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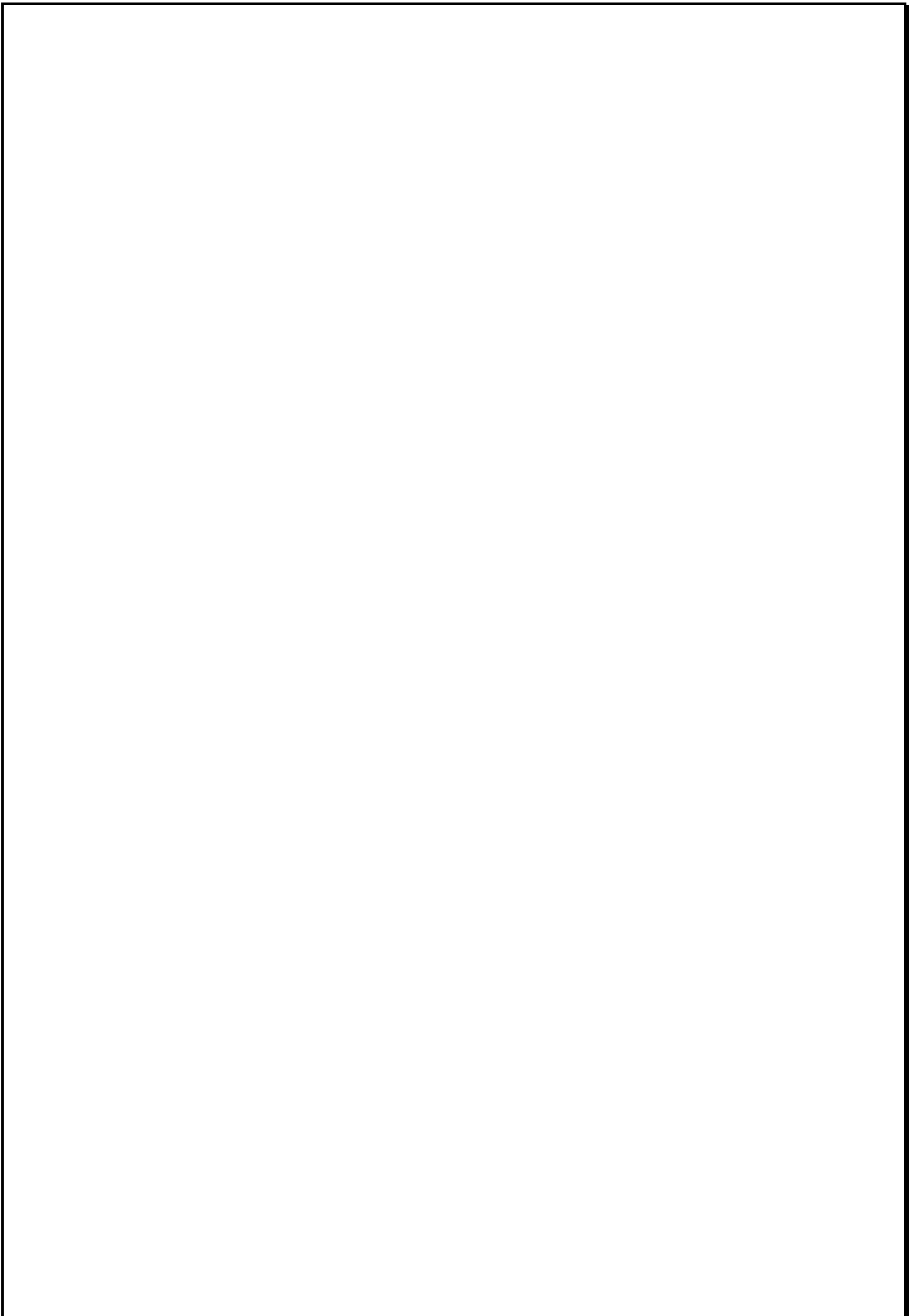
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Cultural Interaction

between Assyria and the Northern Zagros

Dlshad A. Marf



Cultural Interaction

between Assyria and the Northern Zagros

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Dlshad A. Marf
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Promotor: Prof. dr. Wilfred H. van Soldt
Co-promotor: Dr. Diederik J.W. Meijer

Leden van de promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. H.W. van den Doel
Prof. dr. A. van der Kooij
Prof. dr. J. Eidem
Prof. dr. J. Zangenberg
Mw. Dr. E. Kaptijn
Dr. O. Nieuwenhuijse
Dr. L. Petit

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Introduction

The title of this thesis, “*Cultural Interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros*”, geographically covers Assyria and the Northern Zagros and historically a period from the early second millennium until the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE. It focuses on Assyrian interaction with the Northern Zagros (or vice versa), an immediate neighbour, which constituted a natural boundary against Assyrian expansion to the north and the east.

The mountainous terrain east of the Lesser Habur at the Turkish-Iraqi border is considered as a north-western extension of the Northern Zagros. Then there are the ranges northeast of Lake Urmia, southwards to the River Diz in the Kirmanshah valley inside Iran, and the ranges east of the Sirwan/Upper Diyala river inside Iraq. Among the mountains are valleys and narrow plains. The main rivers are the Lesser Habur, Upper Zab, Lesser Zab and Sirwan/Diyala with their tributaries (see sections 1.1. and 1.2).

The landscape, flora, fauna, natural resources and climate of lowland Assyria were different from those of the Zagros highlands, which led to complementary economical activity. The Northern Zagros was the nearest place for Assyria to obtain raw materials, horses, grain and manpower. Assyria often conflicted with the Northern Zagros peoples to obtain their goals. But there were also peaceful (commercial and diplomatic) negotiations between them, which led to cultural interaction of various kinds.

In this thesis, the Northern Zagros has been distinguished because it is that part of the Zagros in direct contact with Assyria, while the Central and Southern Zagros were in direct contact with Elam and Babylonia. It was an intermediary for any Assyrian contact with the Central Zagros and beyond. The author’s experience as a local archaeologist during a decade of field work and excavations in joint projects and in his own field work has shown that further investigation about the nature of cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros is needed. Recent field work and excavations by foreign and local teams in the Northern Zagros, have produced new materials and new texts. Moreover, until now no comprehensive study of Assyrian cultural interaction with the Northern Zagros to include textual, visual and archaeological evidence has been made. I hope to find answers to questions about the cultural interaction and to expose as complete a view as I can of the culture of the Zagros.

As for the **material culture**, much evidence comes from results of **archaeological excavations** and **field surveys**. The first discoveries in Nineveh and the Northern Zagros were made in the early and mid-19th century and the most recent ones discussed were published in late 2015 and early 2016. These include recent excavations and surveys in the Iraqi Zagros (the mountainous area of the southern Kurdistan), and important discoveries from Iron Age sites in the Iranian Zagros. Special attention is given to the author’s own fieldwork in different areas between the Upper Zab and the Sirwan/Upper Diyala, the areas of the Iron Age territories of Musasir and Zamua. Some reports were published in local languages (Kurdish, Persian, and Arabic) in the mid-20th century onwards, most of which are not known to specialists outside Iraq and Iran.

Material culture is dealt with in Chapters III-IV, and it includes the **visual evidence** of the depictions of several victorious battles at cities in Media, Mannea, Musasir, Ukku, and Urartu on Assyrian palace reliefs. Assyrian artists accompanying the army on campaign depicted details of the architecture of cities under siege so that individual cities can be distinguished. They did not depict them as stereotypes. Towers, walls, temples, and plundered objects are shown with appropriate backgrounds. Zagrosians bringing tribute to the Assyrian court also appear on Assyrian reliefs. The visual evidence, sometimes supported with captions, often corroborates and explains written records in Assyrian annals. Visual evidence is dealt with in Chapters III-IV.

The evidence from ancient records can be described as **immaterial culture**, in contrast to archaeological finds, and is the second important source for this study. Most records are Assyrian, but there are a few local ones, from Shemshara (Šušarra), Bakrawa/Bakr-Awa, Satu Qala (ancient Idu), Rabat Tepe, and Media (in Akkadian), and the Urartian bilingual steles (in Urartian-Assyrian using cuneiform script), and the Aramaic stele of Bukan. In the Bible Media, Mannea, Scythia and the Cimmerians are briefly mentioned on different occasions, as well as peoples deported from the Levant to the Zagros. Classical sources, especially Herodotus, mention peoples from the Zagros, such as Medes and Scythians, but these records have less historical value than Assyrian ones. In them we find trustworthy details about the history, geography, beliefs, mythology, art, architecture, climate, landscape and daily life of the peoples of the Zagros. Contemporary Babylonian records also provide some historical and cultural knowledge about the Northern Zagros. For the immaterial culture see Chapters I and II, and for it explaining the material culture see Chapters III and IV.

Previous studies by archaeologists and philologists on the archaeology and culture of the Zagros date from the early nineteenth century, following the important discoveries in Nineveh and Khorsabad. Around 1820 Schulz studied the Urartian bilingual stele of Kile-Shin (between Urmia and Sidekan, in ancient Musasir). The trilingual inscription of Behistun (Bêstün) in the Zagros was the first key for decoding cuneiform script and Akkadian. It could be argued that the beginning of Assyriology was involved on discoveries about the Zagros.

In the Northern Zagros several important sites from the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age are known, the most famous being Hasanlu. A most important study of interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros and of the intermediary role of Assyria in interaction of Hasanlu with Syria and Anatolia is Marcus, *Emblems of Identity and Prestige--The Seals and Sealings from Hasanlu* (1996). We also have Muscarella, *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran* (1982). Other works deal with broader aspects of contacts between Mesopotamia and Iran, covering the Prehistoric period, Bronze Age and Iron Age. These include Levine, Young and Cuyler, (eds.) *Mountains and lowlands: essays in the archaeology of greater Mesopotamia* (1977); Curtis and Lukonin (eds.), *Later Mesopotamia and Iran: tribes and empires, 1600-539 BC (Proceedings of a seminar in memory of Vladimir G. Lukonin)* (1995). They both report the proceedings of conferences and deal with many periods and sites and subjects, with some articles dealing with the subject of our study, if only indirectly. Continuation and change in political systems of three empires was discussed at an

International Meeting, published in Lanfranchi, Roaf and Rollinger (eds.), *Continuity of Empire(?) Assyria, Media, and Persia* (2003, Padua). These papers are an important contribution to our subject. Some deal with specific points of religion in texts from the Northern Zagros, and other issues related to archaeology and ceramics.

In Eidem and Læssøe (eds.), *The Shemshāra Archives I: The letters* (2001) light is shed on important cultural and political links between the Zagros and the Kingdom of Shamshi-Adad I. An important contribution is the dissertation Ahmed, K., *The Beginnings of ancient Kurdistan (c. 2500-1500 BC): a historical and cultural synthesis* (2012). It covers the last part of the Early Bronze Age and the Middle Bronze Age for the Zagros and its foothills, focusing on the peoples of the Zagros and North Mesopotamia and their contacts and conflicts with Sumer, Akkad, Babylonia, and the kingdom of Šamši-Adad I. It touches many cultural elements and political relationships between the peoples and kings of the Zagros with the rest of Mesopotamia. He studies the kingdom of Simmurum, the temple of their national deity Nišba and the stele of Haladini. The study of a royal inscription of Iddi(n)-Sin was presented there for the first time.

In Mallowan, M., *Nimrud and its remains* (1966) many Assyrian objects are compared with objects from Hasanlu and Ziwiye, especially the discovered ivories. In Porada, E., *Ancient Iran: the art of pre-Islamic times* (1965) light is shed on local styles and foreign influence on the art of the Northern Zagros. Recently the area has attracted more attention following the publication of Mühl, S., *Siedlungsgeschichte im mittleren Osttigrisgebiet: vom Neolithikum bis in die neuassyrische Zeit* (München, 2013). It surveys results of previous excavations and re-evaluates these results from various sites. It concentrates on the Assyrian heartland and areas between the Lower Zab and the Upper Sirwan, mainly in the so-called Trans-Tigris region, and covers all periods from the Neolithic to the Neo-Assyrian. This study is important for understanding the distribution of settlements, and the architecture and ceramics from sites covered in her study.

For ethno-linguistic studies the works of Zadok are the most important, especially his monograph *The Ethno-linguistic Character of North-western Iran and Kurdistan in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (2002). He categorises toponyms and personal names according to their location. Prosopography is covered in *NPN*, *NPA*, and the *PNA* volumes, which include names from the Northern Zagros mentioned in Assyrian records. Speiser (1928), Nashef (1982), Levine (1973, 1974), and Liverani (ed.) (1995) and many others also treat toponyms of part of the Zagros but some results of those studies are out of date. Parpola and Porter (2001) have now succeeded to identify many of these toponyms but further work is necessary. Because of the author's familiarity with the landscape and local dialects and languages of the area, what we know about these toponyms can be amplified. More recent studies include Radner, Kroll, Roaf, Muscarella, who in several papers shed light on cultural aspects of the Northern Zagros and Assyria in specific cultural and political aspects (see the bibliography).

Because no previous study has covered the area from all perspectives of cultural interaction further investigation of the relevant available immaterial and material culture from the early second millennium to the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE is needed. Archaeological excavation reports, the objects discovered and architectural elements identified are not usually

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presented in a way to appreciate cultural interaction. The material presented there will be supplemented by relevant details from my own field work.

Even Assyrian records about the Northern Zagros are not always studied from the perspective of cultural interaction. Here what is available from Assyrian royal inscriptions, administrative letters, legal documents, religious and literary texts, as well in the local records of the Zagros, will be examined with this in mind.

Several important research questions arise from this subject. While it is clear that there was cultural interaction between Assyrian and the Northern Zagros, the extent of interaction in immaterial culture and in material culture may have been different, and therefore further investigation of the relevant available immaterial and material culture is needed.

Then there is the question of what the links for cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros were. When I discuss the cultural interaction of immaterial culture (Chapters I-II) and material culture (Chapters III-IV) the way these interactions were facilitated will be presented. The roles played by Assyrians, Zagrosians and others in this interaction will be dealt with in sections (1.3., 1.4. and 1.5., in 2.1., 2.4., 2.5, 2.7. and 2.8, in 3.1., and in 4.1., and in 4.11). For reasons for cultural interaction, see Chapter I and Chapter II, sections 2.7 and 2.8.2.

Some subordinate questions also arise. The extent to which military conflict and political tension affected cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros (or vice versa) is dealt with in sections (2.7. and 2.8., in 3.1. and 3.2, and in 4.1). And more importantly, the extent to which peaceful contacts, or more precisely, how the commercial and diplomatic relations facilitated cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros, is dealt with in sections (1.3., 2.7, 2.8, 3.5., 3.6., and 3.9).

Another question is how Assyria and the Northern Zagros acted as intermediaries in cultural interaction further afield. What is relevant here are the direct and indirect contacts of Babylonia with the Northern Zagros and with Assyria, as well as the contacts of the Hurro-Mittani culture of Nuzi, Arrapha and Hanigalbat with the Assyrian heartland and the Zagros. For discussions of these subordinate questions see sections (1.3. and 1.4), especially (2.4., 2.5., 2.7., 2.8, and also 2.4., 3.5., and 3.7). **To summarise:**

Chapter I deals with the landscape, climate, flora, and fauna of the two territories. By showing the diversity between the Assyrian heartland as lowland and the Northern Zagros as highland. I also present the peoples and groups there as the actors in these theatres, with their different political states and their limits of power. Their movements as migrants, immigrants, runaways and deportees are also discussed.

Chapter II deals with immaterial culture: languages and writing systems, literature and mythology, personal names and toponyms, religion and festivals in war and peace, social

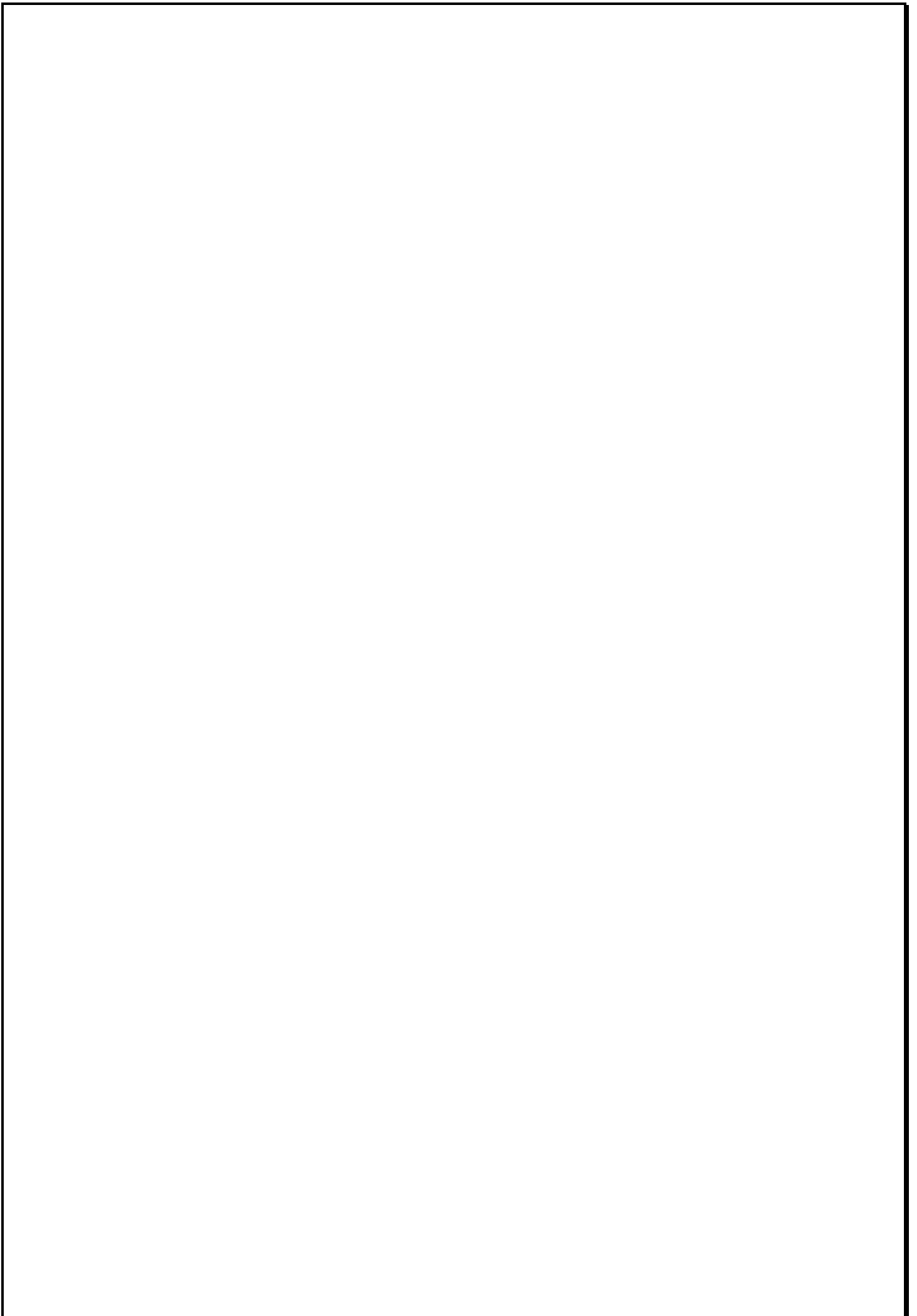
Introduction.....

structure, political and administrative relations, postal services, dynastic marriages, economy and trade.

Chapter III deals with certain material culture, specifically arts and ceramics, rock reliefs, reliefs, steles, seals and sealing, ivories, metalwork, mosaics, glass, pottery, glazed bricks, wall paintings, and textiles and costumes.

Chapter IV deals with other material culture, specifically the architecture of palaces, temples, cities and towns, fortifications, private houses, tombs, roads and passages, canals, dams, and ditches.

In each chapter, textual, visual and archaeological evidence is combined to find elements of interaction. Each chapter is provided with several tables, explaining many aspects of cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros.



Chapter I

The landscape and the Peoples of Assyria and the Northern Zagros

Chapter I

The landscape and the Peoples of Assyria and the Northern Zagros

Introduction

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

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

1.1. Assyrian Landscape, topography and its peoples

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

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

¹Altaweel 2008: 10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵Llop 2011: 600; *RIMA* I p.231.

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

⁷Radner 2011a: 321-329.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶Radner 2014b: 102.

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

¹⁸Radner 2014b: 102.

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

²⁰SAA 1 103, 104.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³Na'aman 1994: line 12-13.

²⁴RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 2b-12a.

²⁵Schneider & Adali 2014: 435-446.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³¹Reade 1983: 60.

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

³³Bleibtreu 1980: 113, Abb.41.

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

³⁵Collon 2001: 109-111, fig.207.

³⁶Pallis 1956: 16; Mason 1944: 204f.

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

³⁸Saggs 1984: 267.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴¹Pallis 1956: 15.

⁴²Saggs 1973: 157; Frame 1999a: 7.

⁴³Lambert 1983: 82f; Frame 1999a: 8.

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

⁴⁵Lambert 1983: 82-83.

⁴⁶ARAB II 175.

⁴⁷Saggs 1984: 5-6.

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

⁴⁹RIMA I A.0.27.1:4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Map.1.1. Topography of Assyria and the Zagros.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁸Fisher, *CHI I*, 1968: 6.

⁵⁹Fisher, *CHI I*, 1968: 7.

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

⁶¹Potts 1999: 12; Gafour 2005: 25.

⁶²Gafur 2005: 28.

⁶³Maisels 1993: 104.

⁶⁴Gosse 1852: 5.

⁶⁵Ghafur 2005: 29; Mason 1944:195.

⁶⁶Hole 1987: 43.

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

⁶⁸Fisher, *CHI I*, 1968: 8.

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

⁷⁰Matthews 2000: 6.

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

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



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

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

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

⁷²Parpola 2001: 10, map No.4.

⁷³Zimansky 1985: 12.

⁷⁴Levine 1973: 5.

⁷⁵Izbirdak 1977: 32.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁹ Redman 1978: p.45, fig.2-25.

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

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

⁸²Ghafur 2005: 29; Abdi 1999: 33-45.

⁸³Ghafur 2005: 29.

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

⁸⁵ Bagg 2000: Tafel 4.

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

⁸⁷Mason 1944: 194.

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

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

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

⁸⁸ Olmstead, 1908: 113, n.36.

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

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

⁹¹Zimansky 1985: 12.

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

⁹³Reculeau 2011: 35-36.

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

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

⁹⁶Gosse 1852: 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰¹Liverani 1992: 51.

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

¹⁰³Marf 2014: 13-29.

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁵Mason 1944:196.

¹⁰⁶ Van Buren 1939.

¹⁰⁷Diakonoff 1985, *CHI II*: 72.

¹⁰⁸Gosse 1852: 6, 549.

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

¹¹⁰Marf 2015: 129ff.

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

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

¹¹³Kinnier Wilson 1972: x.

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

¹¹⁵Watson 1983: 501f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁶ ARAB II 142.

¹¹⁷ ARAB II 143.

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

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

¹²⁰ Mason 1944: 198ff.

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

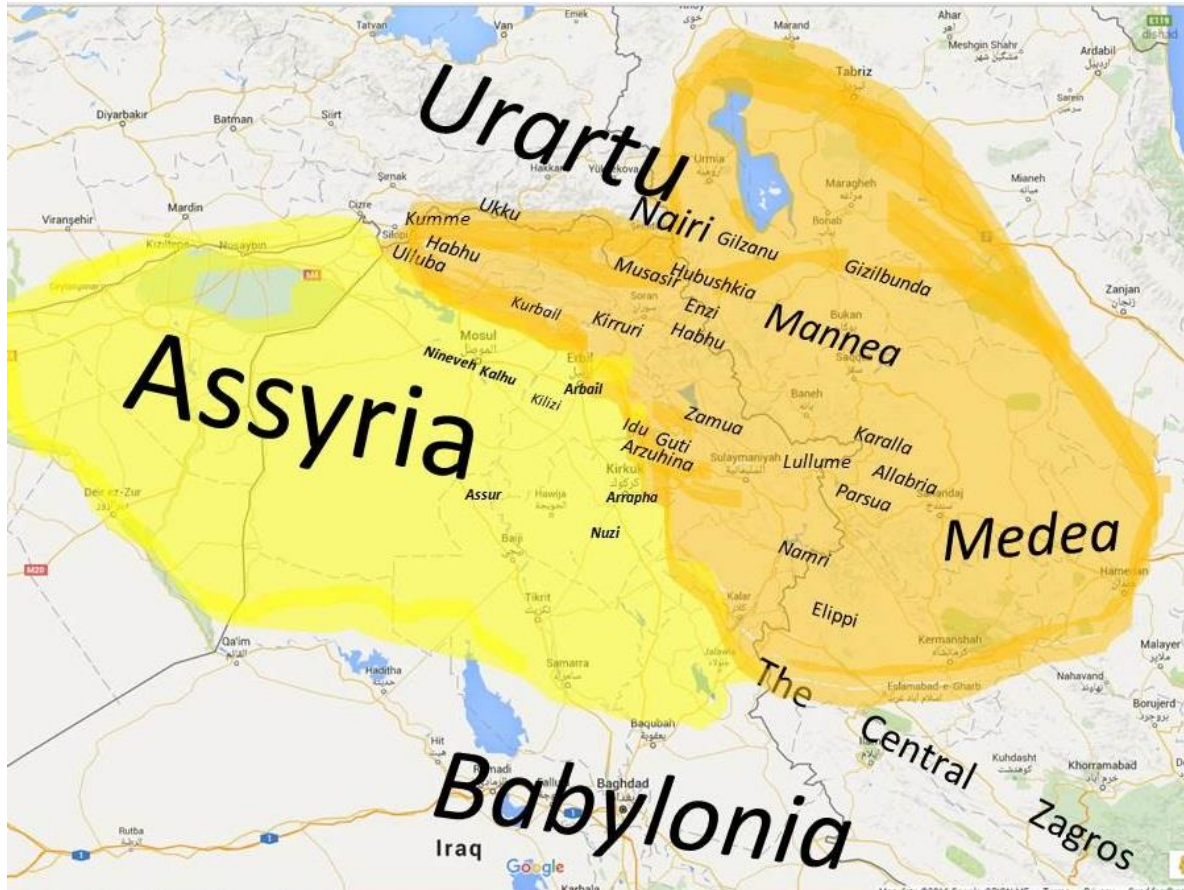
¹²² Gosse 1852: 548; Winter 2004: fig. 2, p.609; Marf 2014: 24. For further details see Chapter III, 3.9.

