Sargon II occupied the Median city Harhar, and he renamed it Kār-Šarrukin, he said “*The weapon of Ashur, my lord, I appointed as their deity....I set up my image in Kār-Šarrukin.*”⁷¹⁵ According to Radner erecting the weapon of Assur “*as their divinity*” (a-na DINGIR-ti-šú-un) refers “*to the installation of a new cult.*”⁷¹⁶ But it is not clear whether Sargon II wanted to force the Median people of Harhar to worship Assur, or he was only adding a symbol of Assur to the deities of the city. We have to take in consideration that Sargon II deported peoples of the defeated lands to Harhar: “*Peoples of the lands my hand had captured I settled therein,*”⁷¹⁷ and that the city became multinational and multicultural, thus making the worship of Assur desirable to the king. The divine weapons of Assur were considered by Holloway as “*standards of the Assyrian state pantheon used in the administration of loyalty oaths.*”⁷¹⁸ This is more probable, because in the same inscription Sargon II claims that he carved a rock relief or stele of himself there: “(ša-lam šarrūti^{ti}-ia) *the statue of my majesty I erected in Kār-Šarrukēn.*”⁷¹⁹

Sargon II deported the ruler of Kišesim, placed Assyrian deities there, and erected a statue of ‘his majesty’ there, probably a statue of Ashur:⁷²⁰

Bêl-šar-ušur of the city of Kišesim my hand captured and himself together with the property of his palace to the land of Ashur I brought, and my functionary I placed as prefect over his city. The gods who advance before me, I caused to dwell in it, and Kār-Nergal I named its name. A statue of my majesty, I erected there.

The Assyrians adopted Marduk in Assyria, for they controlled Babylonia, but the cult of Assur was not adopted by the Babylonians. They never worshipped Assur, but rejected

⁷¹⁰SAA III 34: 17-18; Frame 1999a: 5-22.

⁷¹¹For instance the Assyrians brought the cult of Assur to Anatolia when they arrived in. They stayed in these colonies and used them as bases for their commercial activities; for further details about the symbols and images of the Mesopotamian deities which are depicted on the seals which are found in the trade colonies in Anatolia, see Teissier 1994; see also Larsen 1976; Larsen 1967.

⁷¹²SAA VI 119.

⁷¹³Prechel and Freydank 2011: 65.6, p.7; for further details see van Soldt 2013: 218. See this chapter, 2.5.13, and 2.5.14.

⁷¹⁴For instance the Hundurean family deported to Assur, served in the temple of Assur; for further details see TCL III 270; Radner 2007: 196.

⁷¹⁵ARAB II 11.

⁷¹⁶Radner 2003b: 121.

⁷¹⁷ARAB II 11.

⁷¹⁸Holloway 2002: 176

⁷¹⁹Lie 1929: p.17, line 100.

⁷²⁰Lie 1929: p.17, the lines 93-95.

him.⁷²¹ Usually, there is no attestation of Assur in deity lists in the foreign lands, except for a mention of Assur occurring in an Urartian inscription of Keşiş Göl, where Ashur is mentioned with the other Urartian deities in the list, not at the top of the list but with the minor Urartian deities.⁷²²

The Assyrian kings renamed some occupied foreign cities, or renovated them in the name of Assur. The Lullubean city of Atlila in the land of Zamua was renovated and renamed Dur-Ashur by Ashurnasirpal II,⁷²³ and Esarhaddon renamed the Median city Pitanu as Til-Aššuri.⁷²⁴

2.5.2. The Assyrian holy war

The foreign lands and peoples, who submitted to Assyria, according to the Assyrian royal inscriptions, remained under the protection of the Assyrian deities. Even foreign auxiliary units in the Assyrian army were protected by Assyrian deities like the Assyrian soldiers, for they were serving in the Assyrian army and participating in the Assyrian holy war against the enemies of Assyria and Assur.⁷²⁵ But, if they revolted, they not only revolted against the Assyrian king or the Assyrian army but against Assur and the other Assyrian deities:⁷²⁶

Urzana of the city of Musasir, a worker of sin and iniquity, who broke (transgressed against) the oath by the gods and recognized no rule, a wicked mountaineer, who sinned against the oath taken by Ashur, Shamash, Nabû and Marduk and revolted against me, halted the return march of my expedition (he failed to come bringing) his ample gifts, nor did he kiss my feet. He withheld his tribute, tax and gifts, and not once did he send his messenger to greet me.

When the Assyrian kings invaded Zagros, their military movements were generally conducted in the name of a deity, not always of Assur, but also for the campaigns against the Northern Zagros of Ištar, Ninurta, Nergal, Marduk and other deities, according to the Assyrian annals. Tiglath-pileser I occupied the city of Hanusa and permanently destroyed the walls and the houses of the city. On an inscription in situ he claims that:⁷²⁷

... the lands which with the god Aššur, my lord, I conquered (with a warning) not to occupy that city and not to rebuild its wall.

Ashurnasirpal II in his campaign on Zamua, mentioned Assur as his great lord, and Nergal as his leader, the two main deities who supported him in his campaign on Zamua:⁷²⁸

With the support of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, and the divine standard, which goes before me, (ii 85) (and) with the fierce weapons which Aššur, (my) lord, gave to me.

⁷²¹Frame 1999a: 18f.

⁷²²Zimansky 2011: 112; Grekyan 2014: 57-94. For further details, see below.

⁷²³RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 84b-86a; ARAB I 458.

⁷²⁴ARAB II 517.

⁷²⁵Nadali 2005: 231.

⁷²⁶ARAB II 169.

⁷²⁷RIMA II A.0.87.1, v 99, v 99-vi 21.

⁷²⁸RIMA II A.0.101.17, 82-86; ARAB I 448.

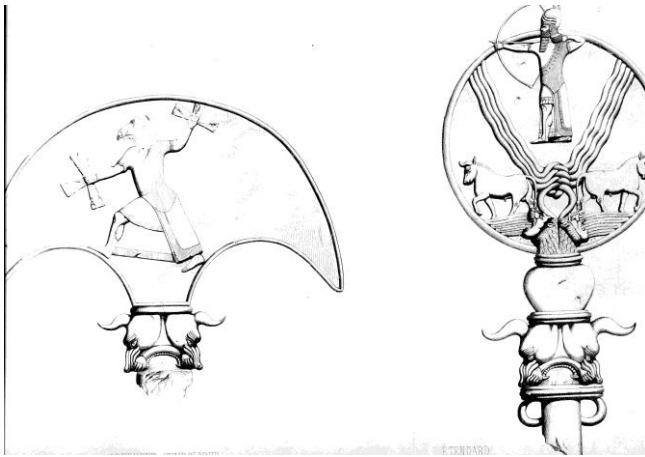


Fig.2.7.c. Two Assyrian emblems depicted on a royal battle chariot from the reign of Sargon II, (Botta and Flandin 1972: pl. 158).

Tiglath-pileser III, after controlling Parsua, Bīt-Zatti, Bīt-Ad-dadani, Bīt-Kapsi, Bīt-Sangi, Bīt-Uzakki, and Bīt-Ištar, in the land of the “mighty Medes”, set up the “divine weapon of Aššur.”⁷²⁹ He also erected a metal inscription at Bīt-Ištar. “At the time, I made a pointed iron arrow (*mulmullu parzilli zaqtu*). Thereupon, I inscribed the mighty deeds of Ashur my lord and set it up in front of the “water hole” (*i-na muḥ-ḥi áš-ṭur ina UGU nam-ba-'i*) of Bīt-Ištar.”⁷³⁰

Radner identifies the ‘water hole’ of Bīt-Ištar with the Ravansar water spring and pond.⁷³¹ If the water hole was a sacred place, probably Ištar was worshipped there, because the city was called Bīt-Ištar, and Tiglath-pileser III added the symbolic “iron arrow” of Ashur there. The worship of Ištar in that area was probably not under Assyrian influence. While it is true that Ištar for the Assyrians was an important deity, in particular the Ištar of war, “*Ištar of Arbela*”, in that area of the Zagros Ištar had also been worshipped as one of the main deities during the Iron Age and also the Bronze Age. Not far from Bīt-Ištar, the Lullubian king Anubanini, early in the second millennium BCE, carved an inscription with the image of Ištar on Mount Batir (Iron Age Paddira near modern Sarpol Zahab). Ištar for the people of the Northern Zagros had been the deity of war since the Middle Bronze Age. Perhaps her name locally pronounced differently.

During the reign of Tiglath-pileser III Ištar was also known and worshipped in Media, and her symbol, a star with eight-rays was depicted on the bronze stele of the Median ruler, Šilisruḥ. This Median ruler mentioned Ištar in an inscription with other deities: “*May Ištar, Šamaš and Bēl-mātāti be the witnesses!*”⁷³² And in a curse he says “*Ištar, Lady of the City, will carry (them) downstream like a river.... may Ištar, Lady of the City, carry his house (and) his seed away, and may a war predestining non-existence angrily arise against him!*”⁷³³

⁷²⁹Radner 2003b: 120.

⁷³⁰RINAP I 15: 8b-9, p.49; Radner 2003b: 121.

⁷³¹Radner 2003b: 128. For the debate concerning Bīt-Ištar as a toponym or as a temple, see Holloway 2002: 154, note. 246.

⁷³²Rader 2003b: 122.

⁷³³Rader 2003b: 122.

Sargon II, in his annals against the eastern districts of Mannea, describes the roads, passes and by-ways in the mountainous area: “*Against the lands of Zikirtu and Andia I guided the yoke (= the chariot) of Nergal and Adad, (whose) emblems go before me.*”⁷³⁴

According to Assyrian theology, the Assyrian deities can punish Assyrian enemies by encouraging the servants of their king to revolt. In his fifth campaign, Ashurbanipal (ca. 660 BCE) refers to the role of Ištar of Arbail in encouraging people of Mannea in a revolt against their king Aḫšêri:⁷³⁵

“(Aḫšêri) who did not fear from my sovereignty, [Ashur and Ištar¹ delivered (lit. counted) him into the hands of his servants. Into the street (streets?) of his city they cast his body, leaving his corpse.”

2.5.3. Peaks, cities and rivers called with deity names

The Assyrians believed that some of the Zagros mountains were holy, the residence of deities. When Sargon II reached Mount Simirria, near the district of Andia in eastern Mannea, in his detailed description of the mountain assumes the Assyrian goddess Bêlit-ilâni dwelled there.⁷³⁶

“*Mount Simirria, “..... “where the goddess Bêlet-ilâni resides, whose summit reaches to the heavens above, whose root strikes downward into the midst of Arallu (the lower world).”*

Several cities of the Zagros were renamed with apparently Assyrian divine names, such as Dūr-Enlil, Dūr-Ashur, Dūr-Ištar, Kār-Nabû, Kār-Sin, Kār-Nergal. In these cities temples for these gods may have been built by the Assyrians. Or perhaps there were temples previously built by local inhabitants, since Ištar and Nergal were worshipped in that area before the Assyrians came. Some of the local deities may even have been equated with Assyrian deities.

The Sumerian deity Nergal had been worshipped by the Hurrians since the Middle Bronze Age. The area of the Diyala as far as the Zagros ranges was known as one of the centres for the cult of Nergal.⁷³⁷ A river southeast of Der was called Nergal in the Assyrian records.⁷³⁸ The only known temple of Nergal in the Assyrian heartland was in Tarbişu (modern Sharif-Khan).⁷³⁹

2.5.4. Nabû, god of the scribes in Babylonia, Assyria, and the Zagros

Deities were usually mentioned in the introductions to Assyrian letters with words such as “*To..., May the gods Nabû and Marduk bless ...*”⁷⁴⁰ Similar expressions are seen in letters sent from the Northern Zagros to Assyria. Local scribes from the Northern Zagros may have been

⁷³⁴ ARAB II 142.

⁷³⁵ ARAB II 851.

⁷³⁶ ARAB II 142.

⁷³⁷ For instance the cult of Nergal existed during the Old Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian period in the area of the Hamrin basin and the Upper Diyala, not so far from Media; see Al-Rawi 1994: 35-43; Lie 1929: p.17, lines 93-95.

⁷³⁸ SAA XVII 120: 14-23.

⁷³⁹ For further details about the cult of Nergal in Assyria during Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods see Frame & Donbaz 1983: 4.

⁷⁴⁰ See for instance, SAA 16 115: 2-4; SAA 13 78: 5-6.

trained by the Assyrian scribes, or Assyrian scribes had been brought to the Zagros to work for Assyrian governors or for local rulers. The letters sent from Urzana to Sargon do not mention Haldi but they do mention Assyrian deities. But letters from Mazamua to Sargon II do not mention deities. They begin with “...good, health to the king, my lord.”⁷⁴¹

Nabû was supremely the god of the scribes and of writing and is therefore naturally invoked in the introduction to a letter. The only mention of Nabû in an indigenous record from the Northern Zagros is on a glazed brick from Rabat Tepe. It has been read by Reade and Finkel as “*Belonging to Ata(?) sangû of of Bel/Marduk and Nabû* “SANGA ^dEN¹ ^dPA,” [King(?) of the city of Arz]iz[u].”⁷⁴²

Reade and Finkel in the light of this record assume that “*It seems likely that the Rabat installation was dedicated either to Bel/Marduk and Nabû, both originally Babylonian gods, or to local gods identified with them.*”⁷⁴³ As for the rare attestations of Marduk in the Assyrian annals, they notice that only Sargon II in his eighth campaign on his way from Zamua to Mannea mentions Marduk, which for them indicates that Sargon II either “*visited or passed near Rabat*”.⁷⁴⁴ They conclude that “*he did so, apparently unopposed, at the beginning of his eighth campaign in 714 BC. Sargon’s formal inscriptions regularly name Ashur, Bel/Marduk and Nabû, as his principal gods. A Bel-aplu-iddina was ruler of the kingdom of Allabria, in Iran just east or southeast of the Rabat region, during the reign of Sargon.*”⁷⁴⁵ Perhaps the mention of Marduk in that campaign is not related to Bel of Arzizu (Rabat Tepe). In the last stage of his campaign in Musasir he called his special soldiers who plundered Musasir “*the people of Ashur and Marduk.*”⁷⁴⁶ Even if the name Bel-aplu-iddina of Allabria relates to a temple of Bel/Marduk, the ‘temple’ of Bel/Marduk in Tīl-Aššuri in Media mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III is more probable.⁷⁴⁷ However, the name Bel-aplu-iddina (if we accept that Akkadian reading) indicates influence of Babylonia. On the other hand the mention of Bel and Nabû together on the glazed brick of Rabat Tepe shows the influence of the Assyrian letters. Because Marduk was the father of Nabû they were usually mentioned together in letters. It does not indicate a pre-existing cult of Marduk and Nabû in Rabat. Bel was one of the names of Marduk in the first millennium BCE in Assyria.⁷⁴⁸ Nabû becomes one of the most popular deities in Assyria, as can be seen from dozens of personal names, in which Nabû is the first element. For these men, Assyrians and foreigners alike, the cult of Nabû was significant.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴¹See for instance, SAA V 210: 3; SAA V 215: 3.

⁷⁴²Heidari 2010: 150; Reade and Finkel 2014: 193. Very probably Bēl in this text means the main Babylonian deity Marduk, who was also worshipped in Assyria. He is mentioned in the Assyrian records and the royal inscriptions. Nabû was considered a son of Marduk in Babylonian texts, and an important deity in Assyria. He was considered by the Babylonians and the Assyrians as the god of writing and of scribes. Nabû replaced the Sumerian goddess of writing, Nisaba; for further details about Nabû and Nisaba see Pomponio 1998: 16-24; Seidl 1998: 24-29; Michalowski 1998: 575-579; Braun-Holtzinger 1998: 579.

⁷⁴³Reade and Finkel 2014: 194.

⁷⁴⁴Reade and Finkel 2014: 194.

⁷⁴⁵Reade and Finkel 2014: 194.

⁷⁴⁶ARAB II 22; 174.

⁷⁴⁷RINAP I 16: 11-12. For the further details see below.

⁷⁴⁸Black & Green, 1992: 128.

⁷⁴⁹In (PNA 2/ 2: 788-914) scholars studied dozens of the personal names and prosopography from Assyrian legal and administrative records with Nabû as the first element. This indicates that the worship of Nabû was common among the peoples in Assyria and also outside Assyria.

Some letters sent from the Zagros have no mention of Nabû. One is a letter sent from Kurbail, a Northern Zagros city to the west of the Upper Zab river, north of the Assyrian heartland, the centre of the cult of Adad. Adad of Kurbail was called Bēl-Kurba'il, and the name of the city Kurbail (URU *kur-ba-il*).⁷⁵⁰ However, this reading is provisional. Kurbail had good relations with the Assyrian capitals and with Arbail. In the temple of Adad of Kurbail, the Edurhenunna, the *akītu* festival, was performed. In a letter, perhaps sent to Ashurbanipal, the *šangû* of Kurbail asks about the clothes to be sent from the temple of Ištar of Arbail to Kurbail. There they were given regularly to the weavers of the temple of Adad. The priest did not mention Nabû and Marduk in the introduction to his letter, but instead he mentioned the deities of his city and his temple.⁷⁵¹

To the king, the lord of kings [my lord], your servant Aplāya, the šangû of Kurbail. May it be well with the king my lord. May Adad, Šala (and) Šarrat-nakanti', the gods who dwell in the Edurhenunna, pray for the king my lord (and) cause (him) to live. ..."

Another letter sent from the governor of Der to the Assyrian king, asks the king for a scribe, and there is no mention of deities in the introduction. The writer was not a professional scribe and he was unfamiliar with the conventional format for letters.⁷⁵²

2.5.5. The main deities in the Northern Zagros

In the Northern Zagros, there was no main deity rival to Assur as a deity of a nation and state, because the Zagros was never united under one local power, at least not before the fall of Nineveh. Therefore, in each small province or kingdom there was a different main deity. In the land of Musasir Haldi was considered by the Urartian kings as the supreme deity of the kingdom, and they put him at the top of the Urartian pantheon. Haldi was worshipped in Musasir and the neighboring kingdoms in the Northern Zagros, such as Mannea, Kumme, as well as in Urartu, but the worship of Haldi had not spread to other provinces of the Northern Zagros, such as Zamua and Media.

The city of Arinu (Ardini) had been a holy city even in the second millennium BCE, known as such even in the annals of Shalmaneser I.⁷⁵³ Probably the Urartian royal family originated from this place, and they wanted to imitate the Assyrians. Haldi was venerated like Assur in some aspects. In Musasir Haldi with his wife Bagbartu and other deities were all worshipped, but the only temple was that of Haldi. It was there that the Urartian coronation was performed. Sargon in the Eighth Campaign refers to Urartu and to Musasir, "*the abode of his kingship, the abode of Haldi his god*".⁷⁵⁴

In Arrapha the main deity was Shawushka, and from the Diyala to Media it was Nergal. In Zamua and the rest of the land of Lullubi the names of the main deity and any other Lullubean deities are not known. What we do know is that the Lullubean word for god as recorded in a late Assyrian vocabulary was *ki-ú-ru-um* corresponding to Akk. *ilu*. This is the

⁷⁵⁰George 1992: 465.

⁷⁵¹MacGinnis 1988: 68.

⁷⁵²SAA XV 17; Radner 2014a: 69.

⁷⁵³RIMA I A. 0.77.1: 47-48.

⁷⁵⁴Kravitz 2003: 86.

only Lullubean word of which we know the meaning, although in Zamua it is said that the Lullubean name Erishtienu means “*Desire of the gods*”,⁷⁵⁵.

In Mannea, the Aramaic inscription on the Bukan stele mentions the two deities Haldi and Hadad. Haldi occurs as Haldi who is in Izirta/Zirta (Z'TR) and Haldi who is in Musasir (MTTR). Another possibility suggested by Fales is to read the names as Zikirtu and its king Mettati.⁷⁵⁶

Haldi was worshipped in Mannea. Hadad, the Aramaic chief deity, was a weather god, probably the Aramaic equivalent of the Urartian weather god Teišiba (the Hurrian Teššub), his cult centre was the city of Kumme.⁷⁵⁷ Hadad was a later phase of the West Semitic deities Dagan and Adad, and was mainly worshipped by Western Semitic groups, in particular by the Arameans. The Arameans reached the Lower Zab in the territory of Idu and Zamua but it seems that they did not reach Mannaea as a group of migrant.⁷⁵⁸ That Hadad is an equivalent of Teišiba is supported by the inscription of Išpuini and Menua at Qalatagah both [Hal]di and and T[eišeba (^dI[M-i-ni) occur together, as in Aramaic. Qalatagah was on the Mannean border, but controlled by the Urartians, so probably Hadad on the Aramaic stele refers to Urartian Teišiba.⁷⁵⁹

According to Eph'al, because of the war against Mannea from both the Assyrian and the Urartian sides, and the mountainous nature of the road between Mannea and Musasir, he assumes that the “*Mannean Haldi worshippers would have been prevented from reaching the temple in Muasasir, which was 150 km west of Bukan, as the crow flies.*”⁷⁶⁰ He assumes that “*Z'tr was the site of a temple in Mannea proper.*”⁷⁶¹ That would be the the Mannean capital Izirtu. Though Eph'al asks “*whether the metathesis tr/rt is justifiable.*”⁷⁶²

Some Urartian deities originated from the Northern Zagros and were added to the Urartian pantheon. One probable reason is that the Urartian royal family originated from the Northern Zagros, either from Musasir or from one of the lands between Musasir and southwest of the Urmia basin. Another reason is that the Urartians controlled these areas and added the local deities to the Urartian pantheon. Among the deities that originated from the Northern Zagros are Haldi and Bagbartu.

The mountain Andaruttu/Andarutta (modern Hendrêen mountain) in the Northern Zagros between Musasir and Hiptunu was a deified toponym in the Meher-Kapisi inscription, which gives a long list of Urartian divinities.⁷⁶³ Ba-ag-BAR/MAŠ-tu, the wife of Haldi in Musasir/

⁷⁵⁵Zadok 2013: 412; van Soldt 2013: 214.

⁷⁵⁶Fales 2003: 135-138.

⁷⁵⁷Radner 2012b: 254ff; Petrosyan 2012: 141-156; Eph'al 1999: 120ff.

⁷⁵⁸See for instance, Wright 2007: 173-180.

⁷⁵⁹For further details about the Aramaic stele of Bukan and interpreting the text see Fales 2003: 135; and for Teišiba see König 1938 “Burijaš” RIA II: 80; Weißbach 1938, RIA II: 80-82; Salvini 2011-2013: 506-507; Zimansky 2011-2013: 507-508.

⁷⁶⁰Eph'al 1999: 120.

⁷⁶¹Eph'al 1999: 120.

⁷⁶²Eph'al 1999: 120.

⁷⁶³Mount Adaruta separated Musasir from Hiptunu. It is recorded as a divine mountain on the Meher Kapisi inscription, see CTU A 3-1, p.125ff; Salvini 1994: 205-215. It is identified with the modern Bradost range by Radner, but actually the same Handren Mountain borders the eastern part of Ruwanduz/Diana plain; for further details see Marf 2015: 127-140; Marf, D. A., “Deified mountains in the Zagros; Nishba, Batir, Andarutta, and

Ardini is mentioned once by Sargon II. Sargon II deported her to Assyria with Haldi. Her name is considered by modern scholars as Iranian in origin, but this is opposed by Schmitt.⁷⁶⁴

The Bronze Age rock reliefs and steles recorded by the rulers of the local kingdoms in the Northern Zagros were written by scribes trained in the Sumerian or Babylonian tradition. These inscriptions usually start by praising their beloved deities and conclude with curses against those who dare to destroy, erase or add to the image or the inscription. There is no mention of any local deities, or if there are, they have been translated in Akkadian. The inscription on the relief of Anubanini mentions Ištar and depicts her in the curse at the end. “*Anum and Antu, Enlil and Ninlil, Adad and Ištar, Šin and Šamaš,...Ner[gal] and Er[eškiga]l,...*” are also mentioned,⁷⁶⁵ a typical Sumero-Akkadian list. Sumerian or Akkadian names were being used except in the inscription of Iddin-Sin the king of Simurrum who mentions Nišba, the supreme deity of his kingdom. Nišba was a deified mountain, identified by Ahmed with the modern Pir-e-Megrun Mountain.⁷⁶⁶ The same mountain was called Nišir in the Neo-Assyrian records, and according to Ashurnasirpal II the Lullu people called it Kiniba.⁷⁶⁷

In the tablets discovered in the Rania plain, the Shemshara tablets, many names of deities, rituals, offerings and the sending of gifts to distant temples in Arrapha and Ninua are recorded. The ruler of Shemshara, Kuwari, sent a bronze vessel to Ištar (*eš₄-tár*) (*Šawuška*) of Ninua (=Niniveh) and another one to Adad (*Teššub*) of Arrapha.⁷⁶⁸ That indicates that Shemshara had a direct contact with Nineveh and Arrapha and their temples. The temple of Adad in Arrapha was an important religious centre at that time (the Old Babylonian/Assyrian period). Even Shamshi-Adad, when he occupied Arrapha, submitted to Adad, kissed the feet of (the statue) of Adad, and made a festival for about two weeks in Arrapha in the month of Adaru.⁷⁶⁹

In his campaign against Mennaea and Gizilbundu, Sargon II refers to organizing a banquet of the Assyrian and the local peoples, and he says that they worshipped Ashur in the presence of the deities of their land:⁷⁷⁰

Before Ullusunu, their king and lord, I spread a groaning (lit. heavy) banquet table, and exalted his throne high above that of Iranzu, the father who begot him. Them (i.e., the people of his land) I seated with the people of Assyria at a joyous banquet; before Ashur and the gods of their land. They did homage to my majesty. Zîzî of Appatar, Zalaia of Kitpatai, city governors of the land of Gizilbundu.”

Hiptunu,” Paper presented in the *Zagros symposium*, organized by the NINO in Leiden, December 1st & 2nd, 2014.

⁷⁶⁴For further details see Schmitt 1980: 27:191; Röllig 1932, *RIA* 1: 391.

⁷⁶⁵Ahmed 2012: 247: lines 13-21.

⁷⁶⁶Ahmed 2012: 294f.

⁷⁶⁷*RIMA* II A.0.101.1: ii 34.

⁷⁶⁸Eidem 1992: **128**: 5-10; **133**:15-20, pp.82-82.