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

¹²⁴ Mason 1944: 204ff.

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

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



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

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

¹²⁶van Soldt, et al.: 2013: 212ff.

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

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

¹²⁹ See Chapter II, III.

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

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

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

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

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

¹³¹ARAB II 13, 56.

¹³²RINAP 1, 14: 5b-6a.

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

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

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

¹³⁶Unger 1938a, RIA II: 41.

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

¹³⁸RINAP IV 1: iv 32-45.

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

¹⁴⁰RIMA III A.0.103.1: ii 23-25.

¹⁴¹RINAP 1 5 10-11.

¹⁴²Fales 2003: 131-147.

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

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

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

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

Mušru/Mušri

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁷ Kessler 1993-1997: 497.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵³RIMA I A.0.76.1: 27-32.

¹⁵⁴Kessler 1993-1997: 497.

¹⁵⁵RIMA I A.0.77.1: 47-55.

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

Ukku

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

Habhu

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

Tumme

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

¹⁵⁶Kessler 1993-1997: 497.

¹⁵⁷Radner 2012: 257ff.

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

¹⁵⁹ARAB II 245.

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

¹⁶¹RIMA I A.0.87.10: 17-20.

¹⁶²ARAB II 170; Parker 2001: 42.

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

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

¹⁶⁵Al-Qaradaghi 2008: p.93, note.5.

Enzite/Enzi

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

Daiēnu

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

Nairi

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

¹⁶⁶RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 63b-66a.

¹⁶⁷RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 34b-65a.

¹⁶⁸RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 63b-66a.

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

¹⁷⁰RINAP I 39: 34-36.

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

¹⁷²RIMA II A.0.87.1: 77-90.

¹⁷³RIMA II A.0.87.4: 15-17.

¹⁷⁴RIMA II A.0.87.2: 25-27.

¹⁷⁵Marf 2015: 132ff.

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

Hubuškia

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

Šurda

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

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

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

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

¹⁷⁹RIMA II A.0. 101.1: 80.

¹⁸⁰Mattila 2000: 83.

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

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

¹⁸³SAA V p.243; SAA V 168 and 190.

¹⁸⁴SAA V 190: r.6-8.

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

Gilzānu

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

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

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

¹⁸⁵SAA V 168.

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

¹⁸⁷RIMA II A.0.101.26: 4.

¹⁸⁸RIMA II A.0.101. 17: i 80.

¹⁸⁹ RIMA III A.0.102.1: 33b-40a.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

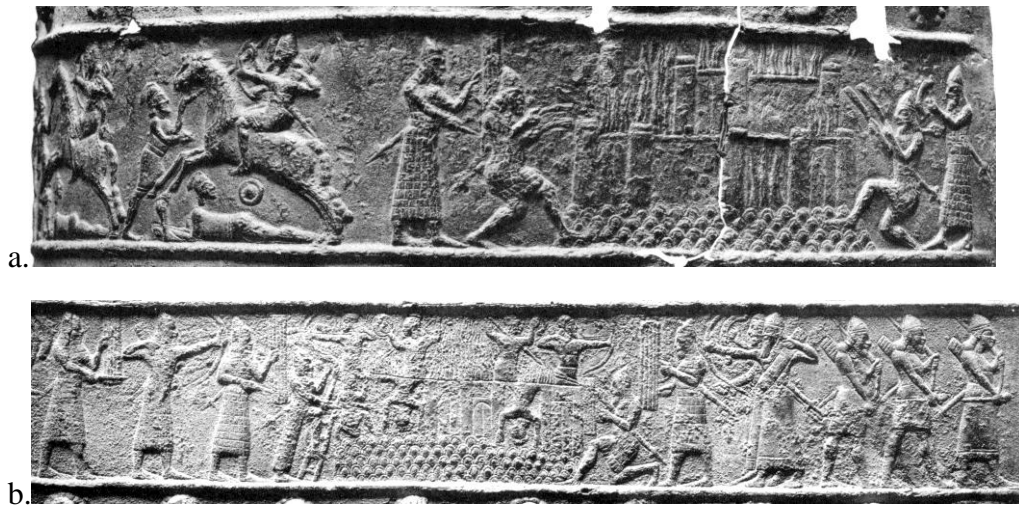


Fig.1.4.a-b. Two scenes depicted on the Bronze Gate of Balawat. It shows Shalmaneser III's campaign, the Urartian capital Arzashkun (a) (After: King 1915: Pl.XXXIX, Band VII.3) and the Urartian city Sugunia (b) under heavy sieges and flames (after King 1915: Pl.III, Band. I.3).

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

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

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

¹⁹⁹RIMA I A.0.77.1: 22-46.

²⁰⁰Salvini 2015: 393.

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

²⁰²ARAB II 170.

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

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

Turukkum

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

Guti/Quti

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

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

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

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

²⁰⁸Röllig 1976-1980a, *RIA* V: 289.

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

²¹⁰RIMA II A.0.100.5: 30-40.

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

²¹²Klengel 1987-1990: 164-168.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²¹⁶RIME 2, E3/2.1.1.d. p.11.

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

²¹⁸ARAB I 17 and 18.

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

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

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

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

²²³RIMA I A.0.76.1: 1-4.

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

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

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

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

²²⁵RIMA I A.0.78.7: 2-3.

²²⁶RIMA I A.0.78.1: ii 14-iii7.

²²⁷RIMA I A.0.78.1: iii 8-10.

²²⁸RIMA I A.0.78.1: ii 24-36.

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

²³⁰RIMA III A.0.102.28: 41.

²³¹RIMA III A.0.102.5: iii 2.

²³²RIMA III A.0.104.2010: 11-13.

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

²³⁴Diakonoff 1991: 16.

²³⁵ARAB II 54, 96.

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

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

Kassites and Namri

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

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

²³⁷RINAP 4, 1: iii 59-61.

²³⁸RINAP 4, 1: v 26-27.

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

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

²⁴¹RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

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

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

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

²⁴⁵Kroll 2014: 204; Kristensen 1998.

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

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

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

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

²⁴⁷Kroll 2014: 204.

²⁴⁸Kohl & Kroll 1999: 243-259.

²⁴⁹Kroll 2000: 379-384.

²⁵⁰Kroll 2014: 204; Thomalsky 2006: 223.

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

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

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

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

²⁵⁵ARAB II 170.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁶⁵ ARAB II 10.

²⁶⁶ ARAB II 24.

²⁶⁷ ARAB II 145.

²⁶⁸ ARAB II 210; Ebeling 1932: 70.

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

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

²⁷¹ For further details see the deportees see below.

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

²⁷³ SAA V 92.

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

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

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

²⁷⁴Potts 2014b: 566ff.

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

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

²⁷⁷See above.

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

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

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

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

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

1.3. Immigrants and Migrants

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

²⁸⁰See Chapter III, 3.9.

²⁸¹See Chapter III, 3.4.

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

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

²⁸⁴*RIMA* I A.0.76.1: 27-32.

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

²⁸⁶*RIMA* A.0 78 1: iv 24-31; MacGinnis 2012: 13-19; Kessler 2011-2013: 239-241.

²⁸⁷*RIMA* II A.0.100.5: 30-40.

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

1.4. Deported peoples from and into the Zagros

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁹²RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

²⁹³RIMA II A.0.87.1: v 67-81.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁹⁶*RIMA II*: A.0. 101.1:ii 3b-6. For further details concerning other deportees as Ullubeans and Turrakeans who were worked in digging canals in the Assyrian heartland, see Chapter IV, 4.10; also see *SAA XIX* 65.

²⁹⁷*RINAP 3.1*: 70-72.

²⁹⁸For further details see Chapter III, 3.6.

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

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

³⁰¹See Chapter II, 2.1.

³⁰²For further details see Chapter III, 3.1.

³⁰³Kinnier Wilson 1972: p.xi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³¹⁰RINAPI I 14: 8b-10a

³¹¹SAA V 184.

³¹²SAA II 6: §27: 221-223.

³¹³Radner 2013: 448f ; ARAB II 165.

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

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

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

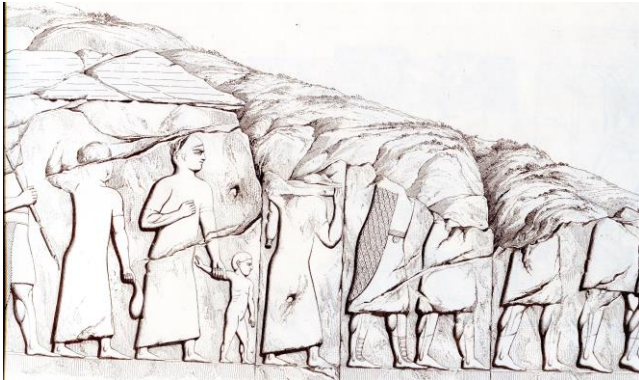


Fig.1.4.c. Zagrosian deportees on their way to exile. The women hold water skins. They and their nude children are bare footed (after Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.50).

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

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

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

³¹⁵ARAB I 766.

³¹⁶RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

³¹⁷SAA XV 54.

³¹⁸RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

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

³²⁰SAA XV 54 ri: I 7-16.

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

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

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

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

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

Table 1.1.b. Deported peoples to the Zagros.

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

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

1.5. Runaways

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

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

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

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

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

³²²SAA V 11.

³²³SAA XV 54.

³²⁴ARAB II 56.

³²⁵ARAB II 12.

³²⁶Herodotus, Book I 95ff.

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

³²⁸For instance see Helm 1981.

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

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

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

³³²SAA V 243: 4-7.

³³³SAA V 243: 8-17, e.18-20, r.1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³³⁵SAA XVI 148.

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

³³⁷SAA IV 41-46.

³³⁸SAA IV 41-46.

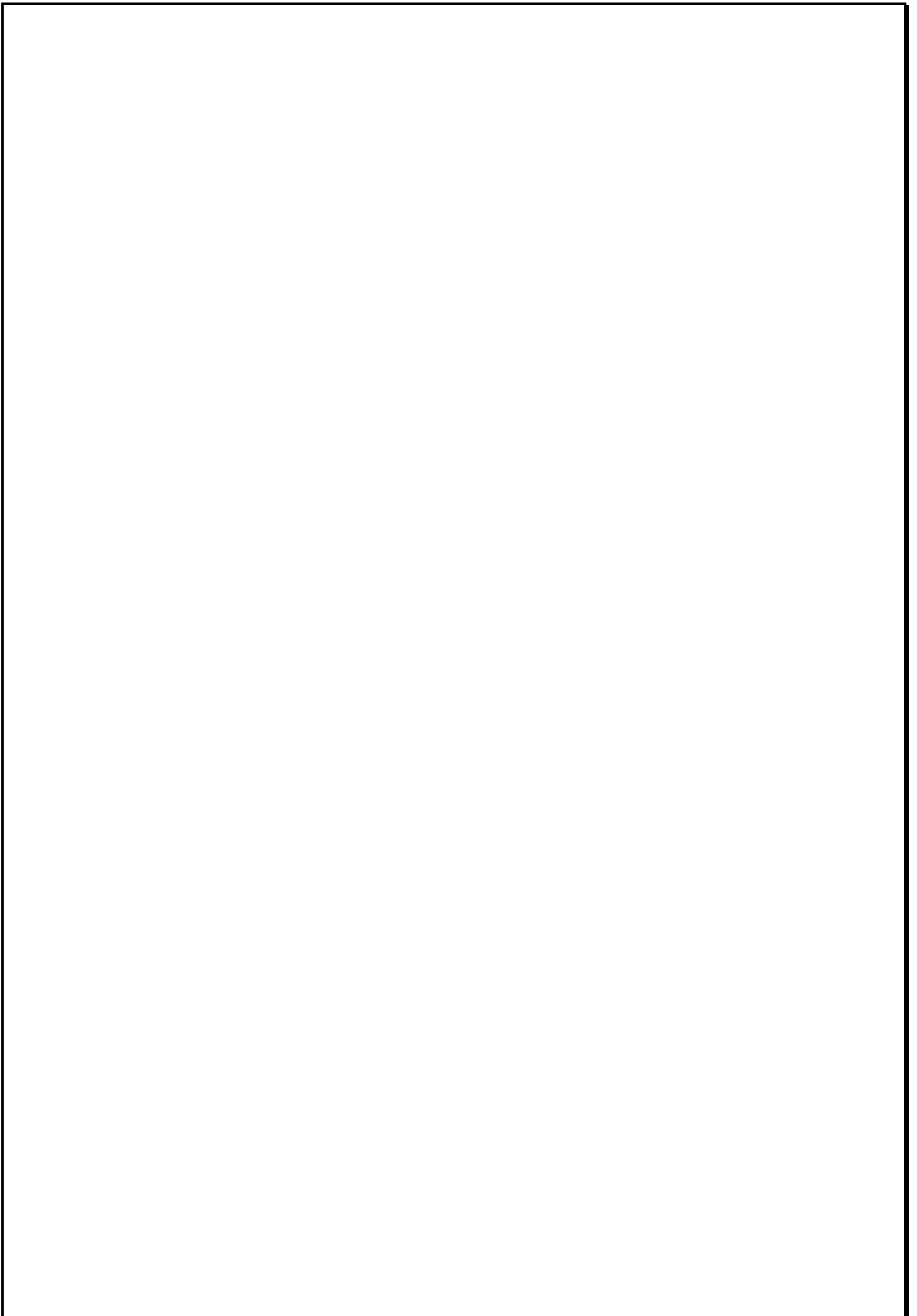
Conclusions

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

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

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

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



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

I 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-Shaikhan (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-belu-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, Romm 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 Ullusunu, or a Hubuškian king may have been the author of the text. Ullusunu 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 Šilisruḫ.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 theoforic 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.

⁴²⁰*RIME* 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 "*Ullusunu 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 Ullusunu,*" and that "*Ullusunu (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 Ullusunu, 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 Simmurum.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-Ilil. 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 Simurum 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

Furthermore, the ruler of Larbusa in Zamua (a contemporary of Ashurnasirpal II) was called Kirtiarā (^m*ki-ir-te-a-ra*), a name considered by Tallqvist as an Old Iranian name, from *krta-* “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 Cilingiroğlu 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*/; Paiaukka of Kilambate, Mašdaiaukku of Kingaraku, Pâuukka of Bīt-Kabsi, Zardukku of Harzianu.⁴⁶⁵

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

Another suffix in Median names is /-*anu*/: Satarpanu of Barikanu, Mašdakku 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.

⁴⁸²*RIMA 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.arba¹⁷-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 Kurbail 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-kibsī-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=belu/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-¹rak¹-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 *Tukulti-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.

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 (^uÉ-^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, I.98; Radner 2003b: 120.

⁵¹⁶Lie 1929: p.17, i.95, i.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-Qaradagy 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. Dūr-Aššur (URU.BĀD-*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.*Dūr*-^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 Dūr-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 Dūr-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 II. 47-55; RIMA II: A.0.101.30 I. 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 administratation 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 = UTN: 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 Kurruri, 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 *Ḫalila* (KUR.*ḫa-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 *Ḫarḫar*.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 Kurruri, in the land of Tammu, 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.

⁵⁶⁴RINAPI 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.

⁵⁷¹*RIMA* 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 /z/ 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 *šâr 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 Kirruri in the land of Habhu, he renamed it "the city of Ashurnasirpal" (URU^m aššur-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 Sadam 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, Tašuḫa, 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.BĀD-^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 (*udû*), 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

⁵⁹⁰RINAP I 39: 24b-25a; 41: 28-31.

⁵⁹¹RINAP I 39: 28b-29.

⁵⁹²RINAP I 39: 28b-29.

⁵⁹³RINAP I 47:39b-41.

⁵⁹⁴RIMA II A.0.87.1.

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

⁵⁹⁶RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 34.

⁵⁹⁷ARAB II 172.

⁵⁹⁸ARAB 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.BÀD- ^m <i>tukul-ti-A-é-šár-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>
Bît-Bagaia	Kâr-Ištar	Media	Sargon II	<i>ARAB II 10, 11, 14.</i>
Kindâu	Kâr-Sîn	Media	Sargon II	<i>ARAB II 14.</i>
Kišešim	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, corveé 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-sir*), and the other one is *Nimuš* (KUR.*ni-MUŠ*). The modern name is Pir-e-Megrin, 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 Nispi (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

⁶⁰⁴According 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.0. 101.1, 74.

⁶⁰⁶ RIMA II: A.0. 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.

⁶⁰⁷Speiser 1928: 28.

⁶⁰⁸Ahmed 2012: 153-4.

⁶⁰⁹For further details see Finkel 2014: 279ff.

⁶¹⁰RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 33b-38.

⁶¹¹The 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.0.101.1: 68.

⁶¹²Parpola 2014: 476.

⁶¹³Winter 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

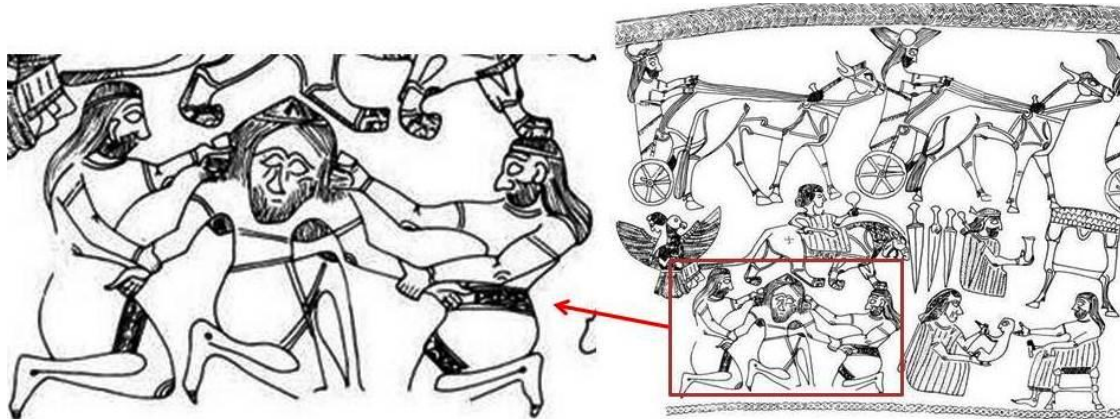


Fig. 2.2. a. A scene from the epic of Gilgamesh on the golden bowl of Hasanlu (drawing by M. de Schauensee, after Porada 1965: fig.63-64).

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.

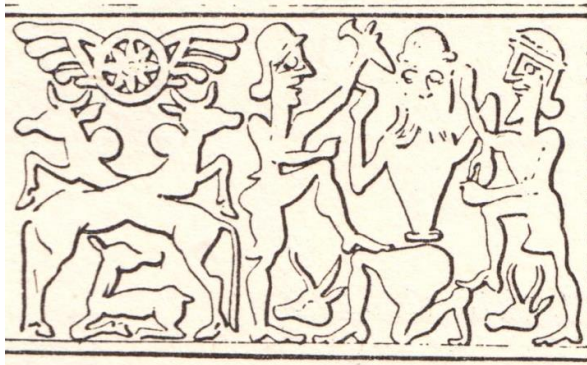


Fig. 2.2.b.: A Mittanian seal impressions from Arrapha (Kirkuk). The right scene shows Gilgamesh and Enkidu killing Humbaba with daggers (after Frankfort 1939: p. 184, Text-fig. 53).

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).

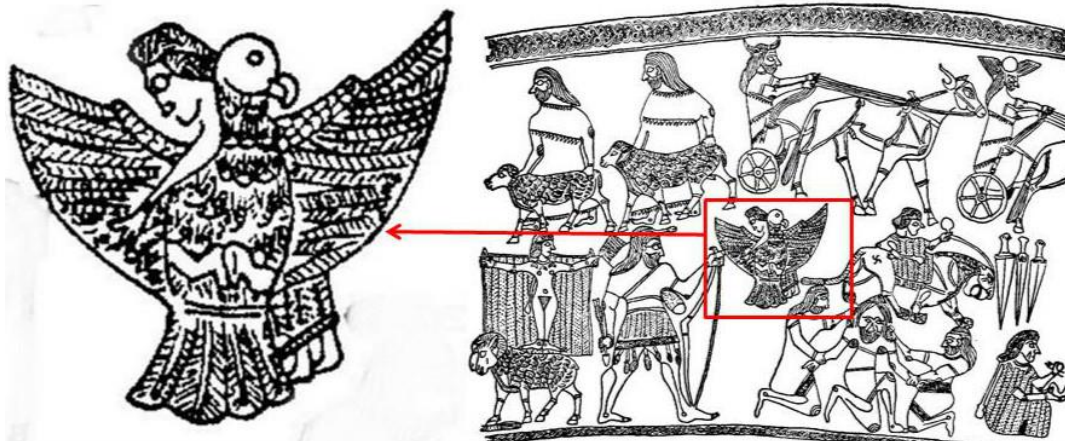


Fig.2.3. A scene from the golden bowl of Hasanlu, showing a person (lady) on the back of an eagle (after Porada 1965: fig.63).

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 Zab 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 Zab 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[l]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[l]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

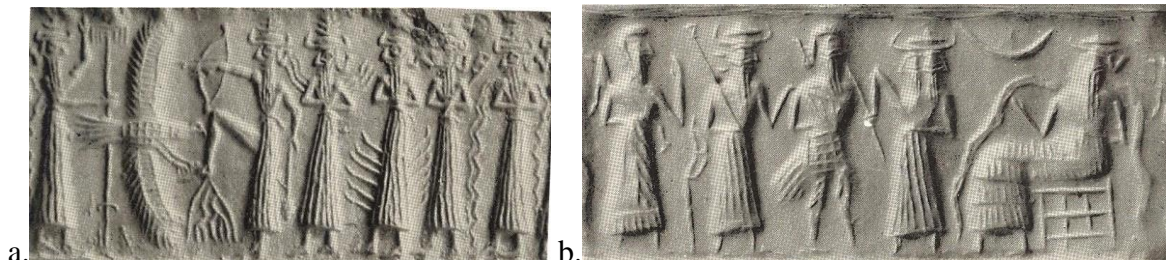
Demonizing peoples of the mountain in Mesopotamian literature is normal. Linking mountainous enemies with Anzu continues that theme. According to the epic Anzu was born on the mountain, Mount Šaršar, probably in the Northern Zagros.⁶⁵⁰ Anzu lived in the mountain and was appointed as “*the doorkeeper 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 (gis̄ 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;

⁶⁵³ Kvanvig 1988: 390f.

⁶⁵⁴ Marf 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.

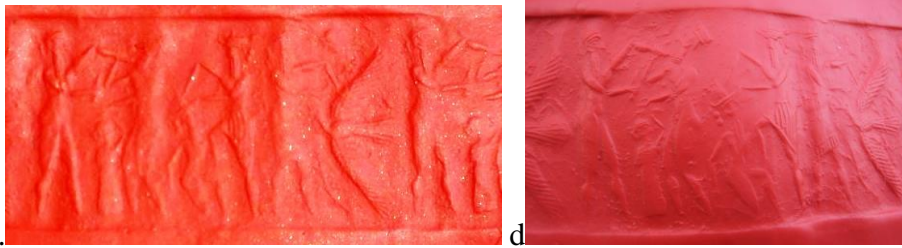


Fig. 2.4. a. Ninurta and other deities fighting Anzu, depicted as an eagle, and trying to take a plant from Ninurta. Impression of an Akkadian cylinder seal (after Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXIII g).

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 Ilimilimma, 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 Gunduk 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

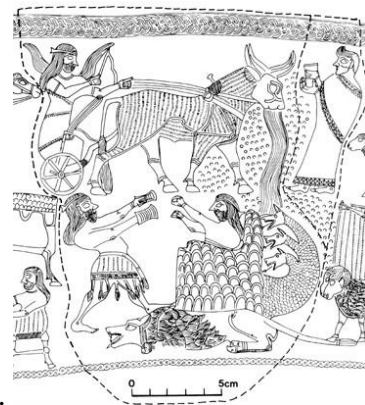
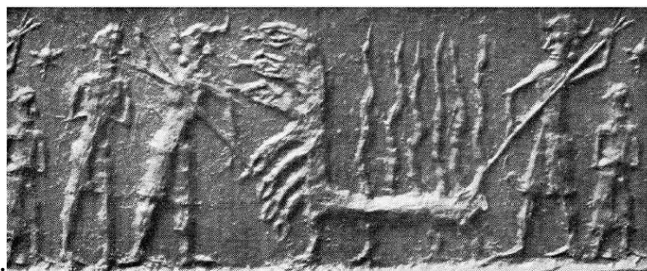


Fig. 2.6.a. A scene on an Akkadian seal, depicting the killing of a dragon with seven heads and seven tails (after Frankfort & Jacobsen 1955: pl. 45, no. 478).