⁷⁶⁹*RIMA* I A.0.39.1001: I’ 1-10; ii’ 1- iv’. For further details see the ‘festivals’ in below.

⁷⁷⁰*ARAB* II 149.

2.5.6. Palil (Nergal), the protecting tribal god in Media

Tiglath-pileser III in his campaign to Media mentions the Median tribe of Palil-andil-māti (LÚ.IGI.DU-an-dil-KUR'). The name is translated by Tadmor and Yamada as “*Palil is the protecting shadow of the land*”,⁷⁷¹ and this is the only occurrence of Palil as a local deity in Media.⁷⁷²

2.5.7. Tiglath-pileser III sacrifices to Marduk in the land Tīl-Aššuri in Media

In his annals, Tiglath-pileser III says “*I offered pure sacrifices to the god Marduk, who lives in the land Tīl-Aššuri (KUR.DUL-áš-šu-ri).*”⁷⁷³

2.5.8. Adad-narari II made sacrifices before Teššub of Kumme

Adad-narari II calls the Hurrian Teššub of Kumme his lord, and when he went to the city Kummu he offered sacrifices to Teššub: “*I made sacrifices before the god Adad of the city Kummu, my lord.*” Then he burned the cities of the land Habhu, and called them “*enemies of the city Kummu.*”⁷⁷⁴

2.5.9. Vassal treaties with the rulers of the Northern Zagros and swearing oaths by the Assyrian deities

One of the earliest known treaties between Ashur (the kingdom of Šamši-Adad I) and the Northern Zagros was recorded indirectly in one of the letters from Shemshara. The letter sent by Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1813-1781 BCE) to Kuwari, the ruler of Šušarra, mentions the enmity of the Aḫazean ruler, Jašub-Addu⁷⁷⁵. Šamši-Adad says “*he [Jašub-Addu] swore an oath to me in the temple of Teššub of Arraphum.*”⁷⁷⁶ From this letter we understood that the temple of Adad/Teššub in Arrapha was used as the temple of peace between the Zagros and Assyrian kings and for making vassal treaties.

Later, the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I, who probably did not trust the kings of Nairi, after defeating them and controlling Nairi he brought them to Assyria, and he forced them to swear by the Assyrian gods. Then he released them to go back to their country, Nairi:⁷⁷⁷

I captured all of the kings of the lands Nairi alive. I had mercy on those kings and spared their lives. I released them from their bonds and fetters in the presence of the god Šamaš, my lord, and made them swear by my great gods an oath of eternal vassaldom. I took their natural, royal, sons as hostages. I imposed upon them a tribute of 1,200 horses (and) 2,000 cattle. I allowed them to return to their lands.

⁷⁷¹ RINAP 1, 14: 7.

⁷⁷² RINAP I 26: 5-7. The tablet Tr. 40001 discovered in the late Neo-Assyrian layer in the temple in Tell al-Rimah has a seal impression of Palil-ēreš (LÚ.IGI.DU.ŠAM), the owner of a land in the village of Sangari (Ša-an-ga?-ri?). (See Postgate 1970: p.31, 1-4). Postgate prefers not to identify the IGI.DU with Nergal, saying that “*it therefore seems safer to retain the known reading, Palil.*” Postgate 1970: p.33, note.2.

⁷⁷³ RINAP I 16: 11-12.

⁷⁷⁴ RIMA II A.0.99.2: 91-93.

⁷⁷⁵ The land of Ahazum is located somewhere between Šušarra (Shemshara) and Arrapha (Kirkuk) at the west bank of the Lower Zab northeast of Urbel (Arbela). Its capital was Šikšabbum; for further details see Eidem & Læssøe 2001: 1.5; 5.12; 7.13; 42.20; Ahmed 2012: 265ff; Betwati 2009: 30-59.

⁷⁷⁶ Eidem & Læssøe 2001: 1:1-20, pp.70-71.

⁷⁷⁷ RIMA II A.0.87.1: v 9-21.

Similarly, the Medes swore by Assyrian deities in the vassal treaty with Esarhaddon.⁷⁷⁸

2.5.10. Divine names in personal names

Most names of Assyrian kings include a divine name. Several have Assur, such as Aššur-nārārī (^d*a-šūr-né-ra-ri*), Puzur-Aššur (*pit-zu-ur-^da-šūr*), Aššur-bēl-kala (^{md}*a-šur-EN-ka-la*), Ashurnasirpal (^m*aš-šur-PAB-A*), Esarhaddon (^m*Aš-šur-PAP-AŠ*), Ashurnabipal (*Aššur-bāni-apli*). Other names have other gods, such as Tukultī-Ninurta, Puzur-Sîn, Šamši-Adad, Enlil-nāšir⁷⁷⁹, etc.

There are only a few of the personal names of the Northern Zagros for which we know the meaning, but several include an element which is a divine. One is Ashur-le'u, the ruler of Karalla.⁷⁸⁰ Some names with Haldi are mentioned in Assyrian administrative and legal documents from the Assyrian capitals.⁷⁸¹ These persons may have been deported, or had migrated, or were foreign merchants living temporarily or were settled in Assyria. They probably came from Musasir, the Northern Zagros, or one of the provinces of Urartu.

Some names combine Iranian and Zagrosian elements. A Median city lord of Zakrute (URU.zak-ru-te) mentioned in Sargon's Eighth Campaign was called Bag-parna (written ^M*ba-ga-pār-na*), "*With the gods' splendour of fortune*".⁷⁸² In a letter sent to the Assyrian king, someone identified as the son of Asrukani, one of the nobles of the Zagros, mentions that "*the house of Bagaparna*" (^M*ba-ga-par-n[a]*) in the context of building activities in Kar-Šarrukin.⁷⁸³ As mentioned earlier, the name of the Mannean ruler Bagdatti, written ^m*ba-ag-da-at-ti*, reflecting Old Iranian *Baga-dāti*, "*Given by [the] god[s]*", is Iranian, derived from *baga*, "*god, lord*", and *dāti*, "*to give*". He was the governor of Uišdiš in Mannea and was flayed by Sargon II in 714 BCE (fig. 2.8).⁷⁸⁴ The name of a Hurro-Urartian deity is combined with Iranian *baga* in Bag-Tešub.⁷⁸⁵ Tešub is found also in other names, such as Hu-Tešub ("*... Tešub*"); The Hurrian/Urartian man whose name was written ^M*hu-te-šub* was the vassal ruler of Šubria under Sargon II. Another *Hu-Teššub* wrote some Assyrian letters dealing with Mannea and Zikirtu and Hubuškia.⁷⁸⁶



⁷⁷⁸ For further details see 2.7.7. in this chapter and also see Wiseman 1958

⁷⁷⁹ See RIMA I, II, III.

⁷⁸⁰ SAA V 218; ARAB II 10.

⁷⁸¹ Fuchs 2000: 441-442; SAA 6 130 r.7.

⁷⁸² Fuchs & Schmitt 1999a, PNA 1/II B-G: 251; SAA XV 91: r.1-9.

⁷⁸³ Fuchs & Schmitt 1999a, PNA 1/II B-G: 251.

⁷⁸⁴ Fuchs & Schmitt 1999b "Bag-dāti," PNA 1/II B-G: 251.

⁷⁸⁵ Olmstead 1908: 153, n.21; Tallqvist 1966 APN: 50.

⁷⁸⁶ Baker 2000: 483.

Fig. 2.8. A scene on a relief from Khorsabad; it depicts flaying a Zagrosian leader during one of the Sargon II's campaign on the Zagros (after Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl.120).

2.5.11. Deporting deities from and into the Northern Zagros by the Assyrians

The Assyrians deported many deities from the Northern Zagros to Assyria, and they also deported Babylonian deities to the Northern Zagros. The Assyrian tradition of deporting the deities of their defeated enemies and sending them into exile during a military occupation is a well known tactic, and it had happened in the Zagros since the Middle Bronze Age. A clearly documented instance is the deities of Qabra deported by Dadusha of Eshnuna, a contemporary of Shamshi-Adad I.⁷⁸⁷

During the Middle Assyrian period Tiglath-pileser I deported many deities from Hunusa at the west of the Upper Zab river in the Zagros ranges, and from the city of Murattaš in the land of Lullumu near the banks of the Lower Zab river (for the list of the deported deities see, Table 2.3.).⁷⁸⁸ Also, Tiglath-pileser I donated the 25 deported deities from the land of Sugu in Nairi “to be door-keepers of the temple of the goddess Ninlil, beloved chief spouse of the god Aššur, my lord, (the temple of) the gods Anu (and) Adad, (the temple of) the Assyrian Ištar, the temples of my city, Aššur, and the goddesses of my land.”⁷⁸⁹

Deported deities were sometimes distributed among Assyrian temples, just as captives were distributed among the temples and given to the deities as gifts. Tiglath-pileser I conquered the land of Lullumu and deported 25 deities and their properties and gave them to the deities of Assyria.⁷⁹⁰

I conquered the entire land of the Lullumu. I gave 25 of their gods [to the deities Ninlil, Anu, Adad, and the Assyrian Ištar], the gods of my city Aššur and the goddesses of my land. I gave [their] property to the god Adad, my lord.

Aššur-dān II attacked the cities in Mount Kurruri and beyond its passes, and he deported the gods of those defeated cities to Assyria as gifts for Ashur:⁷⁹¹

... I marched [to Mount Kurr]iuru. I conquered the cities Šuhu, [...], Simerra, the land Lu[...], cities of Mount Kirriuru. I brought forth their booty, possessions, property, [herds (and) flocks] (and) took (them) to my city Aššur. I gave [their gods] as gifts to Aššur, my lord. [...] which I carried off, I gave [...] to Aššur, my lord.

Aššur-dān II's successor, Adad-narari II, occupied the land of Qumānu and “I gave their gods as gifts to Ashur, my lord.”⁷⁹² During the Neo-Assyrian period Adad-nerari II deported deities from the land of Qumānu,⁷⁹³ and Shalmaneser III deported deities from Bīt-Ḫaban and Namri.⁷⁹⁴ Shamshi-Adad V later deported deities from cities in Nai'ri.⁷⁹⁵ In Media, Sargon II deported the deities from Ḫarḫar. In 714 BCE Sargon II deported the statues of Haldi and his

⁷⁸⁷Qabra was the centre of the province, located to the west of the Lower Zab in front of the province of Arrapha. Urbel/Urbilum at that time belonged to Qabra; for further details see MacGinnis 2013: 3.

⁷⁸⁸For further details about Murattaš see Chapter IV, 4.1.

⁷⁸⁹RIMA II A.0.87.1: iv 19-39.

⁷⁹⁰RIMA II A.0.87.2: 23-24.

⁷⁹¹RIMA II A.0.98.1: 54-59.

⁷⁹²RIMA II A. 0.99.1: 10-19.

⁷⁹³RIMA II A.0.99.1: 10-19. Qumānu is located west of the Upper Zab, in the mountains of the Northern Zagros in modern district of Akrê.

⁷⁹⁴RIMA III A.0.102.6: iv 7-25.

⁷⁹⁵RIMA III A.0.103.1: ii 16b-34a.

wife Bagbartu, and in 713 BCE Urzana, the ruler of Musasir, went to Assyria with tribute and gifts, and brought back Haldi and Bagbartu to Musasir.⁷⁹⁶

³ [But shou]ld you say: "Let [the king my lord] give [my gods] back to me [...], " (then) quickly [gather and send me] information (and) [I will] soon [gi]ve your gods back to you.

⁷ [...] the city of Muša[šir]; stay there! The seiz[ing...] of your gods [.....] this [...] of mine [.....]. Why [would] you not [..... (rest destroyed).

From the context of that letter it becomes clear that Urzana was obliged to spy on the 'Uartians' to exchange information with the Assyrians to get back the deported statues of his gods Haldi and Bagbartu.⁷⁹⁷

Sennacherib deported six Babylonian deities to Issēte/tu in the Northern Zagros, north of Arbail, east of the Upper Zab, including a statue of Bēl/ (Marduk). Esarhaddon gave the order to return these statues.⁷⁹⁸ A Neo-Assyrian letter probably from the reign of Esarhaddon tells a story about a visit of a royal commission to the province of the office of the *rab-šāqê*, to the city of Issēte/tu.⁷⁹⁹ The inhabitants informed the Assyrian commission that six statues of deities of Akkad had been transported there and kept in one building, the temple (É). The Assyrian scribe with the commission wrote to Esarhaddon describing what he saw and advising him to have the statues returned to further diplomatic relations with the people of Babylon. The deities were "*Mārat-Sîn of Eridu, Mārat-Sîn of Nēmed-Languda, Mārat-Eridu, Nergal, Amurru, Lugalbanda.*"⁸⁰⁰

What happened in Arbail during the events between 614 and 612 BCE is not known. The Assyrians may have withdrawn without conflict or the city may have been captured. The only relevant material and textual evidence is a small bronze statue of Adad-Nerari I, now in the Louvre, which was found in the Urmia basin at Hasanlu. The inscription states that the statue had been taken from the temple of Ištar of Arbail.⁸⁰¹

Deporting divine statues facilitated deporting the people of the defeated countries. The defeated peoples would be prepared to follow their deities into exile. Disappointed in defeat they realised absent deities could not solve their misfortune. The text 'A letter to Ashur' was written after the campaign in which Haldi was deported to Assyria, and so may tell us why deities of defeated countries were deported. Calling their worshippers 'godless' reminded them that they had no more divine protection. The statue of Haldi was returned to Musasir a

⁷⁹⁶SAA XVII: 3-11.

⁷⁹⁷Esarhaddon returned statues of deities to the Arabs which his father Sennacherib had deported to Assyria when invading the city Adumutu, a fortress of the Arabs: "*Hazael, the king of the Arabs, came to Nineveh, my capital city, with his heavy audience gift and kissed my feet. He implored me to give (back) his gods, and I had pity on him. I refurbished the gods Atar-samayin, Dāya, Nuhāya, Ruldāwu, Abirillu, (and) Atar-qurumā, the gods of Arabs, and I inscribed the might of the god Assur, my lord, and (and inscription) written in my name on them and gave (them) back to him.*" RINAP IV 19: iv 2-26.

⁷⁹⁸Fales 1980: 151f; Lanfranchi 1995: 131-133; Postgate 1995: 17, fig.5; Holloway 2002: 139-141.

⁷⁹⁹Issēte is located to the east of the Upper Zab and modern Shaqlawa, north east of Arbail; for further details see Lanfranchi 1995: 131-133; Parpola & Porter 2001: map.4; Marf 2015.

⁸⁰⁰Fales 1980: 140.

⁸⁰¹MacGinnis 2014: 57. For further details and the text see Chapter IV, 4.2.

year later in 713 BCE.⁸⁰² The term godless may mean that Urzana did not care for any oaths sworn by the gods but desired to play Assyria and Urartu against one another. Deporting deities may also have helped deported people to continue worshipping their deities in their exile. But Holloway has called such deportation Assyrian “*aggression against foreign cults.*”⁸⁰³

Ashurnasirpal II once invited the deities of ‘*the entire land*’ for an inauguration ceremony for completing the new capital Kalhu. At the inauguration of the renovation of the new capital Kalhu, he says he “*consecrated the joyful palace, the palace of full of wisdom, in Calah (and) invited inside Ashur, the great lord, and the gods of the entire land.*”⁸⁰⁴ We do not know if he included deities from the Zagros and other subjugated territories. Perhaps only Assyrian deities from the Assyrian heartland were invited. But he did invite delegations from Musasir and Gilzanu, but without any mention of the deities of these kingdoms. The expression “*the entire land*” could have included subjugated territories controlled by the king.

Assyrian soldiers sometimes smashed the divine statues. For instance Sennacherib did not deport all the deities from Babylonia, but destroyed the temple and ziggurat of Babylon, and his soldiers smashed the statues:⁸⁰⁵

....The hands of my people laid hold of the gods dwelling there and smashed them; they took their property and goods. ... I destroyed the city and its houses, from foundation to parapet; I devastated and burned them. I razed the brick and earthen work of the outer and inner wall (of the city), of the temples, and of the ziggurat....

⁸⁰²There is no direct mention of returning Haldi to Musasir by the Assyrians. The statement that “*the god [...] entered his new temple, to Musasir*” could mean any god. But Haldi was the main god of Musasir; for further details see Tadmor 2011: 291ff; Glassner 2004: 175; Ungnad 1938, *RIA* II: 433; *ARAB* II: p.437.

⁸⁰³Holloway 2002: pp.109, 118, 123.

⁸⁰⁴“DINGIR.MEŠ šá KUR gab-bi šá ina lib-bi iq-ra-a-ni.” *RIMA* II A.O. 101.44:102-106.

⁸⁰⁵Brinkman 1973: 94.

Table 2.3. The deported deities from and into the Zagros.

Deity	Origin city/land	Deported to	Assyrian king	Return-ed to	Sources
anonymous gods ?	Qabra	Eshnunna ?	Dadusha? King of Eshnunna	?	MacGinnis 2013: 3.
anonymous gods	Qumānu	Given to the temple of Ashur in Ashur	Adad-nārārī I	?	<i>RIMA I</i> A.0.99.1: 11-19.
anonymous gods	The land of Sugu of the land of Habhu east of Kirruir	Assyria	Tiglath-pileser I	Erected as door keepers of the Assyrian temples.	<i>RIMA II</i> A.0.87.1: iv 7-31.
anonymous gods	Hu/Hanusa	Assyria	Tiglath-pileser I	?	<i>RIMA II</i> A.0.87.1: v 99.
anonymous gods	Murattaš city in the land of Lullubu	Assyria	Tiglath-pileser I	?	<i>RIMA II</i> A.0.87.1: iii 92 - iv 4; iii 92 - iv 4.
25 anonymous deities	Of the land Lullum	Given to the temples of Ninlil, Anu, Adad, and “the Assyrian Ištar], the gods of my city Aššur and the goddesses of my land.”	Tiglath-pileser I	?	<i>RIMA II</i> A.0.87.2: 23-24.
25 anonymous deities	Land of Sugu in Nairi?,	Ninlil, Ashur, Anu, Adad, the Assyrian Ištar, the temples of Ashur and Assyria.	Tiglath-pileser I	?	<i>RIMA II</i> A.0.87.1: iv 32-39.
anonymous deities	at the Mount Kurruri and the cities around it such as Šuhu, [...], Simerra, the land Lu[...].	Given as gift to Aššur (in the city of Aššur)	Aššur-dān II	?	<i>RIMA II</i> A.0.98.1: 54-59.
anonymous gods	The land of Qumāni/u	Given as gift to Ashur, in the city of Ashur	Adad-narari II	?	<i>RIMA II</i> A. 0.99.1 10-19.

Chapter II.....Immaterial Culture

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Origin city/land</i>	<i>Deported to</i>	<i>Assyrian king</i>	<i>Return-ed to</i>	<i>Sources</i>
gods of Marduk-mudammiq, the Kassite king of Namri	The land of Namri	Assyria	Shalmaneser III's eunuch Mutarris-Aššur, who led the Assyrian army at that time.	?	<i>RIMA</i> III A.0.102.14: 125.
gods of Ianzû (the son/ruler of Bît-Ḫaban) who appointed by Shalmaneser III himself after Marduk-mudammiq had been removed from his throne in Namri	Bît-Ḫaban	Assyria	Shalmaneser III	?	<i>RIMA</i> 3 A.0.102.14. 121-126.
anonymous gods of the rulers Saršina/Hiršin a and Ušpina	the cities in Nai'ri	Assyria	Shamshi-Adad V	?	<i>RIMA</i> III A.0.103.1: ii 16b-34a.
Haldi and Bagbartu	Musasir/Ardini	Assyria	Sargon II In 714 BCE	Musasir/Ar dini 713 BCE, by Urzana	<i>SAA</i> I 7: 3-11; <i>ARAB</i> II: p.437.
gods?	Ḫarḫar	Assyria	Sargon II	?	Holloway 2002: 281; Lie 1929: 96-100.
Bēl/ (Marduk)? Mārat-Sîn of Eridu, Mārat-Sîn of Nēmed-Languda, Mārat-Eridu, Nergal, Amurru, Lugalbanda	Babylonia	Issēte/tu	Sennacherib	to Babylonia by Esarhaddon ?	Fales 1980: 151f; Holloway 2002: 139-141.
Anunit goddess	Sippar	Gutium	?	By Nergilissar	Wiseman 1956: 38.

2.5.12. Zagrosian priests in Assyria; Assyrian priests in the Zagros

Assyrian records show that some Zagrosian priests worked in Assyrian temples. Some members of the Hundurian family⁸⁰⁶ held positions at the temple of Ashur in the city Ashur during the 7th century BCE. According to Radner it was a position mainly held by the ‘notables/nobles’ of the city.⁸⁰⁷ The Hundurean family’s main profession was far distance trading. They hired merchants and workers for their business. The name Hundurean originated from the name of their city in Media.⁸⁰⁸ We have many documents about their business, but no details about their role in the temple of Ashur, and no idea how Medes could convert to worship Ashur and become his followers.

The prophets received messages from the gods and relayed them as oracles. An oracle of Esarhaddon concerns a priestess, Remutti-Allati, who had an Akkadian name and originated from a Zagrosian city called Darahuya/Dara-ahuya, which according to the text was located in the mountains.⁸⁰⁹ She gives the oracle to Esarhaddon in the temple of Ištar of Arbail. This text indicates that priests went to and or came from the Zagros and Assyria. She says:⁸¹⁰

I rejoice with Esarhaddon, my king! Arbela rejoices! By the mouth of the woman Remutti-Allati of Dara-ahuya, a town in the mountains.

These two examples of a Zagrosian priestess or prophetess reflect interaction between Assyria and the Zagros, how people integrated and interacted, even in the field of religion. The Median example indicates that there may have been other lucky families among the deported peoples who found an important position in the Assyrian heartland. Rēmūt-Allati was probably trusted because she knew so much about the Zagros, her homeland. What she said was accepted by the king simply because she was from the Zagros. Esarhaddon’s main concern at that time was the threat of Median, Mannean, and Scythian penetration over the Assyrian eastern frontier to the east of Arbail in the mountain passes. He easily trusted a prophetess from there because she would hear from her relatives information about any Scythian and Median penetration over the mountain passes.⁸¹¹

Esarhaddon was one of the Assyrian kings who expressed his fear about Zagrosian penetration over the eastern frontier in several omens to Shamash. Some of the omens include details of city names and passes, indicating that these events actually happened. Dur-Enlil, an Assyrian city on the Mannean border, was probably occupied by the Mannaeans, and the Scythians/Aškuzâ (*KUR aš-ku-za*) reached the pass of Harania.⁸¹² Also, the Northern Zagros groups were probably united under Kashtariti, the Median leader of the city Kār-kašši.⁸¹³ This news was recorded as oracles by the Assyrian priests for political reasons, whether or not Esarhaddon was informed.

⁸⁰⁶They are considered as one of the deported Median families from the city of Hundur in Media to Assur, see Radner 2013: 448ff; Parpola 2004: pp.5, 10, note. 13; *TCL* III 270.

⁸⁰⁷Radner 2013: 448ff.

⁸⁰⁸Radner 2013: 448ff.

⁸⁰⁹Unfortunately, the location of Darahuya is as yet unknown.

⁸¹⁰SAA IX 1.3: 11-13.

⁸¹¹SAA IV 31; Lanfranchi 1995: 131ff.

⁸¹²SAA IV 31. Harania was probably somewhere between modern Rania and Hiran; for further details see Lanfranchi 1995: 131ff.

⁸¹³SAA IV 41.

2.5.13. Assyrian rituals in the Zagros

Assyrian priests followed the Assyrian king and his army during military campaigns, as can be seen from the reliefs. They performed rituals when a rock relief was carved on the rock relief of Shalmaneser III at the shore of Nairi sea (Lake Urmia).⁸¹⁴ The scene depicted in one register of the Bronze Gates of Balawat Shalmaneser III seems to be at a rocky face at the shore of Nairi, sacrificing meat which is being thrown to animals in the lake.⁸¹⁵ The offerings and rituals were performed in front of the king's triumphal rock relief. In this register we see two depicted standards, a table, an altar, rising flames, and a jar holder, all placed in front of the rock relief. In front of the tables are the Assyrian king with some priests, with a procession of musicians (see, fig. 3.1.b).⁸¹⁶ These rituals in the camps involved slaughtering animals and inspecting livers (see fig.4.9.d).⁸¹⁷

The annals state that the priests with the Assyrian kings specialized in reading omens. Sargon II was in Mannea in his eighth campaign, when a lunar event occurred on October 24, 714 BCE. The priests interpreted that event as a good omen for attacking Musasir and plundering it.⁸¹⁸ Assyrian kings and their armies in the Zagros performed rituals and made offerings and sacrifices to the divine statues in front of the rock reliefs in the Zagros Mountains. Tiglath-pileser III, on the rock relief of Mil-mergi expects future Assyrian kings to maintain the tradition:⁸¹⁹

May [a future ruler read aloud] this inscription, [wash (it) with water], anoint (it) with oil, (and) [make an offering]. (Then) those gods [will hear] his prayers!

2.5.14. Assyrian and Zagrosian festivals, Akītu festivals

Shamshi-Adad I was one of the first kings from Assyria to participate in a festival at the Zagros foothills in Arrapha. In one of his inscriptions he claims:⁸²⁰

I entered his fortress. I kissed the feet of the god Adad, my lord, and reorganized that land. I installed my governors everywhere and in Arrapha itself I sacrificed at the Festival of Heat to the gods Šamaš and Adad.

It seems that Shamshi-Adad I stayed in Arrapha for about two weeks, because he arrived on the seventh day [...], and he left the city on the twentieth of Adar.⁸²¹

On the twentieth day of the month Adar I crossed the River Zab (Zaiba) and made a razzia in the land of Qabra. I destroyed (li. 'struck down') the harvest of that land in the month of Magrānum (lit. 'Threshing-Floor').

This is the oldest known festival in the foothills of the Zagros where a king from Assyria participated. Later, during the Middle Assyrian period, people from the Northern Zagros went to the Assyrian heartland and participated in festivals and offered offerings to Ashur and other

⁸¹⁴ King 1915: pl. LIX.

⁸¹⁵ Kroll 2012b: 163-168, fig.10.02.

⁸¹⁶ King 1915: pl.I, Band I.1. Also see Mallowan 1966: pl.134, fig.2; Andrea 1925: pl. 26.