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

⁶⁹⁰ARAB 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.

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

⁶⁹²ARAB II 142.

⁶⁹³SAAS 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

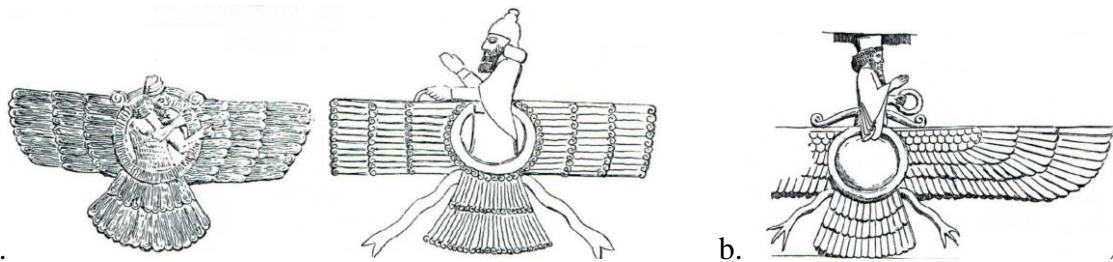


Fig. 2.7.a. Two examples of the Assyrian winged-disk (after: Herzfeld 1941: fig. 360, p.254).

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” (*ilu Aššurû*). Similarly Ištar was called the “Assyrian Ištar” (*Ištar Aššurîtu*), 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 šarrūtiⁱⁱ-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.

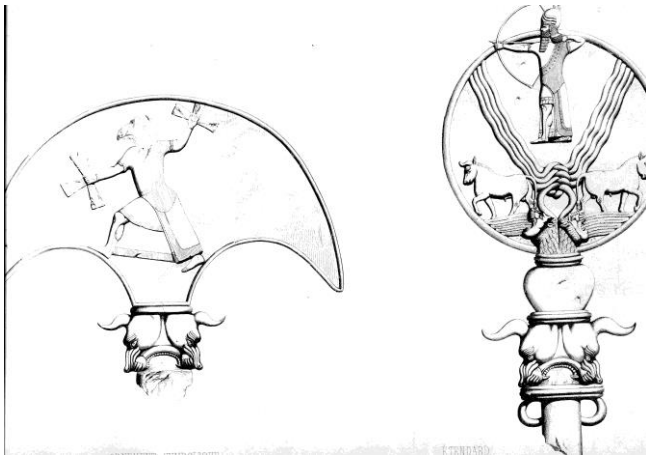


Fig.2.7.c. Two Assyrian emblems depicted on a royal battle chariot from the reign of Sargon II, (Botta and Flandin 1972: pl. 158).

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 Aḥšêri:⁷³⁵

“(Aḥšêri) who did not fear from my sovereignty, [Ashur and Ištar] 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

⁷³⁴ARAB II 142.

⁷³⁵ARAB II 851.

⁷³⁶ARAB II 142.

⁷³⁷For 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.

⁷³⁸SAA XVII 120: 14-23.

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

⁷⁴⁰See 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-ìl*).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.

⁷⁶⁰ Eph'al 1999: 120.

⁷⁶¹ Eph'al 1999: 120.

⁷⁶² Eph'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.^dIGI.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 Ahazean 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.

⁷⁷²RINAP 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 (^{m.d}IGI.D]U. LKAM), the owner of a land in the village of Sangari (^mSa-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.

⁷⁷⁵The 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.

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

⁷⁷⁷RIMA II A.0.87.1: v 9-21.

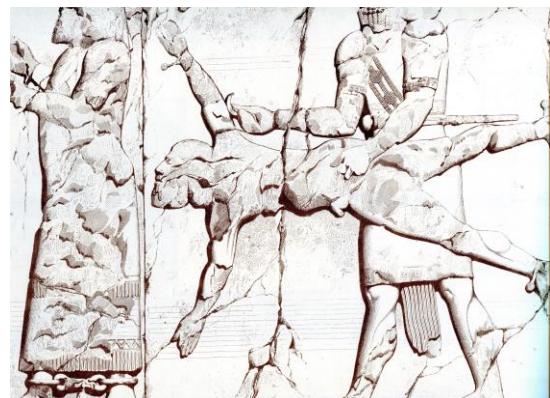
Similarly, the Medes swore by Assyrian deities in the vassal treaty with Esarhaddon.⁷⁷⁸

2.5.10. Divine names in personal names

Most names of Assyrian kings include a divine name. Several have Assur, such as Aššur-nārāri (^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-pár-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 Ĥu-Tešub (“... *Tešub*”); The Hurrian/Urartian man whose name was written ^M*ĥu-te-šub* was the vassal ruler of Šubria under Sargon II. Another *Ĥu-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-Ḥaban and Namri.⁷⁹⁴ Shamshi-Adad V later deported deities from cities in Nai'ri.⁷⁹⁵ In Media, Sargon II deported the deities from Ḥarḥar. 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 should you say: “Let [the king my lord] give [my gods] back to me [...],” (then) quickly [gather and send me] information (and) [I will] soon [give] 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 ‘Urartians’ 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.

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Origin city/land</i>	<i>Deported to</i>	<i>Assyrian king</i>	<i>Return-ed to</i>	<i>Sources</i>
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.

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<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 Bīt-Ḫaban) who appointed by Shalmaneser III himself after Marduk-mudammiq had been removed from his throne in Namri	Bīt-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/Ardini 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 Mannians, 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 Zaku 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 Ṭebētu (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) Šabīni, 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. [ki! –šir!]-[t]a!-‘a-a’]. 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 Ulūlu, 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.

Šilisruḥ 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 Tušhan (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 Sharbzhêr 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 Paranzi 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 pāhēte* (*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 ^{uru}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 rabiu*. 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 Ullusunu 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 Najafhabad 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 bodygurad 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 Muşri (Neo-Assyrian Musasir) and the army of Qumanu went to aid the land of Muşri, the Assyrian king occupied Muşri and the capital of Qumanu. Kipşuna 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 Mannean capital, the pro-Assyrian King Ullusunu with his military chiefs and a group of dignitaries went out to welcome him:⁸⁹³

Ullusunu, 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 Mannians 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 reinstated 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 Mannians 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 Qaplīnu 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 Mannians 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 Mannians 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 corveé 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 Suhū, 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: ⁵*The 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).

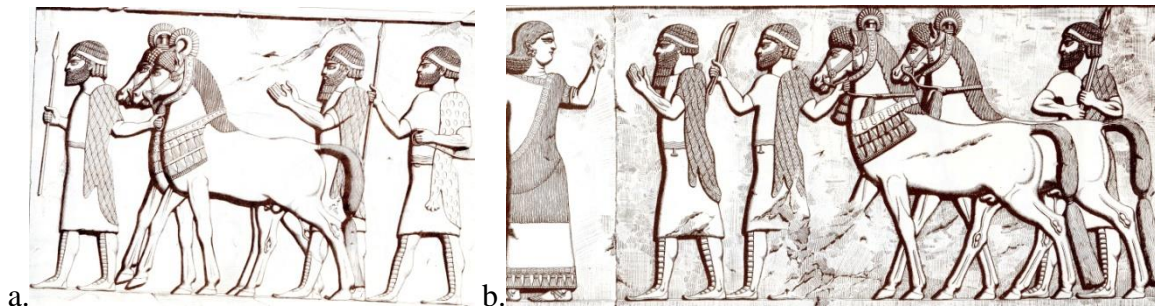


Fig. 2.9.a-b. One of the Zagrosian delegations brought horses as tribute to the Assyrian palace of the Assyrian court of Sargon in Dur-Sharrukin. They wear skin cloaks (after Botta & Flandin, 1972:pl. 151, fig.10; pl.125, fig.5).

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-belu-ka.....” SAA XV 91: r.1-9).*

⁹¹⁹SAA V 157.

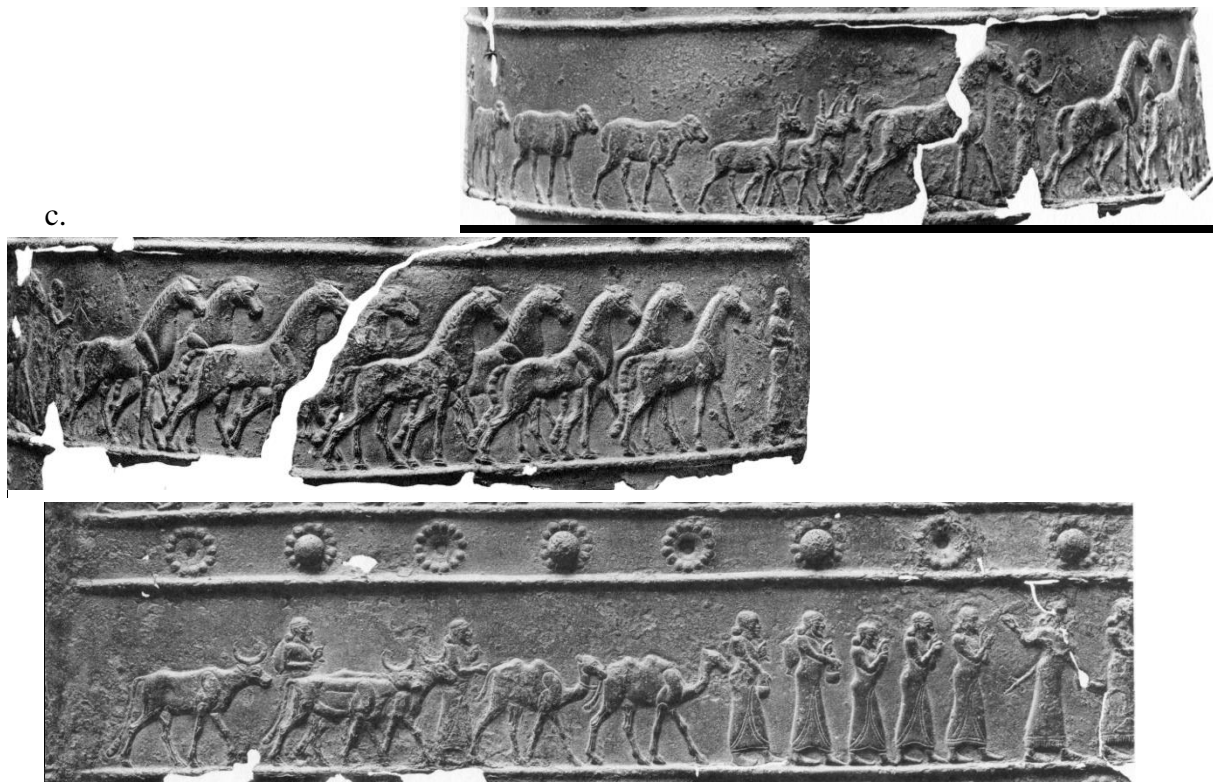


Fig.2.9.a-c. Scenes depicted on the Bronze Gate of Balawat, Shalmaneser III takes horses, cattle and two-humped camels as booty from Urartu and Gilzanu (after a. King 1915: Pl.XXXVIII, Band VII.2. b. King 1915: Pl.XXXIX, Band VII.3. c. King 1915: pl. XL, Band VII, 4).

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 cavalrymen, 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 Urakazabanu, with his sons, his grandsons, with all the Urakazabaneans 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 Mannians through those Aramaeans who were deported or emigrated to the east of Kurruri to the banks of the Lower Zab in western Zamuia. 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.

⁹³⁸*RIMA II* A.0. 100.05: 34-40.

⁹³⁹SAAS XI: p.146; Zadok 2013: 414.

⁹⁴⁰SAA V 227.

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

⁹⁴²*RIMA 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 Mannans, 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 unsub]stantiated 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 Mannaean 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 Mannean 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 Mannean 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 Mannean 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 Mannean prince as hostage and the Mannean 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 Mannaean fear of the ascendant Scythians and Cimmerians. The alliance lasted until after the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE, since the Mannean 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 Mannean concubine of Ashurbanipal was with them as they fled. She may have had a child in the Assyrian royal family, and the Mannean army was sent to support this Assyrian prince whose mother was a Mannean 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]evuew [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 *habalginnu* 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, Hargaiia, 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, Kurruri, 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 Manneans: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.0. 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[ite] 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

⁹⁸³As its discussed in the letter SAA XIX 91.

⁹⁸⁴SAA V133.

⁹⁸⁵SAA V 136.

⁹⁸⁶SAA V 171: 6-11, r.1-3.

⁹⁸⁷SAA XIII 93.

⁹⁸⁸For further details see the reports, SAA XIII 84-123.

⁹⁸⁹Postgate 1985: 96-98.

⁹⁹⁰Gaspa 2011: 103.

⁹⁹¹Gaspa 2011: 103, note. 47; Fuchs 1994: 242.

⁹⁹²Gaspa 2011: p.103, note. 47; Fuchs 1994: 242.

⁹⁹³For 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 Shamatenka, the local name for the bee which makes it.

⁹⁹⁴SAA V p. XXVII.

⁹⁹⁵ARAB 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-Šarrukin 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; Kār-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 Hargaia 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.

¹⁰¹³*RIMA* I, *RIMA* II A.0. 101.1: i 54b-58a, Levine 1972: lines: 40-41, p.39.

¹⁰¹⁴Burney 1977: 4.

¹⁰¹⁵*ARAB* 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, Šarrumuranni, 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

¹⁰¹⁶ARAB II 659C.

¹⁰¹⁷SAA V 203: 4-6.

¹⁰¹⁸Fales 1989: 57.

¹⁰¹⁹Fales 1989: 57, note 27; also see *CAD M/2*, pp.148b-149a.

¹⁰²⁰Fales 1989: 57.

¹⁰²¹Fales 1989: 52ff.

¹⁰²²Fales 1989:57f.

¹⁰²³Fales 1989:57f.

¹⁰²⁴Zamru 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.

¹⁰²⁵See Fales 1989: 57, note 30.

¹⁰²⁶Fales 1989: 58.

¹⁰²⁷SAA 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-ḥamātua 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 Vér, 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.0.101.1: 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]juri. 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.

“.....[h]is [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 that may have protected the iron sources in the mountains 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.

¹⁰⁸⁴Özfirat 2001: 209-228; Sevin 2005 b: 165; Sevin 2005a; Sevin 2011: 362-366.

¹⁰⁸⁵Marf, D.A., (forthcoming) 2016: Back to the Land of Muşafir/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-uari 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 purple) and put a silver bracelet 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 Urzuhuna 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.

¹¹¹⁷The translations of biblical passages are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

¹¹¹⁸Postage 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, Kurbaïl 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

¹¹³⁷ARAB II 171.

¹¹³⁸SAA XIX 61: r.2.

¹¹³⁹SAA V 105: r.4-8.

¹¹⁴⁰Parpola & Neumann 1987:161-182.

¹¹⁴¹SAA V 117; 33; SAA I 62; Lanfranchi 1995 134.

¹¹⁴²SAA V 253: 2-7.

¹¹⁴³Moorey 1993:35.

¹¹⁴⁴Parker 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.

¹¹⁴⁵Radner 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 Aḥšêri, 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.

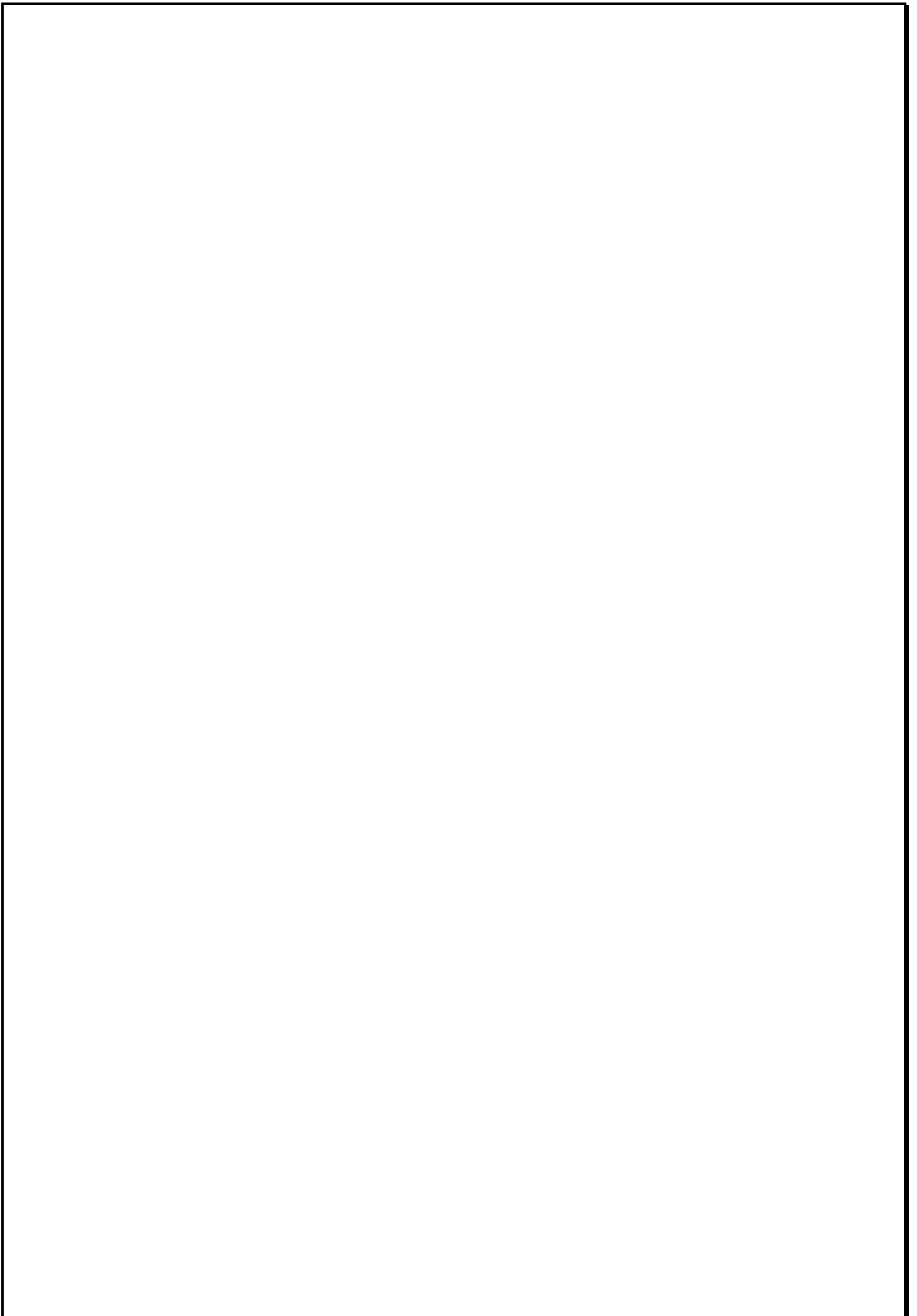
A stable economy was an important base for the expansion of the empire. Assyria was rich in grain, but it lacked metals, stones, and fruit, and needed more manpower. Assyrian campaigns in the Zagros produced horses, metal, building stone, precious stones, corvée labour, auxiliary soldiers, and slaves. 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.

Chapter III
Arts and Pottery



Chapter III Arts and Pottery

Introduction

In this chapter I deal with the interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros regarding the arts,¹¹⁵⁰ handicrafts and pottery, in particular movable items such as ivories, costumes and textiles, metalwork, glass, glazed bricks, and pottery, and immovable items such as rock reliefs and wall paintings. I shall examine motifs and ideas which were borrowed by or transmitted to one or the other culture. Military conflicts had an influence on elite and individuals in Assyria and the Northern Zagros and beyond (for the mentioned excavated sites of the Northern Zagros and its foothills, see, Map 3.1).

Our evidence about the material culture of these areas comes from ancient records, visual art, and material objects. The Assyrian annals record the plundering of art and materials. In the iconography we see costumes, weapons, chariots and equipment. Some of the material objects we have are excavated or discovered in archaeological surveys, but others were found by local inhabitants. Many have reached museums through black markets having been said to come from the Zagros or Assyria, but there are also many forgeries. Naturally I deal primarily with objects which did not reach museums from the black market. Objects which can be traced to the black market have to be treated carefully.

Scholars have viewed Assyria as the cultural centre and the Zagros as the periphery. Historically that was true, for in the Bronze Age the Zagros was in the periphery of Sumer and Akkad (later Babylonia and Assyria). Assyria inherited the culture and civilization of Sumer and Akkad, and merged it with Hurrian and other Upper Mesopotamian cultures under an Assyrian cover for the Assyrian state and empire. The various communities in the Zagros never united before the fall of Nineveh, but existed as small provinces and kingdoms. Their leaders resisted Assyrian occupation, despite their comparatively weak strength, and were defeated by them, as were many other kingdoms of the Near East. These conflicts and subsequent peaceful contacts led to cultural interaction, which influenced leaders and the citizens in different degrees and also the arts. I shall refer to many of the scholarly publications dealing with Iron Age art from the Northern Zagros, including reports of excavations and field surveys, and to museum collections, and some objects studied by the author in field work in the Iraqi Zagros.

3.1. The Assyrian and local reliefs and steles in the Northern Zagros

In the Northern Zagros there are Assyrian and also local rock reliefs. Rock Arts (rock carvings and incisions) is the oldest known type of art in the mountains of the Northern Zagros, where they depict everyday activities, especially hunting and rituals associated with hunting. They record individuals and social groups or tribes living in a prehistoric or protohistoric age. All rock art may not be prehistoric times, for some may have been the work of nomadic groups in the Zagros in the Bronze Age and or the Iron Age.¹¹⁵¹

¹¹⁵⁰ By arts I mean works of art, some of which can be called craftwork.

¹¹⁵¹ Rock art represents animals, people, astral and geometric motifs in a simple and abstract style. Most is considered to be from Prehistoric Pastoral groups, first appearing during the Mesolithic period, but some is from

Within the historical periods the oldest known rock relief in the Northern Zagros is at Gunduk (Gunduk), a village to the west of the Upper Zab in the territory of Akâr/Aqra. It dates to the Early Bronze Age. It shows hunting rituals and banquets as social activities. When compared with Sumerian art we see horned headresses distinguishing deities, Imdugud, and a bear feeding her cub.¹¹⁵²

From the Middle Bronze Age another type of rock relief appears in the Zagros. This type do not display rituals but were formally made for the king to commemorate victories and military expeditions against enemies. In the Northern Zagros several date to the Middle Bronze Age, from the Post Akkadian period to the Old Babylonian period: two rock reliefs of Anubanini, the Lullubean king, at Sarpol-e Zahab;¹¹⁵³ Bêlule,¹¹⁵⁴ Basara; and Ramakan. Most were made by local rulers of Lullubum and Simurrum.¹¹⁵⁵ The one at Derbend-i Gawir was incorrectly identified with Naramsin of Akkad and compared with his Victory Stele in the Louvre.¹¹⁵⁶ In fact it comes from the Ur III period. The king's headress is very similar to that of the Ur III Sumerian king Urnammu. Perhaps it commemorates a victory in a campaign of Shulgi or Amarsin over the Lullubeans, since the victims under the feet of the king are certainly Lullubeans, with the long braided hair of the Lullubeans on the Victory Stele of Naramsin.¹¹⁵⁷

The Assyrians and the Zagrosians carved rock reliefs and steles to commemorate activities in times of war and peace. Most record a victory over an enemy or a building project, such as Sennacherib's hydraulic project for canals. The available data about the rock reliefs and steles made by Assyrians in the Zagros and by local rulers there, from the Middle Assyrian period onwards, needs to be assessed. As well as those that have been discovered there are others mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions but not yet discovered. Similar depictions can be found in official Assyrian art on bas reliefs in Assyrian palaces and on the Bronze Gate of Balawat. The Assyrians recorded their triumphs on rock faces at a mountain pass, near rivers, springs and pools, or at the gate of occupied cities (see table 3.1).

From the Middle Assyrian period the only record of a victory is by Tiglath-pileser I. In his annals he says that he completely destroyed the 'capital' city of Hunusu/Hunusa in the land of Qumānu,¹¹⁵⁸ and he turned that city "into a ruin hill." To seal that victory "he strewed šîpu-stones over it." Furthermore, on a bronze stele he says:¹¹⁵⁹

I made bronze lightning bolts (and) inscribed on them (a description of) the conquest of the lands which with the god Aššur, my lord, I conquered (and a warning) not to occupy that city and not to rebuild its wall. On that (site) I built a house of baked brick and put inside those bronze lightning bolts.

later historical periods (Bronze Age and Iron Age times). For further details about the rock art in the Northern Zagros see Lahafian 2005: 43-59; Marf 2006; Marf 2008: 63-69; Marf 2008: 63-69; Marf and Ghareeb 2011: 5-12.

¹¹⁵² For further details see Ahmed 2012:93ff.

¹¹⁵³ Ahmed 2012: 306ff.

¹¹⁵⁴ Postgate & Roaf 1997: 143-155.

¹¹⁵⁵ Ahmed 2012: 309ff.

¹¹⁵⁶ Strommenger 1964: fig.122.

¹¹⁵⁷ Marf 2007: 3-9.

¹¹⁵⁸ RIMA II A.0.87.1; A.0.87. 2:30-36.

¹¹⁵⁹ RIMA II A.0.87.1: vi 14 - vi 21.

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Rock reliefs of several Neo-Assyrian kings have been found in the Zagros mountains and they erected steles in cities they occupied.

Table 3.1. Steles and rock reliefs of Assyrian kings in the Zagros

Assyrian king	Rock relief	Stele	City/land	Discovered in	Sources
Tiglathpileser I		x	Inscribed bronze lightning bolts on the ruins of Ḫunusu/Ḫunusa in the land of Qumānu		RIMA II A.0.87.1: vi 14 - vi 21.
Ashurnasirpal III	x		<i>ēqu</i> -mountain in the capital city of Ništun (Ashurnasirpal city) in the land of Habhu		RIMA II A.0.101.1: 68-69a.
Shalmaneser III	x		On a rock face at the shore of Nairi sea		King 1915: pl. LIX.
Shalmaneser III	X?	x	“a colossal royal statue” on Mount Eritia, opposite the royal city Aršašku(n) and Mount Adduru, with an inscription commemorating his victory over Urartu.		RIMA III ii 45-65a.
Shalmaneser III		X	The city of Daiēnu is in the land of Daiēnu, beyond Kurruri in the Diana plain. Asia the king of that city submitted to Shalmaneser III, and he erected his royal statue there.		RIMA III A.0.102.6: iii 43-45.
Shalmaneser II		x	Harhar in Media		RIMA 3 A.0.102.14. 125.
Shalmaneser II		X	In the land Namri, on Mount Tunni, “ <i>the silver mountain</i> ”		RIMA III A.0.102.40: ii 2b-5.
Shalmaneser II		X	In the land Namri, on Mount Mulû, “ <i>the alabaster mountain</i> ”		
Shamshi-Adad V		x	Şibara city of the land of Gizilbunda in Nairi		RIMA III A.0.103.1: 20-27.
Adad-narari III		X	Perhaps originally it was erected on the Urartian border, somewhere in Ulluba or Qumanu.	A fragment of a black stone stele said to come from Dohuk to the north of Nineveh. The inscription describes a battle between Shamshi-ilu the Assyrian field marshal and the Urartian king Argishti I.	RIMA III A.0.104.2011 .
Tiglath-pileser III	x		Ulluba	Mila Mergi	RINAP 1: 37.

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Tiglath-pileser III	x		Tikrakki in Media		Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.64.
Tiglath-pileser III		x	Bīt-Ištar		RINAP I 7:37-3.
Tiglath-pileser III		x	The Stele of Iran		Levine 1972:11-24; RINAP I 35.
Sargon II	x		Karalla	Tang-i Var	Frame 1999b: 40ff.
Sargon II		x	In the Median cities Kār-Šarrukēn and in Kišesim (Kār-Urta/ Kār-Nergal).		ARAB II 10; Lie 1929: II: 99-101.
Sargon II		x	Ramand? Or Godding Tepe? In Media	Najafabad Stele found in Najafabad 10 miles to the west of Kangaver in Hamadan.	Levine 1972: II: 72-75; Zadok 2000a.
Sargon II		X	A royal image erected in the Mannean capital Izirtu with an inscription.		ARAB II 13.
Sennacherib		x	Arrapha? Bīt-Kilmazah? Commemorates Sennacherib's victories on the Kassites and Yasubigallians		RINAP 3/1 3:20-26; Levine 1973: 313.
Sennacherib	x		Ulluba?/Assyria	Maltai rock reliefs on Zawa range in Dohuk.	Shukri 1954.
Sennacherib	x		Assyria/Kurbail?	Hinis (Khanas) rock reliefs	Layard 1853a: 178ff; Debevoise 1942: 76-105; Wiseman 1958: Pl.VII-VIII.
Sennacherib	x		Assyria, northeast of Nineveh plain	Sheru malktha/Bandawia rock relief	Shukri 1954.
Esarhaddon	x		Ellipi	Shikaft-i Gulgul rock relief in Luristan	Grasyon & Levine 1975: 30; Reade 1977: 33-48.
Esarhaddon? Sennacherib? Or Ashurbanipal	x		To the way to Elam from Der	Mishkhas	Alibaigi and Alibaigi 2012: 29ff.

Ashurnasirpal II occupied the ‘capital city’ Ništun in the land of Habhu and renamed it the city Ashurnasirpal, according to a rock relief/stele there:¹¹⁶⁰

I made an image of myself (and) wrote thereon the praises of my power. I erected (it) on the ēqu-mountain in the city (called) Ashurnasirpal at the source of the spring.

From the reign of Shalmaneser III we know three rock reliefs: on the shore of Lake Nairi (Urmia);¹¹⁶¹ at the source of the Tigris in Turkey; a rock relief is also depicted on the Bronze Gates at Balawat,¹¹⁶² showing the king and Assyrian priests performing rituals, and Assyrian soldiers throwing meat from the sacrificed animals to a ‘dog’ by the sea where fish swim, one of which looks like a coelacanth.¹¹⁶³ Below that scene, in another panel Shalmaneser is depicted in his chariot leaving an Assyrian camp with his army for the Urartian stronghold of Sugunia.¹¹⁶⁴ (See fig.3.1. a-b)



Fig.3.1.a. A scene on the Bronze Gate of Balawat showing an Assyrian sculptor carving an image of Shalmaneser III on a rock faces at the source of the Tigris River near Diyarbakir (after Madlhoom 1971: Pl.LII.1).

b. A scene depicted on the Bronze Gate of Balawat, showing the rituals performed by Shalmaneser III in front of Assyrian rock relief with offering tables and a fire altar/censer. A rock relief of the king on the shore of Nairi sea (Lake Urmia) depicts an area in the land of Gilzanu (modern Hasanlu) (after King 1915: pl.I, Band I.1).

Shalmaneser III erected “a colossal royal statue” on Mount Eritia, opposite the royal city Aršašku(n) and Mount Adduru, with an inscription commemorating his victory over Urartu.¹¹⁶⁵

In his campaign against Media, Shalmaneser III says “*I erected a royal statue in the city Harhar.*”¹¹⁶⁶ An epic poem of praise of Shalmaneser III refers to other rock reliefs: “*I set up images (recording) my might by mountains and seas.*”¹¹⁶⁷

Shamshi-Adad V says that he erected a royal statue at the city of Şibara, the city of Gizilbundaeans in the land of Nairi:¹¹⁶⁸

¹¹⁶⁰RIMA II A.0. 101.1: 68-69a.

¹¹⁶¹King 1915: pl.LIX.

¹¹⁶² King 1915: Pl.LIX; Madlhoom 1971: Pl.LII.1. Also, Tiglath-pileser III carved another rock relief at the source of the Tigris, at the caves of Birkleyn in Turkey, see Harmanshah 2012: p.69, fig.6.

¹¹⁶³See Kroll 2011:153.

¹¹⁶⁴ King 1915: Pl.LIX; Madlhoom 1971: Pl.LII.1; Kroll 2011:153.

¹¹⁶⁵ RIMA III ii 45-65a.

¹¹⁶⁶RIMA III A.0.102.14. 125.

¹¹⁶⁷SAA III 17: 22-23.

I made my colossal royal statue (and) wrote thereon the victories of Ashur, my lord, praises of my heroic deeds, and all the things which I had achieved in the land Nairi. I erected (it) in Šibara, the fortified city of the Gizilbundaeans.

Tiglath-pileser III set up two rock reliefs and a stele in Northern Zagros cities.

Mila Mergi is located near the villages of Zinaneh and Gre-rash to the east of Zakho near the Turkish border north of Duhok and Nineveh. The image on the huge rock is identified by local people as Timur-lang or Genghiz Khan.¹¹⁶⁹ It is carved inside a frame with a rounded top, 135 cm high and 82 cm wide. The image is of Tiglath-pileser III, with symbols of several deities, and an inscription of about 54 lines (fig.3.2.a),¹¹⁷⁰ to commemorate his victory over the Ullubeans during his 7th *palu*, in 739 BCE.¹¹⁷¹



Fig.3.2.a. The rock relief of Mila Mergi. Recently it was badly damaged by treasure hunters who thought the image of a king indicated there was treasure behind the relief. (Photo by Bekas Jamaluddin).

The inscription starts by evoking several deities (lines 1-11), and then lists the titles of Tiglath-pileser III (lines 12-15). Afterwards details are given about the land of Ulluba and its cities and why he conquered that area (lines 16-45). He says he annexed **Ulluba** to Assyria and installed an Assyrian eunuch as ruler. It ends with curses against anyone damaging the rock relief, and a request for future ‘Assyrian’ kings to pray in front of the symbols of the rock relief (in the lines 45b-54):¹¹⁷²

¹¹⁶⁸RIMA III A.0.103.1: 20-27.

¹¹⁶⁹From a personal communication with the local archaeologist Bekas Jamaluddin. Also, see Al-Amin 1948: 180-218; Shukri 1954; Postgate 1973a; Pfälzner and Sconzo 2015: 90-123.

¹¹⁷⁰RINAP I 37; Postgate 1973a.

¹¹⁷¹RINAP I: 37. P.89.

¹¹⁷²RINAP I 37: 45b-54. The discovery of this inscription at Mila Mergi which mentions Ulluba means we can correct the previous identification of Ulluba as the area east of Diyarbekir (Amad). It confirms that Ulluba was in the area east, south-east of the Lesser Habur, east of Zakho. For further details see Postgate 1973a.

I had a monument [NA₄.RÚ-e] made on Mount I[limeru(...)], had my royal image engraved on it, and made (it) [stand] (there) forever. [(As for) the one who...], destroys (it), er[as]es (it), or smashes (it) with stone, [...], or covers (it) with earth, may the great gods who live in heaven (and) nether[world, all of those] whose names are invoked [in] this [inscription], remove [his] throne, [overthrow his dynasty], (and) turn his land into mounds of ruins [lit. "mounds and ruins"]. May [a future ruler read aloud] this inscription, [wash (it) with oil, (and) [make an offering]. (Then) those gods [will hear] his pryaers.

A relief from Khorsabad, which depicts Sargon II's attack on the Median city **Tikrakkī/Sikris**, is at the side of the gate of the city, and depicts an earlier Assyrian rock relief on a rock face which touches the main wall of the city, it is still in situ (fig.3.2.b).¹¹⁷³



Fig. 3.2.b. The city of Tikrakkī depicted on an Assyrian relief from Khosabad, reign of Sargon, beside the gate of the city, copying a rock relief or stele probably recording the former occupation of the city by Tiglath-pileser III.¹¹⁷⁴ (after Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl.64).

The rock relief depicts an Assyrian king in a rounded-top frame. He raises his right hand and points with his index finger perhaps to the symbols of the Assyrian deities which are usually depicted on the steles and rock reliefs at the top of the scene in front of the face of the king. We know that the rock relief of Tikrakkī of Tiglath-pileser III was still in its place when Sargon attacked the city in 716 BCE.

Tiglath-pileser III claims that he erected a “royal image” (*šalam šarrūtiya*) at Bīt-Ištar.¹¹⁷⁵ In his annals he says: “*I made stelae in all (?) the lands. The great gods, my lord, I engraved thereon. I depicted a likeness of my majesty on it.*”¹¹⁷⁶ Perhaps one of these steles is the Stele of Iran, which was found somewhere in the Iranian part of the Zagros. Two pieces of this stele have been acquired by the Israel Museum and a third one remains in a private collection.¹¹⁷⁷ The stele is 81 cm high and 40.5. cm wide¹¹⁷⁸ The Assyrian king is standing and pointing with

¹¹⁷³ Albenda 1986: pl.120, Room 2, slab. 17.

¹¹⁷⁴ Holloway 2002: 154.

¹¹⁷⁵ RINAP I 7:37-3; Holloway 2002: 154. For further details about that image and its possible location see Radner 2003b, and also see Chapter III, 3.1.1.

¹¹⁷⁶ Levine 1972: col.ii. 31-33. p.21; Tadmor (in collaboration with Louis D. Levine) 1994: 91-110.

¹¹⁷⁷ RINAP I 35: p.80ff; Levine 1972: 11.

¹¹⁷⁸ Levine 1972: 11-24.

the index finger of his right hand in an iconographic gesture of prayer to deities symbolically represented in front of him in the rounded top of the frame.¹¹⁷⁹ Seven deities are represented: Sin, the winged disk of Ashur or Shamash, Amurru, Sibitti, Ishtar, Adad and Nabû. Only important deities are symbolised, but others are mentioned by name in the long inscription, which has some lacunae from damage.¹¹⁸⁰ The inscription as usual starts with invocations to deities (I 1-20), followed by epithets and titles of the king (21-35). We then read repeated details about his 1st, 2nd, and 3rd *palûs*. In his second *palû* he refers to his campaigns and receiving tribute from Namri, Bīt-Singibūti (Bīt-Sangibūti), Ellipu, and Mannea.¹¹⁸¹ It is in the first column that the deities are evoked and Tiglath-pileser's titles. In the second column lands and kingdoms in Anatolia, Syria, Levant, and Arabia are mentioned, with metals, ivory, garments and animals sent to Tiglath-pileser III as tribute. After a lacuna he mentions his campaign to the east and west of the empire (ii 1-17). After a hymn to the king (ii 18-24) we read of his campaign to Media during his 9th *palû* (ii 25-44). The tribute from the east and west of the empire comes in the third column (iii 1-30).¹¹⁸²

I had a stele made in the vicinity of the mountains. I dep[icted] on it (symbols of) the great gods my lords (and) I fashioned my royal image on it. I ins[cribed] on it the mighty deeds of (the god) Ashur, my lord, and [my] personal achievements <that> I accomplished again and again throughout (all of) the lands.

The text and the stele date to the 9th *palû* of Tiglath-pileser III, 737 BCE:¹¹⁸³

“In my ninth palû, I ordered (my troops) to march against the Medes. I conquered the cities of city rulers who submissive. I defeated them (and) carried off their booty. I firmly placed my steles in [...], the city Bīt-Ištar, the city Šibar (Šibur), (and at) Mount Ariarama (and) Mount Silahzu, mighty mountains.

As in the inscription of Mila Mergi this text ends with similar curses against those who would destroy the stele, and a request to future rulers to wash it with water and oil and pray for the gods aloud.¹¹⁸⁴

From lines 24-28 he mentions his campaign to the Zagros, erecting steles everywhere on his way:¹¹⁸⁵

As for Iranzi of Mannea, Talta (Daltā) of Ellipi, the chieftains of Namri, of Singibutu, of all of the mountains of the high country (?) [KUR AN [KI]-te (?)] horses, mules, Bactrian camels. Cattle, sheep, I imposed upon them (as tribute). I received it yearly in Ashur. I made stelae in all (?) the lands. The great gods, my lords, I engraved thereon. I depicted a likeness of my majesty on it. The strength of Ashur my lord and X ...the lands. Who overthe border, who to....

In his annals **Sargon II** claims to have carved rock reliefs and erected steles at several sites in the Zagros. Some have been discovered but not all.

¹¹⁷⁹ Levine 1972: 11-24.

¹¹⁸⁰ Levine 1972: 12.

¹¹⁸¹ RINAP I 35: i 5-14; Levine 1972: 14.

¹¹⁸² RINAP I 35: iii 31-36.

¹¹⁸³ RINAP I 35: ii 25-29.

¹¹⁸⁴ RINAP I 35: iii 1-10; also see RINAP I 37.

¹¹⁸⁵ Levine 1972: ii side: 24-36. Also see Tadmor 1994: 111-116.

In his eighth campaign in 714 BCE Sargon says the pro-Assyrian Mannean king Ullusunu welcomed him, gave his son as a hostage and provided a stele for him:¹¹⁸⁶

Ullusunu, 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.

During his campaign in 716 BCE Sargon conquered the lands of Bīt-Ramatua, Uriqatu, Sigirs, Šaparda and Uriakku with other 6 unnamed districts and he says: “*the symbol of Ashur my lord, as their deity I established.*”...“*The statue of my majesty [ša-lam šarrūti-ia] I erected in Kār-Šarrukēn.*”¹¹⁸⁷ Also, he erected a stele at Kišesim (Kār-Nergal): “*My royal image I set up in its midst.*”¹¹⁸⁸

Sargon’s victory over Karalla is commemorated on a rock relief on a side of Mount Kuh-i Zinaneh at the pass of **Tang-i Var** 40m above the ground. The site is 50 km southwest of Sanandaj. Sargon adopts a standard Assyrian pose with a raised right hand. The inscription runs across his image and is badly worn.¹¹⁸⁹ When the rock relief was first reported in 1968 it was called the “**Uramanat relief**”, the name of the nearby village (fig. 3.4.a-b).¹¹⁹⁰ The relief and the inscription indicate that the area was part of the territory of Karalla at the time of Sargon, which supports Sargon’s claim in his annals that he annexed Karalla with the city of Lulume in the land of Zamua.¹¹⁹¹ The inscription begins with an invocation of several deities, then mentions name of Sargon and his titles. The focus is first on Sargon’s campaigns in lands of the Near East, and then on his campaign to Karalla (in the lines 37-44), where the rock relief was carved. There are blessings and curses at the end.¹¹⁹² On Karalla he says:¹¹⁹³

“At that time the people of the land of Karalla...who ...and were not used to respecting (any) rulership, trusted in the steep mountains and ...a eunuch of mine, the governor...all the land.....they established and prepared for battle...became angry and slew their people. Horses, mules, ...and ...their presence...turned and...They made the paths through his land desolate and...blocked the trails. My rēdû-soliers...to inaccessible mountain clefts like eagles. ...they established ...their warriors...mountains. The remainder of them ...and they counted (them) as booty. I had a commemorative monument made and engraved upon it image(s) of the great gods, [my lords]. I placed before them my royal image [(in an attitude of)] pr]aying to their great divine majesties. The victories of the god Ashur, father of the gods, lord...[...] all I had] inscribed upon it.

¹¹⁸⁶ ARAB II 148.

¹¹⁸⁷ Lie 1929: II: 99-101.

¹¹⁸⁸ ARAB II 10.

¹¹⁸⁹ Sarfaraz 1969; Frame 1999b: 40ff,

¹¹⁹⁰ Levine 1972; Sarfaraz 1969.

¹¹⁹¹ Levine 1972: 1-76, lines 31-32; also see ARAB II 208-209.

¹¹⁹² Kearton 1969: 186; Frame 1999b: 31ff; Kim 2002: 98ff.

¹¹⁹³ Frame 1999b: lines 37-46, p.41.

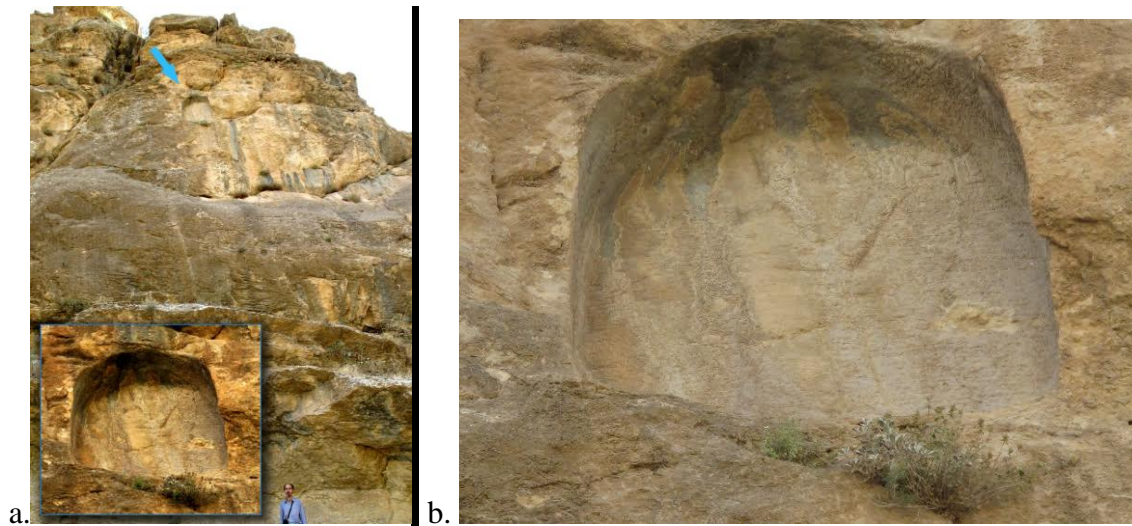


Fig. 3.4. a-b. The rock relief of Tang-i Var. (Photos by Morteza Rahmati and Fereidoun Biglary).

The **stèle** found in the village of **Najafabad** 10 miles to the west of Kangaver in the Hamadan province (now in the Teheran Museum) measures 165 cm. high, 65 cm. thick. The inscription is obliterated. Sargon holds in his left hand a mace, and he points his right index finger towards symbols of Assyrian deities, including a crescent (Sin), horned crown, winged disk and the others which are not clear.¹¹⁹⁴ The obverse (= column I) of the text is badly preserved, and the reverse (= col: II) records Sargon's campaigns to Mannea, Karalla, Harhar, Kishesim and several other Median cities in detail.¹¹⁹⁵

The introduction to this badly preserved text evokes the Assyrian deities and lists Sargon's titles, then turns to Sargon's victories in Syria and the tribute he received. It includes his campaign to Mannea, then Karalla, and that he annexed Karalla to Lulume.¹¹⁹⁶ After a long list of Median cities occupied by Sargon, the text concludes with curses a little different from other Assyrian curses on rock reliefs and steles in the Zagros:¹¹⁹⁷

For the future. [...] who Ashur, the king of all the Igigi, [...] shall call to the lordship of Ashur, this stele.....Ashur [...] may he closely heed and [...]. Whoever [...] this stele [...] from the place of [...] [whoever shall] pile it over secretly, or throw it in the river, or X in dirt, or burn it in a fire, [...] place it... may the great gods who dwell in heaven and on earth gl[are] at him angrily, may they destroy his seed in [his] land...

Unfortunately just where it mentions the name of the city where the stele was erected the inscription is damaged. Scholars assume that perhaps Sargon originally erected the stele of Najafabad during his sixth campaign in 716 BCE in Godin Tepe or on the way to the Median city of Rāmanda/Rāmend.¹¹⁹⁸

The steles and rock reliefs of Assyrian kings outside the Assyrian heartland usually commemorate military events. By contrast **Sennacherib's** rock reliefs were set up where he

¹¹⁹⁴Levine 1972: 26f.

¹¹⁹⁵Levine 1972:28ff.

¹¹⁹⁶ Levine 1972: 1-76, lines 31-32; also see *ARAB* II 208-209.

¹¹⁹⁷Levine 1972: II: 72-75.

¹¹⁹⁸ Zadok 2000a: 9.

started his water canal projects, in the first ranges of the Zagros, north-north-east of the Nineveh plain, between the Tigris and the Upper Zab. These include the rock reliefs of Maltai, Bandawi and Hinis.

The reliefs are repeated four times in different places not far from each other on rock faces of Mount Zawa south of Duhok. Zawa is the first mountain north of Nineveh, and Nineveh can be seen from its peak. On the relief Sennacherib is shown standing on the ground, and raising his right hand towards a row of seven deities, all standing on walking animals, except for a goddess (the second one after Ashur in the row) who is sitting on a throne. The deities can be identified from their symbols (astrals, crowns, and animals) as Enlil, Ninlil, Ashur, Shamash, Sin, Adad and Ishtar.¹¹⁹⁹ Every animal is different, symbolising the deity standing on it. The deities hold a circle “*Ring and rod*,” a Mesopotamian symbol of the rulership in their right hands and raise their left hands to greet Sennacherib. Behind the last deity there is another person who looks like Sennacherib. Perhaps it is the crown prince Esarhaddon or Sennacherib himself may have been represented twice (fig.3.5. a-e).¹²⁰⁰

These reliefs relate to Sennacherib’s water canal projects both at **Maltai** at the foot of the mountain down the rock reliefs in the valley of Duhok (now inside the modern city), and the **Faida canal project** has its own rock reliefs.¹²⁰¹ Depictions of deities on animals were common in the reign of Sennacherib, and Sennacherib’s seal, as impressed on the vassal treaty between Esarhaddon and the Medes, shows him standing on the ground as he is on the rock reliefs of Maltai in front of Ashur. Ashur stands on two animals, perhaps combining the zoomorphic symbols of Enlil (lion) and Marduk (*Mušhuššu*) (fig.3.5.f-g).¹²⁰² Similarly, the naked ‘winged goddess’ on the Hasanlu golden bowl stands on two rams.¹²⁰³

¹¹⁹⁹Shukri 1954; al-Barwary 2002: 61-72.

¹²⁰⁰The Iraqi team during their survey around the rock relief found the remains of fortifications and a paved roadway. For further details see Shukri 1954: 90. For further details about “*Ring and rod*,” see Wiggerma RIA 11, 2006-2008: 414-421.

¹²⁰¹For further details see Ur 2005: 326. The rock reliefs are representing row of deities at the moment only part of their headresses are seen, but generally speaking perhaps they are carved in the same style of the rock reliefs of Maltai as its seen from the deity headresses, therefore, perhaps they are also carved in the same time during the reign of Sennacherib. Recently, an Italian team since 2012 under the direction of Roberto Orazi doing archaeological survey at the area and also studying the rock relief of Faida.

¹²⁰²Wiseman 1958: fig.2, also, see pl. VII-VIII; About Assyrian queen seals with depicted deities standing on animals see Radner 2008: fig.12 a-b. Also, for further details about the seal of Sennacherib and the iconographies of Sennacherib and the deities see Fales 2015: 543-560.

¹²⁰³Mellink, 1966: Text-fig. I-b.