⁸¹⁷ See Fales and Rigo 2014: 413-437; SAA IV xxv; Botta – Flandin 1972, II: pl. 146; Albenda 1986, 150, pl. 137; also see Chapter IV, 4.5.

⁸¹⁸ ARAB II 170.

⁸¹⁹ RINAP I 37: 51b-54.

⁸²⁰ RIMA I A.0.39.1001: ii' 1- iv'.

⁸²¹ RIMA I A.0.39.1001: I' 1-10; ii' 1- iv'.

deities. Huburtaeans and Kiširtians participated in rituals in Ashur, according to an Assyrian text from Ashur.⁸²² This text is considered by modern scholars as a “late copy of a decree of Tukulti-Ninurta for the Temple of Šarrat-nipha.”⁸²³ It has been assumed that the text was recorded during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, and when the temple was restored by Shalmaneser III, at that time, the text was copied from the original inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta I.⁸²⁴ The text mentions in detail a decree of Tukultī-Ninurta for the Temple of Šarrat-nipha, the preparation of wood, meat (sacrifices) and beer and wine. Priests, singers, the governor and people of the city of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta and people of some of the provinces northeast of the Assyrian state participated. They included Huburtaeans (URU.hu-bur-ta-a-a) and Kiširtaeans (URU.ki-šir-ta-a-a), people from Adia, and from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. The preparation for the festival was made by people of the city Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta together with priests of the temple and the Huburtaeans and Kiširtians. They gave “sheep in Sivan (III) and Tammuz (IV).” then together prepared food for the feast.⁸²⁵

The priest of Šarrat-nipha wipes clean a vat of bronze and fills it with water. The baker gives porridge. The Huburtaeans and Kiširtians stand by and burn wood beneath the bronze vat. They shall have the usufruct of the thigh, skins, sinews, and hoof tendons....

From the Zagros and its western foothills gifts and offerings were sent to the temple of Ashur in Ashur during the Middle Assyrian period from the cities of Idu and Zaqu on the Lower Zab. An administration text of *ginā'u*-offerings to the Assur temple in Ashur lists Idu among the cities which delivered honey, barley, emmer, parcels and fruit by boat downstream along the Lower Zab river.⁸²⁶

During the Neo-Assyrian period *akītu* festivals were celebrated in different cities in Assyria, such as Nineveh and Arbail, and also at the western ranges of the Northern Zagros, in the city of Kurbail to the northeast of Nineveh plain. The festivals occurred in different months, and in each city the festival was made for a specific deity and a specific month. The Assyrian records show that in the month Nissanu (the first Assyrian/Babylonian month) the festival was made in Ashur for the god Assur, at the same time as the Babylonian festival for Marduk. In Dēr there was one for Anu in Nisannu or Tašritu (the first and seventh months).⁸²⁷ In Nineveh there was one for Ištar of Nineveh in Tēbētu (the tenth month), but the *akītu* for Ištar of Arbail was celebrated in Ulûlu (the sixth month). The *akītu* for Adad occurred in two

⁸²²Kiširtu, a town in Mazamua, is mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian records as URU. Ki-šir-[t]a-a-a (SAA VI 119: r.18). The people called Kiširtaeans (URU.ki-šir-ta-a-a) in this Middle Assyrian festival probably came from the same town of Kiširtu of the Neo-Assyrian records in the province of Mazamua, ‘Western Zamua’. According to Zadok it was “ruled and inhabited –at least partially –by Arameans, during the Neo-Assyrian period, who revolted against Assurnasirpal II.” (Zadok 2013: 414). Assurnasirpal II in his annals claims that he conquered the city and massacred its people and took captives, “I conquered the city Kiširtu (URU ki-šir-tu), the fortified city which (was ruled by) Šabāni, together with 10 cities in its environs. I massacred them (and) carried off captives from them.” (RIMA II: A.0.101.1. I.58).

⁸²³SAA XII 68: 28-30.

⁸²⁴SAA XII 68: note 68.

⁸²⁵SAA XII 68: 28-33. In a legal document Nabû-šarru-ušur buys 5 hectares of land (699-V-10). Among the witnesses is Nabû-iqīšanni from the Mazamuan city Kiširtu (URU. ʾki! –šir! –[t]a! –ʾa-aʾ). For further details see SAA VI 119: r. 18.

⁸²⁶van Soldt 2013:216ff; Postgate 1985: 96-98; Prechel and Freydank 2011: 65.6, p.7.

⁸²⁷Pongratz-Leisten 1997: 246.

cities, in the Assyrian heartland in Kilizi in the month of Ajjaru (the second month), and in Kurba'il in the foothills of the Zagros north of the Nineveh plain.⁸²⁸

More details about the *akītu* festival of Arbail are interesting for our purposes, because it was situated at the very northeastern corner of the Assyrian heartland in direct contact with the Zagros.

The oldest known reference to the *akītu*-house (*bīt akīti*) of Ištar of Arbail comes from the reign of Shalmaneser III, after his campaign on Urartu on his way back to Assyria “[he arranged] the festival of the Lady of Arbela in Milqia.”⁸²⁹ Also, during the reign of Esarhaddon the temple was (re-)built in 671 BCE near Milqia, a town near Arbail, and subsequently rebuilt by Ashurbanipal.⁸³⁰ A military procession before the king at Arbail is depicted on reliefs from Nineveh.⁸³¹ The *akītu* festival of Arbail was performed in the month of Ulûlu, and Ashurbanipal mixed together a secular military victory procession with religious activities. The statue of the goddess Šaru-ištar left Milqia and entered Arbail in the presence of Ashurbanipal, and he used the occasion to execute some of his enemies there.⁸³²

Having performed the festival of the bīt-akītu, and having taken hold of the reins of (the chariot of) Ištar, I, Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, triumphantly entered the city of Arbai'l with Dunānu, Samgunu, Aplā and the severed head of Teumman, whom Ištar, my lady, had surrendered to me.

In another inscription, Ashurbanipal says:⁸³³

I am Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria. After I had offered sacrifices to the goddess Šatri and had celebrated the akītu festival, and after I had seized the reins of the chariot of Ištar, I entered Arbela amidst rejoicing with Dunanu, Samgunu, Aplaya, and the severed head of Teumman, king of Elam, which Ištar my lady delivered into my hands.

Ashurbanipal's *akītu* festival at Arbail was different from the traditional Mesopotamian one in the Bronze Age, as celebrated by Sumerians and Babylonians, where the focus was on a sacred marriage of the king and one of the priestesses, not military activities.⁸³⁴

2.5.15. Sacrificing on the Assyrian-Mannean border

Sacrifices are mentioned in an interesting but badly damaged letter, which [Adad-issiya] the Assyrian governor of Mazamua sent to Sargon II. He says that a Mannean emissary (or a king) had arrived at the Assyrian border, made sacrifices and returned home:⁸³⁵

...as to what the king, [my] lo[rd, wrote me], “Why have you [not sent me] a[ny news] of the Mannean that you have h[ear]d?” [He has come] to our border, [made] his sacrifices, and returned (home); [the...have gone] to greet him. The messengers of[...have come] from Bar[....and presented him] the greeting of [...]....

⁸²⁸For further details see Pongratz-Leisten 1997a: 20; Pongratz-Leisten 1997b: 245-252.

⁸²⁹SAA III 17: 27-29.

⁸³⁰Russell 1999: 165ff; SAA XIII 149.

⁸³¹Russell 1999: fig.61;183-4, figs.67-68.

⁸³²Pongratz-Leisten 1997b: 250.

⁸³³Russell 1999: 186.

⁸³⁴Gerardi 1988: 1-35; Tadmor 2004: 270 ff.

⁸³⁵SAA V 221: 4-11.

The identity of that Mannean and the deity to which he sacrificed remain unknown. It may have represented an act of submission by Manneans to the Assyrians.

2.5.16. Building a dam in Urartu and sacrificing to the Urartian deities and to Assur!

The god Assur is mentioned in the Urartian inscription of Keşiş Göl. The text deals with collecting water and building a dam in the mountain range east of Van, and mentions sacrifices to several deities. The list starts with Haldi and later Assur is found among minor Urartian deities. These deities received sacrifices and worship when the dam was built.⁸³⁶ Scholars are curious to know why the name of Assur occurs in a text “in this rural area” in the Urartian heartland. Zimansky suggests that:⁸³⁷

Perhaps he was revered by some small population of Assyrians, who had been settled here for one reason or another by the rulers of Urartu. In any case, the god Ashur was important enough to receive sacrifices at the waters of a small dam came and went, but not important enough to have received any other notice in Urartian royal inscriptions.

This rare attestation of Assur in the foreign, hostile land of Urartu is important, for it probably indicates that Assyrian deportees were among the population there, who participated (or were forced to participate) in building the dam. The Urartians may have been more tolerant than the Assyrians, who did not respect the Urartian deities. They deported Haldi and his wife to Assyria, and plundered the main temple of Haldi in Musasir. Another possibility is that the scribe had been trained in Assyria, so mentioning of Assur, reflected his own style and not the personal disposition of the Urartian king or of the people of that area.

2.5.17. Omens and curses

The oldest known omens in the Northern Zagros are on Old Babylonian tablets from Bakr-Awa (Bakrawa). They deal with several subjects concerned with Gula, Shamash or Sin.⁸³⁸ Of the different types of omens and curses, first we consider formal omens and curses recorded in the royal inscriptions and vassal treaties related to both Assyria and the Zagros. Some of the Assyrian omens concern the events and issues between Assyria and the Northern Zagros kingdoms and leaders. The Assyrian kings sought omens and divine guidance before campaigning against the Zagros or elsewhere. Three omens supported Sargon II to attack and plunder Musasir.⁸³⁹ Esarhaddon asked Shamash several times about the Scythian, Cimmerian, Mannean, and Median (Kashtaritu, the Median leader) plans to attack Assyria, about where they would start and which roads and passes they would use.⁸⁴⁰

[I ask] you, [Šamaš, great lord, whether the troops of the Scythians (and) the troops of] the Cimmer[ians] will move out, ...

The Assyrians and Medians agreed about the omens and curses in the vassal treaty between Esarhaddon and the Median leaders. This means that they both were culturally prepared to accept the terms of the omen and oath by the Assyrian deities, and that the omen applied to

⁸³⁶Zimansky 2011: 111-112; CTU A 14-1; A 14-2.

⁸³⁷Zimansky 2011: 112.

⁸³⁸For further details see Matouš 1961: 17-66.

⁸³⁹Karvitz 2003: 85; ARAB II 170.

⁸⁴⁰SAA IV 36: 2-3.

both sides, even though it was mainly directed against the Median leaders and their people. If they neglected to do what they had promised the Assyrian king to do in the treaty, they could expect to face the curses and the revenge of the gods.

The curses of Esarhaddon's vassal treaty with the Median chieftains include many details about Assyrian religious concepts towards their enemies. They were expected to support the Assyrian crown prince Ashurbanipal, but we do not know to what extent the Median chieftains or the Assyrians believed this would happen. Did the Medes really take these curses seriously, as threats to prevent them doing anything against the crown prince? This is not clear. We generally assume that the people of the Near East, the victors and the defeated, treated curses seriously, which is why they appear on many steles and rock reliefs erected in enemy territory. The Medes would have believed these curses at least in a general sense. The curses in these vassal treaties mention only 'Assyrian' deities, proving that the Medes were not treated as equals, since they swore to the deities of Assyria, and there is no mention of 'Median' deities.

The clay and wax figures of Median chieftains are cursed.⁸⁴¹

Just as they burn an image (made) of wax in the fire and dissolve one of clay in water, just so may your figure burn in the fire and sink in water.

Among the deities, the Assyrian fire god Girra, is invoked if the Medes will not support the crown prince, Ashurbanipal:⁸⁴²

May Girra, who gives food to [small and great,] [burn up] your seed and your (seed's) seed.

Šilisruh king of the Median city **Abdadani**, in his inscription on the **bronze plaque**, mentions several Mesopotamian deities, including Ištar, Šamaš and Bēl-mātāi,⁸⁴³ and curses the land and the weather of the Medes:⁸⁴⁴

May they make your ground (hard) like iron so that [none] of you may flourish. Just as rain does not fall from a brazen heaven so may rain and dew not come upon your fields and your meadows; may it rain burning coals instead of dew on your land.

The inscription on the **Aramaic stele** of **Qalaichi** ends with curses:⁸⁴⁵

May seven cows suckle a single calf, but let it not be sated; and may seven women bake in a single oven, but let them not fill it. And may the smoke of fire, and the sound of millstones be removed from his country. And may his land become as a salt-field. And against him, may the commander in chief (?) revolt, and that king, who will write upon this stele, may his throne Hadad overthrow, with Haldî, and for seven years may he not provide the grass of pasture in his country. And may all the curses of this stele strike him (together).

The context of this omen is compared by Fales with the similar western Aramaic stele of Tell Fakharyah, and also with the Biblical curses. Seven cows and other elements occur also

⁸⁴¹Wiseman 1958: col. viii: 610-611 P.76.

⁸⁴²Wiseman 1958: vi: 524-525. P.68.

⁸⁴³Diakonoff 1978: 59; Radner 2013: 122. Perhaps the mentioned names of these deities were differently pronounced by the Medes.

⁸⁴⁴Wiseman 1958: col. vii: 528-533. P.70

⁸⁴⁵For more details, cf. Fales 2003:134-137. Also see Lemaire 1998b: 15-30.

in the story of Joseph when interpreting the dream of the Pharaoh in the Book of Genesis.⁸⁴⁶ Such a text reflects Mannean interaction beyond Assyria with Syria and the Levant. Assyria probably had an intermediary role here. It could be linked with the Assyrian deportation of Aramaeans to the Lower Zab basin in western Zamua, east of Kurruri. That would have resulted in interaction between the Aramaic deportees and the Zagrosian peoples. The Assyrian palace adopted Aramaic as a second language from the mid-eighth century BCE onwards.

In conclusion, the peoples of the Northern Zagros were like most others in Assyria and the Near East in being polytheistic. In Urartu, Musasir and some parts of the Northern Zagros Haldi was the supreme god, corresponding to the importance of Assur in Assyria.

There is little evidence about how Zagrosian deportees practiced their religion away from home. They probably became integrated into Assyrian practices, bringing offerings to the Assyrian temples, and participating in Assyrian rituals. The Hundurian family even held office in the temple of Ashur.

The Assyrians, like the Sumerians and Babylonians, viewed the Zagros as part of the cosmos on the other side of their eastern and north-western frontiers and sanctified some of the mountains there. They considered the Zagros as the point where Shamash defeated darkness and rose victorious every day early in the morning in the east. They believed the Ark had landed on Mount Nişir east of the Lower Zab.

⁸⁴⁶Fales 2003: 134-137; Lemaire 1998b: 15-30; Genesis 41:1-32; for further details about Tell Fakharyah see Mcewan, et al, 1958.

2.6. Social Structure

Many details about the society and social structure can be obtained from many economic, administrative and legal documents from Assyria.⁸⁴⁷ By contrast, in the Northern Zagros we have very few records, and what we have are mainly royal inscriptions recorded by Assyrian and Urartian invaders. The other records which deal with the Northern Zagros come from the Assyrian capitals and usually deal with administrative and legal issues, with little information on the social structure of the peoples of the Northern Zagros. Lack of evidence prevents us seeing what interaction happened between the Northern Zagros and Assyrian societies.

From the archaeological and textual evidence it become clear that in the Northern Zagros during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age there were different socio-economic societies. Most of the people were settled peoples, but there were also nomads, semi-nomads and semi-sedentaries.⁸⁴⁸

The settled peoples lived in cities, strongholds or villages. The nomads lived on livestock, breeding horses, cattle, sheep and goats, which may explain the large amount of animal booty and tribute surrendered during Assyrian campaigns in the Zagros.⁸⁴⁹

We have few details about any change in the social structures of Zagrosian deportees in Assyria. Did they lose their social and family ties? Nor are there many such details about Assyrian deportees in Urartu, except hints about their material culture from ceramic deposits at some Urartian sites.⁸⁵⁰

It seems that the nomads and semi-nomads presented a point of weakness in the Northern Zagros. As pastoralists they moved from one province to another following seasonal change. In autumn and winter they were in the plains and the valleys and in spring and summer in the mountains. The local rulers derived no benefit from the nomads in resisting Assyrian aggression. From an economical perspective the nomads were seen as targets for the Assyrian military, and in Assyrian annals we read much about cattle, sheep, goats, cows, horses, and even Bactrian two-humped camels taken (from Gilzānu) as booty or tribute to Assyria.⁸⁵¹ Also, Tiglath-pileser III says that in Assyria he annually received Bactrian camels, horses, mules, oxen, sheep and goats from Mannea, Media, Ellipi, and Namri.⁸⁵²

In the Bronze Age the Zagros was a main source of slaves for Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, and for the Hurrians of Nuzi. The pictographic sign for a female slave in the earliest pictographic script of Uruk, in the late fourth millennium BCE, was SAL+KUR, a female person together with a mountain, to be read in Sumerian as GEMÉ, in Akkadian as *amatu*, and translated 'slave girl'.⁸⁵³ In reality most of the slaves were people captured from the mountains of the Zagros.⁸⁵⁴ This situation lasted during the Late Bronze Age, for the Hurri-Mittanian of Nuzi left many records that deal with slave trade in the Zagros,

⁸⁴⁷For instance see *CTN, SAA, SAAS volumes*.

⁸⁴⁸Greco 2003: 65-78.

⁸⁴⁹For further details about analyzing material culture and its relation to the Iron Age nomads, see for instance Porada 1964: 9-31; Dyson 1965a: 32-45; Diakonoff 1985: 71-72.

⁸⁵⁰Stone 2012: 89.

⁸⁵¹Barnett 1975: fig.49.

⁸⁵²RINAP I 35: iii 24-30.

⁸⁵³CAD A II, 2004: p.80.

⁸⁵⁴Gelb 1982: 81-98.

particularly with neighbouring Lullubi. In the Nuzi texts the Nullu are assumed to be the same as the Lullu who lived in the mountains northeast of Nuzi in the modern province of Sulaimania.⁸⁵⁵ During the Middle and the Neo-Assyrian periods there are fewer records about slaves from the Northern Zagros, but what has survived suggests that trade in Zagrosian slaves persisted to a limited extent. A Middle Assyrian sale document concerns a slave seller named Bayuri or Bayauri (Ba-IA-ú-ri).⁸⁵⁶ According to an Assyrian letter he came from the city of Paranzi.⁸⁵⁷ He sold a Lullubean slave girl.⁸⁵⁸ From this document it appears that the Lullubi slaves were still desirable, and also from a Neo-Assyrian letter.⁸⁵⁹

The Assyrians state in their annals that they captured thousands of people from the Northern Zagros and took them to Assyria. From the legal and administrative documents we learn that in the Assyrian heartland there were thousands of slaves, some with foreign (non-Akkadian or non-Semitic) names, some of whom were probably originally from the Northern Zagros. We also have evidence of dozens of female slaves or deportees from the Northern Zagros deported by the Assyrians to work in the so-called Bronze Palace in the vassal city of Tušḫan (Ziyaret Tepe/Tepe Barava). A Neo-Assyrian administrative list recording their names includes Akkadian, Hurrian, Luwian, and Iranian types.⁸⁶⁰

But from the Northern Zagros we have no record of slaves, and no archaeological evidence of enslaved people there. This may be because the population of the Northern Zagros was relatively small compared to Mesopotamian big-cities. In the Northern Zagros there was no strong state to unite the provinces and kingdoms, and the local potentates were weak and relied on local resources to survive.⁸⁶¹

There are no details about the society of the Northern Zagros, but generally from what has been said above we assume that the population was relatively small because of the limited availability of cultivable land. Most were nomads or semi-nomads, and the others semi-sedentary or settled in the cities.⁸⁶²

⁸⁵⁵Zaccagnini 1977: pp.175, 182, 187-188.

⁸⁵⁶van Soldt, et al., 2013: 214f; Postgate 1988: 123; Faist 2001: 183fn. 165.

⁸⁵⁷Probably **Paranzi** can be identified with modern Parazan. Earlier Speiser identified the Zamuan fortress **Parsindu** (URU *pár-sin-du*) of the Ameka with modern Parazan village (in Sharbazzêr district near the Iranian border) (Speiser 1928: 27-28, also see *RIMA II* A.O. 101.1: 69). Parsindu and Paranzi sound similar but they are not the same, and the sound of Paranzi much closer to modern Parazan. In the annals of Ashurnasirpal II the Lullubean toponym of the Middle Assyrian period Parzanzi is probably recorded as Parsindu. (Speiser 1928: 28, note. 50). Provisionally it is best to identify Middle Assyrian Paranzi with modern Parazan, even though there is always uncertainty in identifying toponyms without supporting archaeological evidence.

⁸⁵⁸van Soldt, et al., 2013: 214f; Postgate 1988: 123

⁸⁵⁹SAA V 150.

⁸⁶⁰For further details see MacGinnis 2012: 13-19.

⁸⁶¹For further details about the possibility of slavery in Mannea and its neighbours, see Diakonoff 1985 CHI II: 74.

⁸⁶²If it is right to compare the modern Zagros population with that of ancient times, then we find that some who had settled were essentially shepherds living in villages, and the farmers were busy cultivating barley and grain or vineyards. Nowadays these semi-nomads are the Bradostian, Harki and Surchi tribes along the banks of the Upper Zab and its tributaries. They move twice a year according to the season for pasture, and live in black tents in spring and summer. They go to the valleys during the autumn and winter. Some of them live in shelters, caves as in Shanidar cave, and or villages and other semi-nomads have villages in the mountains with vineyards. Others as Male-Kurds (*Kurd houses*) with their black tents and doms (Jepsyies) are also living as pastoral nomads.

There are no records of marriages or other contracts for the general population in the Northern Zagros. Some royal or dynastic marriages between kings and princesses of the Zagros and Assyria are discussed elsewhere in this chapter (2.7.9).

There are no known records of laws in the Northern Zagros during the Iron Age, except for the “*law of the Medes and the Persians*” mentioned in the Book of (Daniel 6: 12; 15). While the Book of Daniel refers to events in 6th century BCE in Babylonia, it was written much later. This reference to the “*law of the Medes and Persians*” was probably to a tradition of oral law which everybody followed and knew it by heart.

All this shows that we do not yet have enough available data concerning the social structure and social interaction between the peoples of Zagros with the peoples of Assyria. Our knowledge about the social structure of the peoples in Assyria is vast compared to the imbalanced and scanty data for the people in the Northern Zagros. However, the societies of the ancient Near East shared many similarities in their basic structure, despite the effects of differences in weather, landscape, government and lifestyle of citizens, villagers, nomads and semi-nomads.

2.7. Political and Administrative Relations

The Assyrian kings practiced certain policies which directly or indirectly led to cultural interaction between Assyria and other areas of the Near East, including the Northern Zagros as a neighbour of Assyria. Assyrian military campaigns and political administrations in the Northern Zagros produced policies for occupation, deportation, annexation, and the taking of hostages.

2.7.1. Occupation and the military campaigns

Assyrian policy in occupying the mountainous area of the Zagros involved economics. They aimed to control human and natural sources in the Zagros. Militarily they aimed to secure the Assyrian heartland, aware of the serious threat of Zagrosian groups. They were right for we know that the fall of Assyria was sealed by the Zagrosians.

To deal with that threat they campaigned there militarily almost in the reigns of each Assyrian king to secure the submission of parts of the Northern Zagros, especially those in immediate contact with the Assyrian heartland. That included Zamua east of the Lower Zab, Kurruri east of Arbail, Kurball west of the Upper Zab, and Ulluba east of the Tigris and north of Nineveh in the modern Zakho district. These areas became Assyrian vassals, while other areas remained independent kingdoms, but obliged to pay tribute to avoid Assyrian occupation.

Any delay in payment at least resulted in plundering, as happened at Musasir. We learn from correspondence between Sargon II and Urzana, the ruler of Musasir, that the delay was due to roads blocked by heavy snow. This excuse was not accepted by Sargon, for even when he had reached the frontier of Musasir, Urzana refused to welcome him, show submission or produce tribute. The king of Hubuškia had done just that to save himself and his land in 714 BCE. Sargon invaded Musasir and plundered it.⁸⁶³

Those areas that submitted became vassals of Assyria, ruled by Assyrian governors who were sometimes pro-Assyrian local governors. Their names are in the Assyrian eponym list for Zamua, Kurruri and for Media when it later became a vassal. In some areas the Assyrian kings built royal residences, palaces to use as administrative centres to assert their power in these occupied areas, and to collect tribute to be sent to Assyria. Ashurnasirpal II renovated Atlila/Dur-Ashur and built a palace where grain and barley from the neighbouring lands was stored.⁸⁶⁴

2.7.2. The Assyrian titles for the occupied cities in the Zagros

For some time during the Middle Assyrian period Idu lay under the control of the Assyrians. They governed Idu with provincial governors entitled *bēl pāḫēte* (the lord

⁸⁶³Probably the main reason of plundering the city and the temple of Musasir was not that. Rather Sargon II did not achieve the ambition of his campaign, to kill or capture Rusa/Ursa the Urartian king, and prevent him from engaging in any battle with Sargon's army. Sargon II found a way to cover up any news of his failure and had the text of the eighth campaign revised, to say that he plundered the temple of Haldi of Musasir, the holiest place for the Urartians, as revenge on Ursa/Rusa, and Sargon II claimed that after the plundering of the temple, Rusa killed himself, "*Ursâ heard and sank down to the ground, he rent his garments and bared (lit., freed) his limbs, he pulled off his headband, tore his hair, beat upon his breast (heart) with his two hands, threw himself on his back; his heart stood still, his body (liver) burned, in his mouth were cries of pain. Over Urartu, to its farthest border, I spread mourning, and cast eternal weeping over Nairî.*" ARAB II 175. Also see below, 2.2.8.d.