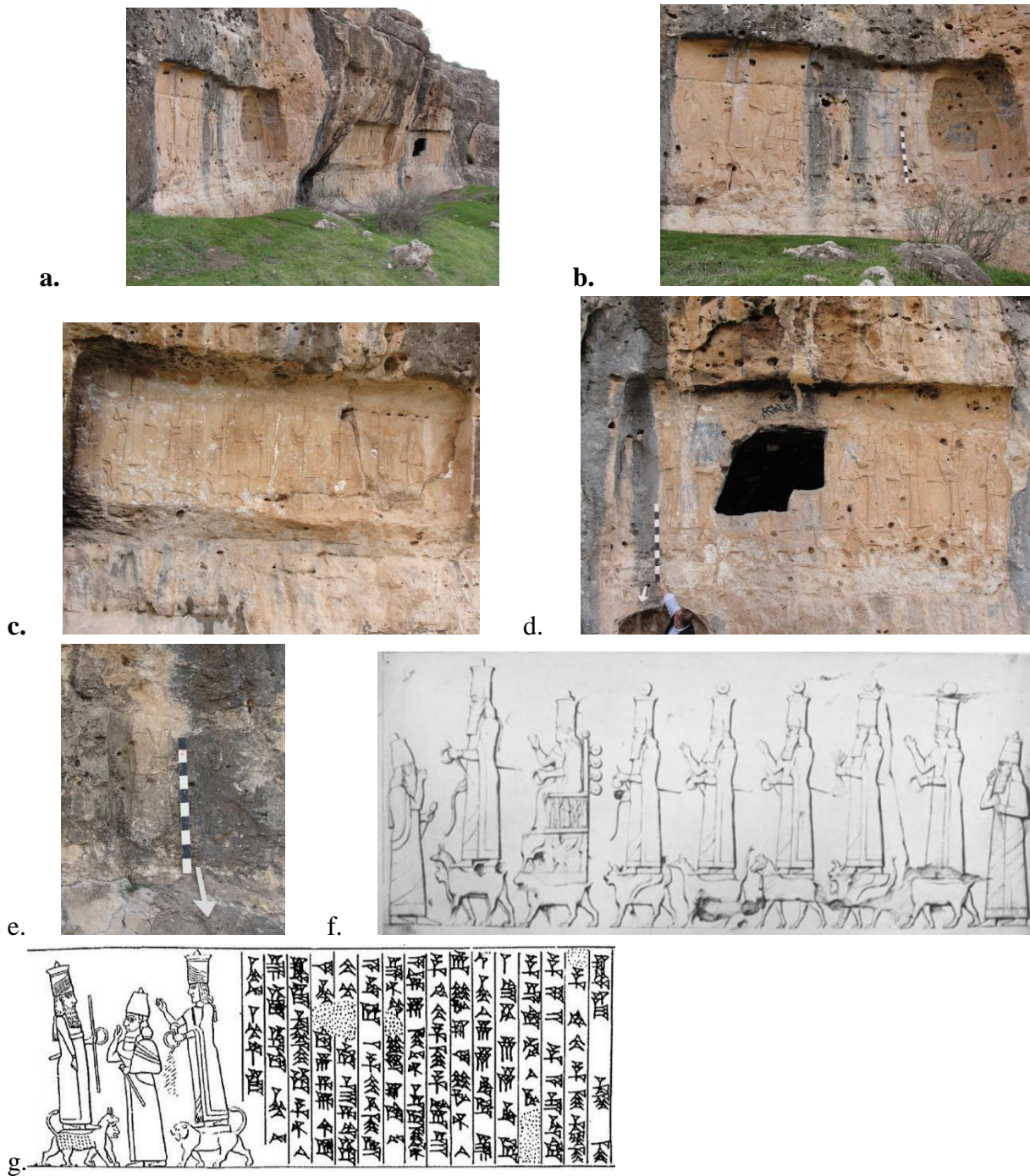


Fig. 3.5. a-e.fig. The rock reliefs of Maltai (photo by Bekas Jamaluddin).
 f. Drawing of one of the rock reliefs of Maltai (after Wiseman 1958: pl.VIII-1).
 g. Drawing of the seal impression of Sennacherib impressed on the vassal treaty of Esarhaddon with the Medes (after Wiseman 1958: fig.2).

At **Hinis**, Sennacherib carved many rock reliefs, they are fall into diffrent groups:
 The biggest relief is carved within a large square frame at the rock where the canal of Gerwan starts. In the center of the scene are two deities. One is probably Ashur, standing on two animals, and the other, a goddess, is perhaps Ishtar (or other goddess) standing on a lion. There are two images of Sennacherib behind them, praying with his right index finger

pointing to the deities.¹²⁰⁴ Around the relief there seems to have been some semi-rounded sculptures, for at the top we can see a lion, but its head is missing. Below it a semi-sculptured *lamassu* has fallen and two *apkallu* sculptures are carved on a nearby rock face. They had collapsed into the river perhaps in an earthquake. The sketch made by Layard shows two *lamassu* there but at the moment there is only one in the river. Sennacherib perhaps stayed there as a summer camp, and had the *lamassu* and *apkallu* sculptures carved near the entrance of this camp (fig.3.6.a).¹²⁰⁵

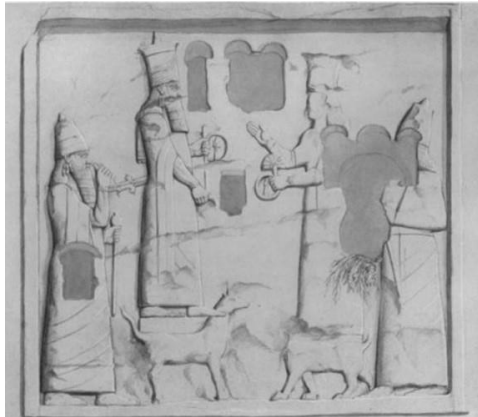


Fig. 3.6.a. Drawing of the rock relief of Hinis (after Wiseman 1958: pl.VII).

Above and to the left of the big rock relief several divine symbols can be seen at the top of a frame, with a long inscription by Sennacherib, describing all his canal diggings in the area between the Tigris and the Upper Zab, north and north-east of Nineveh:¹²⁰⁶

At the mouth of the canal which I dug through the midst of the mountain of Tas, I fashioned six great steles with the images of the great gods, my lords, upon them, and my royal image, with face averted (in prayer), I set up before them. Every deed of my hands, which I wrought for the good of Nineveh, I had engraved thereon, to be a memorial (?) to the kings, my sons.

These eleven images are similar to those on the rock reliefs of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon in the Zagros, in that they portray the Assyrian king in rounded-top frames. They are carved in different places high on the rock face, while below the Bavian River flows.¹²⁰⁷

A relief of Sennacherib carved on a rock face near the inscription was called the “Rider Relief” at Bavian. It was first recorded by Layard and he called the headdress as in Assyrian style: “*the warrior wears the Assyrian pointed helmet.*”¹²⁰⁸ (fig. 3.6.b-c). On the other hand, it is thought to be contemporary “*with the relief of Mithradates II at Behistun.*”¹²⁰⁹ According to Debevoise “*the folds, particularly apparent on the arm holding the spear, are un-Assyrian and appear to be typical of the Parthian period, the rider’s hat is roughly the shape of a*

¹²⁰⁴It was in the early Christian period that the Assyrian rock reliefs were seriously damaged. When they carved into the rock to make chapels.

¹²⁰⁵ Wiseman 1958: pl.VII.

¹²⁰⁶For further details about the inscriptions of Sennacherib on the reliefs of Hinis see ARAB II 342; also see Chapter IV, 4.10.

¹²⁰⁷ For the images and the details see Chapter IV, 4.10.

¹²⁰⁸ Layard 1853b: 178. Also see Börker-Klähn 1982: 200-I a-c.

¹²⁰⁹Debevoise 1942: 94, fig. 5; also see Layard 1853b: 178.

modern fez except that the top is slightly larger than the bottom. It is reminiscent of a hat worn by Darius the Great.”¹²¹⁰

No rider with a levelled spear is attested in Assyrian or Achaemenid art, which is a reason to think the relief comes from the Parthian period. Debevoise assumes that it was carved to commemorate the victory of the Armenian king Tigranes the Great, who defeated the Parthian king Mithradates II in Adeabene.¹²¹¹ However the iconography of the horse rider on the reliefs of Hinis is similar to the iconography of the Assyrian rider on the wall paintings of Til Barsib, but the headdress is different.¹²¹²

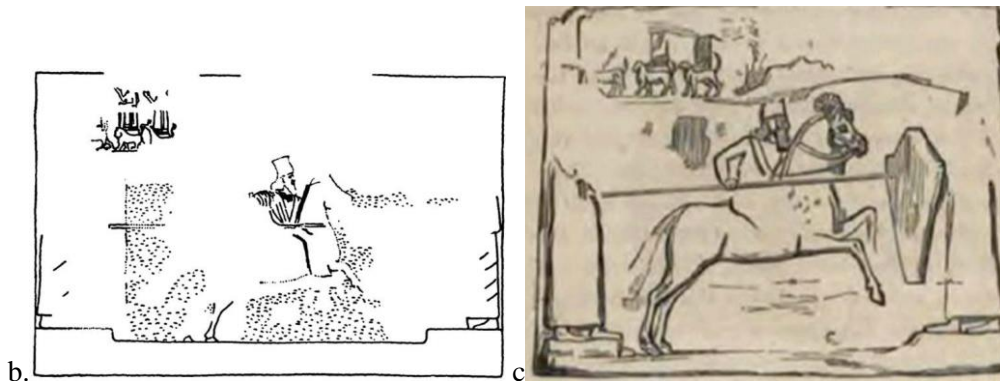


Fig. 3.6.b-c. The image of the horse rider on one of the reliefs of Hinis, perhaps recut on an erased relief of Sennacherib. (b. after Layard 1853b: 178), (c. after Debevoise 1942: fig.5).

There is a relief of an Assyrian king (perhaps Sennacherib) as well as remains of a water project near the village **Bandawia**, about 7km from Alqush.¹²¹³ The name Bandawia in Kurdish means dam, and in this narrow pass the water of a small river had been collected for the canal project. In Alqosh, where the Christians speak modern Aramaic, the relief is called the *Shir-u-malktha*, “the queen lion” (fig. 3.6.d-f).¹²¹⁴

¹²¹⁰Debevoise 1942: 95.

¹²¹¹Debevoise 1942: 96.

¹²¹²For the rider on the wall painting of Til Barsib (Tell Agmar) see Parrot 1961: p.265, fig.340.

¹²¹³Shukri 1954: 12, figs. 10-16.

¹²¹⁴In traditional local stories told by the people in the area today relate it to Shamiram (Samiramis) the Assyrian queen; for further details see Edmon 2011: 44.



d.



e.



f.

Fig. 3.6. d-f. Two views of the rock relief in situ on the rock face (photo by Bekas Jamaluddin).

Fig. e. The rock relief of Bandawi, and the carved basin (after Shukri 1954: fig.14).

In the Northern Zagros there is no known rock relief or stele of **Esarhaddon**. But in the Central Zagros, we have the **rock relief** of **Shikaf-i Gulgul**, east of Pusht-I Kuh (Pishkoh) an area of Luristan south east of Dēr.¹²¹⁵ The Assyrian king is shown with his royal inscription carved in the spaces inside the frame. Van der Spek assumes that it was carved for Esarhaddon during his reign, or that Ashurbanipal had it carved for Esarhaddon to commemorate his campaign against Ellipi. The inscription does not help us to date it since the place where the name of the king was written is damaged.¹²¹⁶

Another Assyrian rock relief was discovered in the Central Zagros in 2009, called the **Mishkhas rock relief**, with the image of an Assyrian king and an Assyrian royal inscription over the image and in clear spaces in the frame. It will come from the 7th century BCE, from Sennacherib, Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal.¹²¹⁷

¹²¹⁵Grayson & Levine 1975: 30.

¹²¹⁶Reade 1977: 33-48; Van der Spek, 1977: 45-47; Grayson and Levine, 1975: 33; Alibaigi and Alibaigi 2012: 31.

¹²¹⁷Alibaigi and Alibaigi 2012: 29ff.

There were **no local Zagrosian rock reliefs** contemporary with the Assyrian rock reliefs. But there were contemporary steles. In 1972, Erbil Museum (IM.75173) purchased a stele, which had been found in the village of **Kani-Derbend/Kani Darband**, ca. 70km north east of Erbil and west of Koya (Koysanjaq). It is 51.7 cm high, 34 cm wide, and 18.8 cm thick. The upper part of the stele is damaged but we may have an image of a person with only the lower part of his dress and his feet preserved. His dress and shoes are in a similar style to Neo-Assyrian 8th-7th centuries BCE dresses (fig.3.7.a-b).¹²¹⁸ It has several lines of inscriptions, but not in regular order and most of the signs incorrectly carved. The person who wrote it did not know cuneiform.¹²¹⁹

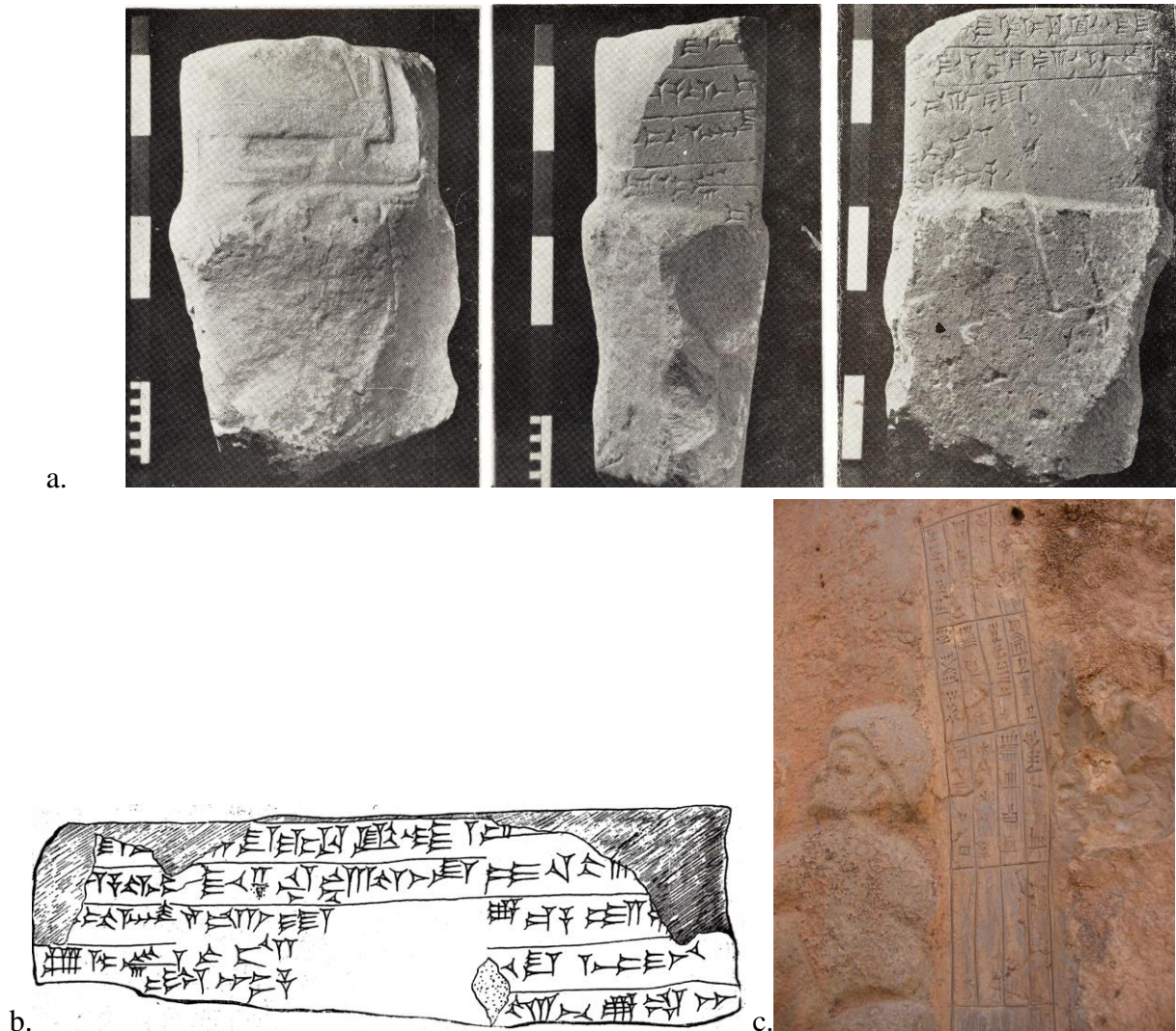


fig. 3.7. a. Photos of the stele of Kani-Derbend (after Abada 1974: fig.5-7).

b. Copy of the inscription on the stele of Kani-Derbend (after Abada 1974: fig.9).

c. The panels of the inscription on the Horên-Shaikhan rock relief of the five panels, three were filled, the fourth has only preparatory lines, and the fifth is blank (photo by the author).

¹²¹⁸The stele, found by men from Kani-Derbend village, was purchased by Erbil Museum in 1972 and sent to the Iraq Museum (accession no. IM 75173). See Abadah 1974:78.

¹²¹⁹Abadah 1974: 79.

Such a way of recording a text reminds the way of carving of the inscription on the Bronze Age rock relief of Bêlule, its carved by a sculptor who could not write cuneiform, so drew the signs prepared for him by a local scribe (fig.3.7.c).¹²²⁰ Abadah says of the stone that it is a “*white yellowish boundary stone of not regular elongation. On top some parts of carving of man’s feet and garment in relief still visible the type of shoes appeared is similar to that of Assyrian eighth and seventh century B. C.*” And of the inscription: “*Many lines of cuneiform writings are to be seen. Some of the lines were not depicted according to the correct way. It seems that the scribe intended to change the main text. This is more clear[er] when we notice the deliberately made break parallel to the writing. But maybe the rewriting took place not after a long time.*” Abadah 1972: 77-79.

The **Aramaic stele of Bukan** is the oldest known Aramaic record in the Zagros and Iran. The text is dated to the late 8th century BCE, and is attributed to Ullusunu, one of the Mannean kings.¹²²¹ The upper part is missing, but we have the last thirteen lines of the text, the curses.¹²²²

A Median bronze plaque has an Akkadian inscription and an image of a Median ruler called **Šilisruh**, the ruler of the city of Abdadani. The iconography of Šilisruh is like that of Assyrian kings on steles and rock reliefs (Fig. 2.1.a).¹²²³

Urartian kings installed several **steles** in the Northern Zagros. The oldest is at **Keleshin** on the road from Urmia to Musasir, erected by Ishpuini and his son Menua in the late 9th century BCE.¹²²⁴ Rusa also erected several steles in the area to the west of Lake Urmia as far as Musasir, including **Topzawa, Movane, Mergeh Karvan, and Qalatgah**.¹²²⁵ These briefly mention military activities of Urartian kings and also sacrifices, rituals and a festival in the temple of Haldi in Musasir.¹²²⁶

On Assyrian rock reliefs we generally find an image of the Assyrian king and symbols or images of deities. Kings are portrayed praying before their deities, represented as symbols or images. We do not see defeated enemies or military scenes. The Assyrian reliefs decorating the walls of the Assyrian palaces are different from the rock reliefs of the local Zagrosian rulers and Mesopotamian kings carved on rock faces in the Northern Zagros in the Bronze Age. These Bronze Age rock reliefs usually depict the king and his beloved Ishtar and the defeated enemies shown small under the feet of the king.¹²²⁷

The round-topped frames and divine symbols in the top corner of the frame are similar. Assyrian rock reliefs are the most important historical confirmation of what was claimed by Assyrian kings in their annals. Those discovered rock reliefs and steles in the Zagros prove they did what they said they had done.

¹²²⁰The Bronze Age rock relief at Darband-i Bêlule (Horên-Shaikhan rock relief) carved at Bêlule pass to the east of Sirwan (Upper Diayla river) near the Iranian border. For further details see Postgate & Roaf 1997; Ahmed 2012: 94.

¹²²¹Fales 2003.

¹²²²For further discussion about the text see Chapter II, 2.1, and Chapter III, 3.1.3.

¹²²³Radner 2003b: 122. For the inscription of this plaque see Chapter II, 3.1.3.

¹²²⁴CTU A 3-11; Benedict 1961: 359-385.

¹²²⁵CTU A 10-5; A 10-3; A 10-4; A 3-10.

¹²²⁶For further details see CTU A 3-11; A 10-5. Also, see Chapter III, 3.1.4.

¹²²⁷See Postgate & Roaf 1997: figs. 5-10.

Positioning the rock reliefs on the side of a pass between two mountain ranges ensured they would be seen as people passed between valleys and plains in the Northern Zagros. No soldier, merchant, migrant or individual could miss them. They functioned as a permanent reminder of a victory, perhaps a victory won in or at the pass and political propaganda by the conquerors.

The Assyrians did not occupy these areas over a long period of time, for the Assyrian annals explain that the peoples of the Zagros never surrendered. That is why the Assyrians had to repeat their campaigns, and why more than one rock relief or stele appears in territories of lands and cities of the Zagros.

The defeated populations do not seem to have attempted to destroy these monuments, perhaps because they knew that some of the rock reliefs end with curses deterring any king from destroying them. If he tried, he himself, his descendant, and his kingdom would be cursed. But since very few people in the Zagrosian cities would have been able to read the cuneiform and not every rock relief includes curses, that most of them remained in place untouched is noteworthy. Even the images were not harmed, so we conclude that vandalism against Assyrian rock reliefs in the Zagros in ancient times was rare.¹²²⁸ Some monuments were also placed at the city gates, to be seen by everyone entering or leaving the city.

Assyrian rock reliefs and steles prove that the Assyrians penetrated the heart of the Zagros and beyond to expanding their empire, imposing Assyrian power and culture there. The depictions of Assyrian kings influenced the art of Media, as can be seen by comparing the image of Šilisruh with that of an Assyrian king. The Assyrian inscriptions on the rock reliefs and steles in the Zagros primarily target the local rulers in the Zagros and their peoples, with detailed descriptions of Assyrian victories in their homelands. The curses are against the local rulers and peoples to prevent any damage or erasures. Most inscriptions expect future 'Assyrian' kings to wash them and oil them and to pray aloud in front of the images.

¹²²⁸The Assyrian rock reliefs remained untouched until the first centuries CE, when some chapels and rock cut tombs were carved out of the rock damaging the rock reliefs of Sennacherib in Hinis and Maltai. With no pristine appearance left at the beginning of the 20th century most of those in the Zagros were shot at. From the 1980s and to 2012 some were completely or mainly destroyed by looters who tried cut out the reliefs, either to trade them on the antiquity markets abroad, or to look for treasure behind the relief. They thought the frame of the relief represent a blind gate which could be opened to reveal a treasure. The Sassanian rock reliefs of Gali Zardik to the north-east of the Nineveh plain have been completely destroyed. One of the images of Sennacherib from one of the Hinis rock reliefs was cut away, but the looters were arrested and the image is now in Erbil Museum. Part of the inscription on the rock relief of Mile Mergi was destroyed by treasure hunters.

3.2. The Assyrian reliefs and the Northern Zagros¹²²⁹

The internal walls of the Assyrian palaces were decorated with many reliefs sculpted on limestone slabs. Generally speaking the reliefs are examples of pure Assyrian art. They come from the North-west Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud (Kalhu),¹²³⁰ the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin),¹²³¹ the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib, and the Southwest Palace and the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh.¹²³² These reliefs are the best source for studying Assyrian art, in particular the depictions of the activities of the Assyrian kings. The scenes of military campaigns portray them destroying the enemy cities, impaling, executing, receiving tribute, performing rituals, celebrating the *akītu* festival, hunting, feasting at royal banquets. We also find genies, Gilgamesh, and on the walls of Sennacherib's palace there is even a depiction of a *lamassu* being transported from its rock quarry to Nineveh.¹²³³ They decorated the internal walls of the palaces in a narrative sequence especially to illustrate victories over enemy cities: besieging, attacking and destroying them, and deporting or executing defeated enemies.¹²³⁴

These reliefs are also the best sources for depictions of Zagrosian cities and peoples. The costumes they wore, the tribute they offered, the landscape they inhabited are all shown, as well architectural features of city gates, walls, towers, temples, and houses etc.¹²³⁵ These images are not stereotypes. Certain architectural features distinguish one Zagrosian place from another. Towers, gates, merlons and ditches, platforms and bridges are given in detail. Typical costumes of the elite and the military of the Zagros had been well known since the Akkadian period,¹²³⁶ and features of the landscape of the Zagros are well recorded. They are not the result of the imagination of an artist after hearing stories about the mountains, orchards, rivers, valleys, animals, and birds seen on the journey. Assyrian scribes and artists will have accompanied the army on campaign to record these fine details.

Most of the reliefs have short captions identifying the cities and events depicted. One such is: URU *mu-ša-šir al-me akšud* (KUR-ud). "The city of Musasir I besieged and captured."¹²³⁷

The Assyrian king may have decided on these captions himself. In a letter concerning the campaign against Mannea Ṭab-šar-Aššur refers to a request from Sargon II to change a caption:¹²³⁸

¹²²⁹My discussion of the architecture, peoples and landscape of the Zagros shown in these reliefs will be presented in other chapters under other subject headings.

¹²³⁰See Paley & Sobolewski 1987; Paley & Sobolewski 1992.

¹²³¹Botta & Flandin 1972; Albenda 1986; Layard 1853b; Barnett 1976; Bleibtreu 1986; Watanabe 2014: 345-370.

¹²³²Layard 1853b; Barnett 1976; Bleibtreu 1986.

¹²³³Russell 1999: 163-70; Reade 1998b: 81-94; for the banquets see the banquet of the Assyrian officers in the palace of Sargon II (Albenda 1986: Room II, slabs 81-19, pl. 121, and for the banquet of Ashurbanipal with the Assyrian queen in his garden, see Albenda 1974: 5-17).