⁸⁶⁴RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 53-56.

governor).⁸⁶⁵ Some of their names are recorded in Assyrian administrative texts as receiving tribute and offerings from Idu: Aššur-abuk-aḥḥē, Aššur-ēriš, and ^mÚ-[ba?-sa-ia] *bēl pāḥete* (EN.NAM) *ša* ^{ur}I-[di]. And in the annals of Shalmaneser III the title *bēl āli* (^mEN-URU) was used for the rulers of Namri.⁸⁶⁶

The Medes were different from the Manneans, from the beginning they did not have a king. They had “small principalities led by a hereditary ruler called ‘city lord’ (*bēl āli*).”⁸⁶⁷ Sargon in his annals called the leaders of the occupied cities of Harhar and Kishessim in Media *bēl āli* “city lords”. According to Radner *bēl āli* is “a term that in itself suggests the limited scope of their power. Rather than a translation of a local term, this title must be an Assyrian label originating from an Assyrian assessment of these individuals’ power.”⁸⁶⁸

Not only the Medes, but also all the rulers of these regions are called city lords. In some cases different possibilities have been suggested about translating ^mEN-URU as a title, as a personal name or as a logogram for *Bēl āli*, especially in connection with Šibara.⁸⁶⁹ On the stele of Tiglath-pileser III, which is assumed to come from Luristan, there is a mention of EN.URU.MEŠ *ša* KUR.ZALAG, which is translated by Levine as “the chieftains of Namri”.⁸⁷⁰

Kashtaritu was the ‘Median’ city lord of Kār-Kaššî. He was mentioned in one of the Essarhaddon’s queries/enquiries as the main threat on the Assyrian eastern frontier, the person who could unite the peoples of the Northern Zagros with the Medes, the Manneans and others, and direct them toward the Assyrian frontier.⁸⁷¹ Moreover, it seems that the Medes had many chieftains, some of whom were mentioned in the vassal treaty with Esarhaddon, ca. 671 BCE.⁸⁷²

2.7.3. Annexation policy

The dominant policy was annexation. The Assyrians annexed some kingdoms and provinces of the Northern Zagros to Assyria, such as Zamua and Arzuhina. After several crucial campaigns against the Lullubean rebel leaders during the reign of Ashurnasipal II, and as a result of the campaigns of Ashurnasipal II and Shalmaneser III, Zamua was annexed to Assyria by Shalmaneser III. It became an Assyrian vassal and remained under Assyrian control until ca. 614 BCE. For almost two and a half centuries Zamua was one of the

⁸⁶⁵Prechel and Freydank 2011: 65.6, p.7; van Soldt 2013: 218; Postgate 1970: 31-35. For the meaning of *pāḥutu* and its translation as governor or satrap, see Postgate 1995:2; *AEAD* 78.

⁸⁶⁶*RIMA* III A.0.103.1: iii 19, p.185, Waters 2005: 523; van Soldt, et al., 2013: 16f.

⁸⁶⁷Radner 2013: 444.

⁸⁶⁸Radner 2013: 444; van Soldt 2013: 116f.

⁸⁶⁹see *RIMA* III A.0.103.1: iii 19, p.185, note. iii 19.

⁸⁷⁰Levine 1972: col.ii. 26, p.19.

⁸⁷¹Waters 2005: 522.

⁸⁷²Wiseman 1958: pp.4, 29; Lanfranchi 1998: 99-109. The Assyrian records of Shalmaneser III mention village managers, *šāqiu rabiū*. According to Parpola, this Assyrian title was inherited by the Medians: “The Median inherited ...the symbols and the ideology of the royal court.” Parpola 2003: 340ff; for *šāqiu* see *CAD* Š II 2004: p. 15ff. Those village managers could be compared to the 19th-20th centuries rulers of one or more villages called *Beg* (or *Agha*) “lord” in the Zagros. They controlled all economical affairs and social and political activities, in particular farming and taxes.

important front lines of the Assyrians, when other Zagrosian provinces or kingdoms had not submitted.

Usually the Assyrian eponyms in Zamua were taking care of administrative and military matters to the northeast, east and south east of Zamua.⁸⁷³ The province of Karalla was annexed by Sargon II,⁸⁷⁴ and later he annexed the western part of Media.⁸⁷⁵

The Assyrians did not follow this annexation policy with all the provinces and kingdoms of the Northern Zagros, but tried to keep some as independent allies. Some of the Mannean kings became Assyrian allies but not the rulers of Bagdatti and Daiaukku, who were pro-Urartian.⁸⁷⁶ Sargon II annexed 22 fortresses of Mannea to “*the territory of the land of Ashur*”.⁸⁷⁷

However, the Assyrians, even during the worst political and economic relations, tried to negotiate with the Mannans, and took Mannean princes as hostages to the Assyrian court to preserve the alliance. Ashurbanipal attacked Mannea, and probably the Assyrians had an indirect role in the revolt of the Mannean people against their king Ahsheri and his murder. According to Ashurbanipal it was “*Ištar of Arbail who encouraged the servants of the Mannean Ualli to kill him on the streets of Zatar (Izirtu)*”.⁸⁷⁸

At this time Sargon II invaded Mannea and beyond, but realized that he could not protect any border east and north of Mannea. So he kept Mannea as a barrier there. When tensions arose with the Mannans the Assyrians would usually invade and change the king of Mannea, but good relations were maintained until the fall of Nineveh, to the extent that afterwards the Mannean army went west to the area of Harran to assist a remnant of Assyrians in 610 BCE.⁸⁷⁹

The annexation policy led to the provinces and lands which had submitted being ruled by Assyrian eponyms or vice-regents/deputies or governors. Those provinces had to provide men to serve in the Assyrian army, and to supply the Assyrian army with food, wine, and fodder for their horses, and guides and translators for military campaigns in lands and provinces to the east and northeast.⁸⁸⁰ The locals also paid tribute and gifts. When Sargon II arrived in Mannea to avenge the murder of Aza, a pro-Assyrian Mannean king, Sargon claims that Ullusunū the new Mannean king “*poured out flour and wine to feed my army just like my officials and governors of the land of Assyria*”.⁸⁸¹

⁸⁷³For instance see the administrative letters from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon in SAA I; SAA V; and SAA XIX.

⁸⁷⁴On the stele of Sargon II found in a tell in Najafabad near Kangavar between Kermanshah and Hamadan. The Assyrian king says, “Karalla together with its district Karalla (*Kar-al-la a-di KUR na-gi-šú UGU pi-[h]a-at*) I added to the province of Lulume (*URU lu-lu-[m]e*).” Here Lulume is mentioned as a city. For further details see Levine 1972: 1-76, lines 31-32; also see ARAB II 208-209.

⁸⁷⁵This annexation is clearly seen in some of the administrative letters sent to Sargon II from Media and Zamua; for further details see SAA V: 210.

⁸⁷⁶Lie 1929: i.102-103.

⁸⁷⁷Lie 1929: p.19, line: 103.

⁸⁷⁸ARAB II 786.

⁸⁷⁹Gadd 1923: 37; Postgate 1989: 340-341.

⁸⁸⁰SAA V 215: 16; SAA V 217: 16-18; Eph'al 1999: 119.

⁸⁸¹Saggs 1963: 148; TCL III 52-53.

Assyrian administration was imposed on the annexed provinces through palaces and forts which were built there. Annexation led to more cultural and political interaction, such as the postal link between Arzuhina and Zamua.⁸⁸² The Assyrian kings and their marshals did not participate in every military action in the Northern Zagros. Some military expeditions were supervised by the governors of Mazamua, especially for issues related to the borders of Mannea, Karalla and Media or other provinces and lands in the east. In a letter to Sargon II the governor of Māzāmua, Šarru-ēmuranni, informs the Assyrian king that in the “*last year the son of Bēl-iddina did not go with me on the expedition but kept the best men at home and sent with me young boys only.*”⁸⁸³ The army of an annexed province in the Zagros became part of the Assyrian army, and was reorganized like an Assyrian army unit. It included men from various provinces together with Assyrian soldiers. This mix led to further cultural interaction in the troops, as happened with the troops of Mazamua, according to a letter sent to the Assyrian king Sargon II by Adad-issiya the Assyrian governor or eponym of Mazamua.⁸⁸⁴

⁴[As t]o the order that the king, my lord, gave me: “Review the troops of Mazamu and write me!” – (here are the facts): 10 chariots; 20 large-wheeled chariots, 10 (of them) horse-drawn, 10 mule-drawn; 30 teams; 97 riding horses; 11 chariot drivers; 12 ‘third men’; [3]0 chariot fighters; 53 grooms of the [t]eams, in all 106 men and [30] chariots. 161 cavalrymen, 130 grooms, 52...: in all 343 grooms. [18] lackeys (LÚ*.GIGIR.MEŠ), 12 tailors, 20 cupbearers, 12 confectioners, 7 bakers, 10 cooks: in all 69 domestics. 8 scholars ((LÚ*.um-ma-ni), 23 donkey drivers, 1 information officer, 80 dispatch-riders. In all 630 Assyrians. 360 Gurreans, 440 Itu’eans. All together 1,430 king’s men, including the precious ones which have been here, plus the ones whom the royal bodyguard brought.

^{r.1}[Perh]aps the [ki]ng, my lord, (now) says: “Where are the rest of the troops?” M[y] major-domo is delayed but will [la]ter bring the rest of the troops.

The Assyrian kings directly supervised the governors and they report to him all the political, military and economical movements in their areas. Their letters provide details about the Assyrian policy in the Northern Zagros.⁸⁸⁵ Sargon’s annexation of Allabria to Zamua was successful according to a letter sent to Sargon by the Assyrian deputy of the province of Zamua, Nabû-ḥamātū’a. He was in charge of settling people from six Allabrian forts who had to build their own houses in the fields. In his letter he discusses this re-settlement of the Allabrian farmers from six forts.⁸⁸⁶

During the 7th century BCE the Assyrians sometimes made a strategic error when they annexed a state far away from the Assyrian heartland, which is why they found themselves directly confronting newcomers such as Scythians, Cimmerians, and Medes.⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸²SAA V 227; Radner 2014a: 76.

⁸⁸³SAA V 210; in another letter the son of Bēl-iddina is described as a criminal, disobeying the Assyrian king’s orders; for further details see SAA V 218; also see Dezső 2012: vol.1: p.76f.

⁸⁸⁴SAA V 215.

⁸⁸⁵Many details are mentioned in these letters (most of which are republished in SAA I and SAA V and SAA XV. For instance see the letters, SAA V 234-251.

⁸⁸⁶SAA V: 210; Kessler 2001:833-834.

⁸⁸⁷The annexation policy was not always successful in a long term. That policy was one of the reasons leading to the Fall of Assyria in 612 BCE. Esarhaddon made a strategic error when he annexed Egypt and many other areas

2.7.4. Taking the princes as hostage

Another Assyrian policy was using hostages to suppress revolt and to secure future good relations with new allies. They took princes as hostages to the Assyrian court. Taking hostages from the defeated provinces and kingdoms ensured their continued submission, and regular tribute. They would not consider revolting which would prejudice the safety of their crown prince in exile. Very probably these princes would be indoctrinated with Assyrian policy and culture, and they may have learned Assyrian. Such hostage taking of princes from the Zagros and its foothills has a long history.

The first known example dates to the Old Babylonian period, when Dadusha, the king of Eshnuna, took the prince of Qabra to Eshnuna.⁸⁸⁸ In the Middle Assyrian period, when Tiglath-pileser I attacked the land of Mušri (Neo-Assyrian Musasir) and the army of Qumanu went to aid the land of Mušri, the Assyrian king occupied Mušri and the capital of Qumanu. Kipšuna surrendered to the Assyrian king, paid taxes and tribute, and also gave hostages.⁸⁸⁹ There were other reasons for taking hostages apart from stopping the occupied lands thinking about rebellion.⁸⁹⁰ The hostages brought to the Assyrian court came under the influence of Assyrian policy, learned Assyrian culture and language, became aware of the power of the Assyrian armies to threaten their homeland. They saw the Assyrian reliefs depicting the destruction and punishment of rebellious cities. Such propaganda discouraged the hostages from thinking about rebellion when they returned home and ruled as the new king. They would have been well-treated to ensure they remain pro-Assyrian. Hostages in the Assyrian court could also “serve as a guarantee of regular payments”,⁸⁹¹

When the kings of Nairi went to the Assyrian court to pay homage they left the Nairi crown princes there as hostages.⁸⁹² In Sargon's eighth campaign, as he approached the Mannan capital, the pro-Assyrian King Ullusun with his military chiefs and a group of dignitaries went out to welcome him:⁸⁹³

Ullusun, together with the people of his land, their hearts bent on rendering service, awaited my expedition in Sirdakku, his fortress. As though they had been officials of mine, governors of Assyria, he heaped up supplies of flour and wine for the feeding of my army. He delivered to me his oldest son, together with a peace-offering, and to make secure his (son's succession) to rulership, he provided (for this in) his stele inscription.

Because the Mannans were the only Assyrian ally at that time in the Zagros and had already lost their pro-Assyrian king Aza, they probably did not need to prove their sincerity.

in the east and west of the Assyrian empire. For further details for instance see Roaf 2003 b.: 13-22; Reade 2003: p.150ff; Al-Ahmed 1971: 109-128; al-Fahdawi 1977.

⁸⁸⁸MacGinnis 2013: 4.

⁸⁸⁹Zawadzki 1995: 451.

⁸⁹⁰Zawadzki 1995: 454f.

⁸⁹¹Zawadzki 1995: 456.

⁸⁹²Zawadzki 1995: 455.

⁸⁹³ARAB II 148.

During the Neo-Assyrian period, Sargon II took the prince of Hubuškia as hostage to Dur-Sharrukin.⁸⁹⁴ He also reinstalled Urzana as ruler of Musasir, after taking him and his family to guarantee their loyalty:⁸⁹⁵

As victor I caused him [i.e. Urzana] to sit before his (city) gate. His wife, his sons, his daughters, his people, the seed of his father's house, I carried off. To 6,110 people, 12 mules, 380 asses, 525 cattle, 1, 235 sheep, I added (counted them and brought them inside the wall of my encampment. (ARAB II 172).

The people of the province of Musasir I reckoned with the people of Assyria; tax and task work I imposed upon them as Assyrians (ARAB II 175).

....I went out through the pass of Mount Andarutta, a steep mountain, toward the city of Hipparna (Hiptunu), and returned in safety to my land (ARAB II 176).

The hostages were usually the king's sons, the crown princes, or members of the royal families. Sometimes they also sent daughters of the king "with a dowry" to the Assyrian court. A Mannean princess was sent to Ashurbanipal and remained in the Assyrian court.⁸⁹⁶ The Mannean crown prince Erisine and his sister, who became the concubine of Ashurbanipal, probably played a positive role in the Assyrian court.⁸⁹⁷ Good relations with the Mannaeans persisted after the fall of Nineveh, for they were the only people of the Northern Zagros who remained with the Assyrians. The Mannean army fought side by side with the Assyrian army against the Babylonian army near Qaplinu in 610 BCE:⁸⁹⁸

He (Nabopolassar) did battle against the army of Assyria, and the army of Assyria was routed before him, and a great havoc was made of Assyria, prisoners in great number they took. The Mannaeans who had come to their aid and the chief men of Assyria were captured.

That their loyalty endured was possibly related to the Assyrian influence on the Mannean crown-prince and the Mannean princess, the concubine of Ashurbanipal. The Mannaeans wanted to protect their princess.⁸⁹⁹

It has been assumed that Arruku, the eldest son of the Kuraš king of Parsumaš, was sent to the court of Nineveh as hostage in 639 BCE.⁹⁰⁰ This Persian presence in the Assyrian capital and palace indicates that "some Persians had personal knowledge of the art and practices of the Assyrian court." This has been seen as a clue to the Assyrian influence on the art and architecture of the Persian palaces a century after the fall of Nineveh.⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁴Lanfranchi 1995:134 ff.

⁸⁹⁵ARAB II 172; 175; 176.

⁸⁹⁶Zawadzki 1995: 456.

⁸⁹⁷Zawadzki 1995: 457f.

⁸⁹⁸Gadd 1923: lines: 4-6, p.37. See 2.7.10. and Also see above.

⁸⁹⁹The Pharaoh, who had also married an Assyrian princess, also stayed loyal. The army of Egypt went to Syria to help a remnant of the Assyrian army. Pharaoh's support to the Assyrians was because the Egyptian ruler Shoshenq was, like Psammetikhos, a royal hostage in Nineveh and he married an Assyrian princess. Therefore, Nekho II, the son and successor of Shoshenq, collected the Egyptian army and tried to support the remnant of the Assyrians after the fall of Nineveh, probably because Nekho's mother was the Assyrian princess. Radner 2012b: 447.

⁹⁰⁰Radner 1998: 135.

⁹⁰¹Roaf 2003: p.15. note: 4.

2.7.5. Deportation/the forced migration

The Assyrians also adopted a policy of deportation, forcing hundreds of thousands of people, including kings and royal families, to be sent to the Assyrian heartland and or to the remoter provinces which had submitted to the west, east, north and south of the empire.⁹⁰² By settling them in new lands they would lose much of their culture and would adopt local habits. Their divine statues were also deported.⁹⁰³ This Assyrian policy aimed to weaken resistance and the potential to rebel by removing people to far-away foreign lands. This policy made them insecure of themselves for a long time, even when living as a group, and it mixed the peoples of the Near East irreversibly, leading to deep cultural and ethnic interaction.⁹⁰⁴

2.7.6. Diplomacy, Assyria and the Northern Zagros

Our knowledge concerning the diplomatic relations between Assyrian and the Northern Zagros comes from Assyrian royal inscriptions, administrative letters and reliefs which depict Zagrosian rulers bringing tribute and confirming their submission. The tribute they brought was mainly horses for the Assyrian court, but they also brought models of their strongholds and cities as gifts (fig. 2.9.a-e).⁹⁰⁵ For the inauguration of Kalhu Ashurnasirpal II invited thousands of his people and delegations from many lands and kingdoms, including the Northern Zagros, from Musasir and Gilzanu. Although he had forced people from Zamua and Kurruri to do corvée labour in building Kalhu, surprisingly he did not invite anyone from those provinces. Ashurnasirpal II says that *“when I consecrated the palace of Calah, 47,074 men (and) women who were invited from every part of my land, 5,000 dignitaries (and) envoys of the people of the lands Suhi, Hindānu, Patinu, Hatti, (145) Tyre, Sidon, Gurgumu, Malidu, Hubušku, Gilzānu, Kummū, (and) Musasiru, 16,000 people of Calah, (and) 1,500 zariqū of my palace, all of them - altogether 69,574 (150) (including) those summoned from all lands and the people of Calah — for ten days I gave them food, I gave them drink, I had them bathed, I had them anointed. (Thus) did I honour them (and) send them back to their lands in peace and joy.”*⁹⁰⁶ Among the list of delegations who participated in this celebration were two dignitaries and envoys from the Northern Zagros, which were Musasiru and Gilzanu.

Some Zagrosian kings and princes visited the Assyrian capitals at the head of delegations, including Urzana and his brother from Musasir.⁹⁰⁷ Urzana visited Assyria twice, once to deliver tribute and later to bring back statues of Haldi that had been deported.⁹⁰⁸ The

⁹⁰² For further details about the Assyrian mass deportations see Oded 1979; also see Chapter I, 1.4, and Chapter II, 2.7.5.

⁹⁰³ For further details about the deported peoples from and to the Northern Zagros see Chapter I, 1.4. Also, see Oded 1979, and about the deported deities from and to the Northern Zagros see this Chapter above on religion, 2.5.11. And see table 2.3.

⁹⁰⁴ For further details see 1.4.

⁹⁰⁵ Albenda 1986: 68-69, Pl.29, Room 10, slab 6; and Pl.30, Room 10, slab 8.

⁹⁰⁶ *RIMA II*/1, A. 0.101.3 0:141-154.

⁹⁰⁷ *SAA V* 148.

⁹⁰⁸ *SAA V* 136 and 146. Also for the visit of Urzana's brother to the Assyrian frontier see *SAA V* 148, and the Assyrian eponym which mentions returning the statue of Haldi, and when once Urzana sent his messengers, see *SAA V* 112.

crown prince of Andia,⁹⁰⁹ the messengers of Hubuškia,⁹¹⁰ and the king of Hubuškia visited Assyria bringing tribute.⁹¹¹ Among several messengers and emissaries from the kingdoms and provinces of the Northern Zagros who visited the Assyrian court were those from Zikirtu,⁹¹² Labdudu⁹¹³ with horses, cattle and sheep as tribute and the audience-gift (*nāmurtu/nāmuštu*).⁹¹⁴ Emissaries from Que (KUR. *Qu-a-a*) and of Mazamua⁹¹⁵ went to Kalhu to see Tiglath-pileser III, bringing with them an interpreter and several equids.⁹¹⁶

Zagrosian delegations sometimes received gifts from the Assyrian court. When Sargon II was occupied in Babylon, the crown prince Sennacherib received horses as tribute from a Mannean delegation. Sennacherib informed Sargon II that he had dressed the Mannean delegation in purple.⁹¹⁷ Another Assyrian administrative letter, about the Assyrian tax collectors in Media says that the Assyrian deputy dressed the Median leaders in purple.⁹¹⁸ These diplomatic contacts led to exchanging gifts. Due to led to cultural interaction in both material and immaterial culture.

Sometimes the Assyrians tried to solve diplomatic issues peacefully. From a fragmentary letter we understand that the Assyrian king sent [Ashur-alik-pani] and Nergal-ša[rrani] to the Median city Bit-A[bdadani] in peace: “⁵The king having s[ent us] for good relations [and peace] to Bit-A[bdadanu], [we stayed] two days in [...but no]body [...ed] with [us]”⁹¹⁹ (Rest destroyed).

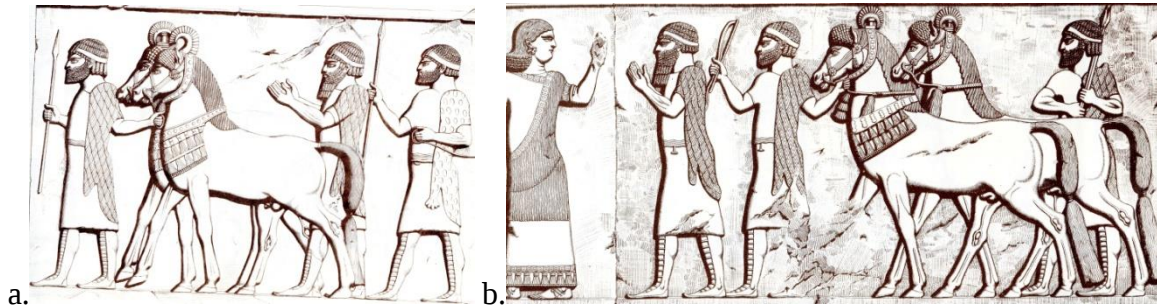


Fig. 2.9.a-b. One of the Zagrosian delegations brought horses as tribute to the Assyrian palace of the Assyrian court of Sargon in Dur-Sharrukin. They wear skin cloaks (after Botta & Flandin, 1972:pl. 151, fig.10; pl.125, fig.5).

⁹⁰⁹SAA V 171.

⁹¹⁰SAA V 134 and 162; SAA V XXII.

⁹¹¹SAA V 133 and 192.

⁹¹²SAA V 169.

⁹¹³SAA V 194.

⁹¹⁴SAA V 136; Lanfranchi 1995:130ff; CAD N/I 2008: 254.

⁹¹⁵SAA XVI 150.

⁹¹⁶SAA XIX 54: 3-6.

⁹¹⁷For the Mannean emissaries dressed in purple see SAA I 29: r.18-21.

⁹¹⁸A Mede, called the son of Asrukanu, probably worked as an Assyrian agent in his land in Media. A detailed report was sent by an Assyrian (his name is missing because of the damage in the introduction of the letter). It seems that in the course of his work the son of Asrukanu gave many details about the Medes, and their behavior toward the Assyrians. But before he gave his information he was dressed in purple so that he would tell everything: “I dressed him in (purple) garments and [put silver] bracelets [on his wrists]. He told me the following: “[...]” (“Baga-Parna is lying.....”, “The Medes do not agree...” “Some Irtiašaeans [...] run away to Nabu-bel-ka.....” SAA XV 91: r.1-9).

⁹¹⁹SAA V 157.

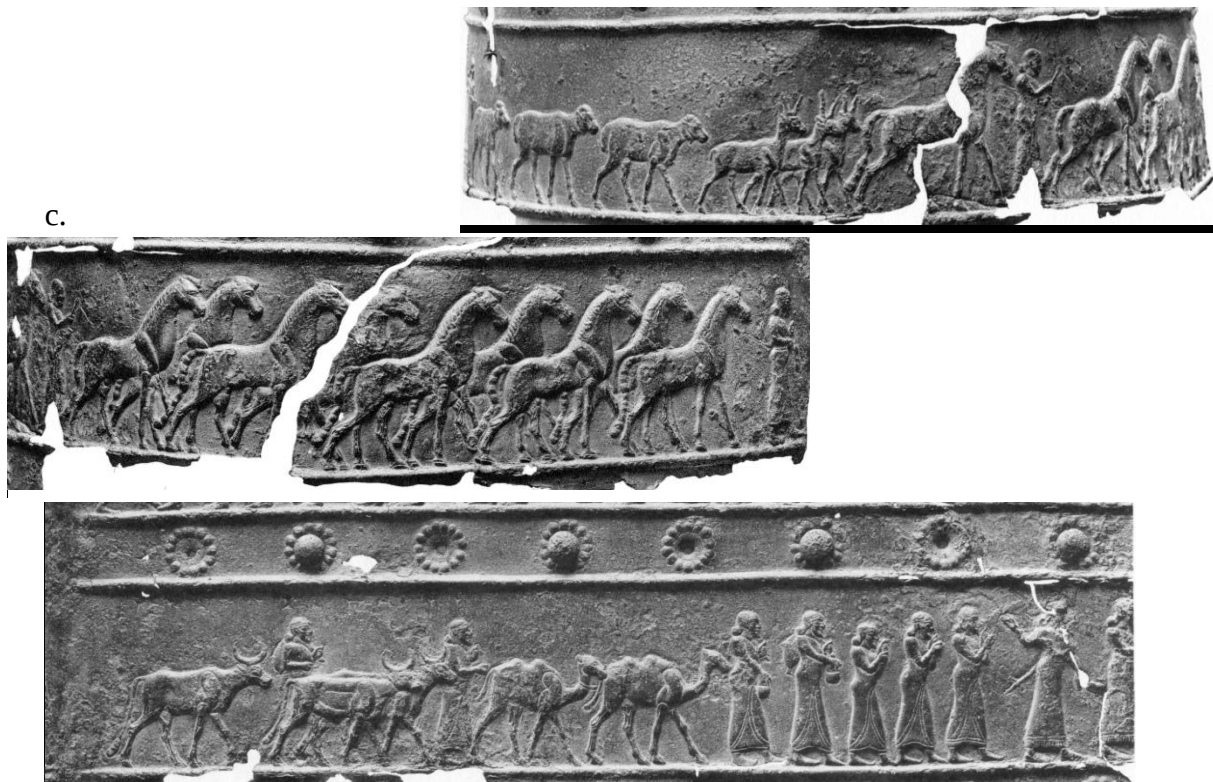


Fig.2.9.a-c. Scenes depicted on the Bronze Gate of Balawat, Shalmaneser III takes horses, cattle and two-humped camels as booty from Urartu and Gilzanu (after a. King 1915: Pl.XXXVIII, Band VII.2. b. King 1915: Pl.XXXIX, Band VII.3. c. King 1915: pl. XL, Band VII, 4).

Assyrians and Zagrosian leaders did not only come into contact militarily. Commercial activities between the Assyrians and the king of Zikirtu involved trading horses, as seen in a letter sent from Issar-šumu-iqiša to the Assyrian king:⁹²⁰

The emissaries of the Zikirtean (king) are now coming; the messengers of the Urartian who had gone to the [Zi]kirtean are coming with them as captives. I have had money brought up and deposited in the stronghold, (relying) on the word of the Zikirtean, who said: "I shall sell you the horses in Paššate." Now let it be impressed upon the emissaries, as the emissaries are trying hard to back out of their word, claiming: "We have not heard about (such a promise) by our lord." The king should ask the second emissary; he knows that he gave the order to the commander-in-chief.

The Assyrians treated the Medes differently, for in the royal inscriptions Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II call the Medes 'the mighty Medes' (*madaia dannūti*).⁹²¹ Widengren interprets the use of this title for the Medes as an indication that "the Medes were respected enemies."⁹²²

⁹²⁰SAA V 169: 3-8, r.4.

⁹²¹Waters 2005: 521.

⁹²²Widengren 1973: 314; TCL III, line: 75.

2.7.7. Assyrian Vassal Treaties with Media, and Mazamu⁹²³

a. Esarhaddon's treaty with the Medes

One of the Assyrian policies was to make vassal treaties with defeated kingdoms. The most famous vassal treaty between the rulers of the Northern Zagros and the Assyrians was Esarhaddon's vassal succession treaty with the Medes. The expression "*the people of Assyria, great and small, from the Upper to the Lower Sea*" is interpreted as an indication that the treaty was with all the Assyrian subjects and vassals.⁹²⁴ Recently, a treaty similar to the Nimrud treaty between the Medes and the Assyrians, a succession treaty of Esarhaddon, was discovered, not in the Assyrian heartland but in Syria in Tell Ta'yinat (Tainat).⁹²⁵ The general context of the Nimrud and the Ta'yinat treaties is similar, but some details are recorded differently. The Nimrud treaty refers to the Median city ruler (*bēl āli*) by his names and titles. Three Median chieftains or lords of cities or districts were pro-Assyrian: Zanasana of Partukka, Uppis of Partakka, and Ramataia of Urukazabarna.⁹²⁶ The Ta'yinat treaty refers to the governor (*bēl pāḥiti*) of Kunalia anonymously. Other differences concern the deities. After mentioning the governor of Kunalia, the Ta'yinat treaty continues:⁹²⁷

The deputy, the major domo, the scribes, the chariot drivers, the third men, the village managers, the information officers, the prefects, the cohort commanders, the charioteers, the cavalymen, the exempt, the outriders, the specialists, the shi[eld bearers (?)], the craftsmen, (and) with [all] the men [of his hands], great and small, as many...

Such details are absent in the treaty of Esarhaddon with the Medes, probably because the Medes at that time did not have such administrative organizations, and the city rulers probably continued to rule as chieftains. Therefore we do not hear about any deputy, scribe, military officer, etc. Instead, after the name of the Median ruler, directly there is a mention of unnamed "sons and grandsons," of the Median city ruler/chieftain.⁹²⁸

The treaty which Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, likewise king of the world, king of Assyria, with Ramataia, city-ruler of Urukazabanu, with his sons, his grandsons, with all the Urukazabaneans young and old, as many as there may be with (all of) you, your sons, your grandsons who will exist in days to come after the treaty, from sunrise to sunset, over as many as Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, exercises kingship and lordship-(so) he has made the treaty with you concerning Ashurbanipal, the crown-prince, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria.

The treaty requires the Medes when Esarhaddon dies to support Ashurbanipal to become king of Assyria.⁹²⁹

When Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, dies, you will seat Ashurbanipal, the crown-prince, upon the royal throne, he will exercise the kingship (and) lordship of Assyria over you.

⁹²³ For the oaths and the Assyrian vassals with the Zagrosians see 2.5.9.

⁹²⁴ Lauinger 2012: 90. Also see Lanfranchi 1998: 99-109.

⁹²⁵ Tell Ta'yinat/Tayinat located in south Turkey 25 km southeast of Antakia. For further details see Harrison 2012: 125-143; Richard 1971: 75.

⁹²⁶ Wiseman 1958: pp. i-ii+1-99.

⁹²⁷ For further details concerning Tell Tainat treaty see Lauinger 2012:87-123; Crawford 2014: 258.

⁹²⁸ Wiseman 1958: p.30, lines: 1-12, also see p. 68f.

⁹²⁹ Wiseman 1958: p. 32, col. i. lines 46-49.

If they do not support Ashurbanipal then many curses await them: “*May Girra, who gives food to [small and great,] [burn up] your seed and your (seed’s) seed.*”⁹³⁰

The Ta’yinat treaty mentions some local deities including “*Aramiš, lord of the city and land of Qarnê....*”⁹³¹ In the treaty with the Medes there is no mention of local Median deities. Therefore, it has been assumed that probably the Medes with whom Esarhaddon made the treaty served as bodyguards for the Assyrian crown prince, Ashurbanipal.⁹³² Wiseman adds that “*these chiefs appear to have come voluntarily to Nineveh with their gifts which included fine breeding-horses, lapis-lazuli and rare stones (e.g. DAG.DAS stones).*”⁹³³ According to Waters the *adê* treaty was made with “*specific Medes (and other peoples) who swore loyalty and were bound to military service for the Assyrian crown prince.*”⁹³⁴

The treaty was not only targeting the chieftains/leaders but also their subjects, the people and their children.⁹³⁵ Esarhaddon aimed to install his small son Ashurbanipal instead of his older son Shamash-shum-ukin. He made this treaty with the local leaders of the vassal areas to secure the Assyrian throne for his small son Ashurbanipal.

b. Esarhaddon’s treaty with Mazamua

From an Assyrian administrative letter which was sent to Esarhaddon from Mazamua, it appears that Esarhaddon also made a treaty with the Zamuan emissaries. They met the Assyrian king but they did not finish the treaty. In the letter an Assyrian person in charge of finishing the formula of that treaty gives the necessary details:⁹³⁶

²[I have] also [sp]oken [with the emissari]es of Maz[amua]. (Perhaps) the king, my lord, will say: “My servant has been negligent; he did not send (a report) earlier.” Those who (came for) the treaty had not yet finished leaving the presence of the king, my lord, when the letter [...] before [...]. As soon as Urdu-Issar saw [...], he delivered it to hi[m].

^{r.7} [...] while the king, [my] lord [...] [...] -lešir. (Rest destroyed ...)

Esarhaddon seems to have made separate treaties with each province. There is no idea what the vassal leaders received from Assyria for their support of Ashurbanipal. What does become clear is that the Medes, Manneans, Babylonians and Urartians suffered from Ashurbanipal’s campaigns and insults from the emissaries.

c. The Aramaic stele as a vassal treaty, but between whom?

Controversial views from scholars concern the Aramaic inscription on the stele of Bukan. Lemaire discussed the possibility of considering it as a vassal treaty between the Manneans and Urartians or Assyrian or even the Aramaeans. Lemaire excluded the Assyrians, because the text did not mention the chief deity Ashur. Also he did not see a possibility of a deal between Aramaeans and Manneans, for according to him there is no historical support for any

⁹³⁰Wiseman 1958: Col. vii. lines 524-525.

⁹³¹For further details see Lauinger 2012: 88ff.

⁹³²Leichty 2008: 183ff; Liverani 1995: 57-63; see Reade 1972: 87-112.

⁹³³Wiseman 1958: p. 11.

⁹³⁴Waters 2005: 522.

⁹³⁵Wiseman 1958: 29-30; also see Lanfranchi 1998: 99-109.

⁹³⁶SAA XVI 150.

Mannean and Aramaean contact.⁹³⁷ This related to the assumption that the Aramaeans lived to the west of Assyria, so there would be no reason for a treaty with Mannea who lived to the east of Assyria. Although this is logical, there was some political contact between Aramaeans and Mannaeans through those Aramaeans who were deported or emigrated to the east of Kurruri to the banks of the Lower Zab in western Zamua. Tukulti-Ninurta II attacked the Aramaeans on the banks of the Lower Zab,⁹³⁸ and Tiglath-pileser III deported thousands of Aramaeans to Mazamua, and the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekali*), the lands of the Northern Zagros.⁹³⁹

2.7.8. Postal services in Arzuhina and Mazamua

The Assyrians linked the mountainous area of the Zagros with the Assyrian heartland by postal services (*kalliu*). The first station in the Northern Zagros was Arzuhina, at the crossroads between Arrapha and Mazamua and between Arbail and Mazamua. An administrative letter sent to Sargon II describes the system:⁹⁴⁰

4As to the express service (kalliu) about which the king, my lord, wrote to me through Arbailayu: "Why isn't there any express service?" When he came to me with the royal bodyguard Ubru-Harran, I harnessed before their coming two mules in Arzuhina for the use of Ubru-Harran. He took them to Arrapha. He harnessed two mules for the use of Arbailayu, and went on to Mazamua. Let the king, my lord, a[sk whet]her I did not station a team of [mules] in Dur-Taliti and another one in Taggalagi! When he departed from Arzuhina, there were two mules for his use from one post station (bēt mardēti) to another, as far as Arrakdi. As he now came, (going) to where the king, my lord, had sent him, I harnessed two mules in Arzuhina for [his] use as far as Dur-Taliti.

1.4. The king, my lord, knows that Arzuhina is situated at a crossroads; the stage (mardētu) from Arzuhina to Arrakdi is a strain for the animals. The king, my lord, should give orders that a mule-express (kalliu) be stationed in Dur-Atanate, so we can strengthen each other.... (the rest of the letter deals with criminals on the roads).

2.7.9. Royal/dynastic marriage cases between the Zagros and Assyria

Dynastic marriages between Mesopotamian princesses and foreign kings and Mesopotamian kings and foreign princesses had a long history. Some involved rulers of the Northern Zagros districts and the Assyrians. The earliest known example happened in the time of the kingdom of Shamshi-Adad I. The Zagrosian chieftain, the Turukkean Zaziya, gave his daughter as a wife for the son of Išme-Dagan, the crown prince Mut-Aškur (1730-1720 BCE).⁹⁴¹

During the Neo-Assyrian period in Anatolia Shalmaneser III married the daughter of Qalparunda, the king of Patinu.⁹⁴² Also he received the daughter of Sangara the ruler of Carchemish, and the daughters of 100 nobles, probably as wives for the Assyrian royal family

⁹³⁷Lemaire 1998a: p.298ff.; Kargar, 2004, p.230, note.4.; RIMA II A.0.101.17: 85b-97.

⁹³⁸RIMA II A.0. 100.05: 34-40.

⁹³⁹SAAS XI: p.146; Zadok 2013: 414.

⁹⁴⁰SAA V 227.

⁹⁴¹Ahmed 2012: 472; Eidem & Læssøe 2001: 55ff.

⁹⁴²RIMA III A.0.102.2: 2124.

or Assyrian commanders.⁹⁴³ Sargon II gave his daughter, Ahāt-abīša to Ambaris, the king of Tabal/Bit-Purutaš.⁹⁴⁴ Some of the queries of Esarhaddon concern giving his daughter Šērū'a-ētirat to the Scythian king P/Bartatua, when the Scythians were penetrating the Northern Zagros as far as the area of the Urmia basin, and southwards to Media and westwards to the Assyrian border.⁹⁴⁵ In another enquiry Esarhaddon asks about a marriage for his daughter, but the name of the intended groom is lost. Probably it also relates to P/Bartatua and Šērū'a-ētirat.⁹⁴⁶ If the treasure of Ziwiye is genuine, considered to be related to an Assyrian dowry for the daughter of Esarhaddon. Saggs links the Assyrian royal marriage with Scythians to the threat to the eastern border by Scythian penetration into the Northern Zagros. The bronze sarcophagus said to come from Ziwiye would have been for the Assyrian princess who married the Scythian prince.⁹⁴⁷ If so, this marriage would have led to good relations between the Assyrians and the Scythians, and helped the Assyrians since the Scythians could weaken the Mannaeans, the Medians and the Urartians, previously weakened by the Cimmerians.⁹⁴⁸ The Cimmerio-Scythian invasion into Urartu and the Northern Zagros threatened the northern and northeastern frontiers, disrupting economic activities.⁹⁴⁹

a. Killing the queen of Habhu

An administrative letter (SAA 5 108) was sent to Sargon II probably from one of the Assyrian intelligence officers (his name is missing) east of the Upper Zab beyond Hab/Kirruri. Parpola entitled the letter "*An Urartian Woman on the Throne of Habhu*". The first part of the letter is fragmentary, but we can see that it deals with messengers, interpreters and administrative issues in that territory. The second part of the letter reports disorder in the land of Habhu, a revolt in the royal family:⁹⁵⁰

And the things that the people of the country speak with him [these] days! "Why did you do th[is]- kill the sister of your brother and the son of [your] brot[her]? From what you have done, we know well enough that you killed [her], a woman of Habhu; and afterwards you 'pour oil' upon it, saying" 'The [Urartia]n killed [her].' An Urartian woman may not sit upon the throne!" They told [him an unsubstantiated rumor: "The king [.....] We [.....]

The details of that revolt are not clear, but the letter shows that a member from the royal family of Habhu revolted against the queen, a sister of his brother. He killed the queen and also the son of his brother, with "sister" probably meaning "sister-in-law" of his brother. Perhaps his brother was a brother-in-law. The prince who killed the queen of Habhu accused an Urartian, saying "*The Urartian killed her. An Urartian woman may not sit upon the throne!*" The expression is not clear, but probably means that the queen of Habhu killed by this prince was an Urartian princess. That would indicate that a dynastic marriage had been

⁹⁴³RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 27-30.

⁹⁴⁴SAA I 31.

⁹⁴⁵SAA IV 20.

⁹⁴⁶SAA IV 21; also see Teppo 2005: 44.

⁹⁴⁷Ghirshman 1979. See metal works in Chapter III, 3.8, and tombs in Chapter IV, 4.9.

⁹⁴⁸At this time, in 667 BCE, Esarhaddon himself accepted the daughter of the king of Arwad, who had been brought to Nineveh by her father, Yakinlu, with a dowry. This afforded Esarhaddon access to Mediterranean trade and security for the western empire. See Greardi 1987: 14.

⁹⁴⁹Saggs 1973: 164.

⁹⁵⁰SAA V 108: r. 18-28.

made between an Urartian princess and a prince of Habhu, who subsequently became king of Habhu. The brother of the new king of Habhu killed the queen (in the letter he called her the sister of his brother's king) and the son of his brother to usurp the throne.

b. A Mannaeen royal marriage with Ashurbanipal

An important point concerning political relations between Mannea and Assyria is that after several campaigns against Mannea during the 9th-7th centuries BCE, and the strong alliance between some of the Mannaeen kings with the Assyrians, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal campaigned against Mannea. Ashurbanipal succeeded in his campaign, and defeated Mannea (ca. 660 BCE). He subjugated them further when he destroyed and burned most of the Mannaeen cities, and received tribute from Uallī (667-652BC) son of Ahšeri.⁹⁵¹ Erisinni, the son of Uallī was taken as a hostage to the Assyrian court, and the daughter of Uallī was sent to Assyria to be the king's concubine.⁹⁵²

In my fourth campaign ...I invaded (lit., entered) the Mannaeen country and advanced victoriously..... Erisinni, a son of his begetting, he dispatched to Nineveh, and he kissed my feet. I had mercy upon him and sent my messengers of peace to him (to Uallī). A daughter (of Uallī), the offspring of his lions, he sent to be my concubine....

By taking the Mannaeen prince as hostage and the Mannaeen princess as concubine ensured good relations between Mannea and Assyria, which led to a new alliance. This alliance also reflected their common fear of the ascendant Medes,⁹⁵³ and the Mannaeen fear of the ascendant Scythians and Cimmerians. The alliance lasted until after the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE, since the Mannaeen army assisted the remnant of the Assyrian army and the remnant of the royal family when they fled to Harran, east of the Euphrates near Qablinu.⁹⁵⁴ Perhaps the Mannaeen concubine of Ashurbanipal was with them as they fled. She may have had a child in the Assyrian royal family, and the Mannaeen army was sent to support this Assyrian prince whose mother was a Mannaeen princess.⁹⁵⁵

Dynastic marriages were generally arranged for making peace and accompanied by a treaty for military support. Furthermore, a princess sent to another country to become the mother of the crown prince could as queen and queen mother influence her husband and her son on important decisions. Usually foreign princesses and queens were followed by their retinue into the Assyrian palace for the marriage, bringing with them material and cultural traditions of their home country. Some will have worked as observers of their homeland for their country of exile. However, dynastic marriages were made mainly to make peace and good relations between two countries.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵¹ARAB II 851, 852; Grayson 1980: pp.235, 243; Postgate 1987-1990: 341; also see Postgate 1979: 89-103.

⁹⁵²ARAB II 786.

⁹⁵³Postgate 1987-1990: 341.

⁹⁵⁴Gadd 1923: lines: 4-6, p.37.

⁹⁵⁵See Gadd 1923: 4-6, p.37. Also see 2.7.4. in this chapter.

⁹⁵⁶Brinkman 1968: p.142, the note 856.

2.8. Economy and Trade

2.8.1. Economy

The Assyrian plains were watered from the Tigris and its tributaries, and these fertile plains of the Assyrian heartland produced much grain and cereals. The Assyrian empire overwhelmed the ancient Near East and tried to control political, military and economic affairs. Economic relations between Assyria and the Northern Zagros were sustained during war and peace. In war the Assyrian army took booty and plundered many Northern Zagros cities. In peace times, tribute was sent to Assyria from the Northern Zagros, and trade flourished. In addition to the formal tribute the audience-gift (*nāmurtu*) was collected from the peoples of defeated lands.⁹⁵⁷ The Assyrians also tried to secure the trade routes in the Zagros and beyond, especially those to the Urmia basin and beyond, and the Khorasan Road. The administrative palaces they built in the Zagros and the Assyrian governors and deputies they appointed in the Northern Zagros had a great role in securing beneficial trade with the Zagros and further east. They built many fortress along the eastern Assyrian frontier in the Northern Zagros, to protect the Assyrian border, to ensure safe trade and to collect taxes from merchants and local farmers.⁹⁵⁸

A. The main economical resources from the Northern Zagros

Campaigning in the Zagros led to obtaining supplies of human labour (deportees, captives, slaves and corvée workers), animals (horses, cattle, sheep, goats, oxen, two-humped camels, birds, honey), foodstuffs (barley and wheat, fruit, orchards, wine, fodder), and raw materials (metals, wood and precious stones, marble, lapis lazuli, diorite, limestone).

There is little in the Assyrian records about **metal** from the Northern Zagros, but archaeology and geology show that the Northern Zagros was rich in iron, copper, tin and even gold.⁹⁵⁹ Mining in the Northern Zagros had reached an important stage of development. Excavations have produced metal objects, and metal booty was taken from the Northern Zagros kingdoms by the Assyrians.

Assyrian records show that their main sources of **copper** were in the Zagros. Several texts mention large quantities of copper coming from different kingdoms and provinces there. An Assyrian administrative letter mentions 420 talents of bronze sent by the Assyrian eponym of Mazamua, Šarru-ēmuranni to Sargon II, apparently taken from the treasury of the palace, probably a residence palace in Mazamua:⁹⁶⁰

²⁻¹³ *On the 27th day, at dawn, we opened the treasury of metal scraps at the entrance of the house in the palace upon the terrace. [We] weighed 420 talents of bronze scraps*

⁹⁵⁷For instance Urzana brought an audience-gift of the people of Musasir to the Assyrian court, see SAA V 136; for the term *nāmurtu*, see CAD N 1: p.123.

⁹⁵⁸SAA V: p. XXVIII. For the Iron Age fortifications for instance see Marf, D. A., (forthcoming), “Ancient Fortifications and Architectural Ruins between Lower Zab and Sirwan (Upper Diyala) rivers (Preliminary report on field work),” in: Morello, N., et.al, (eds.): *BEYOND MILITARY: FORTIFICATIONS AND TERRITORIAL POLICIES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST*, Brill.

⁹⁵⁸ SAA V 210, 211, 229, 227.

⁹⁵⁹Cuénod, et al., 2015: 29-48, esp. see table 1-2, and fig.1; Dyson 1965c: 19.

⁹⁶⁰SAA V 206; also see Radner 1999: 136, note 79.

and plac[ed] it in the storehouse [of] the cupbearer. We also weighed [x talen]ts of bronze objects [...]. (Break)

^{r. 1-8} [.....] city, [.....of the R]evue [Palace]. Alternatively, we can do the (inventory) of the Review Palace on the 29th and go in the remaining days to Dur-Šarruken, to seal those tunics.

Taking the Assyrian talent as 30 kg, 420 talents make 12,600 kg of copper, a very large amount, meaning there was a well developed mining industry in Zamua.⁹⁶¹ The Assyrians also obtained copper and lapis lazuli from Media and beyond by trade, with the Medes acting as intermediaries between Assyria and the east.⁹⁶²

The Assyrians had been using **iron** from the 13th century BCE, first for ritual purposes. An iron lance *habalginu* and an iron dagger is mentioned in a Middle Assyrian administrative text,⁹⁶³ Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 BCE) deposited iron (AN.BAR) in the foundations of the temple of Assur in Ashur.⁹⁶⁴

Lists of tribute and booty from the Northern Zagros, as far as I know, rarely mention iron. The land of Nairi may have provided “possible sources of iron ore for Assyria during the 13th to 11th centuries B.C.”⁹⁶⁵ Tiglath-pileser I claims that he brought **obsidian** (NA₄.ZÚ), **haltu-stone** (NA₄ *hal-ta*) and **haematite/iron ore** (NA₄.KA.GI.NA) from the mountains of the lands Nairi.⁹⁶⁶

At that time I transported obsidian, haltu-stone, and haematite from the mountains of the lands Nairi, which I conquered with the support of the god Aššur, my lord. I deposited (them) in the hamru-temple of the god Adad, my lord, forever

Many natural iron sources were identified in the mountains of the Northern Zagros by travellers in the 19th century CE, such as Layard and Badger, who speak of iron ores “in great quantities scattered on the sides of mountains”. It is in these mountains that the Assyrians probably found their iron.⁹⁶⁷ Much attention has been paid to the ‘iron mines east of Amadiya citadel near the west bank of the Upper Zab, near Dura.’⁹⁶⁸ To the north of the Amadiya citadel in the hills of Sergusa a source of iron ore has also been recorded. The Barwari district near the modern Turkish border has been assumed to be one of the sources of iron for mining in ancient times, later abandoned.⁹⁶⁹ There are other sources in the mountains of Harir (ancient Habruri/Kirruri). During field work in the mountains east of the Lower Zab river/east

⁹⁶¹For the measures of the Assyrian talent for instance see Yamada 2000: 239.

⁹⁶²Brown 1986: 112; Wiseman 1958: 11; Dyson 1965c: 19. The discovered archaeological evidence in Ebla used as an evidence of existing such a trade also in the third millennium BCE. for further details see Pinnock 1986: 221-228.

⁹⁶³Maxwell-Hyslop 1974: 142; Postgate 1973a: 13.

⁹⁶⁴Shalmaneser I claims that he rebuilt the temple of Assur and “at its foundation I set stones, silver, gold, iron, copper, tin, layers of aromatic plants (lit. ‘aromatic plants upon aromatic plants’).” RIMA I A.0.77.1: 141-148; Maxwell-Hyslop 1974: 140.

⁹⁶⁵Maxwell-Hyslop 1974: 140.

⁹⁶⁶RIMA II: A.0.87.1: viii 11-16; Maxwell-Hyslop 1974: 140.

⁹⁶⁷Maxwell-Hyslop 1974: 139-154.

⁹⁶⁸Maxwell-Hyslop 1974: 139, note. 1; Kinnier Wilson 1972: p.xii.

⁹⁶⁹Maxwell-Hyslop 1974: 139, note. 1; Kinnier Wilson 1972: p.xii.

of the Dukan Town, on the mountain of Haruta and Tabeen pass near modern Surdash valley; I personally noticed much iron ore scattered on the mountain (fig. 2.10).⁹⁷⁰



Fig. 2.10. Iron ore scattered on the mountain of Haruta and Tabeen pass. (Photo by the author).

B. Human labour

Men from the Northern Zagros laboured for the Assyrians as *corvée* workers from Hanusa, Zamua, Musasir, Bit-Sagabi, Harhar, Nairi, Tammu, Kirruri, Simesu, Simerra, Ulmania, Adauš, Hargaia, Ništun, and the land Harmasaia. Slaves, captives, and deportees came from many Zagros districts and kingdoms, as discussed in detail in Chapter I.⁹⁷¹

C. Agriculture and Animal sources

The main source of horses, as well as cattle, horses, mules, donkeys and Bactrian camels with two-humps, for the Neo-Assyrian kings and for merchants from the Northern Zagros, from Gilzanu, Zamua, Media etc.⁹⁷² In Sumerian the word for a horse is ANSHE.KUR, “*mountain donkey*,” these “*mountain donkeys*” had been used since the early historical periods, by Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians and Assyrians, all coming from the mountains of the Zagros.⁹⁷³

For the Assyrians from the ninth century BCE horses were used in the cavalry and for pulling chariots and general transport. They appear first in the army in the reign of Tukultī-

⁹⁷⁰Marf, D. A., (forthcoming), “Ancient Fortifications and Architectural Ruins between Lower Zab and Sirwan (Upper Diyala) rivers (Preliminary report on field work),” in: Morello, N., et.al, (eds.): *BEYOND MILITARY: FORTIFICATIONS AND TERRITORIAL POLICIES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST*, Brill; Dyson 1965c: 19.