¹²³⁴Botta & Flandin 1972; Albenda 1986; Barnett 1976.

¹²³⁵Botta & Flandin 1972; Albenda 1986. For instance Zagrosian leaders holding models of their cities at the Assyrian court in scenes depicted in the palace of Sargon II in Dur-Sharrukin; see Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.141, Room XIII, 4; Albenda 1986: 68-69, pl.29, Room 10, slab 6; pl.30, Room 10, slab 8. For further details see Chapter IV, 4.3.2.

¹²³⁶Albenda 1986: Pl.33, Room 10 slab 13-14; Winter, 2004: fig.2; Albenda 1986: Pl.126, Room 2, slab 22. See this chapter Textiles and Costumes, 3.9., and also see Chapter IV.

¹²³⁷Albenda 1986:110-111.

⁴As to what the king, my lord, wr[ote me]: “Why are the names of the gov[ernors] not fixed on [the reliefs]?” – [the king, my lord], knows that our [previous] campaign which we directed to Mannea [... is depicted] of[n the walls of] the Ol[d] Palace. We [.....] (Break) ^{r.2}[the na]mes of the kings and the [...] officials [di]adems in fr[ont of...] their [na]mes [...] (Rest destroyed).

These reliefs clearly had a propaganda value for Assyria, whose king and army according to state annals were never defeated. They show us the events as they happened, confirming the destruction and burning, the killing, impaling and deportations, of the annals. As we see in other chapters, the depictions of Assyrian campaigns to the Zagros run parallel with the written records, and sometimes the one explains a detail in the other. Not every campaign or every occupation is depicted on the Assyrian reliefs or recorded in the annals. Failures are overlooked. Reliefs from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II to the reign of Ashurbanipal show cities resisting a major siege or a fierce battle, such as Pazashi in Mannea and Harhar or Kishesim in Media.¹²³⁹ Only clear victories over Median and Mannean cities are mentioned in the Assyrian annals and or depicted on the Assyrian reliefs. Some cities surrendered without a siege or a battle, as was the case in the depiction of Musasir. It was the richest city to be plundered, and from it Assyria acquired its biggest treasure. That is why the artist focused on the plundering of treasures from the temple and the city with no depiction of fighting and killing and punishment.¹²⁴⁰

Russell found that the Palace of Sennacherib in Nineveh lacks scenes of Sennacherib’s later campaigns because the palace was completed in 701 BCE. That is why the only reliefs shown feature the campaigns against Babylon in 703 BCE, Zagros in 702 BCE (in Room V and part of Court VI), and the Levant in 701 BCE.¹²⁴¹

Obsolete Assyrian palaces could be reused by later Assyrian kings or crown princes. It has been assumed that the reliefs of the throneroom of Ashurnasirpal II in the North-west Palace were still there when Sargon II used it as his residence before building Dur-Sharrukin.¹²⁴²

The scenes of Assyrians killing and impaling their enemies, burning and destroying cities, and deporting peoples will have had their effect on foreign delegations. Defeated rulers and hostages arriving at the Assyrian court were perhaps welcomed in these rooms to see the reliefs. The scenes were threatening those who had now become Assyrian allies by psychological warfare not to dare to revolt; otherwise they would suffer the same fate.¹²⁴³

Albenda has observed that at the palace of Sargon II in Khorsabad reliefs for campaigns in the eastern territories are in the Room 2, while those for the western territories are in the Room 5.¹²⁴⁴ This put the narratives in a sequence and particular delegations could be received in the appropriate room for their province.

¹²³⁸SAA V 282; SAA V: p. XXX.

¹²³⁹Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl.55.7; pl.145.

¹²⁴⁰For further details see Marf 2009c: 74; Marf, D. A, (forthcoming), “Who Destroyed Musasir?” *Proceeding of the presented papers in the 61st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Geneva, on July 22nd 2015, OBO.*

¹²⁴¹Russell 1999:135.

¹²⁴²Kertai 2013: 11.

¹²⁴³Lunsden 2004: 359-385, fig.1-9; Albenda 1986: 68-69, Pl.29, Room 10, slab 6; Pl.30, Room 10, slab 8.

¹²⁴⁴Albenda 2003: 9.

References to ancient vandalism on the Assyrian reliefs at the fall of Nineveh, when the faces of some of the defeated Zagrosians were spoiled, assume that it was done by men of the Zagrosian army who participated in that final battle. Reade thinks the face of a Mannean eunuch was perhaps damaged by the Mannians themselves since they did not want to see him publicly chained and punished.¹²⁴⁵ Reade says:¹²⁴⁶

... defacement suggests itself because the remainder of the surface in contrast, is clear and well preserved. Possibly a soldier ransacking the palace in 612 BC wished to obliterate evidence of a humiliating death imposed on someone whose headgear he recognized and respected; there is plenty of evidence for similar behavior elsewhere at Nineveh.

Subsequent generations kept most of the reliefs in situ. The North Palace at Nineveh seems to have been occupied in the Parthian period, and a Greek inscription was added to a relief from Room R there. That inscription is dated by Reade between the second century BCE and the second century CE.¹²⁴⁷

In the Zagros no bas-reliefs like the Assyrian ones have been found, for no important palace has yet been found. But Assyrian styles of art figure on Achaemenid reliefs and sculptures. Roaf supposes the Assyrians had a palace in the Zagros, similar to the one at Til Barsib, which may have been at Harhar in Media. If so, Roaf assumes Assyrian reliefs and wall paintings would probably have remained there after the fall of Nineveh and in the Median period, explaining their influence on Achaemenid craftsmen. Roaf says:¹²⁴⁸

A governor's palace (like that of Til Barsip) must have existed in a city like Harhar. Such an establishment might have been provided with reliefs, but in any case wall paintings are to be expected.

Roaf's assumption may be based on an Assyrian administrative letter about restoring the city walls and covering the walls of the "grand hall" of Harhar (Kar-Sharrukin).¹²⁴⁹

Although we have no slab reliefs there, but there are scenes on metal and ivory plaques and on cylinder seals which were inspired by Assyrian reliefs but carved in a non-Assyrian style.¹²⁵⁰ Some Assyrian reliefs were painted. The clothes were red, and beards and hair were black.¹²⁵¹ But no such painting was done on the Assyrian rock reliefs in the Zagros. The Medes may have borrowed this idea from the Assyrians, since symbols of deities on parts of the relief of the rock-cut-tomb of Qizqapan are painted red.¹²⁵²

Some reliefs of military campaigns show the Assyrian king and soldiers taller than their enemies. It is a known feature of Mesopotamian art to depict one's own bigger than outsiders.¹²⁵³ On some occasions the sculptors did this to add depth to the image. The Median

¹²⁴⁵ Reade 2001: 67.

¹²⁴⁶ Reade 2001: 69, also see Roaf 2003: p. 13, 15, note.6; also for a similar assumption about the possibility of decorated palaces in Media see Reade 1983: 23.

¹²⁴⁷ Reade 2001: 69, also see Reade 1983: 23.

¹²⁴⁸ Roaf 2003: 15-16. For Tel Barsib see Fales 2014b, *RIA* 14 1./2.: 34-37

¹²⁴⁹ *SAA* XV 94: 10-15.

¹²⁵⁰ Dyson 1965b: 200.

¹²⁵¹ For the depiction of parts painted red or black see for instance, Lion 1994: p.9; 8-11.

¹²⁵² Personally observed during my visits to the cave and the tomb. For further details see Chapter IV, 4.3.e.

¹²⁵³ This feature appears in Bronze Age art in Mesopotamia and the Zagros, on several rock reliefs in the Zagros Mountains and on steles from Mesopotamian cities. Rulers of the Zagros and the Mesopotamian plains and their

chief from Tikrakkī is depicted as the same size of his Assyrian superiors on a relief of Sargon II.¹²⁵⁴ To show that he is outside the city walls, closer to the eye of the artist, who was watching the scene of destruction.

At the scenes of the siege of Pazashi on the reliefs of Khorsabad, the Assyrian archers are similarly seen as closer and depicted bigger than the other Assyrian soldiers fighting the Mannaeans below the city walls. But the artist exaggerated the size of two Assyrian soldiers holding spears and attacking warriors on the walls, in contrast to other Assyrian soldiers on the other side of the walls who are sized like the Mannean warriors. (Fig. 3.8. a-b).¹²⁵⁵



Fig.3.8.a-b. Scenes on two reliefs from Sargon II's palace in Khorsabad; it shows two Zagrosian cities under heavy Assyrian siege, the artist exaggerated the size of Assyrian soldiers (after Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl. 70, pl.77).

armies are depicted bigger than their enemies. Similarly, deities and kings are bigger than their followers on Akkadian steles and Zagrosian rock reliefs. The king is clearly depicted larger than his soldiers and his enemies on the Victory Stele of Naramsin, the rock reliefs of Darband-i Gawir and the rock relief of the Lullubean king Anubanini at Sarpol-e Zahab. For further details see Darband-i Gawir (see Marf 2007: 3-9); for the Victory Stele of Naramsin see Winter 2004: fig.2; Ahmed 2012: fig.2a-2b.

¹²⁵⁴Holloway 2002: 154; Botta & Flandin, 1972: vol. I, pl. 64. = Albenda, Palace of Sargon, pl. 120 Room 2, slab 17; SAA IV: p.59, fig.22. For further details see Chapter IV, 4.4.e. "The fortified city of Tikrakkī/Sikris."

¹²⁵⁵See Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 145.

One relief shows Sargon and Assyrian soldiers in chariots and on horses wielding bows or spears, with Zagrosian infantry, Medes or Mannaeans on foot wearing skin cloaks, depicted as big or slightly bigger than the Assyrians (Fig.3.8.c).¹²⁵⁶

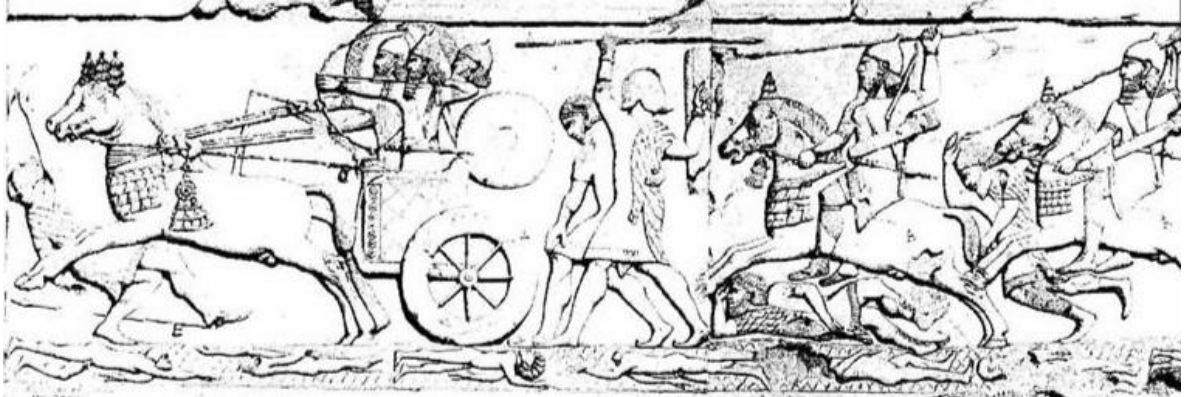


Fig.3.8.c. A relief from Khorsabad, Sargon and his army defeat a Median leader. Khorsabad, Sargon's palace, slabs 18-19, Room 2 (after Albenda 1986: pl.121).

Assyrian artists sought to exaggerate the acts of their soldiers and king. They also sought to add a third dimension, using larger figures to show how close they were in the foreground. The archers at the siege of Pazashi shooting in front, far away from the city illustrate this artistic device.¹²⁵⁷

Assyrian propaganda involved showing others as weaker than themselves, and that was directed at the Zagros as well as to other parts of the empire. We see it again on Esarhaddon's stele at Zincirli (ancient Sam'al) in southern Turkey where his enemies are shown much smaller than himself.¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵⁶Albenda 1986: pl.121; Botta & Flandin, 1972: vol. I, pl. 64; Holloway 2002: 154.

¹²⁵⁷Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 145.

¹²⁵⁸Madhloom 1970: pl.XXXII, fig.3.

3.3. Wall paintings in the Zagros

Wall paintings as a form of ancient Near Eastern art are found mainly on the inner walls. Many wall paintings have disappeared through meteorological and human interference. But in Urartu where the weather is not conducive for preserving wall paintings some were discovered in Arin-berd,¹²⁵⁹ Altin-Tepe and Ayanis,¹²⁶⁰ though in general they are not well preserved.¹²⁶¹

Archaeological excavations in the Assyrian capitals and in the main cities in Assyria have discovered many examples of wall paintings in temples or palaces, at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, Til Barsib, and etc.¹²⁶² Excavations in Iron Age towns of the Northern Zagros have not yet produced clear evidence of wall paintings. In Tepe Qalaichi the inner walls of the ‘Columned Hall’ were lined with red mud plaster and the outer walls were decorated with glazed bricks.¹²⁶³

The lack of evidence from the Northern Zagros means or assessment of any interaction with the Assyrian wall paintings is limited to elements depicted on Assyrian wall paintings which were borrowed from other types of Zagros art such as glazed bricks and metalwork.¹²⁶⁴

We have very little information from Assyrian texts about decorated buildings in Assyria and the Northern Zagros. But there are two references which may perhaps refer to wall paintings in the Zagros. The first comes from Ashurnasirpal II, who rebuilt the second Lullubean city Atlila after it was turned into a ‘mound and ruin heap’ by *Sibir*:¹²⁶⁵

I surrounded it with a wall, and I erected therein a palace for my royal dwelling, I adorned it and made it glorious and greater than it was before.

This restoration may have involved decorating the palace with glazed bricks or wall paintings,¹²⁶⁶ as suggested by Marcus: “*such language implies the presence of some sort of architectural decoration that may have repeated iconographic themes known from Nimrud.*”¹²⁶⁷ He took this as evidence for the presence of “*Assyrian reliefs and/ or wall paintings*”¹²⁶⁸ in the Northern Zagros, and in addition the probable presence of Assyrian reliefs and/or wall paintings in *Atlila/Dûr-Ashur*. However, we are two steps away from

¹²⁵⁹van Loon 1966: pl. VIII-IX.

¹²⁶⁰Özgüç 1966: pl. I-III; Baštürk, 2012: fig.18, p.15; Ingo, et al, 2013: 4283-4290, fig.2.

¹²⁶¹Schmandt-Besserat, 2007: 47.

¹²⁶²Albenda 2005: 9-30; Parrot 1961: figs. 107-108, 336-347; Bunnens 2014: 38-42; Moortgat 1984: Abb. 39.

¹²⁶³Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi 2011: 409.

¹²⁶⁴See below in this chapter, the part of glazed bricks, 3.4., and metalwork, 3.8.

¹²⁶⁵Thompson 1940: 104; ARAB I 458. The Assyrians renamed many occupied cities/towns in the Northern Zagros and Near East. I discussed the Assyrian policy of renaming the cities, see Chapter II, 2.3.

¹²⁶⁶It seems to be that the city survived after this rebuilding for at least two centuries. The name of the city appears in the itinerary of Ashurbanipal in ca. 660 BC during his fifth campaign against the Mannean king Aḫšēri. Ashurbanipal camped in *Dûr-Ašur* on his way to Mannea. For further details see Campbell Thompson, 1940: p.104, No. 25, col. B, II. 15ff; ARAB II 851, 852; Grayson 1980: pp.235, 243; Postgate 1987-1990: 341. Therefore, we should locate *Dûr-Ašur* in the north-east or northern part of Zamua near the Mannean border, not in its eastern part, because Mannea was not close to Sahrezur plain where modern Bakrawa exist. We should revise the identifications of Speiser for all the other Zamuan cities, for they were based on his misidentification of *Atlila/Dur-Assur* with modern Bakrawa.

¹²⁶⁷Marcus 1996: 23.

¹²⁶⁸Marcus 1996: 23.

knowing just what Ashurnasirpal did at Atlila. First we have to correctly identify the location of the city, then that site has to be excavated to reveal any evidence about palace decoration.

When referring to the royal Median city Agbatana Herodotus describes the city's walls, which he says were built by the 'first' Median king Deioces. The palace and treasures of the king were surrounded with seven circular walls on a hill in the plain, with each wall painted a different colour:¹²⁶⁹

He (i.e. the Median king Deioces) built the great and mighty circles of walls within walls, which are now called Agbatana (modern Hamdan). This fortress is so planned that each circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which end the site itself, being on a hill in the plain, somewhat helps, but chiefly it was accomplished by art. There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the king's dwellings and the treasuries; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens.¹²⁷⁰ The battlements of the first circle are white of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange: thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colours; and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, these with silver and those with gold."

If these details recorded by Herodotus are true, inner walls and also outer walls of cities were painted in different colours, producing a rainbow effect. As yet, we have no archaeological evidence to prove or disprove Herodotus. His description fits better with colourful glazed bricks than wall paintings. While we have no wall paintings from the Northern Zagros to assess Assyrian influence there, we know that there are many comparable artistic elements and scenes in the Assyrian wall paintings.¹²⁷¹

¹²⁶⁹Herodotus, BOOK I.98, 1975: 128-131; Also see Razmjou 2005b: 273.

¹²⁷⁰The supposed length of the walls of Athens is about 8 miles. See Herodotus Book I.98, 1975, p.131, note.1.

¹²⁷¹In the other sections of this chapter, the artistic elements on the Assyrian wall paintings with the comparable artists elements from the Zagros have been discussed, see 3.3.

3.4. Assyrian and local Glazed Bricks in the Northern Zagros

The earliest examples of glazed bricks come from Nuzi, which have white glaze and were found in temple B. Starr says they were not used as decoration but had some other purpose.¹²⁷² The art of glazing was inherited by the Assyrians, who introduced vivid colours.¹²⁷³

Glazed bricks and wall knobs were used to decorate the floors and walls of public buildings in Iron Age cities in the Northern Zagros. We see this in the temples in Tepe Qalaichi and Rabat Tepe, and in the palace of Ba’auri, the ruler of Idu (Satu Qala).

An Assyrian glazed brick panel from the temple of Ashur in Ashur depicts an Assyrian king moving in a landscape in the Zagros. He appears in his royal chariot, riding a horse, then on his horse being pulled and pushed up a rough mountain by Assyrian soldiers. In the Late Assyrian period it was badly reconstructed by workers who reassembled the bricks with the scenes and the inscription in the wrong sequence (Fig. 3.9.a). The panel is dated to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I.¹²⁷⁴ On the otherhand, Moorey agrees with Fridman in identifying the monarch as Tiglath-pileser III. Reade now dates it to Sargon II, and supported by Weidner on epigraphic grounds.¹²⁷⁵ As such it resembles a Khorsabad relief depicting Sargon’s eighth campaign.¹²⁷⁶ In that text we find this description of the rough mountainous roads on the way to Musasir:¹²⁷⁷

.... with one of my chariots and 1,000 of my “rough riders” and foot soldiers, who are mighty in battle, over the mountains Shîak, Ardikshi, Ulâiau, and Alluria, steep mountains, where the terrain was favorable, I advanced on horseback, and where it was bad, on foot.



Fig. 3.9.a. A panel of glazed brick below the façade of the temple of Ashur at Ashur (after Andrea 1925: pl. 6).

A few Assyrian records and some recent excavations in Iron Age sites in the Zagros show that glazed bricks were also made in the territory of Zamua and Mazamua/Za-mu-a Šabītāni

¹²⁷²Starr, 1937: vol. 1: p.412, pl.116A.

¹²⁷³For instance see Andrea 1925; Reade 1995b: 227-251.

¹²⁷⁴See Andrea 1925: pl.6; Parrot, 1961: fig. 266; Reade, 1963: 38-47, esp.p.47.note.26.

¹²⁷⁵See Andrea 1925: pl.6; Reade, 1963: 38-47, esp.p.47.note.26; Moorey, 1985: 171f.

¹²⁷⁶For other details see Andrea 1925: pl.6; Parrot, 1961: fig. 266; Reade, 1963: 38-47, esp.p.47.note.26.

¹²⁷⁷ARAB II: 22.

(the modern Sulaimania and Halabja governorates).¹²⁷⁸ During the reign of Sargon II, it seems that the Assyrians made glazed bricks in Mazamua. Nabû-hamatua, the Assyrian governor of Zamua/Mazamua province sent an administrative letter from Mazamua to the Assyrian king Sargon II,¹²⁷⁹ which provides supporting epigraphic evidence:¹²⁸⁰

... *The king, my lord, should not say* "He is a negligent servant: he does not do (his) work."⁷ *I drive the servants of the king, my lord, day and night; they are glazing kiln-[fired bricks] all day long [...] and bringing them into [...].*

The context of this letter indicates that these glazed bricks were made under the supervision of *Nabû-hamatua*, the Assyrian governor of the province of Mazamua. The workers were denoted as "*servants of the king [Sargon II]*," so they may have been local Mazamuans who were supervised by Assyrian artisans. The work was intensive, being done "*day and night*," and "*all day long*". Unfortunately, there is a lacuna at the point where the name of a place is expected, and that may have been the intended destination of the glazed bricks. They may have been "*bringing them into*" one of the "*forts of the king [Sargon II]*" which are mentioned in the beginning of the letter. They would hardly be sent far away because in transit the glazed coloured scenes would have been damaged so we assume that these glazed bricks were made for an Assyrian local administrative building in Mazamua,¹²⁸¹ but we do not know more. At the beginning of the letter, *Nabû-hamatua* assured Sargon II that the "*for[ts] of the king, [my] lord, are well*"¹²⁸² This means that there were several Assyrian forts in Mazamua, probably Assyrian administrative buildings built under the supervision of the deputy of the Assyrian king. The king obviously wanted to follow the progress building activities including the production of glazed bricks in Mazamua and required a report from his governor.

Satu Qala (Idu) has provided some archaeological evidence for glazed bricks. The itinerary of the campaign of Shalmaneser III suggests that Idu was part of Inner Zamua (*Za-mu-a Šabītāni*) province.¹²⁸³

At Satu Qala several inscribed building bricks, glazed bricks, and a fragment of a wall knob were discovered.¹²⁸⁴ The glazed bricks and fragments have cuneiform inscriptions of the kings of Idu and Ashurnasirpal II. Two of the glazed bricks bear scenes, and a third is T-shaped.

A partly preserved glazed brick (SQ 10-6) shows a glazed scene of a striding horse that is crowned with a '*semi-circular*' headstall, and a bearded man (a groom) leads the horse by its halter. The man's short robe reaches above his knees. The scene is painted on a pale turquoise

¹²⁷⁸For further details concerning Zamua/Mazamua/Za-mu-a Šabītāni, see chapter II (the people of the Northern Zagros during the Iron Age).

¹²⁷⁹Kessler 2011: 833-834.

¹²⁸⁰SAA V 211: r.2-11.

¹²⁸¹Mullazadeh assume that the big amount and heavy weight discovered glazed bricks in Tepe Qalaichi indicate that they are made locally in a workshop somewhere nearby Qalaichi, which is not found yet. (See Mollazadeh 2008:109). Also, local people in Satu Qala village said that they found remains of slags and what could be an area of ovens, this place located to the north-west of the tell of Satu Qala where the school of the village recently built on below the tell (personal communication by the author with the people of the village).

¹²⁸²SAA V 211: 4.

¹²⁸³RIMA III, A.0.102.2 ii 75b-78a; A.0.102.28; 42b—44a; A.0.102.8, iii 58 - iv 6; 8'b-11 'a.

¹²⁸⁴For further details see van Soldt, et al., 2013: 197-239.

background, with the images outlined in yellow-brown against the turquoise of the background (Fig.3.10.a).¹²⁸⁵ The scene is framed above and below with two horizontal lines of yellow-brown cuneiform text: “*Palace of Ba’auri, king of the land of Idu, 2 son of Edima, also king of the land of Idu.*”¹²⁸⁶ The iconography and colours can be compared to those on the glazed brick in the temple of Anu-Adad in Ashur, dated to the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta II (891-884 BC),¹²⁸⁷ although the subjects, especially the horse, is different (see fig. Fig.3.10.b).