⁹⁷¹RIMA II A.O. 101.1: i 54b-58a; A.O.101.1: 67; A.O.101.1: ii 12b-15a; A.O.101.1: ii 44-47; ARAB II 175; Levine 1972: lines: 40-41, p.39; also, see *zābil kudurri* and its relation to basket workers, see AEAD 168; and CAD (1961) vol. Z: p.6

⁹⁷²Brown 1986: 111, note 13; ARAB II 147.

⁹⁷³Labat & Malbran-Labat 1988: 208, p.118-119.

Ninurta II, presumably influenced by Gilzanu, then the main source of horses.⁹⁷⁴ Tukultī-Ninurta obtained hundreds of horses from Subaru, Gilzanu and Nairi:⁹⁷⁵

The praises of my power which Aššur, the god Šamaš, the god [...] high mountains from the land of the Subaru to the land Gilzānu and Nairi [...] revenue, which I continually received. Altogether 2,702 horses in teams [and chariots], more than ever before, I had in harness for the forces of my land.

With their cavalry the Assyrian army achieved important advances in penetrating the Zagros. Even the royal horses for the Assyrian kings were obtained from the Zagros. The area around Lake Urmia was a major source in the 9th century BCE. But when the Urartians occupied part of that area the Assyrians turned south, to Zamua, Media, and to Gizilbunda in the far east.⁹⁷⁶ Many royal inscriptions list horses as booty, and Zagrosian delegations usually brought horses as tribute to the Assyrian court, according to royal inscriptions and reliefs. Assyrian administrative letters have many details about receiving horses from the Zagros, either as tribute or through trade. A letter sent to Sargon II from the governor of Mazamua, Nabû-ḫamatua, itemizes five horses to be sent with the letter for the Assyrian king. The horses had been collected by Ashurle'u the ruler of Karalla from Ullusunu the king of Mannea who gave them to the Assyrian governor of Mazamua:⁹⁷⁷

... Nabû-hamatua wrote m[e] that Aššur-le['i] is going to Ullusunu, and that Ullusunu has given five horses to Aššur-le'i. Nabû-hamatua has itemized the horses he gave him by colour in a clay tablet (which) he (also) sent me. ...

Most horses were used in the Assyrian cavalry. The best were used as royal horses. Some were sacrificed in rituals. White horses were sacrificed to Shamash in Assyria.⁹⁷⁸

The Assyrian kings received many horses as tribute or booty from the Northern Zagros, from Gilzanu, Kirruri, Zamua, Mannea, Hubuškia, Media, Andia, Zikirtu, Musasir, etc.⁹⁷⁹ Tiglath-pileser III lists the tribute he received:⁹⁸⁰

[I received] the payme[nt of the Med]es, the people of the land Ellipu, and the city rulers of all of the mountain regions, as far as Mount Bikni-[...], horses, mules, Bactrian camels, oxen, sheep and goats, without num[ber].

Sargon received horses as tribute from several cities in Media and the Northern Zagros.⁹⁸¹ Sometimes the Zagrosians delayed sending the annual tribute as an act of defiance or rebellion. The recapture of vassal lands that had rebelled were required to pay extra, even double tribute, as with Ashurbanipal and the Mannans:⁹⁸²

The former tribute, which in the reigns of the kings, my fathers, they had allowed to lapse, they brought before me (once more). Thirty horses I added to the former tribute and imposed (it) upon him.

⁹⁷⁴For the first appearance of cavalry and chariotry in the Assyrian army see Noble 1990: 61-68.

⁹⁷⁵RIMA II A.O. 100.15: 128-131.

⁹⁷⁶Reade 1995a: 41; Muscarella 1980b: 217.

⁹⁷⁷SAA V 218.

⁹⁷⁸Gaspa 2011: p. 101. note, 39-40.

⁹⁷⁹For further details see Albenda 2004: 323f., note. 19; Radner 2003b: 123-124; SAA XIII 93, 109.

⁹⁸⁰RINAP I 47: 38b-39a.

⁹⁸¹For further details about the number of horses given by the Median ruler to Sargon II see Radner 2003a: 37-64.

⁹⁸²ARAB II 786.

The tribute collectors in the reign of Sargon II were asked to bring him special horses for his own use from Media in addition to the annual tribute.⁹⁸³ Assyrian texts and imagery show that horses were at the top of tribute demanded from the kingdoms of the Northern Zagros. Hubuškia sent equids, oxen and sheep,⁹⁸⁴ Urzana of Musasir sent 56 horses, many sheep and oxen.⁹⁸⁵ The crown prince of Andia brought more than 50 equids:⁹⁸⁶

16 red horses; 13 irginu horses; 14 black horses; 1 Haršean horse; 1 tuanu horse; 6 mares; 5 mules; in all 51 horses from the crown prince of Andia.

Daily and monthly accounts were kept of horses and mules arriving at the gates of the palace in the Assyrian capital. Letters give some details about them, whether they were Kushite or Mesaeian in type and where they had come from, or enquire how long they would stay and how they would be cared for. Probably some of these horses belonged to delegations, Assyrian employees or auxiliaries 47 horsemen arrived from Mazamua,⁹⁸⁷ and sometimes caravans arrived. The horses that arrived came from many different places including Parsua, Media, Mazamua, Arrapha, Guzana, Lahiru, Egypt, Arpad.⁹⁸⁸

Idu sent grain and also **honey** to the temple of Assur in the city of Ashur as offerings in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I.⁹⁸⁹ We also have details about making a cake for a festival in the temple of Ashur at Ashur. Five litres of honey (*dišpu*) and four litres of white honey (*dišpu pašiu*) were required. The ‘white honey’ has been explained as ‘real honey from bees,’⁹⁹⁰ but it could have been a special kind of honey made by the wild mountain bee of the Zagros, corresponding to the expression [L]ÀL.MEŠ KUR-e BAB[BAR]-ú, “honey of the wh[it]e mountain [h]oney.”⁹⁹¹ Sargon II mentions offering *lallāru*, “white honey”, to the gods.⁹⁹² Honey is also associated with a drink, *ku-ru-un-nu lāl-la-ru bi-ib-lat* KUR.MEŠ KUG.MEŠ, “kurunnu-drink and white honey, the product of the pure mountains.”⁹⁹³

Sometimes, the Assyrians obliged the defeated Zagrosians to work as “**forced**” labourers, to perform the *ilku*-duty or corvée.⁹⁹⁴ Ashurnasirpal II received Zamuan manpower as tribute: “I put all the land (of Zamua) under one control....and forced labour I imposed upon them.”⁹⁹⁵ When Zamua did not send corvée workers to Kalhu to participate in building the Assyrian capital, immediately Ashurnasirpal attacked Zamua and burned, destroyed, and plundered their cities and killed the people. He claims his campaign against Zamua was

⁹⁸³ As its discussed in the letter SAA XIX 91.

⁹⁸⁴ SAA V 133.

⁹⁸⁵ SAA V 136.

⁹⁸⁶ SAA V 171: 6-11, r.1-3.

⁹⁸⁷ SAA XIII 93.

⁹⁸⁸ For further details see the reports, SAA XIII 84-123.

⁹⁸⁹ Postgate 1985: 96-98.

⁹⁹⁰ Gaspa 2011: 103.

⁹⁹¹ Gaspa 2011: 103, note. 47; Fuchs 1994: 242.

⁹⁹² Gaspa 2011: p.103, note. 47; Fuchs 1994: 242.

⁹⁹³ For further details about the types of honey see CAD D 163 s.v. *dišpu* f., Gaspa 2011: 103, note 47. Probably the white honey mentioned here was like a rare type of modern honey made by a bee which is smaller than normal bees. The body of the bee is as white as milk and is found only in crevices in the mountains. This honey is rare in the modern Zagros, but in Kurdish it is known for its sweetness and called honey of the Shamatilenska, the local name for the bee which makes it.

⁹⁹⁴ SAA V p. XXVII.

⁹⁹⁵ ARAB II 451.

because “Ameka and Arashtua had withheld the tribute and forced labour due unto Ashur, my lord.”⁹⁹⁶ Sargon II imposed the corvée on the people of Musasir: “The people of the province of Musasir I reckoned with the people of Assyria; tax and taskwork I imposed upon them as Assyrians.”⁹⁹⁷

Assyrians practiced a policy of destroying the economy of their enemies. Having plundered their cities they deported entire populations, or the craftsmen, the artists and the nobility. They smashed the city walls, burned the houses, cut down their orchards and vineyards to destroy the **fruit**. Sargon II describes destroying the vineyards of the royal city Ulhu of Rusa:⁹⁹⁸

...great quantities of his fruit, which could not be measured, came tumbling down.....the trunks of all those trees which I had cut down I gathered together, heaped them in a pile and burned them with fire. Their abundant crops, which (in) garden and marsh (?) were immeasurable, I tore up by the root and did not leave an ear (by which) to remember the destruction.

One of the reasons behind the Assyrian policy of building administrative palaces and forts in the Northern Zagros was to secure and maintain their control of the economy of the occupied provinces. They used these palaces as centres for collecting tributes and taxes to be sent to Assyria. In Zamua during the ninth century BCE Ashurnasirpal II built storage in Atlila/Dur-Ashur in Zamua for barley and fodder.⁹⁹⁹ A fragment of an Assyrian administrative letter from the reign of Sargon mentions Assyrian administrators waiting for the royal golden seal, to seal barley rations for Zamua:¹⁰⁰⁰

(Beginning destroyed) We [are ready] to set out for the review, but Išme-ilu, the cohort commander, brings us the (king's) golden stamp seal and holds us up continually, saying: “Bring barley rations to Mazamua!”^{r. 2} What does the king, my lord, say? 4 [...] horses. (Rest destroyed).

Barley and **seed-corn** came from Mazamua.¹⁰⁰¹ The Assyrian army supplies of barley, **grain**, **wine**, and **fodder** came from the Zagros. A garrison at Kār-Aššur divided the grain rations Sargon II issued in preparation for battle, “fodder for pack-animals” and “stored grain for the troops”¹⁰⁰² Fales says the amounts “are quite large, amounting to 57,800 liters a day for the animals and 70,500 liters a day for the men.”¹⁰⁰³ Similarly, the Assyrian army was supplied with food and wine when Sargon II arrived Mannea in 714 BCE.

Administrative letters show that the Assyrian kings personally watched the wheat crop in Media. A letter was sent by the Assyrian deputy Mannu-ki-Ninua from Kār-Šarrukīn in Media replying to Sargon II:¹⁰⁰⁴

⁹⁹⁶ARAB II 452.

⁹⁹⁷ARAB II 175.

⁹⁹⁸ARAB II 161.

⁹⁹⁹RIMA II/1 A.O. 101.1ii 84b-86a; A.O.101.17, iii 136'-137'.

¹⁰⁰⁰SAA V 234.

¹⁰⁰¹SAA XIX 95.

¹⁰⁰²SAA V 250; Kar-Aššur was a city east of the Tigris on the way to Elam from Assyria, see SAA V: p.247.

¹⁰⁰³Fales and Rigo, 2014: 420; also see Radner 1997: 3-29.

¹⁰⁰⁴SAA XV 100: r.10-16.

As to the harvest about which the king, my lord, wrote to me: "Why have you not written to me how it is?" – the harvest has sprouted, (but) the ...is badly ravagedand it is raining and snowing continually.

In another letter he tells the king, "...we are cultivating the arable fields and doing our work. The king, my lord, can be glad." ¹⁰⁰⁵ Similarly, the governor of Arrapha, Issa-duri relays good news: "It has rained a lot. The harvest will be good. The king, my lord, can be glad." ¹⁰⁰⁶

Hundreds of **wooden beams** were collected as tribute by the Kummeans, Ukkeans and others. In several cities 460 beams were collected when the Assyrian high official Gabbu-ana-Aššur had been asked for them by Sargon to be brought to Assyria. The local people helped him in the first two stages of transport, but then he could not continue. He tells the king that the water of the Upper Zab river was too low: ¹⁰⁰⁷

By the god of the king, my lord, the day that the beams came to me, the [...] (official) did not leave me; (I swear) the [beams] are on the [river] ba[nk] ..., but the water in the river is [low], and the difficult spots of [the river are many].

Another letter to Sargon II mentions transporting timber on the Upper Zab: ¹⁰⁰⁸

On the 17th I and Kišir-Aššur went to the Zab river and inspected the timber; the logs were many, [as many] as we could possibly desire.

Other products, such as **corn** and barley for the *Nusāhē*-tax (corn-tax), ¹⁰⁰⁹ were transported by boat from the Northern Zagros. Some merchants used river transport for grain from Hiptunu in the reign of Sennacherib, probably after 684 B.C. ¹⁰¹⁰

Assyrians posted to the Zagros sometimes became involved in the local economy. A garden near the Median city Kišešlu/Kār-Nabū was sold by a chariot team of Emuq-Ashur, the Assyrian commander (*šaknu*) of Kār-Nabū. ¹⁰¹¹ The relevant sales document was found in Ashur, but Radner correctly says that the garden was in Media, for the witnesses were mainly governors from neighbouring provinces or Assyrian employees in Kār-Nabū. ¹⁰¹²

Wine was part of booty from the palace stores of the Northern Zagros. Ashurnasirpal II took wine from Tammu, Kurruru and Simesu, Simerra, Ulmania, Adauš, the lands of Hargaiia and Harmasaia. ¹⁰¹³ Sargon II plundered wine and corn from Ulhu (modern Hatevan III), ¹⁰¹⁴ the capital city of Rusa near Urmia: ¹⁰¹⁵

....into Ulhu, the store city (lit., city of properties) of Ursā I entered triumphantly;
"... It's filled-up granaries I opened and let my army devour its abundant grain, in measureless quantities. Its guarded (?) wine cellars I entered, and the wide spreading hosts of Ashur drew the good wine from (the skin) bottles like river water.

¹⁰⁰⁵SAA XV 94: 14-15.

¹⁰⁰⁶Radner 2000: 236.

¹⁰⁰⁷SAA V 117; see also, Matilla 1999c, PNA I/ 2: B-G: 413-414.

¹⁰⁰⁸SAA 1 162: 4-8.

¹⁰⁰⁹SAA V: p. XXVII; no.82.

¹⁰¹⁰Parker 1954: 44-45

¹⁰¹¹Radner 2013: 450.

¹⁰¹²Radner 2013: 450.

¹⁰¹³RIMA I, RIMA II A.O. 101.1: i 54b-58a, Levine 1972: lines: 40-41, p.39.

¹⁰¹⁴Burney 1977: 4.

¹⁰¹⁵ARAB II 161.

Esarhaddon used the “*wine of the mountain*” beside normal wine, oil, butter, and honey when rebuilding the temples in Babylonia.¹⁰¹⁶

Wine was sent as tribute also to Zamua. The Assyrian eponym of Mazamua, Šarru-emuranni, assured Sargon II that the wine he had asked for was ready.¹⁰¹⁷

As to the wine about which the king, my lord, wrote me: “Set aside 200 homers for the garrison!” – I have set aside as much of it as the king, my lord, wrote.

The expression DUG.šá-za-mu-u in offering schedules is translated as “*Zamuan-type wine jars*” and as “*skin/jars of Zamuan wine*”.¹⁰¹⁸ Fales assumes that DUG.šá-za-mu-u and GEŠTIN me-zi DUG.šá-za-mu-u, GEŠTIN la-’u-’u in Assyrian records were well-known wines in the Neo-Assyrian Empire.¹⁰¹⁹

Middle Assyrian food lists mention offerings for the deities, and the term *zamru*, is “*a regular presence in food lists for the gods and temples.*”¹⁰²⁰ One text mentions **vineyards** and **fruit groves**, and “*100 (containers) of (a)zamru (za-am-ru sa-mu-hu) ‘mixed fruit’.*”¹⁰²¹ Fales noted “*that the association/opposition between zamru and nuts occurs also in administrative texts.*”¹⁰²² GIŠ.za-ma-ri occurs alongside GIŠ.duk-di, “*almonds*”, as Fales noticed, in the Banquet stela of Ashurnasirpal II it’s mentioned with nuts.¹⁰²³ It could be that the word *zamru* was related to the Zamuan city of Zamru.¹⁰²⁴ Also, a group of GIŠ.NÁ za-mar it has been recorded.¹⁰²⁵ Fales translates *zamru/azamru sammuhu* as “*mixed fruit trees*”.¹⁰²⁶

The Zagros was one of the richest areas of pastoralism during the Iron Age. The mountainous terrain is not the best for agriculture all through the year, but it provided good pastures. Its rich grass attracted shepherds and pastoralists.

Thousands of sheep, goats and cattle are recorded among the booty taken to Assyria, showing how plentiful the livestock was in the Zagros. Taking this booty weakened the local economy. An Assyrian administrative letter mentions sheep in Mazamua.¹⁰²⁷

2.8.2. Trade and commercial activities between Assyria and the Northern Zagros and beyond

Trading between the Mesopotamian plains and the Zagros has a long history. It was in progress in prehistoric times, especially during the Chalcolithic and it was organized by the

¹⁰¹⁶ ARAB II 659C.

¹⁰¹⁷ SAA V 203: 4-6.

¹⁰¹⁸ Fales 1989: 57.

¹⁰¹⁹ Fales 1989: 57, note 27; also see CAD M/2, pp.148b-149a.

¹⁰²⁰ Fales 1989: 57.

¹⁰²¹ Fales 1989: 52ff.

¹⁰²² Fales 1989:57f.

¹⁰²³ Fales 1989:57f.

¹⁰²⁴ Zamru city was occupied by Assurnasirpal II, for further details see RIMA II: A.0.101.1: ii 60b-62a. Probably Zamru was somewhere in the mountains of the modern district of Hawraman at the Iraqi-Iranian border east of Sharezur plain. It is one of the most famous areas for nuts.

¹⁰²⁵ See Fales 1989: 57, note 30.

¹⁰²⁶ Fales 1989: 58.

¹⁰²⁷ SAA VII 136: ii7; SAA VII 172: 16; and for further details about pastoralism in the Zagros, and precisely in Zamua, for proposed details see Greco 2003: 70ff.

state from the Early Bronze Age.¹⁰²⁸ Perhaps the best record about the commercial activities between Sumer and the mountains and beyond is in the epic of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta.¹⁰²⁹

The landscape and economic resources of the mountains of the Zagros clearly differ from those of the plains and hills of Assyria. The different resources of raw materials encouraged Assyrian trade with the Zagros during the Old, Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods. But we have little data concerning commercial activities, especially when compared to the very detailed data for the Old Assyrian trade between Ashur and Anatolia, with the *kārum* of Kültepe-Kanesh, during the 19-18th centuries BCE. The Assyrians travelled to many towns and cities in Anatolia and, according to Veenhof the Assyrians “*had established “colonies” (kārum) and “trading-stations” (wabartum) from where they managed their trade.*”¹⁰³⁰

The available Assyrian records showing that commercial activities were organized during the Neo-Assyrian period are a few Assyrian letters and the Assyrian annals. But they give a one-sided view about trade and economy. It has been assumed that the Assyrian sources of **tin** were in the Zagros and beyond.¹⁰³¹ During the Middle Assyrian period, commercial activities flourished between Assyria and the west as far as the Mediterranean coast.¹⁰³² But no such interest was shown east to the Zagros. It was not a neglected area, but the Assyrians and Kassites struggled to control the Northern Zagros, especially the area between the Lower Zab and the Upper Diyala/Sirwan. One reason why the Babylonian king Simbar-shupak attacked Zamua was competition with the Assyrians for control of commercial routes to the economical resources in the Zagros.¹⁰³³

Assyrian trading with the Northern Zagros was to obtain goods which were insufficiently or not at all available. Sometimes they acted as intermediary traders, as when lapis lazuli was brought along the Khorasan road and then sent to Assyria, and from there it reached Syria and beyond. Goods probably reached the Zagros through Assyrian intermediaries transported in overland trade.¹⁰³⁴ Internal and external commercial activities both features in this overland trade.

Some merchants may have added political activities, by acting as government spies, to trading activities. Most of the overland merchants were conversant with other languages. Sargon II asked Nabû-ḫamātua the governor of Mazamua, to send a merchant to him:¹⁰³⁵

As to Bēl-ahhe, the merchant about whom the king, my lord, wrote, I shall secretly send word that they bring him to me, and I shall (then) send him t[o the king, my lord].

Probably Sargon wanted to meet the merchant to discuss something unrelated to commerce, which is why he uses the word ‘*secretly*’ (*šá-pal ŠU.2 a-šap-pa-r[a] ú-bal-u-ni-šú*).¹⁰³⁶ He

¹⁰²⁸For further details about the Mesopotamian and Zagrosian (including Iranian) contacts and interactions in the Chalcolithic, see Rothman 2001: 349-402; Algze 2001: 27-85; Henrickson 1983; Zimansky 1995a: 1136.

¹⁰²⁹Vanstiphout 2003: 49ff; Kramer 1952.

¹⁰³⁰Veenhof 2014: 837. Also see Veenhof and Eidem 2008; Dercksen 2004; Larsen 1967; Larsen 1976.

¹⁰³¹Further details will be in the next pages about tin trade.

¹⁰³²Faist 2006: 147-160.

¹⁰³³Liverani 2014: 462.

¹⁰³⁴Brown 1986: 111, note 13.

¹⁰³⁵SAA V 218: r. 9-12.

¹⁰³⁶SAA V 218: 9-12.

may know information important to the king, or the king wants him to gather intelligence in a foreign land. We cannot tell whether this merchant was working as an Assyrian spy under the guise of a merchant, or working for other parties in Zamua or elsewhere, and Sargon II wanted to bring him in for investigation.

Neo-Assyrian records show that even Zagrosian deportees were active in commercial activities. The Hundurian (Ḫundurāyē/ Ḫarḫarāyē) family, deported from Hundur in Media to Ashur by Sargon II,¹⁰³⁷ supervised commercial activities with Media. Radner concluded from their archives in Ashur that their trade involved hiring caravans and manpower,¹⁰³⁸ and that they probably introduced “the art of hand-knotting carpets with a pile” into the Assyrian heartland.¹⁰³⁹ No specific destinations for the caravans are mentioned, but Radner assumes that the “staff were given contracts for seven to twelve months, which were to cover both lengths of the trip; it is clear that these were long-distance journeys.”¹⁰⁴⁰

In addition to organized trading, smugglers operated between Assyria and the Northern Zagros. In an Assyrian administrative letter Aššur-rešuwa reports to Sargon II that Kummeans were smuggling goods between Assyria and Urartu.¹⁰⁴¹

¹⁻¹²[To the ki]ng, my lord: [yo]ur [servant] Aššur-rešuwa. [Good] health to the king, my lord! Burê, Eziye, Gamalu and Ehiye, in all four (men) under Ariazâ; Kumayu and Biriun, in all two (men) under Ariye — these six Kummeans go and stay in Bususu, a town in the domain of the chief cupbearer. The inhabitants of Bususu purchase Assyrian luxury items in Calah and Nineveh and sell them to these Kummeans. These Kummeans enter the town Aira of the house of Kaqqadanu, ruled by Saniye, a city lord subject to the governor of Calah, and bring (the merchandise) from there to Urartu. From over there they import luxury items here.

^{r. 6-9}The king, my lord, should write to [Sani]ye, the city lord, that he should arrest these Kummeans and send them to the king, my lord. The king, my lord, should ask them where they buy these valuables, where they sell them, who receives them from their hands, and who lets them pass (the border).

Another interesting letter sent to Sargon II deals with merchants who brought slaves from Assyria to Kirruir and Hargu, the local Assyrian ruler, and the local merchants were unhappy, for the letter suggests that the slaves were sold cheap, which was a challenge against the local ruler and the local merchants. Two merchants who at that moment were in Arbail are mentioned by name at the end of the letter.¹⁰⁴²

A. The Assyrian *kārums* in the Zagros

The Assyrians from the early second millennium BCE had showed eagerness in trading. One of their commercial achievements was establishing *kārum* trade centres in Anatolia at Kanesh and Kültepe. The Akkadian term *kāru(m)* means ‘trading quay, station, harbor.’¹⁰⁴³

¹⁰³⁷TCL III 270.

¹⁰³⁸Radner 2007: 196.

¹⁰³⁹Radner 2007: 196; Ádám Vár, 2014: 798, note.67; Radner 2013: 488.

¹⁰⁴⁰Radner 2013: 488.

¹⁰⁴¹SAA V 100; also, see SAAS IV: 66; SAA V: p.11.

¹⁰⁴²SAA V 150; for further details about that text see below.

¹⁰⁴³CAD K 231 ff.