The posture of the figures on the glazed brick of Satu Qala and the so-called ‘semicircular’ headstall of the horse is in the style of the ninth century BCE, more precisely of the reign of Ašurnasirpal II,¹²⁸⁸ but the posture of the horse is not identical. Other Assyrian examples show closer similarities to the groom and the horse. Striding horses and grooms in a similar posture are depicted on Assyrian reliefs and ivories from the 9th to the 7th centuries BCE, especially on the reliefs of Nineveh from the reigns of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal (see fig. Fig.3.10.c-f).¹²⁸⁹

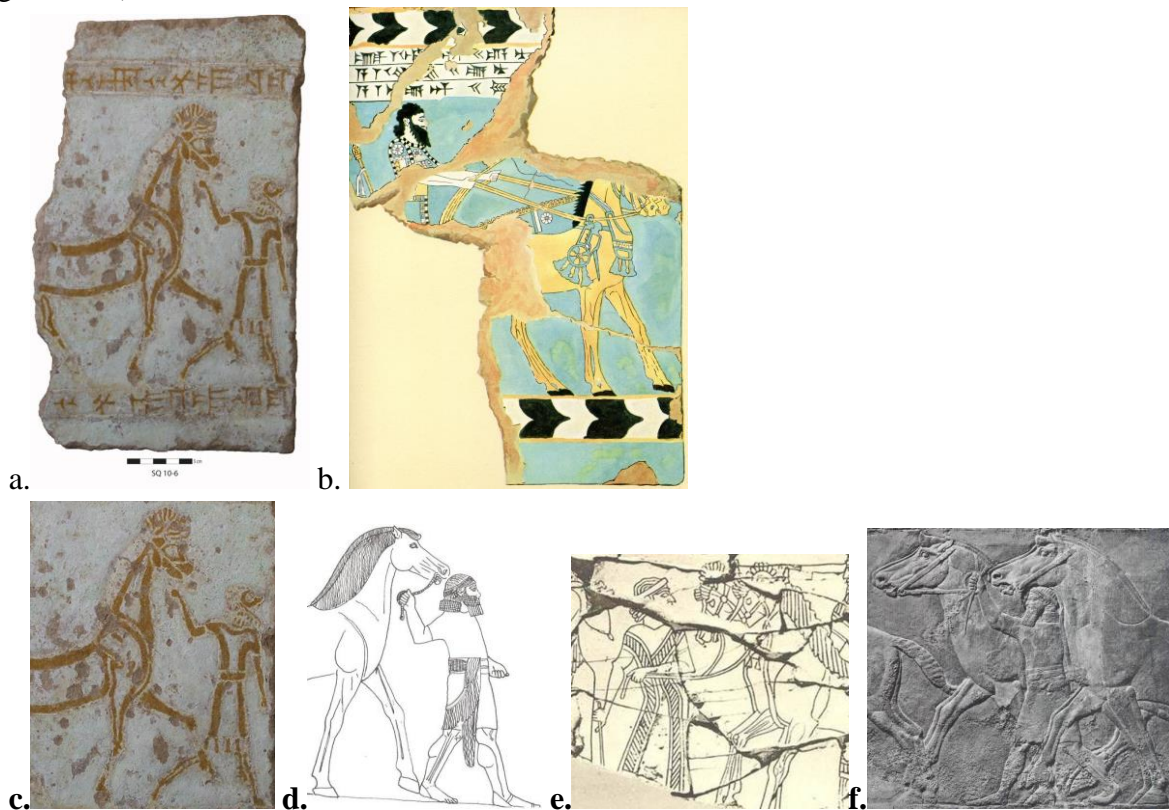


Fig.3.10.

a. Partly preserved glazed brick of Ba’auri, king of the land of Idu (in the 9th century BCE), from Satu Qala (after van Soldt, et al., 2013, fig. 4).

b. Partly preserved glazed brick found in the temple of Anu-Adad in Ashur, two striding horses pulling a chariot bears the inscription of the Assyrian king Tukultī-Ninurta II. (after Andrae 1925, pl. 7).

c. Details of the striding horse with the groom, fig. 1. a. (after Van Soldt, et al., 2013, fig. 4).

d. An Assyrian groom leading a striding horse on an Assyrian relief from Kuyunjik from the reign of Sennacherib (704-681 BC) (after Madhloom, 1970: pl. LIII, 7).

¹²⁸⁵ van Soldt, et al., 2013, p.202.

¹²⁸⁶ van Soldt, et al., 2013, pp.212-213.

¹²⁸⁷ Andrae 1925, pl.7; van Soldt, et al., 2013: 202.

¹²⁸⁸ van Soldt, et al., 2013: 202.

¹²⁸⁹ Madhloom 1970: pl. LIII, 7; Barnet, 1957, Pl.CXV; Strommenger 1962: fig.247; Strommenger 1978.

e. A 'Syrian' delegation bringing tribute. Two striding horses with semi-circular headstalls are depicted on one of the ivory plaques from Nimrud. The groom has a similar posture to the groom on the glazed brick of Satu Qala (after Barnett 1957, Pl. CXV).

f. Assyrian grooms leading striding horses on Assyrian reliefs, from the North Palace of Kuyunjik from the reign of Ashurbanipal (668-630BC) (after Strommenger 1962: fig.247).

The headstall of the depicted horse on the glazed brick of Satu Qala has been compared to two headstalls on the reliefs of Nimrud from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (fig. 3.11.a),¹²⁹⁰ but they (Madhloom 1970, pl. VIII) are not actually similar.¹²⁹¹ The one from Satu Qala is similar to those on the reliefs from the reign of Sargon II, on Northern Zagros horses brought as tribute by Medes to Dur-Sharukin (Fig. 3.11.b).¹²⁹² The only close parallel to the headstall of Satu Qala is one on an ivory from Ziwiyeh. (fig. 3.11.c-d).¹²⁹³

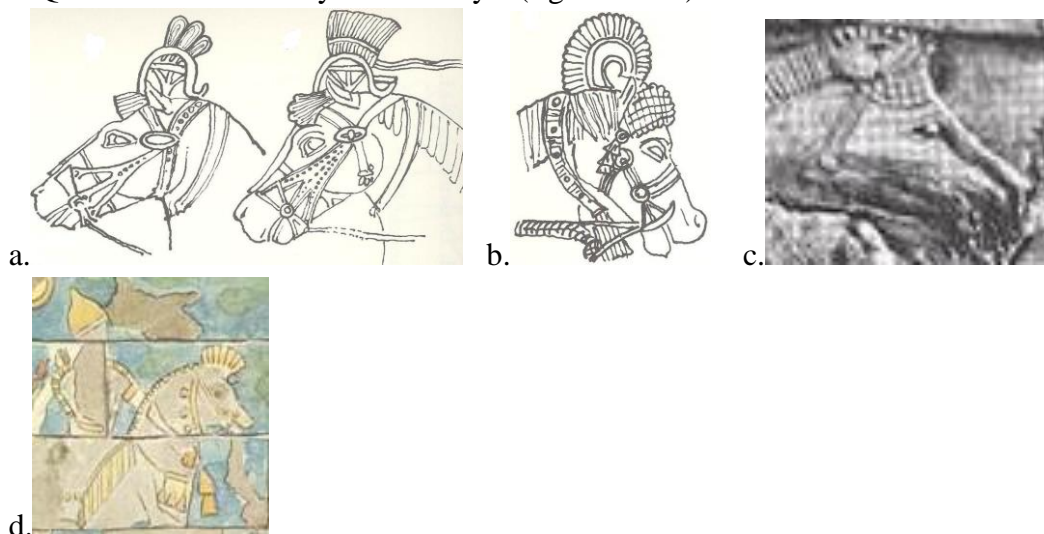


Fig. 3.11.

a. Two Assyrian horses with feathered headstalls on a relief from Nimrud from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (after Madhloom, 1970: pl. VIII 4-5).

b. A Median horse with a headstall of semi-circle plumes led by Median tribute bearers, on a relief in the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad (after Botta & Flandin, 1972, vol. II, pl. 126, Salle X 4).

c. A horse with semicircular headdress depicted on an ivory from Ziwiyeh. (After, Ghirshman, 1979, pl. XXII, 3).

d. Neo-Assyrian horse with its headstall, on a glazed brick from the temple of Ashur in/at Ashur. (After, Andrae 1925, fig.6.).

¹²⁹⁰van Soldt, et al., 2013: 212; Madhloom 1970: pl. VIII.

¹²⁹¹The published report of Satu Qala excavation refers to (Madhloom 1970, pl. VIII), however the report did not specified the exact name of the figures in the plate VIII (see van Soldt, et al., 2013: 212). But in (Madhloom 1970, pl. VIII) the only mentioned examples from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II are the (figures 4 and 5) in (Madhloom 1970, pl. VIII, fig.4-5). There are several examples of depicted headstalls from the Assyrian reliefs, also from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal . For further details see (Madhloom 1970, pl. VIII, fig.1-11).

¹²⁹²Botta and Flandin 1972, vol. II, pl.126, Salle X 4; Madloom, plate VIII, 6; Roaf, 1990, p.9.

¹²⁹³ See Wilkinson 1975: fig. 38. T.

Another glazed brick shows a bearded human-headed striding winged lion (a sphinx) wearing “a feathered conic *polos*,”¹²⁹⁴ (see fig. 3.4.a).¹²⁹⁵ The brick comes from the palace of Ba’auri and is made with the same technique and colour of the glazed brick of Satu Qala (fig.3.12.a), also with a royal inscription:¹²⁹⁶

Above: Palace of Ba’auri, king of the land of Idu,

Below: son of Edima, also king of the land of Idu.

Not only from Satu Qala, but an inscription of Ba’auri was also discovered in Hasanlu. It was carved on the cover of a stone bowl, and found in room 7 at the south corner of the burnt building II in Hasanlu IV.¹²⁹⁷ The bowl is dated to the ninth century BCE:¹²⁹⁸ “*Palace of Bauri[Qauri],*¹²⁹⁹ *king of the country of Idu, dedicated to the sun-god Ušiši.*”¹³⁰⁰



Fig. 3.12.a. Reassembled fragments of glazed bricks from Satu Qala (after Van Soldt, et al., 2013, fig. 5).

Muscarella wonders if the *sun-god Ušiši* mentioned on this bowl is the deity associated with the Burned Building.¹³⁰¹ There is no material or immaterial evidence to support that. Obviously, the bowl originally was the property of the palace of *Ba’auri* in *Idu*; the inscription on it refers to the palace of this king in *Idu*, not to a deity or a temple in Hasanlu. Most probably, the bowl was taken from *Idu* to Hasanlu, but we do not know whether it was taken directly or indirectly as a gift or as tribute.

¹²⁹⁴van Soldt, et al., 2013: 202, fig.5.

¹²⁹⁵I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. W. van Soldt, and Dr. C. Pappi who allowed me to use the some images of the discovered objects of Satu Qala Project.

¹²⁹⁶van Soldt, et al., 2013: 213.

¹²⁹⁷Muscarella 1971: 264.

¹²⁹⁸Dyson 1965b: 202; Muscarella 2012a: 267f; Salvini, et al., 1984: 55-56; van Soldt, et al., 2013: 213.

¹²⁹⁹The royal name was formerly reading by some scholars as *Qauri* (see Salvini et al., 1984: 55, note.8). *Qauri* reminds one of the Hurrian name *Kuwari* (*Ku-wa-ri*), the ruler of Šušarra (modern Shemshara) (See Eidem & Læssøe, 2001: 17, 13, 18; 20, 11; 28 B,10-11; 43, 10, 53; Eidem 1992: 7, 3; 69, 14; 109; 6, 10, 12, 14, 16). It is also attested in the Nuzi texts as (*Ka-ur-ri*, *Ku-ú-a-ri*), (*NPN* p.89).

¹³⁰⁰Muscarella, 1971, p.264; Salvini et al., 1984: 55-56;

¹³⁰¹Muscarella 1971: 264f.

Van Soldt and Hess noticed that the paleography of the text on the glazed bricks of *Ba'auri* in Idu is similar to the paleography of the inscription on the bowl of Hasanlu.¹³⁰² In addition, they noticed that the sign BA in the name of Ba'auri on the glazed bricks “*would indicate an early Neo-Assyrian rather than a Middle Assyrian date.*”¹³⁰³ This date fits with the dating of the Hasanlu stone bowl of this king, which is dated to the ninth century BCE.¹³⁰⁴

There was a tradition of making parallel inscriptions frame scenes as seen on the glazed bricks of Idu and on the seals of the Urartian kings: the seal of Rusa I, son of Sarduri (ca. 735–725 BCE?),¹³⁰⁵ and Rusa III, son of Argishti (ca. 680–640 BCE?).¹³⁰⁶ The inscriptions on both seals were carved horizontally above and below the scene.¹³⁰⁷ The Satu Qala bricks are dated earlier than the seal of Rusa. Idu may have influenced Urartian art in the Urmia basin. Certainly objects from Idu reached Hasanlu in the Urmia basin, and the seal of Rusa was discovered in Bastam just to the north of the Urmia basin, north of Hasanlu. The text of the eighth campaign of Sargon II and archaeological evidence proves there was an Urartian presence in the area of the Urmia basin during the reign of Rusa.¹³⁰⁸

The iconography of the sphinx in the Northern Zagros is unique. It has been suggested that “*the striding position and the shape of the feather cap of the sphinx is similar to one representation of a lamassu dating to Tiglatpileser III.*”¹³⁰⁹ However, only the ‘*striding position*’ is similar to that *lamassu*, since the sphinx of Satu Qala has no ‘*feather cap*’, but something more like the ‘*fez*’ of an Assyrian king’s headdress.¹³¹⁰ Even so, an Assyrian king’s headdresses ends with a small peaked point at the top, while at Satu Qala its top is like a crown.¹³¹¹ What is called ‘*feather cap*’ is not feather, but a decorated end of the headdress binding the two differently coloured materials.

Among the glazed brick assemblage of **Satu Qala**, there are two fragments of an undecorated T-shaped glazed brick, re-used in the construction of one of the later walls.¹³¹² The face of the brick is blank with the same pale turquoise framed with yellow thick lines like

¹³⁰²van Soldt, et al., 2013: 213.

¹³⁰³van Soldt, et al., 2013: 215.

¹³⁰⁴van Soldt, et al., 2013: 213; Salvini et al., 1984: 55-56

¹³⁰⁵Collon 1987: 87, fig.402.

¹³⁰⁶Kroll 2009: 520, Abb. 4; Collon 1987: 87, fig.401).

¹³⁰⁷Hellwag 2012: 207.

¹³⁰⁸See Lie 1929: 84ff, 101ff; Mayer 2013: 84-109, for further details concerning the seal of Rusa see Chapter III, 3.5.2.

¹³⁰⁹van Soldt, et al., 2013: 202, 212. The sphinx been compared with a figure (Layard 1853b: pl.95), but I found that the figure 95 in the book of Layard is a figure of embarking female sphinx column base, its iconography and style completely different from the sphinx of Satu Qala. Also, it referred to the (Madhloom 1970: pl. LVVIII) (but in the book of Madhloom there is no plate with number LVVIII). So that, it may be a wrong typing of pl. LXXIII, especially the fig. 1, of this plate showing a sphinx), even the headdress of that sphinx, which is compared with the one of Satu Qala is completely different from that (fig.3.d).

¹³¹⁰Most of the Assyrian kings were dressed a fez headdress. The fez headdress is one of the features in recognizing the Assyrian kings among others in the scenes on the Assyrian art. For example see the headdresses of the Assyrian king Assurnasirpal II, Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, and Ashurbanipal (see Madhloom 1970: pl.XL, fig.1-4).

¹³¹¹Mural crowns are usually worn by the depicted queens and elite women in the art of ancient Near East. For instance see Albenda 1998: 88-89.

¹³¹²See SQ 1047.303; SQ 1047.304+305, fig. 13, in, van Soldt, et al., 2013: 204.

others bricks of Satu Qala.¹³¹³ It indicates that there were glazed brick panels in the palace of Idu, where T-shaped bricks joined the merging edges of the panels. Future excavations may produce more such bricks (Fig. 3.12.b).

During construction work in 2007 in the courtyard of a house in Satu Qala a complete wall-knob (or peg) was discovered accidentally. The glazed bricks and wall knob of Satu Qala found in the first and second season of excavations were not found in their original contexts (*in situ*) but reused in the context of Late Assyrian/‘Post-Assyrian’ burials.¹³¹⁴ The fragment of the wall-peg from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II was also reused later.¹³¹⁵

The scene on this complete glazed wall-knob is painted against pale turquoise background and shows a flower with ten petals in pale yellow alternating with pale turquoise (Fig. 3.12.c). The motif and colour can be compared with the flower on a small glazed jar from Kilizi, modern Qasar Shamamok.¹³¹⁶ From the Northern Zagros we find flowers with eight petals on glazed bricks from Qalaichi and Hasanlu, but those petals are thinner and smaller.¹³¹⁷



Fig. 3.12.b. Partly broken T-shaped glazed brick from Satu Qala (after van Soldt, et al., 2013, fig.13).



Fig. 3.12.c. A wall-peg discovered accidentally in Satu Qala, with similar colours to the glazed bricks of Satu Qala (photo by the author, with permission of directorate of antiquities of Koya).

¹³¹³See van Soldt, 2014: fig.4; van Soldt, et al., 2013: 204.

¹³¹⁴The glazed brick fragments discovered in the Square 1010/690, they bear (SQ 10-6 and SQ 10-10; SQ 10-11; SQ 10-13; SQ 10-46; SQ 10-47), see van Soldt, et al., 2013: 201.

¹³¹⁵Mr. Abdulqadir discovered the wall-peg and some inscribed bricks together in the courtyard of his house at the top of the Tell of Satu Qala, in personal communication he told the author that the pit that he dug in the courtyard of his house was not so deep.

¹³¹⁶Anastasio, et al., 2012: fig.45.

¹³¹⁷Kargar 2004: fig.9:2-3, p.233; Winter, 2010, fig.19.

This was discovered during the second season (in 2011) of excavations at Satu Qala, from the time of Ashurnasirpal II and had been reused in a wall.¹³¹⁸ Only a quarter of the wall-peg remains. Such wall-pegs are usually decorated on parallel lines diverging from the centre to the edges, and this one is painted with geometric and plant motifs. Two pomegranates are depicted on the right and left of the pelmet, with the one on the right only partly preserved. It is framed with a *zig-zag* pattern in parallel lines suggestive of rippling river water. What remains of the circular knob in the corner is surrounded by an incomplete inscription which is surrounded by petals decorated with geometric motifs in black, white and yellow on a white, pale yellow, or ‘pale turquoise (blue/green)’ background (Fig. 3.13.a). What remains of the inscription refers to a palace of Ashurnasirpal II in *Idu*: “*Palace of Aššurnašir[pal, king of the land of Aššur ...]*.”¹³¹⁹ This fragmentary text is important historical evidence for understanding cultural contacts. Many years before *Idu* was discovered Marcus correctly assumed that Ashurnasirpal II used Assyrian artisans to decorate his palace in *Zamua* in *Atlila/Dur-Ashur*.

The motifs on the wall-peg of Satu Qala are very similar to those on wall-pegs from the palace of Aššurnaširpal II in Ashur and Nimrud,¹³²⁰ such as flowers with chevron petals.¹³²¹ Similar elements can be seen on an Assyrian style cylinder seal in Satu Qala, where we see a plant between a hunter and a griffin, similar to the “*leafy garland plant*” on the glazed wall-peg of Satu Qala and other Assyrian wall knobs and plates (Fig. 3.13.d).¹³²² The pomegranates resemble those on Assyrian wall-pegs.¹³²³ The chevron petals in the centre of the knob are identical to ones on the knob plates of Balawat and Nimrud.¹³²⁴ The zigzag frame is also seen on two Assyrian wall-pegs from Ashur.¹³²⁵ This wall-peg was clearly made following the artistry of the Assyrian wall-pegs of Ashur and Nimrud made in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, but manufactured locally.¹³²⁶ The inscription tells us it was made for Ashurnasirpal II himself,¹³²⁷ like several other Assyrian wall-pegs with inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II. Very probably Assyrian artisans came to *Idu* and made Assyrian style wall-pegs and carved Assyrian style cylinder seals.

¹³¹⁸ van Soldt, 2014: fig.11; van Soldt, et al., 2013: pp. 204, 213f, fig.14; *RIMA III/II*, A.O.102.28; 42b—44a.

¹³¹⁹ van Soldt, et al., 2013: 213f. For further details about this palace which mentioned in this inscription see van Soldt, et al., 2013: 220-221. Also see below in this chapter. For further details concerning inscribed wall knobs with the inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II, see Albenda 1991: 52-53.

¹³²⁰ Bouillon & Denninger 2005: 51-55, fig.5.

¹³²¹ Albenda 1991: fig.5d, e, pp.49-52; Mahmud 2008: fig.12 p,q, r.

¹³²² van Soldt, et al., 2013: 15; Albenda, 1991, fig.5. d-f.

¹³²³ See Albenda, 1991, fig.2-4; Bouillon & Denninger 2005, pp.51-55, fig.5; Preusser 1955: Tafel.15, c.

¹³²⁴ Albenda, 1991, fig.6; Curtis, et al. 1993: fig.33.

¹³²⁵ Preusser 1955: pl.15, a-b.

¹³²⁶ In addition, an Assyrian cylinder seal with the 9th century BCE style discovered in the same context, this may also support the presence of Assyrian administrative palace of Assurnasirpal II, or palace of a local pro-Assyrian ruler in *Idu* during the reign of Assurnasirpal II (see van Soldt, et al., 2013: 208, 220-221). Also for further details concerning the seal see more details in the seals, in this chapter.

¹³²⁷ van Soldt, et al., 2013, p.204.



a.



Fig. 3.13.a. Part of a wall-peg from Satu Qala with an inscription of Ashurnasirpal II (after van Soldt, et al., 2013).

The iconography of the figures and the motifs showing very close ties with Assyrian art, especially with Assyrian glazed bricks and glazed wall-knobs. Such strong Assyrian influence is not seen in other glazed bricks from the Northern Zagros. Some parallels to scenes and motifs on glazed bricks and glazed wall knobs from Rabat, Qalaichi, and Hasanlu can be seen, not on Assyrian glazed bricks but on Assyrian reliefs, seals, and especially on wall paintings and ivories, and metal objects. The direct contact and influence on the glazed bricks and wall knobs of Satu Qala came especially from Kalhu (Nimrud). The Assyrian penetration into the land of Idu in Inner Zamua and Zamua occurred in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, not only as a political and military expansion but also bringing Assyrian architectural and artistic expertise.

We note also the similarity between the dress of the male figure on the glazed brick of Satu Qala and the male figure depicted on the golden knife-handle of Hasanlu. They are both wear similar short dresses with fringed edges that reached above their knees, and with thick belts around their waists. Their long hair lies on their shoulders. Probably the golden knife-handle of Hasanlu came from Idu, as a gift or as tribute or booty.¹³²⁸ An inscribed stone bowl with the inscription of Ba'auri the king of Idu also found in the same level in Hasanlu supports this. There may well have been contact between Idu and Hasanlu in the 9th century BCE.

The headstall of the horse depicted on the glazed brick of Satu Qala is similar to one on the ivory plaque from Ziwiye. They are almost identical to those on the horses the Medes/Zagrosians brought as tribute to Assyria depicted on Khorsabad reliefs from the reign of Sargon II. In Assyrian and Zagrosian art headstalls are only fitted on royal horses, so the horse on the glazed brick of Idu could be Ba'auri's royal horse, and that the Idu horses had their own style of headstall, as did Assyria and other parts of the Zagros. From the images we have the headstalls seem to have been made of metal and decorated with coloured fringed cloth or feathers. The Zagros was a main source for horses for Assyria, and their royal horses

¹³²⁸A knife-handle with gold cloisonné uncovered in the Building II at Hasanlu. On the handle, outlines of a bearded male figure depicted. Edith Porada describes the figure in this way; “*The gold outlines describe a bearded man with shoulder-length hair and short-fringed kilt. His right hand is raised in a gesture of greeting or worship. From the wrist of the left hand, which is brought around the body, hangs a scarf or cloth.*” And she adds that “*...no foreign parallels can be cited*” for this object.” Porada 1965: 116-118.

came from the Northern Zagros. Assyrian administrative letter refers to horses brought from Kishesim as tribute to Assyria, there is a specific mention of “*the king’s horse*.”¹³²⁹

The glazed bricks, wall-peg and wall-knob of Satu Qala are dated to the ninth century BCE, more or less contemporary with the glazed wall plaques of Hasanlu. This dating shows that the Idu glazed bricks are a century older than those of Rabat Tepe and Tepe Qalaichi which are dated to the 8th-7th century BCE. Glazing in the Northern Zagros started in Idu. The location of the city of Idu, not too far from Assyria, that is allowed easier interaction with Assyria, and it came under political and cultural influence from the Assyrian heartland, not only in the Neo-Assyrian period, but even in the Middle Assyrian period when Idu was in direct contact with Ashur.¹³³⁰

Although the glazed bricks and the wall knob of Idu were not found *in situ*, but had been reused after the ninth century BCE for in new buildings, we suppose they belonged to a palace there. Some were found covering Late Assyrian/Post-Assyrian burials, after the fall of the dynasty of Idu, when the former city had become a village inhabited by others who wanted to mark their graves.¹³³¹ Once the palaces of Idu are excavated we can expect to find many more glazed bricks. At present we do not have enough to describe what were the general motifs and styles on bricks or wall-pegs and wall-knobs.

The two tells at **Rabat Tepe**¹³³² lie beside the Lower Zab, 5 km east of Sardasht town, and ca. 30km east of the Iraqi border.¹³³³ Iranian archaeologists worked there from 2004 to 2008,¹³³⁴ finding remains from the late 2nd millennium, the early 1st millennium BCE (Iron Age I) and Iron Age II-III periods.¹³³⁵ At the level of the 8th/7th centuries BCE Rabat Tepe like Ziwiye and Tepe Qalaichi was a city in the Mannean kingdom.¹³³⁶ Inscribed bricks show that Rabat Tepe was Arzizu in Mazamua.¹³³⁷ In 2005 the excavator Reza Heidari announced that Rabat Tepe was the long-lost city of Musasir/Ardini,¹³³⁸ but he did not find support among specialists, and in subsequent papers he abandoned this claim.¹³³⁹

The glazed bricks of Rabat Tepe have geometric, zoomorphic, vegetation, anthropomorphic, and mythical designs and inscriptions. The scenes on some bricks are vague and some are plain.¹³⁴⁰

There were dozens of examples of geometric motifs, including braids, concentric circles, and rhombuses.¹³⁴¹ The **Braids (guilloche) designs** are painted on the sides of the bricks. Some show four “*intertwined small circles*” in yellow and white, dark green centres (Fig.