And these *kārum*s were the final destinations for trading products on the road from Ashur to central Anatolia.¹⁰⁴⁴ Similarly, during the Neo-Assyrian period, the Assyrians started to establish or take over existing *kārum*s for trading on the roads to the Zagros and beyond and on the roads to the Mediterranean coast. Ashurnasirpal II built a city near the banks of the Middle Euphrates called Kār-Ashurnasirpal (modern Tell Masaikh).¹⁰⁴⁵ In the mid-eighth century BCE Assyrian kings established more *Bēt kāri* “house of trade” in the Assyrian empire, such as Tiglath-pileser III at Gaza.¹⁰⁴⁶

Sargon II and Sennacherib renamed several Median cities with the name of a deity or of themselves prefixed with *kāru*. Sargon II renamed six Median cities: Kār-Nergal (Kišessim), Kār-Šarruken (Harhar), Kār-Nabû (Kišešlu), Kār-Sin (Qindau), Kār-Adad (Anzaria), Kār-Ištar (Bīt-Bagaia).¹⁰⁴⁷ Sennacherib renamed Elenzaš as Kār-Sin-ahhe-eriba.¹⁰⁴⁸ These cities were located on the Khorasan trade road from Assyria and beyond the Zagros to Media. Gold and silver probably came from east of the Zagros along the Khorasan road through Media to Assyria. According to Brown these *kāru* towns were commercial centers for distributing goods.¹⁰⁴⁹ Even before Sargon II and Sennacherib renamed them they may have been commercial centres with Media strategically located on the Khorasan road in Media. Renaming them may have been a sign that the Assyrians reorganized commercial activities in them to suit long-distance trade on the Khorasan Road from further east through Media and the Zagros to Assyria and beyond. Radner says that establishing *bēt kāri* in the Zagros and to the west of Assyria helped trade and commerce “*along the Khorasan Road via Media as far as the Mediterranean coasts.*”¹⁰⁵⁰ Brown assumes that in Media they “*functioned, as the other Assyrian kārus did elsewhere in the Assyrian empire*”, and that the large quantities of copper and lapis lazuli obtained in the Zagros indicates an “*ongoing long-distance trade in these commodities*”, using the cities “*as commercial entrepôts.*”¹⁰⁵¹

As yet it remains unknown (future excavations may help) whether the Assyrians built trade houses outside of these cities apart from the Median ones, as happened before in Kārum-Kanesh in the Old Assyrian period, or whether *kārum*s were centred on the Median cities. In any case these Median cities flourished with the long-distance commercial activities. Radner says they “*must have profited enormously from the rich trade between Mesopotamia and Central Iran and beyond.*”¹⁰⁵²

In addition to the Median cities which were renamed with the prefix *Kāru*, there were three other *Kārus* in the Northern Zagros. One is mentioned in an Assyrian administrative letter from the reign of Sargon II dealing with slave-trading and merchants. An Assyrian merchant came to the territory of Kurruri, Hargu and the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekali*) office sold slaves in URU.ka-a-ri, a trade colony.¹⁰⁵³ The second is further north in the land of Musasir, in the 9th

¹⁰⁴⁴Matney 2012: 567.

¹⁰⁴⁵RIMA II A.O.101.1: iii 50; Ádám Vér 2014: 791.

¹⁰⁴⁶Radner 2014: 109.

¹⁰⁴⁷ARAB II 10;11; and 14; Waters 2005: 520; Radner 2013: 450.

¹⁰⁴⁸RINAP III/1 3:32.

¹⁰⁴⁹Brown 1986: 112.

¹⁰⁵⁰Radner 2014b: 109-110.

¹⁰⁵¹Brown 1986: 112.

¹⁰⁵²Radner 2013: 450.

¹⁰⁵³SAA V 150.

century Zapparia is mentioned by Shalmaneser III as the most important stronghold there at the time:¹⁰⁵⁴

He (the field marshal Daiiān-Aššur) marched to Zapparia, the fortified city of the land Musasir. He captured Zapparia, together with forty-six cities belonging to the people of (the city) Musasir (URU zap-pa-ri-a URU dan-nu-ti-sú šá KUR mu-sa-si-ra a-lik URU zap-pa-ri-a a-di 46 URU.MES-M šá URU mu-sa-si-ra-a-a).

Zapparia appears again in the Assyrian records as Kār-siparri ([KUR].Kār-UD.KA.BAR), a trade colony near Musasir.¹⁰⁵⁵ The third one is Dur-Ashur, the Zamuan city of Atlila, which is assumed to be one of the important cities on the Khorasan road. This is not certain, though it was an important economic centre, and Ashurnasirpal II collected barley and straw there from the surrounding lands.¹⁰⁵⁶

B. The Karavanserai of Arzizi (Rabat Tepe)

Recent excavations at Rabat Tepe revealed important archaeological evidence, most importantly glazed bricks. Some are inscribed, enabling the site to be identified as the Zamuan city Arzizi. The temple was dedicated to Bel (Marduk) and Nabû, and the ruler of the city was Ada. Excavations revealed important pebble mosaic ground cover for a caravanserai (trade center),¹⁰⁵⁷ like the one at Ashur, “the Karavanserai pebble mosaic.”¹⁰⁵⁸ Reade and Finkel drew attention to an Assyrian administrative letter which refers to Assyrian king’s subjects who went from Carchemish to Ar-[zi-zi] in Zamua. Parpola and Lanfranchi say that that Arzizi is the same as Arzizi of Zamua/Mazamua.¹⁰⁵⁹ Reade and Finkel say it is the Arzizi mentioned on the glazed brick of Rabat Tepe, and that Rabat Tepe is ancient Arzizi.¹⁰⁶⁰

C. Traded goods and slaves

Slaves and various goods were traded between Assyria and the Zagros. In the early pictographic inscriptions of Uruk the sign for a woman followed by the sign for a mountain indicated a female slave.¹⁰⁶¹ Since the Early Bronze Age the mountains of the Zagros have been one of the sources of slaves. They were mainly taken to the Mesopotamian plains, later to Nuzi, and to Assyria.¹⁰⁶² People taken into slavery, especially from the Zagros, had either been captured during the military campaigns or kidnapped or sold on the markets.¹⁰⁶³

¹⁰⁵⁴RIMA III A.0.102.14: 178-179.

¹⁰⁵⁵SAA V 12.

¹⁰⁵⁶Liverani 2004: 216ff; Levine 1974: 100ff.

¹⁰⁵⁷Reade & Finkel, 2014: 584.

¹⁰⁵⁸Reade & Finkel 2014: 584. For further details about the textual evidence concerning Rabat Tepe (Arzizi) as one of the trade centres in the Northern Zagros see Chapter II, 2.8.2.a.

¹⁰⁵⁹SAA V :p. 246.

¹⁰⁶⁰Reade & Finkel 2014: 584. Reade and Finkel in their paper refer to the letter 175 in SAA V, in fact, however, the letter is (SAA V 243). The people of Carchemish that were mentioned were not merchants but apparently runaways. For further details see Chapter I, 1.5. “Runaways”. For further details about the textual evidence concerning Rabat Tepe (Arzizi) see above, 2.2., 2.3.

¹⁰⁶¹Labat 1988: 558, p.231.

¹⁰⁶²For further details about the terms for slaves in ancient Mesopotamia see Gelb 1982: 81-98.

¹⁰⁶³For instance see SAAS IV; Cole 1996: 61; Zaccagnini 1977: pp.175, 182, 187-188.

The land of the Lullubeans was one of the sources of slavery, not only during the Bronze Age but also during the Early Iron Age. Nuzi slaves came mainly from trade with the Lullubeans. Sometimes slaves originally from Arrapha were bought from the Lullubeans/Nullu and then brought to Nuzi. They were cheaper than the same slaves bought in Arrapha or Nuzi.¹⁰⁶⁴ But we do not seem to have any data concerning trade activities between the Northern Zagros and Assyria during the Middle Assyrian period, except for the mention of a Lullubean who sold a slave girl. He was called Ba-IA-ú-ri (Bayuri or Bayauri), recorded in the archive of Urad-Šerūa, as coming from Paranzi.¹⁰⁶⁵

During the Neo-Assyrian period, the Assyrian and probably also Zagrosian merchants were trading in slaves. From an Assyrian capital such as Nimrud or from Arbail they ‘went up’ to Kirruri to the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekali*) to do their business.¹⁰⁶⁶ Recently an Assyrian slave sale contract was accidentally found near Gird-i Bazar, in the area of the mound (tell) of Qalat-i Dinka (Dinga) in the Pishder plain, near the basin of the Lower Zab. The contract was already published by Radner and is dated to the eponym year of Maḥdê, i.e. 725 BCE in the reign of Shalmaneser V. This slave sale document and other Assyrian administrative letter (SAA V 150) are indicating that during the Neo-Assyrian period in the territory of the Palace Herald perhaps there was a slave market. The text of Gird-i Bazar was written “*in Neo-Assyrian language and script*” by a non-native writer. Radner considers the scribe to be one of the Assyrian scribes “*whose native language did not sufficiently prepare them to understand the Assyrian stative verbal forms.*”¹⁰⁶⁷ The document records the purchase of a slave woman called Kablâ (*kab-la-a*) owned by Hazā, a person with a West Semitic name. She was bought by “*Urdî, servant of Issār-dūrî*” for “*28 minas of copper*”. The witnesses were Ninuāyu and Haruašu. Haruašu is a local Zagrosian name and he functioned as the “*servant of the Palace Herald.*”¹⁰⁶⁸ Radner says this fact “*strongly suggests that the transaction took place in the province of the Palace Herald,*” and that “*the Palace Herald’s province may well have been centred in the Raniya region.*”¹⁰⁶⁹ This statement needs to be qualified, because there are other Assyrian administrative letters which confirm that the Palace Herald was located beyond Kirruri, somewhere between Musasir and Kirruri.¹⁰⁷⁰ Moreover, the recent sale document studied by Radner did not come from an archaeological excavation. It could have been carried by one of the parties from the place where the original agreement was made to another place far from the Palace Herald. Or at that time the area of Pishder and Rania was a territory under the control of the Palace Herald with its centre further north-west in the modern Ruwanduz valley.¹⁰⁷¹

Another letter confirms that the territory under the Palace Herald was one of the flourishing slave markets, therefore sometimes Assyrian merchants going up to the Northern Zagros brought slaves with them. In an Assyrian administrative letter (previously mentioned)

¹⁰⁶⁴For further details, for instance see Zaccagnini 1977: 175, 182, 187-188.

¹⁰⁶⁵van Soldt, et al., 2013: 214f; Postgate 1988: 123; Faist 2001: 183fn. 165.

¹⁰⁶⁶For further details, see below.

¹⁰⁶⁷Radner 2015: 194-195.

¹⁰⁶⁸Radner 2015: 192f.

¹⁰⁶⁹Radner 2015: 195-196.

¹⁰⁷⁰Also see Parpola & Porter 2001: map.4.

¹⁰⁷¹For further details concerning the location of the Palace Herald see Lanfranchi 1995; Postgate 1995; and Marf 2015.

some merchants brought slaves from Assyria and sold them in Habruri/Kirruri, Hargu in the territory of the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekali*). The letter was sent to Sargon II from Atanha-Šamaš, who was probably at the time the Assyrian ruler of Arbail.¹⁰⁷²

⁴⁻¹⁵*The Palace should hold back the merchant [Atarha]m (who) is [in Habr]uri. Earlier, before my time, he used to go to Hargu and collect his money [...] there. (When) they made [...the]re, I arrested him, saying: [“Did not] the crown prince, our lord, rule [lik]e this: ‘Nobody shall put [bought] men up for sale in a trade colony?’ [W]hy then have you put bought men up for sale [at one m]ina each?” [Last ye]ar, when the king my lord was not yet enthroned, [he had already put a bo]ught man up for sale in a trade colony. The king, my lord, [should call him] to account [.....] (break)*

^{r. 1-15}*[NN], a subordinate of Zam[i...; ...]a’, a servant of [NN], and [...]am, a subordinate of Harmi[...] – these [three mer]chants are my [witnesses]; they are not involved. [When] Atarham the merchant went up to [...], I sent a certain {Hab}si to Šulmu-beli, [the deputy of] the Palace Herald. As soon as he gets back through the pass, he will bring both Luqu and [...]am [to the ki]ng, my lord; [the king, my lo]rd, should question them. I have been informed [as] follows: “Habsi and Marduk-remanni are [in] Arbela.*

The letter raises some important points. All the Assyrian rulers of Kirruri and the Palace Herald were complaining about the merchant and were probably encouraging other merchants trading there to tell the Assyrian rulers and the king about him buying slaves in the Assyrian heartland to sell in Kirruri and Hargu. He was paying only one *mina*, less than the usual price for a slave. The deputy of the Palace Herald takes the merchant back through the pass, probably the Gali Ali-Beg pass east of the Upper Zab, which separated Kirruri from Hiptunu where the Palace Herald’s office was based. The context of the letter shows that the merchants were supervised by the Assyrian king, and that probably rules applied to the type of trade and trading destinations, to which the merchants who acted as witnesses usually travelled. The mention of Arbail shows that such commerce took place in the Assyrian capitals with Kirruri and the territory of the Palace Herald. Atanha-Šamaš was responsible for watching and investigating commercial activities in this triangle.

In the letter a “**trade colony**” is mentioned twice, in the lines 12 (*ka-a-ri*) and 17 (URU.*ka-a-ri*) in the letter as the place where the slaves were sold, probably an important market place for slave trading. Thus it appears that during the Middle and the Neo-Assyrian periods the Zagros remained a source of slaves, which is why some Assyrian legal documents note the price of slaves in the *mina* of the mountain (*ša KUR-e*).¹⁰⁷³

The man of Karalla sold his daughters, but tell them “run away and come to me!”

An Assyrian administrative letter indirectly sheds light on selling slaves and legal procedures in the Northern Zagros. The beginning of the letter is missing but the sender was perhaps the Assyrian governor of Karalla writing to Sargon II.¹⁰⁷⁴

¹⁰⁷²SAA V 150.

¹⁰⁷³Radner 1999: 131-132.

¹⁰⁷⁴SAA XV 74. In several Assyrian administrative letters runaways were mentioned, for further details see SAA XV 75, also see Hipp, K, Jr. (forthcoming) “Fugitives in the State Archives of Assyria” [in:] N. N. May, S Svärd (eds.), *Change in Neo-Assyrian Imperial Administration: Evolution and Revolution*, SAAB XXI.

“.....t]his [man] had so[ld his] daug[hters for money i]n Karalla. (Later) he put [...] salt in a bag and put his seal in it, went off, and sent it to his daughter(s), saying: “Run away and come to me!” An Itu’ean whom I had appointed as a ...in the fort, and who returned this salt, said it to a bodyguard, and the bodyguard wrote (about it) to the king, my lord. As to what the king, my lord, wr[o]te to me, no Karalleans remained (here so) I (could), not ask them, nor are there corn rations, wine, ...(or) kudimmu (salt) that they would be giving them.”

Raw **metals** and metal objects obtained by the Assyrians from the Zagros and beyond, it included tin, copper, iron, silver and gold. There is uncertainty about the source of the tin at Karum Kanish traded in the colonies of the 19th-18th century BCE. The Old Assyrian records in Kanesh make no mention of the origin of the tin brought to Kanesh by the Assyrians, it has been suggested that the tin shipped from Assur to Kanesh had been brought to Assur from the east, from the Zagros and beyond.¹⁰⁷⁵ It seems that the nearest source of tin for the Assyrians was in the northeast, in and beyond the Northern Zagros in Azerbaijan (Iran). In the Karadagh mountains east of Tabriz there is a rich deposit of tin, which is linked by Aubet to the large quantity of tin mentioned in a letter of Shamshi-Adad I. Aubet assumes that probably Shamshi-Adad I got it from (or via) Šušarra (modern Tell Shemshara) in the Rania plain.¹⁰⁷⁶ Kramer also assumes it came via Šušarra, as a result of Shamshi-Adad I’s campaigns on the Northern Zagros, in particular his activities at the Lower Zab.¹⁰⁷⁷ Another letter in the Shemshara archive, sent by Pišendēn, the ruler of Turukku to Yašub-Addu the ruler of Ahazum, deals with tin and copper. The suggestion is that the letter was sent when the ruler of Ahazum was allied with the Turukkeans, and Pišendēn asks Yašub-Addu for tin, copper and other items:¹⁰⁷⁸

rev. All [I] want [...]14 minas of pure metal,..... I need the copper and the tin for (the manufacture of) weapons. Have them delivered with all dispatch. These goods must not be lost!

The “ancient copper-tin mine discovered at Deh Hosein” in Luristan is considered “a possible clue for the Enigma of Bronze Age tin.”¹⁰⁷⁹ Deh Hosein is only one of the known sites for mining, and there will have been other sites in the western Zagros much closer to Mesopotamia and Assyria. Shalmaneser III in his campaign on Namri says: “I went up to Mount Tunni, the silver mountain, (and) Mount Mulû, the alabaster mountain, (and) erected my mighty steles on them. I carried away alabaster in quantities so large it could not be reckoned.”¹⁰⁸⁰

Burney assumes that one of the sources of Assyrian tin was in the area of Tabriz. In the tin trade the Assyrian merchants probably reached beyond the Zagros as far as Marlik.¹⁰⁸¹ He

¹⁰⁷⁵Aubet 2013: 291. For further details about the Assyrian copper trade see Dercksen 1998:271-277; Dercksen 2004: 17-22. Also see Cuénod, et al., 2015: 29-48, esp. seetable 1-2, and fig.1.

¹⁰⁷⁶Aubet 2013: 292, note. 8; also see Muscarella 1980b: 215f.

¹⁰⁷⁷Kramer 1977: pp.91-112, esp. p.98.

¹⁰⁷⁸Eidem & Læssøe, 2001: p. 140-1: no. 67.

¹⁰⁷⁹Nezafati et al., 2011: 211ff; Nezafati, et al., 2009: 223-236. Also see Cuénod, et al., 2015: 29-48, esp. see table 1-2, and fig.1.

¹⁰⁸⁰RIMA III A.0.102.40: iii 1-20.

¹⁰⁸¹Burney 1977: 6f.

supposes that the Mesopotamian tin trade with Trans-Caucasia started during the Sumerian period, and later extended to Anatolia from north-western Iran.¹⁰⁸² Sevin says that the funeral statues of Hakkari (Ukku province) were probably made for rich local chieftains in the second half of the second millennium BCE. In that area they were pastoralists, participating in the overland tin trade from Central Asia and Caucasia to Mesopotamia via Alborz and the Zagros passes.¹⁰⁸³ Sevin bases his argument on Nuzi Ware and Aras painted rhyta in the tombs of these chieftains, which show evidence of commerce.¹⁰⁸⁴ But more evidence is needed. The style of the steles and the iconography show influence from the far north and east and some similarities with statues in the neighbouring province in Musasir, but the exact dating of the steles remains a problem.¹⁰⁸⁵ The interruption of tin to Kanesh was linked to the abandoning and destruction of Šušara, presumably the eastern *kārum* for receiving tin from the Zagros and beyond.¹⁰⁸⁶

The merchant Nur-kubi, perhaps returning from Zamua, borrowed copper and bronze.¹⁰⁸⁷ Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) obtained tin from Nairi,¹⁰⁸⁸ and a text from Tell al Rimah mentions tin traded from Nairi.¹⁰⁸⁹ Iron, tin and copper were also probably obtained from the Northern Zagros and traded in Assyria.¹⁰⁹⁰ Assurnasirpal II in his annals claims that he received gold and silver tribute from conquered places in Zamua: “*I put all the land (of Zamua) under one control; horses, silver, gold, grain (barley), straw, and forced labour I imposed upon them.*”¹⁰⁹¹

Recently, a Zamuan Iron Age city or stronghold was discovered at **Tell Sitak**. The iron ore and iron objects as well as tin and lead discovered there led the excavators to assume that during the Iron Age iron smiths worked on the site.¹⁰⁹² Also, the Iron Age fort of Warraz in Sharbazher district to the north of Sitak was one of the Iron Age forts may protected the iron sources in the mount of Warraz.¹⁰⁹³ The Assyrians plundered a huge amount of metal objects from Zagrosian cities, especially from Musasir: gold, silver, and copper from the temple, the palace and houses in the city, and even a huge statue of Rusa.¹⁰⁹⁴

Precious stones and wooden beams came from the Zagros and beyond. Lapis lazuli in the ancient Near East came from east of the Zagros, traded all the way along the Khorasan Road. Zagrosians, and especially Medes in the area where the road passed through Media to Assyria played their part. The demand for lapis lazuli was so big that comparisons are made with the

¹⁰⁸²Burney 1977:6.

¹⁰⁸³Sevin 2005 b: 165.

¹⁰⁸⁴Özfiat 2001: 209-228; Sevin 2005 b: 165; Sevin 2005a; Sevin 2011: 362-366.

¹⁰⁸⁵Marf, D.A., (forthcoming) 2016: Back to the Land of Muṣaṣir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012), *BAR*; Marf 2014: 13-29.

¹⁰⁸⁶Aubert 2013: 292, note.8.

¹⁰⁸⁷Zaccagnini 1977: 186-187.

¹⁰⁸⁸Aubert 2013: 292, note.8.

¹⁰⁸⁹Wiseman 1968: 175ff; also see Muscarella 1980b: 215f.

¹⁰⁹⁰Kramer 1977: 98.

¹⁰⁹¹ARAB II: 451.

¹⁰⁹²Saber, et al., 2013: 251; Saber, et al, 2015: 205-229.

¹⁰⁹³For further details see Marf, D.A., (forthcoming), “Ancient Fortifications and Architectural Ruins between Lower Zab and Sirwan (Upper Diyala) rivers (Preliminary report on field work),” in: Morello, N., et al., (eds.): *BEYOND MILITARY: FORTIFICATIONS AND TERRITORIAL POLICIES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST*, Brill.

¹⁰⁹⁴ARAB II: 173; for further details see Chapter III, 3.8.

Silk and Spice Roads of later periods.¹⁰⁹⁵ The main source was the Badakhshan Mountains in Afghanistan.¹⁰⁹⁶ Precious stones came from Zamua, Kumme, Media to Assyria.¹⁰⁹⁷ Parpola entitles SAA V 284 “*Carnelian from Kumme*,” but it would be better to re-title the letter since the Ukkeans, not Kumme, are mentioned in what remains of the letter:¹⁰⁹⁸

The [...] of the Ukkean are [...] with him. [... A]riyašâ has brought carnelian [...] to Silim-Aššur [...] good [...] second best. (Rest destroyed).

Tiglath-pileser III in his annals mentions a tribute of about nine tons of lapis lazuli from the Medes in Big/kni Mount (KUR.Bi-ik-ni), which he calls the “*mountain of lapis lazuli*.”¹⁰⁹⁹ Sennacherib, also mentions Bikni.¹¹⁰⁰

In the reign of Tiglath-pileser III there was also trading in **antimony**. According to an Assyrian administrative letter,¹¹⁰¹ antimony was obtained from Zamua, four men were responsible for a “*consignment of antimony...*”¹¹⁰² One of them named Sar-uarri probably originated from Mazamua. Modern geological studies show that the Zagros, particularly west of Hamadan to Sanandaj (Sina) and south to the Alvand range and the Iraqi border, was a source of antimony.¹¹⁰³

Horses and **mules** were obtained by trade for the Assyrians as well as from tributes or taxes, from the Zagrosians. Some Assyrian merchants were “horse-traders” (LÚ.DAM.GÀR ANŠE.KUR.RA), and¹¹⁰⁴ some were named. Nadin-Ea (Na-din-ia) was LU. DAM. QAR ANSE. KUR. RA. MEŠ.¹¹⁰⁵ One document records a trade of 730 horses,¹¹⁰⁶ and another mentions nine differently coloured horses. Adad-issiya, the Assyrian eponym of Mazamua, writes that merchants are coming with 70 and 200 horses.¹¹⁰⁷ Sargon asks a merchant to find him specially large and unusual horses in Media.¹¹⁰⁸

The king of Zikirtu sold horses to an Assyrian official, with delivery and payment in a fort. The letter sent from Issar-šumu-iqiša to the Assyrian king reports that transaction:¹¹⁰⁹

^{3-13/5}*The emissaries of the Zikirtean (king) are now coming; the messengers of the Urartian who had gone to the [Zi]kirtean are coming with them as captives. I have had money brought up and deposited in the stronghold, (relying) on the word of the Zikirtean, who said:*

¹⁰⁹⁵Wengrow 2010: 37; Muscarella 1980b: 215f.

¹⁰⁹⁶Aubet 2013: 299.

¹⁰⁹⁷SAA V 205 and 284.

¹⁰⁹⁸SAA V 284: 10-14.

¹⁰⁹⁹RINAP 17: 9b-10a; 39: 19-20; Aubet 2013: p.299, note, 13; Potts 2014a: 77.

¹¹⁰⁰RINAP I 47: 38b-39a; Zadok 2000a: 9; Zadok 2002b: 55; Levine 1974: 104; 118; Aubet 2013: 299, note, 13.

¹¹⁰¹SAA XV 363:4.

¹¹⁰²Pruzinszky 2002: 1088; SAA XV 363:4.

¹¹⁰³Maanijou & Aliani 2001: 437-440.

¹¹⁰⁴Dalley 1985: 47: 47.

¹¹⁰⁵SAA VI 86: rev.9.

¹¹⁰⁶Parker 1961: 15-67.

¹¹⁰⁷SAA V 224, obv.4-15, rev, 1-16

¹¹⁰⁸SAA V 202: 4 -10.

¹¹⁰⁹SAA V 169; SAA V p.XXV.

“I shall sell you the horses in Paššate.” Now let it be impressed upon the emissaries, as the emissaries are trying hard to back out of the word, claiming: “We have not heard about (such a promise) by our lord.”

^{R. 4}*The king should ask the second emissary; he knows that he gave the order to the commander-in-chief.*

High quality horses and mules from the Zagros came from Arzuhina, Mazamua and Media:¹¹¹⁰

⁴*As to the merchants about whom the king my lord gave me orders, I met Šarî of Kannu’ in Arzuhina. He had 70 horses. I asked him where the rest of his horses were, and he said: “[I have bou]ght 200 horses over there and will b[ring them] (later).”*

^{r.2} *[I also met NN] and ask[ed him] about [the horses]; he said: “We have bought [all of them]; they are on their way towards yo[u...].” I encountered 21 horses and 2 mules of Nabû-eriba of Calah, a subordinate of Sanî, in Arzuhina.*

The Assyrians even obtained Asian camels (some are depicted on the Balawat Gate) with two humps via the Zagros.¹¹¹¹

Horses were important for the Assyrians. Some tributes of horses were brought by Zagrosian messengers from Mannea or Medea to the Assyrian frontier or to the Assyrian court. In return they were given royal gifts and dressed in purple Sennacherib wrote:¹¹¹²

A messenger of the Mannean (king) has come to me bringing a horse as the audience gift and giving me the regards of the Mannean. I dressed him (in puple) and put a silver bracerlet on his arm.

In the Assyrian records **food** and **drink** in relation to the Zagros attested. There is a mention of **wine** called *šazamû*. Scholars have supposed the word to mean a “Zamuan wine flask” or “*šazamû* wine containers”¹¹¹³ But *šazamû* could qualify the wine or the wine vessel, and its relevance to offerings.¹¹¹⁴

An especially important foodstuff coming from the Northern Zagros and beyond was barley and other **grain**. A delivery contract for corn from the Hiptunu (Tell Haudian in Diana/Ruwanduz plain) to Kalhu via the Upper Zab river reads:¹¹¹⁵

The seal of IM.GAR-I ditto of Turši-Ištar the son of the Haruen. 56 shekels of silver belonging to Enurta-aili-iddan, Batudani, Naby-na'id, the Qutian, (which) was at their disposition. They shall deliver in Hiptunu grain according to the exchange rate of the province of the Palace Herald according to the measure of the Assyrians, 8 qa per sutu. If they do not deliver, the two of them shall bring the exchange value of 10 means of silver, the exchange value of Subartu.

¹¹¹⁰SAA V 224.

¹¹¹¹Bulliet 1990: p. 160, fig. 73.

¹¹¹²SAA I 29: r.18-21.

¹¹¹³For further details see Gaspa 2007: 162; Gaspa 2011; Fales 1989.

¹¹¹⁴“*šazamû*” (DUG ša-za-mu-ú) is translated as “a container for fine wine”. It is also suggested that it was “possibly originally a compound word meaning “(jar) of Zamua,”; see CAD Š/II p.244-245; see also Fales 1989: 57, fn. 27; Gaspa 2007: 145-184, 162. Also see above.

¹¹¹⁵Parker 1954: 44-45, letter ND. 2335. Hiptunu is considered to be the administrative centre of the Office of the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekalli*), and located between Musasir and Habruri/Kirruri, in the modern Diana-Rawanduz plain; Zadok 1978: 163-176; Marf 2015.

(Left edge): IM.GAR-I shall put down the caravan goods (or money) he took from them." 6 witnesses, dated 14th Sabatu, limmu of Nabu-šar-ušur (Post-684 B.C.?).

The letter elicits an explanation for buying corn from Hiptunu? However, the Assyrian heartland was known for producing corn. So did they import because of a poor harvest, or was corn from Hiptunu (perhaps a special type) particularly required? The reference to (*pu-tu-ḫu* SU.BAR.RIM) "*the exchange value of Subartu*" includes the traditional name of the Upper Mesopotamian heartland and part of the Northern Zagros. They could not use river transport for the whole way because the tributaries of the Upper Zab near Hiptunu, in the Diana plain by the Balak/Ruwanduz river are not navigable for boats or *kalaks*.¹¹¹⁶

Zagrosian barley and wheat sent to Assyria and beyond. We find that there was no direct contact between Syria and the Northern Zagros, but sometimes Zagrosian deportees were sent to Syria. In the Book of Ezekiel we read that Judah and Israel received wheat from Minnith:

*Judah and the land of Israel traded with you[i.e. with Tyre]; they exchanged for your merchandise wheat from Minnith, millet, honey, oil, and balm.*¹¹¹⁷ (Ezekiel 27.17).

Minnith in the book of Ezekiel is identified with the Mannean kingdom of the Northern Zagros.¹¹¹⁸ But transporting wheat so far, from Mannea to the Levant, would not have been easy and there are closer alternatives in between. If so, probably it happened only at a time of famine. Alternatively Minnith could be an Ammonite town mentioned in *Judges* 11:32, 33).¹¹¹⁹

The province of Zamua was rich in grain, and an Assyrian administrative letter refers to waiting for the seal of the Assyrian king to transport barley to Mazamua:¹¹²⁰

The cohort commander Išme-ilī is bringing us a (document sealed with the) golden signet ring of the king and continues to delay us, saying: 'Transport barley to Mazamūa!'

In a record from Sippar in southern Mesopotamia, there is a mention of some families from Mazamua and Urzuhina were active in private trade of barley with Sippar:¹¹²¹

[x] houses from Mazamua and three from Urzuhina have c[ome] to Sippar. They are picking up all of their barley [which] they left there"

In an administrative letter sent to Sargon II, there is a mention of trading seed-corn from Mazamua to Assyria:¹¹²²

⁵ *Concerin[ing the ci]ty of the (land of) [M]azam[ua]ns about which the king, my lord, wro[te] to me: "Ho[w m]uch seed-corn is there?"*

D. Transportation and the roads

Roads were crucial in facilitating the transport of goods and securing them fell to local and imperial authorities. Assyrian records give some details about roads. River transport was also

¹¹¹⁶For further details about the location of Hiptunu see Marf 2015: 127-140.

¹¹¹⁷ The translations of biblical passages are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

¹¹¹⁸ Postage 1989: 340-342; Diakonoff 1985, *CHI II*: 72.

¹¹¹⁹For further details see Horn 1960: 722; E.W.G.M., 1963: 663.

¹¹²⁰SAA V 234:4'-rev.1; Radner 2013:488; Radner 2008: 481-515.

¹¹²¹SAA XIX 115: r.6 -12, pp.117-118. Also, in one of the Babylonian Correspondence of Essarhaddon there is a mention of Arrapheans and Šamaš-šumu-ukin, for further details see SAA XVIII 186. Moreover, mill instruments and grindstones were transported from the Zagros to Babylonia. For further details see Radner 2014c: 573-580.

¹¹²²SAA XIX 95: 5.

used, especially from the rugged mountains in the foothills. Offerings from Idu (modern Satu Qala) were sent to Ashur via the Lower Zab river.¹¹²³ As mentioned earlier SAA 5 117 refers to transporting hundreds of wooden beams via the Upper Zab, used also to deliver corn from Hiptunu downstream to Kalhu.¹¹²⁴ River transportation kept open commercial contacts between Assyria and the Northern Zagros.¹¹²⁵

Land roads through the Zagros ranges encountered many rugged mountains. Contact between the valleys through the mountains relied on the passes, which had been used since Prehistoric times as gateways between valleys and plains separated by mountains. In the Zagros there are hundreds of passes, some of which are mentioned in the ancient records. Rock reliefs and royal inscriptions or steles were erected at the passes recording royal victories. The passes in ancient times would have been like modern squares in cities or cross roads, where people coming and going saw commemorative monuments. Many cities were built where routes crossed. The site of Hasanlu, in the north-western corner of the basin of Urmia is at the crossroads linking the Northern Zagros with Urartu, Musasir, Assyria, and trans-Caucasia.

Erecting steles and carving rock reliefs, with monolingual, bilingual, or trilingual inscriptions, happened on the roads and in the passes of the Zagros. Travellers on the main trade roads would see them, such as the Urartian steles of Topzawa, Kelishin, Movaneh on the road from Musasir to the Urmia basin, linking the Urmia basin with Assyria via Musasir, and the main road of Khorasan through the Behistun range, the site of the rock relief and trilingual inscriptions of Darius I.¹¹²⁶

Marcus discussed the possibility of trade contact between the Northern Zagros and Syria, and she says that material evidence from Hasanlu raises questions, which cannot be answered because of the limited available evidence. Did Assyria control the trade routes to the Northern Zagros in the 9th century BCE, or was there independent access from east to west?¹¹²⁷ Both are possibilities. It has been assumed that the Assyrians wished to control the sources for horse trade in the Urmia basin, especially in Gilzanu, one of the main sources for horses during the ninth century BCE. But later Media became a major source, and according to Reade this facilitated Urartian penetration in Musasir.¹¹²⁸

Ancient passes were not always safe for travelers. When authority was weak marauders controlled the passes and road bridges between cities and states.¹¹²⁹ Criminals in Arrapha are mentioned in an Assyrian administrative letter colluding with criminals in the area of the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekali*) far away to the west near the Upper Zab. The letter says they were making raids together near Arrapha.¹¹³⁰ A crossroads such as Arzuhina was a favourite spot for criminals, and the same letter mentions criminals there.¹¹³¹

¹¹²³van Soldt 2013: 216ff; Prechel and Freydank 2011: 65.6, p.7; Waters 2005: 523. Also, see this chapter, 2.5.13, and 2.5.14.

¹¹²⁴Parker 1954: 44-45, the letter no. ND. 2335.

¹¹²⁵SAA 1 62.

¹¹²⁶For further details about the trade roads see Hamlin 1971: 228ff; Al-Amin 1952: 53-54; Marf 2014: 14-28.

¹¹²⁷Marcus 1996: pp.41ff, 110ff.

¹¹²⁸Reade 1994: 185; Winter 2010: 433-451; Winter 1977: 371-386.

¹¹²⁹Moorey 1993: 38; Muscarella 1968: 187-196.

¹¹³⁰SAA V 227: 16.

¹¹³¹SAA V 227: r. 4-27, s.1-4.

The king, my lord, knows that Arzuhina is situated at a crossroads; the stage (mardētu) from Arzuhina to Arrakdi is a strain for the animals. The king, my lord, should give orders that a mule-express postal be stationed in Dur-Atanate, so we can strengthen each other. As to the criminals about whom the king, my lord, wrote me: "They have fallen upon the menservants of the chief confectioner in [the pass/mountain] Babiti [KUR.ba-bi-ti]", I have asked and enquired but there is nothing, and we have not heard anything. The king, my lord, wrote me: "If you do not catch the criminals, be sure you will have to pay". The criminals of Arrapha (and) of the domain of the palace herald have banded together and are making raids there. I have now moved [troops] up to keep watch; if they catch them, they will bring them t[o the king, my lord]. For now [I am sending] to the king, [my] lord, the criminals of the house of the [sartinnu] whom who fell (into my hands) near Arzuhina.

Another letter says four criminals were arrested in Arzuhina, two Arzuhineans and two Arraphaeans. They were investigated and sent to the Assyrian king.¹¹³²

Not only merchants but even Assyrian administrators faced troubles in the Northern Zagros. We read of Assyrian "horse-tax collectors" were threatened to be kidnapped by Zagrosian groups before reaching the Assyrian frontier.¹¹³³ Elsewhere we read of the post stations supplying them with mules or horses from Arzuhina to the east of Zamua. Some stations in Zamua are mentioned: Arakdi, Dur-Talite, and Dur-Atanate.¹¹³⁴ The express stations mentioned in the letter start at Arzuhina and then on to Dur-Atanate, Dur-Talite, Taggalagi, Azari and Arakdi.

In war, the roads were not safe, and an additional obstacle in the Zagros was snow, which could block a road for weeks or months in late autumn, winter and or early spring. In an Assyrian administrative letter Urzana the ruler of Musasir tells Sargon II that he could not deliver his tribute of oxen and sheep because of snow:¹¹³⁵

Snow has blocked the roads. (As) I am looking out now, it is impossible. I cannot go empty-handed to the presence of the kin[g]

Urzana's excuse was probably genuine. The area of Musasir has the highest peaks of Iraqi Zagros. Halgurd is 3607m above sea level. Even now from late autumn to early spring roads are not easily passable. Snow is sometimes more than a meter deep. For Urzana perhaps the snow came unexpectedly early or late with cattle, sheep and equids through the mountains, rugged passes and rivers. Travelling if not impossible would have been extremely risky. Even so Sargon did not accept Urzana's excuse, for later that year, in late summer or early autumn, he arrived at the border of Musasir unexpectedly from the east, and attacked Musasir because Urzana had withheld tribute and had refused to welcome Sargon II, in his annals, Sargon says that "Urzana failed to come bringing: his ample gifts, nor did he kiss my feet. He withheld his tribute, tax and gifts, and not once did he send his messenger."¹¹³⁶

The real reason for the attack was that while Sargon II had succeeded in recontrolling the Mannean districts allied with King Rusa of Urartu, he had not succeeded in capturing Rusa or

¹¹³²SAA VI 228.

¹¹³³Porter 1993: 31.

¹¹³⁴For further details see SAA 5: 227: r.4-14. Quoted above. Also see Radner 2014a: 76f.

¹¹³⁵SAA V II 146: 7-10.

¹¹³⁶ARAB II 169.

defeating the Urartian army when they withdrew to avoid battle. He did not want to go back to Assyria without showing good results, and so plundered Musasir, its temple and palace. In this way he obtained a bigger booty than ever before, and took his revenge on the Urartian king and his people, for whom Haldi was a supreme god and the temple of Musasir his sacred site, where Urartian coronations and festivals were held.¹¹³⁷

The commander of the Assyrian forts informs Sargon II in a letter that snow had blocked the roads on the northeastern frontier of Assyria,¹¹³⁸ and the Kummean leaders encounter the same problem“...*There is much snow and ice, so they cannot be picked up yet.*”¹¹³⁹

A lack of snow or rain disrupted for the transport of timber to Assyria. An Assyrian officer complains that the rivers were too shallow to float the wooden beams: “...*it has neither rained nor snowed [...], the[re is] no water in the river.*”¹¹⁴⁰

The main sources of timber during the Assyrian period were in Urartu and the buffer states between Assyria and Urartu, such as Ukku, Kurbail and Kumme, Hubuškia and Shubria.¹¹⁴¹ Different types of wooden beams are mentioned in a letter, probably coming from the mountains of Arzuhina or Mazamua and brought by the Arraphaeans:¹¹⁴²

[As] to the [.....] mihru tree [.....] Arraphaeans [.....] the beams which to [.....] poplar tree [.....] I have fetched 200 beams [.....] ...

The Assyrian campaigns aimed to control these trade roads, and secure a supply of the goods Assyria needed, as well as confirming their power and authority to collect taxes and establish *kāru* centres and forts along the roads. The aims of Sumerian kings in the Ur III period also included controlling trade routes in the Northern Zagros.¹¹⁴³

E. Measures and currency in Assyria and the Northern Zagros

External and internal commercial activities between Assyria and the Northern Zagros were not based exclusively on exchange but involved currency, such as the “*silver of Ištar of Arbailu*” mentioned in ND. 2336, or the “*pure silver of Ištar*” of Arbail in another text. The temple of Ištar of Arbail may have produced a silver currency accepted generally as legal.¹¹⁴⁴ Assyrian records also refer to several types of copper standard, such as “*the mina of Babylon.*” One text mentions “*twenty minas of copper according to the mina of the mountain*” (*ša KUR-e*), a unit used in the Zagros mountains to determine the price of several slaves.¹¹⁴⁵ Although there is no precise record referring to money as such. It has been assumed that the silver objects of Nush-I Jan were used as money. At Nush-i Jan several groups metal ingots have been discovered. Some were ring shaped, and others were semi-regular. Bivar called them

¹¹³⁷ ARAB II 171.

¹¹³⁸ SAA XIX 61: r.2.

¹¹³⁹ SAA V 105: r.4-8.

¹¹⁴⁰ Parpola & Neumann 1987:161-182.

¹¹⁴¹ SAA V 117; 33; SAA I 62; Lanfranchi 1995 134.

¹¹⁴² SAA V 253: 2-7.

¹¹⁴³ Moorey 1993:35.

¹¹⁴⁴ Parker 1954: 32; Wiseman 1953: 142, the letter ND. 3431; and for further details about the payments and currency in Assyria see Radner 1999: 127-157.

¹¹⁴⁵ Radner 1999: 131ff.

“ingot-currency,” or “ring-currency”. The edges of one may have been inscribed in cuneiform.¹¹⁴⁶ Ádám Vér says this hoard of silver was utilised “*in long-distance trade*.”¹¹⁴⁷ Also, the silver payment of the traded grain from Hiptunu to Kalhu made with (*pu-tu-ḫu* SU.BAR.RIM) “*the exchange value of Subartu*”.¹¹⁴⁸

Conclusions

In conclusion, as yet only limited records have been discovered in the Northern Zagros. They are mainly in Akkadian, and almost nothing is known about records in local Zagrosian languages. The huge amount of Assyrian records far outweigh the others, partly because Assyria was the centre of an empire which by the seventh century controlled most of the territories of Near East, and partly because the culture of writing in Mesopotamian influenced most of the Near East, including the peoples of the Zagros who used cuneiform script and Akkadian language for their limited records. Fortunately, many Assyrian records deal with the Zagros: annals, administrative and legal documents, and even ritual and literary texts. These at the moment have to fill the gap in Zagrosian records. I have used Assyrian records to gain a general view of the links between the immaterial culture of the Zagros and Assyria.

The peoples of the Zagros may have spoken different languages and dialects. The only evidence of spoken Semitic languages in the Zagros would have been from Aramaic immigrants and deportees, Israelite deportees, and Assyrian and Babylonian merchants, administrators, soldiers and individuals.¹¹⁴⁹ But, the people of the Zagros used Akkadian for their records, together with some bilingual material. The Assyrians controlled part of the Northern Zagros. The rest paid tribute and or was continuously at war with Assyria. Administrators there used Akkadian in their correspondence with Assyria. The Assyrians also had access to local interpreters: scribes, merchants, officers and even auxiliary soldiers who had learned Akkadian. Some Zagrosian were given Akkadian personal names.

Every use of Akkadian in toponyms and personal names does not necessarily show Assyrian influence in the Zagros. Babylonia had had an influence since the Middle Bronze Age, which continued during the Iron Age especially to the east of the Diyala in the areas of Namri, Media and Ellipi. The peoples of the Zagros were also subject to Aramaic influence, directly or indirectly through Assyria. Then there are the Urartian royal bilingual or monolingual steles on the southwestern and western shores of the Urmia basin and in Musasir.

Mesopotamian literature was known widely among the peoples of the Near East during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. It can be seen in literary and mythological elements from various sources, such as the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Myth of Creation, the Epic/Myth of Anzu, and the story of Etana.

Sumerian and Babylonian famous works of literature and mythology were generally transferred to Assyrian writing and iconography. Some of these elements are linked with the landscape and the peoples of the Zagros. Assyrian kings in their annals sometimes allude to

¹¹⁴⁶Bivar 1971: 97-109, pl.II-IV.

¹¹⁴⁷Ádám Vér 2014: 791.

¹¹⁴⁸Parker 1954: 44-45, letter ND. 2335; Marf 2015: 127-140. Also see above 2.8.2.

¹¹⁴⁹For further details about the Aramaeans in the Zagros, see Chapter I, 1.1.3., 1.2.3, and 1.3.

ancient literary and mythological motifs to portray themselves as gods punishing the peoples of the Zagros with evil and destruction. Of course, without knowing the indigenous literature and mythology we cannot assess Assyrian influence on the Zagros or vice versa.

The Northern Zagros was an important location in Assyrian mythology and literature, for it was on a mountain there that the Ark had landed, identified in the Gilgamesh Epic as Mount Nišir/Nimuš in the land of Lullubi/Guti. Many events in the myth of Anzu and Imdugud relate to the Northern Zagros, and several Assyrian and Mesopotamian deities dwelled in the Zagros mountains, with roots reaching the Netherworld.

In their religion both Assyrians and Zagrosians, like most others in the Near East, were polytheistic. Religious interaction is evident in that many Assyrian deities were worshipped in the Northern Zagros, and they appear as elements in the personal names of some Zagrosians. Similarly some people in the Assyrian heartland had names with Haldi.

The Assyrians imposed their religion in some places of the Northern Zagros, such as the city of Harhar, where they erected symbols of Ashur in Bit-Ištar. They also deported deities from the Northern Zagros to Assyria. Exceptionally Sennacherib deported some deities from Babylonia to Issete, northeast of Arbail. Deporting deities aimed to subdue the peoples of the Northern Zagros, and by keeping them in exile in the Assyrian heartland their offerings benefitted the Assyrian temples as well.

When subduing the Northern Zagros the Assyrian adopted an attitude of a holy war advancing to the attack with the emblems of different Assyrian deities. A victory for the Assyrian king and his army was a victory for Ashur and the other Assyrian deities. Assyrian deities were sometimes credited with making an enemy people revolt against their king and kill him. Ashurbanipal claimed that Ištar of Arbail had encouraged the people of Mannea to revolt against their king Aḫšêri, and she handed him over to them to kill him.

Elite persons in the Zagros sometimes freely mentioned deities of Assyria in their correspondence with the Assyrian kings. That happens also in the omens in the Esarhaddon's vassal treaty with the Medes. This suggests that on the one hand probably the peoples of the Zagros worshipped similar deities but with different names, as happened elsewhere in the Near East. The Mittani Shaushka is equated with the Assyrian Ištar of Nineveh, and the Hurrian Teshub with Teisheba in Urartu, Adad in Mesopotamia and Hadad in Aramaic. But without records in the local languages for the Northern Zagros we do not know names of their deities, except for Haldi who was worshipped in Musasir, Mannea, Kumme and then considered as the supreme deity of the Urartian state, and the concubine of Haldi who was called Bagbartu/Bagmaštu.

People deported to Assyria probably continued to practise their religion, no doubt encouraged by seeing the statues and images of their deities that had been deported with them and placed at the entrance of the Assyrian temples. Probably the deportees would have been able to worship and sacrifice to these images, which would have been good for the Assyrian priests, for they would receive the gifts and offerings the deportees brought there. The political effect was that the deportees would thus be motivated to continue their lives in exile, being led step by step also to worship Assyrian deities as well, if in fact they had not been forced to do that earlier. We find Zagrosian priestess serving in the temple of Ištar of Arbail, and the second generation of the Hundurean family, after being deported from Media to Ashur, holding office in the temple of Assur in Ashur.

Personal names do not necessarily prove ethnicity, but generally we see that groups of people in a land or province had commonly recurring names and name elements. In the Assyrian heartland most personal names included Assyrian or Mesopotamian divine names with corresponding Akkadian linguistic elements.

All Akkadian proper names in the Zagros may not have arisen from Assyrian influence. Earlier in the Middle Bronze Age Akkadians and Babylonians were directly and indirectly in contact with the Northern Zagros, and in the Iron Age Babylonian influence persisted and directly touched Media. Assyrian annals and administrative documents record many local proper names of the people of the Northern Zagros. These names in most cases are the only remaining evidence of local languages and dialects which were never recorded, or records have not yet been discovered. In the Northern Zagros many Hurrian, Urartian, Kassite, Lullubi, and Median (Iranian) proper names are found in Assyrian records. The Zagrosian and so-called Iranian proper names recorded in the Assyrian heartland are mainly the names of officials and merchants who had migrated or had been deported.

The Assyrians renamed several cities in the Northern Zagros either to include the name of an Assyrian king or Assyrian deity. Assyrian names recorded in the Zagros, as in the name of Ashurle'i the ruler of Karalla. In the Assyrian heartland some peoples had names containing Haldi. One such person had a brother whose name included Assur.

Since the Zagrosian toponyms we have are mostly transcribed into Assyrian we do not know their exact pronunciation. The languages of the peoples of the Zagros were not Semitic with sounds that did not exist in Akkadian. The name Musasir was mainly used as the name of the land but sometimes as the name of its capital city Ardini. Musasir of the Assyrian records was probably pronounced locally in the Hurrian dialect as Musasir, with letter /s/ not /š/, or Muzazir, or Muzhazhir. Zagrosian toponyms in Assyrian records help us to understand the landscape and the political and administrative divisions of the territories, and provide us with little information we have about local languages in the Zagros. Many toponyms could be Assyrianized by using the local name pronounced like Assyrian, or incorporating an Assyrian suffix, or changing some letters. More directly was the Assyrian policy of renaming practised intensively in the Zagros. Several Zagrosian cities were renamed to include the names of Assyrian deities or kings prefixed with Akkadian *Bīt*, *Dūr* or *Kār*.

There is a little known about the social structure of the people of the Northern Zagros. Deportations had its effect on social structure and demography wherever it happened. People from Assyria were even deported there. Assyrian records show that the Zagros was a source of slaves, and slaves were also brought from the Assyrian heartland to one of the commercial centers near Kurruri.

The Assyrian policy in the Northern Zagros started with occupation after military campaigns in the late spring or early summer. They then controlled or renewed control over those territories. If the controlling Assyrian king died, his successor restarted campaigning, claiming that his predecessors had never reached so far. Successive campaigns led to the annexation of several Zagrosian territories to Assyria, and others were accepted as Assyrian vassal territories. Through these policies the Assyrians first secured their plunder and then imposed regular annual tribute. Any rebellious Zagrosian land that withheld tribute and corvée works/manpower faced direct Assyrian military invasion under the supervision of the

Assyrian king himself or an Assyrian commander. Then they were enforced to pay extra tribute, and in some cases their crown princes were taken as hostages to Assyria.

Taking hostages discouraged any further revolt, since the hostages, the crown prince and any others kept in the Assyrian court, could be threatened with death. In the Assyrian court hostages may have seen the Assyrian reliefs depicting plunder, destroying, and burning rebel cities and killing, impaling and deporting the people. The hostages were probably educated in Assyrian culture and language. The intention was to make a friend of the crown prince for an era of peace.

If they did not succeed in re-conquering a territory, they resorted to the strategy of deporting the royal family and thousands of inhabitants with their deities to the Assyrian heartland and beyond. The Assyrians did not always assert their military might, but sometimes forgave the rebels. Sargon II told his deputies, delegations and emissaries to speak kindly with the kings, peoples of Media and Zamua.

Esarhaddon may have relied on support from the peoples of the Zagros to ease the progress of their chosen successor. Esarhaddon made vassal treaties with the Medes, Zamua and the western provinces and kingdoms of the Assyrian empire so that his small son Ashurbanipal would be known as the crown prince.

To control the annexed and vassal territories Assyria appointed eponyms or deputies on. Their offices were linked with postal services to Assyria along the royal road, crossing the Lower Zab to Arzuhina and Mazamua.

A royal dynastic marriage as practised by most ancient Near Eastern potentates marked an alliance, and the Assyrians practiced this in the Zagros. The Assyrians wanted to preserve the peace and to discourage revolt or a threat from elsewhere.

A stable economy was an important base for the expansion of the empire. Assyria was rich in grain, but it lacked metals, stones, and fruit, and needed more manpower. Assyrian campaigns in the Zagros produced horses, metal, building stone, precious stones, corvée labour, auxiliary soldiers, and slaves. These campaigns deterred the peoples of the Zagros from threatening Assyria's eastern and northeastern borders. The need for these imports developed trade, and commercial relationships and communications led to cultural interaction. Zagros became linked with Assyria and beyond. The rich resources of the Zagros enabled the Assyrians to control commercial activities and reorganize the local Zagrosian commercial centers along the main Khorasan Road trade to fit their own economic strategy. Several Median cities were renamed as *Kār(um)* centres. Clearly there was much cultural interaction, even though the details come from Assyrian records and are one-sided.

In the Assyrian annals there were exaggerations in the numbers killed and amount of the plunder. But there is enough reality in the Assyrian annals supported by facts in Assyrian administrative and legal documents for studying cultural interactions, as well as material evidences from the Zagros and Assyria, to show that occupation and annexation led to cultural interaction. Future discoveries will add to what has been stated here, especially for the Northern Zagros. Much still has to be discovered.



Map 2.1. Map of the Northern Zagros, and the important excavated Middle and Late Bronze Age and Iron Age sites mentioned in this chapter and the next chapters.