¹³²⁹See SAA XIX 91.

¹³³⁰For instance see van Soldt, 2008: 72. Also, see Chapter I, 1.2.3.

¹³³¹See van Soldt, et al., 2013:202ff.

¹³³²Rabat Tepe II locally called Bani-Doman (i.e. Hill of the gypsies), see Nubary & Afifi 2009: 49.

¹³³³Kargar and Binandeh 2009: 114.

¹³³⁴Heidari, 2010: 149; Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 49.

¹³³⁵Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 114f.

¹³³⁶Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 119.

¹³³⁷Reade and Finkel 2014: 594; for details see Chapter I, 1.2.3; and Chapter II, 2.2.

¹³³⁸CAIS Archaeological & Cultural NEWS “Musasir Temple May Rise from Rabat Tepe excavations” published in 22 October 2005, see <http://www.cais-soas.com/News/2005/October2005/22-10-musasir.htm>.

¹³³⁹Radner 2012b: 252.

¹³⁴⁰Heidari 2010: 149; Nubary & Afifi 2009: 55.

¹³⁴¹Afifi, & Heidari 2010: 153.

3.14).¹³⁴² From the Northern Zagros and Mannea itself there are examples of braid (guilloche) decoration, such as is painted on a glazed brick from Tepe Qalaichi.¹³⁴³ On metalwork and ivory plaques from Ziwiye they frame scenes.¹³⁴⁴ From Hasanlu north of Qalaichi a broken ivory plaque has braids framing scenes.¹³⁴⁵ From the central Zagros braids frame scenes on the metal objects.¹³⁴⁶ We see them also on several Urartian bronze objects.¹³⁴⁷



Fig. 3.14. Two braid motifs painted on the edges of quarter glazed bricks (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig. 17; Kargar and Binandeh, 2009: pl. 6.b).

Braid elements in the Northern Zagros may have been borrowed from Mittanian or Assyrian art and adapted and then remained a long-lasting feature. Mittanian art reached the Northern Zagros, for Mittanian seals are found at sites such as Tell Bakrawa.¹³⁴⁸ It may have been borrowed from Assyria during the Middle Assyrian period, for a Middle Assyrian seal from Ashur has a braid element.¹³⁴⁹ Neo-Assyrian art has many examples of braids from the 9th-7th centuries BCE on glazed bricks and wall plaques from the temples and palaces of Ashur, Nimrud, and Khorsabad.¹³⁵⁰ On wall paintings¹³⁵¹ and on many Assyrian and Syrian styled ivories from Nimrud braids usually frame scenes and fill spaces.¹³⁵²

Braids were one of the common artistic elements not only in Iron Age Assyrian and the Northern Zagros art but also on many Near Eastern art objects from the 3rd, 2nd and 1st

¹³⁴²The motifs are comparable with many examples from the Sumerian, Kassite, Nuzi and Arrapha art works, for further details see Afifi & Heidari 2010: 153; Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: 117; Bāqir 1946: Pl. XV, fig.8; See Starr, 1937: pl.129 d.; Collon, 1987: fig.257, 268; Postgate, et al., 1997: pl.76. fig.823; Frankfort 1939: Text-fig., 51-52. For further details see Afifi & Heidari 2010: 155-158, fig.13-20. I thank Reza Heydari who allowed me to use the published images of Rabat Tepe Project.

¹³⁴³Kargar 2004: 233f., fig.10: 1-3; Afifi & Heidari 2010: 153; Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: 117. Also see above in this chapter, Tepe Qalaichi glazed bricks.

¹³⁴⁴Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 156; Ghirshman, 1979: pl.VIII, fig.5, pl.IX, fig.8.

¹³⁴⁵Muscarella, 1989: fig.17.

¹³⁴⁶Frankfort & Roaf 1996: fig.400 a).

¹³⁴⁷As an example, the braid depicted as frame on a fragment of the bronze belt of Argishti II from Altuntepe, also a braid depicted on a stone box from Karmir Blur (8th century BC). (Azarpay 1968: pl.57.B; Afifi & Heidari, 2010: fig. 20.b-e).

¹³⁴⁸For the discovered Mittanian cylinder seal from Bakrawa, which bears braid element see http://www.lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/content.php?nav_id=1513; also, concerning probability or improbability of influencing the Mittanian visual elements on the local style art of Hasanlu see Marcus, 1996: 30, 34. note.200.

¹³⁴⁹Orthmann, et al., 1975: vol.I: p., 352, pl..103-104 a; vol.II: pl.270 a.

¹³⁵⁰Albenda, 2005: pl.34, 36; Reade, 1995: 225-236; Braids are used as a frame to the main scene on several Neo-Assyrian wall knob-plates from Assur. Andrae, 1925: 28-29, 31-32, fig.6.

¹³⁵¹Layard, 1849: pl. 84:15; 86: 3.

¹³⁵²Barnett, 1989: pl. XIX s13, XXVI s20, Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 56.

millennia BCE.¹³⁵³ During the Iron Age it can be seen outside Assyria in Neo-Hittite reliefs of Carchemish.¹³⁵⁴ Very probably the elements were borrowed by the Assyrians from Mittanian art, and then were passed on to neighbours in the Northern Zagros and to westwards and north-westwards as well. The braids at Rabat Tepe were very probably derived from the same Mittanian and Assyrian ones that occur on Mittanian seals, wall paintings and Assyrian glazed bricks and wall knobs.

Concentric circles are painted on several glazed bricks and fragments from Rabat Tepe have concentric circle motifs at the sides of bricks in various styles (Fig. 3.15.a-b).¹³⁵⁵ The most important parallels come from glazed bricks from neighboring Mannean city, Qalaichi.¹³⁵⁶ Haidairy and Afifi refer to an Assyrian example, on the wall painting of Til-Barsip, where the circles appear below the image of Tiglath-Pileser III on his throne, as parallel to the Rabat Tepe examples.¹³⁵⁷ Other important parallels are the wall painting in the palace of Adad-Nirari III at Nimrud,¹³⁵⁸ and the wall painting of Khorsabad, where they are used as architectural decoration for the gate of the palace, above the entrance, below the crenellations and below the merlons.¹³⁵⁹ The royal bathroom in the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad is decorated similarly.¹³⁶⁰ A very important parallel to the row of circles row on the glazed brick of Qalaichi is seen in the wall paintings of Dur-Kalimmu.¹³⁶¹ Another important parallel is the glazed brick podium of Sargon II decorating the lower façade of the Ashur Temple at Ashur.¹³⁶² Moreover, rows of concentric circles occur on the Assyrian and Ziwiye ivories.¹³⁶³

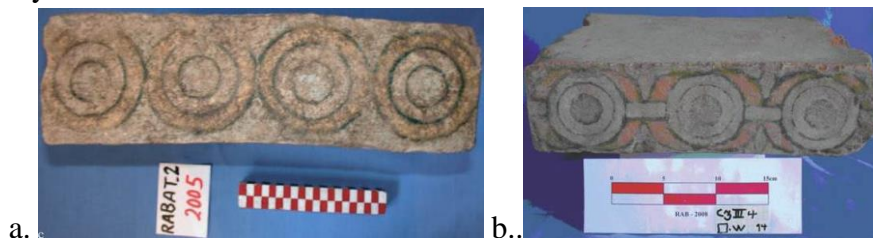


Fig. 3.15.a. Row of concentric circles on a glazed brick from Rabat Tepe, excavated 2005 (after ??).

b. Three concentric circles on a glazed brick from Rabat Tepe (after Afifi & Heidari 2010: p.154; Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 56-7.fig. 19).

¹³⁵³See above.

¹³⁵⁴Woolley & Lawrence 1921: pl. 28: 1-3.

¹³⁵⁵The concentric circle motif appeared on many examples in the art of the Zagros, Mesopotamia and Near East during the 3rd and 2nd millennium BCE. For further detail see Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 153f; Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 56f; Collon, 1987: fig.292; Bāqir, 1946: Pl. XX, fig.15; Negahban, 1996: fig.50. For further details see Razmjou 2005a: 97-103.

¹³⁵⁶Kargar2004: 233f., fig.10: 1-2; Shabazi, A. Sh., et al., 2001: fig.140.

¹³⁵⁷Parrot, 1961: fig.266.

¹³⁵⁸Hussein, M.M., et al., 2013: pl.XLIII b; fig.8.

¹³⁵⁹Parrot, 1961: fig.107.

¹³⁶⁰Loud & Altman, 1938: pl.I, fig.3; Albenda, 2005, fig.2.

¹³⁶¹Albenda, 2005: fig.5 –ac.

¹³⁶²Andrea 1925: pl.6; Parrot, 1961: fig. 266; Reade, 1963: 38-47, esp.p.47.note.26.

¹³⁶³Barnett, 1957: pl.CXIX, fig.T22 b; Ghirshman 1979: Pl.XIX, fig.2.

These geometric elements probably had no religious or symbolic meaning, but were used simply for decoration, and to frame scenes. The circles on the brick of Rabat Tepe are like those on the wall painting of Til Barsib and on the wall painting of the façade of the temple of Ashur in the city of Ashur. Perhaps it shows the influence of Assyrian art. This element is attested later on Achaemenid glazed bricks from Susa and Takht-e-Jamshid,¹³⁶⁴ probably directly or indirectly influenced by Assyrian and Northern Zagros art.

The **rhombus** is one of the geometric artistic elements which appear on some of the glazed bricks of Rebet Tepe, usually on the sides of a brick.¹³⁶⁵ As mentioned above, on one brick rhombus elements fill gaps between concentric circles. Another brick has interconnected rhombuses painted on its sides against an azure background in different colours: the yellow, turquoise and white glaze make each one distinguishable (Fig.3.15.c).¹³⁶⁶ Rhombuses decorate architecture elsewhere in Rabat Tepe, on patterned pediments on the rubble floors, together with square and circle motifs.¹³⁶⁷ From the fourth millennium BCE onward we find the rhombus in the ancient Near Eastern art on many objects.¹³⁶⁸ Later, Assyrian seals show a similar motif separating scenes, but on Kassite seals they are generally arranged vertically, and on Assyrian seals horizontally.¹³⁶⁹ From the Northern Zagros a rhombus depicted on a 9th century BCE Assyrian cylinder seal from Satu Qala in the background.¹³⁷⁰ Also, it occurs as an element on a Mannean shell.¹³⁷¹ On Assyrian 8th century BCE ivories from Nimrud,¹³⁷² and on Urartian wooden boxes.¹³⁷³ It decorated the Rabat Tepe brick, and was perhaps as a frame for scenes on other bricks. Rows of rhombuses occur on Achaemenid glazed bricks from Susa from the 6th century BCE.¹³⁷⁴

¹³⁶⁴Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 157, 164.

¹³⁶⁵Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: 118.

¹³⁶⁶Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: 117; Afifi & Heidari 2010: 154.

¹³⁶⁷Heidari, 2010: 148.

¹³⁶⁸The oldest example of depiction of the rhombus element (concentrated rhombus) in Mesopotamia in the Neolithic when it is depicted on the pottery of Samarra (6th millennium BCE) (see Marf 2004: 243-270), also on the well-known decoration made with the inserted cylinder mosaics in the walls of the temple of Uruk in the late 4th millennium BCE (Aruz & Wallenfels, 2003: 19, fig.4), and on cylinder seals from the Jamdet Nasir period (Marf, 2007: pl.18, fig.42), and on the Standard of Ur. (Woolley & Burrows, 1934: pl. 92, 110). Many Kassite cylinder seals (Collon 1987, fig. 239, 242, 244, 245). On the Kassite inlaid glass (Bāqir 1946: Pl. XX, fig.15). For the details and discussing and more examples of depiction of rhomb elements in the art of Mesopotamia, Iran and Near East (see Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 158).

¹³⁶⁹This element mostly appeared on these seals which bears hunting scenes. Also on some seals which bears mythological creatures during rituals. See Collon, 2001: pl. V, fig.47-48; Parrot, 1961: fig.214).

¹³⁷⁰van Soldt, et al., 2013, p.204.

¹³⁷¹Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 145.

¹³⁷²Barnett, 1957: pl. XII G 4.

¹³⁷³Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 159, fig. 27a; Heidari 2010.

¹³⁷⁴Razmjou 2005: fig. 40; Afifi & Heidari, 2010:158.

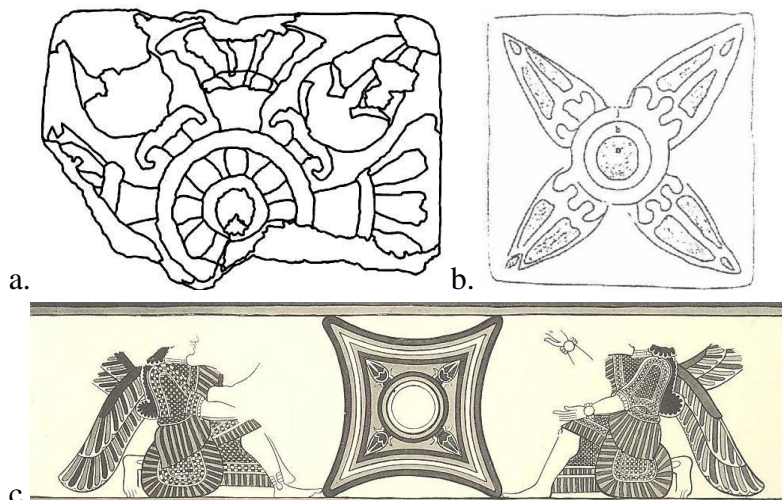


c.

Fig. 3.15.c. Glazed brick from Rabat Tepe (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009:fig. 20).

Symbolically the rhombus can represent an eye or fertility and the goddess Ishtar,¹³⁷⁵ but probably it was not used symbolically in Assyrian and Mannean art. It appears to be more of a decorative element, especially, on Assyrian seals, because rhombuses are not carved beside the more significant items of the scene on a seal.

Geometric and plant elements are sometimes combined on glazed bricks. On a damaged brick two buds are preserved, depicted symmetrically in yellow, white and azure, separated by flower sepal in azure and in yellow. The petals are light green and the background is dark green (fig.3.16.a).¹³⁷⁶ There is a similar pattern of geometric and plant decoration on a glazed brick from the neighbouring Mannean site of Tepe Qalaichi dated to the eighth century BCE (fig.3.16.b),¹³⁷⁷ and on the Assyrian (9th century BCE) wall paintings of Til Barsib (fig.3.16.c),¹³⁷⁸ on the Nimrud wall paintings, and on those of Dur-Sharrukin from the late 8th century BCE (fig.3.16.d).¹³⁷⁹ An example from Urartu at wall paintings of Altin-Tepe is from the 8th century BCE (fig.3.16.e).¹³⁸⁰ Haidary and Afifi suggested that this decoration originated in the Assyrian wall paintings, which influenced the Mannean glazed bricks of Rabat and Qalaichi, which in turn influenced the Urartian wall painting of Altin-Tepe.¹³⁸¹



a.

b.

c.

¹³⁷⁵ Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 158; van Soldt, et al., 2013: 204; Marcus 1996: 44f.

¹³⁷⁶ Afifi & Heidari 2010: 154; Nubary & Afifi 2009: fig. 22

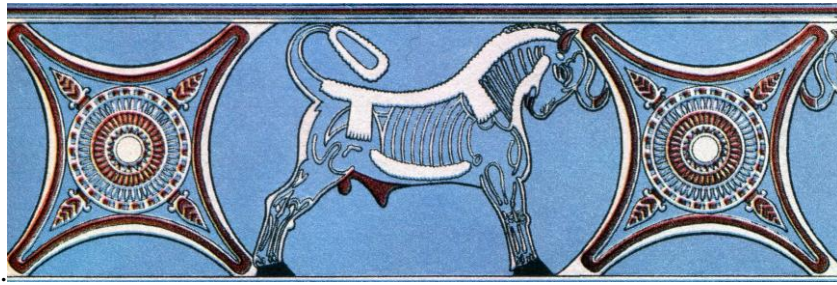
¹³⁷⁷ Afifi & Heidari, 2010: fig. 28b.

¹³⁷⁸ Parrot, 1961: pl.XLVI, fig. XXVI; Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 159.

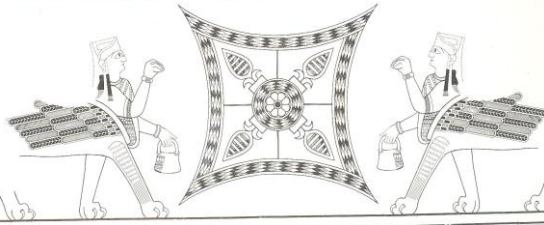
¹³⁷⁹ Tomabechi 1986: 43-54; Parrot, 1961, pl. XLVI, fig. XXVI, 342; Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 159.

¹³⁸⁰ Özgüç, 1969: fig.14.

¹³⁸¹ Afifi & Heidari, 2010: 159.



d.



e..

Fig. 3.16. a. A drawing of a pattern painted on a glazed brick from Rabat Tepe (after Afifi & Heidari, 2010: fig. 12).

b. Geometric plant decoration on a glazed brick from Tepe Qlaichi. (after Afifi & Heidari, 2010: fig. 28b).

c-d. Patterns from the wall paintings of Til-Barsib (after Parrot, 1961, pl. XLVI, fig. XXVI, 342).

d. A pattern from the wall paintings of the temple of Altın-Tepe, from the 8th century BCE (after Özgüç, 1969: fig. 14).

Among all the glazed bricks in Assyria and the Northern Zagros the **crenellated bricks** are unique. Unusually shaped bricks from Rabat Tepe are glazed with abstract **foliate patterns** suggesting sacred trees on a turquoise background. The stems are white and the flowers and petals white, turquoise and yellow.¹³⁸² Another fragment has a sacred tree with twisted stems on a turquoise background with buds and flowers with white and yellow petals. On a glazed merlon brick a similar tree appears with twisted stems and yellow flowers against a greenish-turquoise background (see Fig. 3.17.a-h).¹³⁸³ Probably this pattern was originally Mittanian, seen at Nuzi on wall paintings, on ceramics and on Mittanian cylinder seals (fig. 3.17.f).¹³⁸⁴ Later it was transferred to Middle Assyrian art, first in the wall paintings of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta (fig. 3.17.g).¹³⁸⁵ Then varieties of this motif appear on Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II,¹³⁸⁶ parallel to the damaged brick from Khorsabad dated to the late 8th century BCE (fig. 3.17.h).¹³⁸⁷ A similar motif is found on the fragment of a ceramic beaker at Hasanlu (fig.3.22.b),¹³⁸⁸ and as a relief decoration on the Iron Age column base of Tepe Qalaichi.¹³⁸⁹ Although the shapes of the crenellated bricks of Rabat Tepe are

¹³⁸² Heidari & Afifi, 2011: 124, fig.2.

¹³⁸³ Heidari & Afifi 2011: 125, fig.2-3; Kargar & Binandeh, 2009:118.

¹³⁸⁴ Frankfort & Roaf 1996: fig.287.

¹³⁸⁵ Andrae, 1925: fig.2.

¹³⁸⁶ Bartl, 2014, Abb.13; Strommenger and Hirmer 1962: fig. 193; Strommenger and Hirmer 1962: fig. 193.

¹³⁸⁷ Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.156, 13-15.

¹³⁸⁸ Porada 1965: 33.

¹³⁸⁹ Malazadeh 2012: 77, fig.2.

unique, the ‘sacred trees’ on them are comparable to many others on Iron Age objects of Assyria and the Northern Zagros.

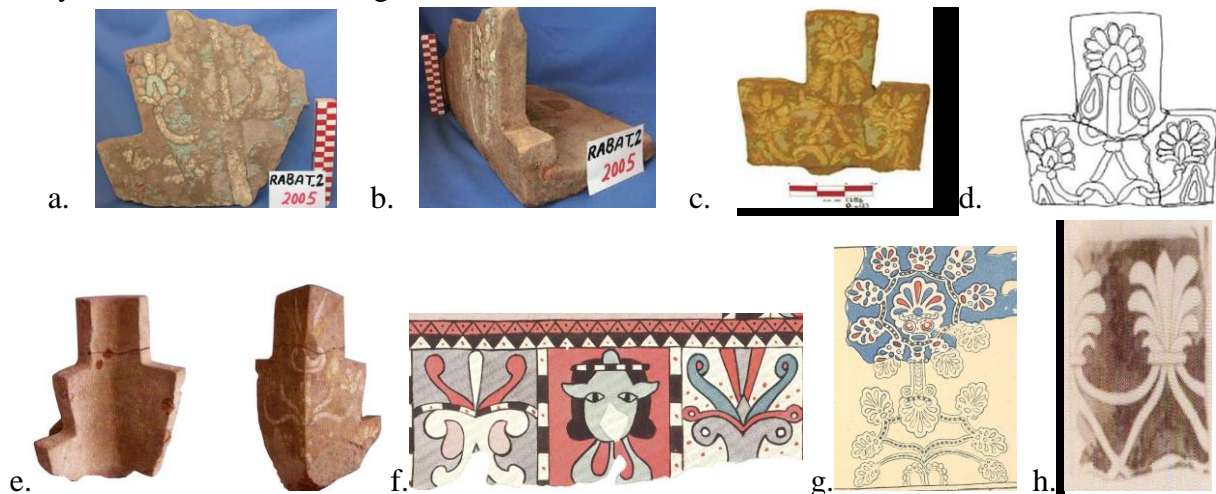


Fig. 3.17. Depiction of the ‘sacred tree’ element from the art of the Northern Zagros and Assyria.

a-b. Two fragments of a painted sacred tree on a serrated glazed brick fragment (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig. 21).

c-d. Photo and drawing of a glazed brick fragment with a ‘sacred tree’ partly preserved (after Afifi & Haidari 2011: fig. 2-3).

e. Crenellated brick with ‘foliate pattern’ (‘sacred tree’) from Rabat Tepe (after Afifi & Haidari 2011: fig. 6).

f. Nuzi wall painting fragment (after Starr, 1937: pl. 129 d).

g. Wall painting from the palace of Kar-Tuklti-Ninurta (after Andrae, 1925: Pl. 2).

h. Wall painting fragment from Khorsabad, the reign of Sargon II (after Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl. 156, 13-15).

The **clay door nails** from Rabat Tepe are decorated with flowers with 8 or 16 petals (3.18.a-b).¹³⁹⁰ They are similar to those with 8 petals in white and yellow on a complete wall-peg from Satu Qala (3.18.c).



Fig. 3.18. a. Clay door nails with white or turquoise petals (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig. 15).

b. Clay door nails with turquoise or yellow petals (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig. 16, p. 54).

c. Upper face of a wall-peg from Satu Qala (photo by the author).

¹³⁹⁰Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 118, pl.14.

On several bricks from Rabat Tepe **human and mythological creatures** are depicted. One brick fragment shows the head of a woman or a eunuch in profile (fig. 8),¹³⁹¹ known also in Assyrian wall paintings and reliefs. There is no beard and the hair is long. Earrings, bracelets and even headbands may be shown. The Rabat Tepe figure wears a necklace of flowers with petals in green and red. At that period women usually wore thick necklaces, presumably of precious stones, so probably this is a woman.



Fig.3.18. d. Woman's head in profile on a Rabat Tepe brick fragment (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig.23).

Two bricks have **winged lions (sphinx)** with beardless human heads in an Assyrian style. On the heads are lateral horns, one emerging from the front. The one is yellow with black and white feathers on the wings, and the body of the other is red, outlined in black, with red and white feathers (fig. 9. a-b).¹³⁹² Glazed bricks from Qalaichy also have similar sphinxes but differently coloured and slightly different iconography, those on the ivories of Ziwiye are also similar,¹³⁹³ and the one decorating the the garment of Ashurnasirpal II on an Assyrian relief.¹³⁹⁴



e.



f.

Fig. 3.18.e. Painted brick showing a winged human headed lion from Rabat Tepe (after Kargar, and Binendeh, 2009: pl. 7).

f. Sphinx on a partly preserved glazed brick from Rabat Tapa (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig. 26).

¹³⁹¹Kargar & Binandeh 2009: pl.118.

¹³⁹²Kargar, and Binendeh, 2009: pl. 7; Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig. 26.

¹³⁹³Ghirshman, 1979: pl.XII, fig.3.

¹³⁹⁴Wilkinson, 1975: fig.15 T; Reade, 1983, fig.21. For further details see below, the glazed bricks of Qalaichy.

The two images on two partly preserved serrated (merlon) bricks are said to be **winged nude 'goddesses'**. The head and the legs of one of them is missing. They are entirely nude, with clear motherly breasts and a distinct navel (Fig.3.19.a-b).¹³⁹⁵ They may have been wearing the horned crown of a goddess, but that is speculation because their heads are missing. They are Mannean in style, influenced by Assyrian art.¹³⁹⁶ There are differences between these two figures. One shows her body from the front, while the other shows the head from the front but the lower body in profile body. She has the body of a lion with a typical tail and lions' legs moving to the right. The iconography of the hands the breasts and the navels is similar. Such nude goddesses appear in the art of Mesopotamia from the third millennium BCE. On Akkadian cylinder seals she stands on a griffin and holds trident symbols in both hands. Bulls pull a four wheeled chariot in which the weather god is riding.¹³⁹⁷ On an Ur III jar are several goddesses like those from Rabat Tepe. The accentuated female features lead to her being identified as Ishtar.¹³⁹⁸ On a large Old Babylonian terracotta there is a naked goddess called '*The queen of the Night*' who has been identified with Lilith, Ishtar or Erishkigal.¹³⁹⁹ She has the legs and feet of an owl, similar to those of the owls on the right and left of this winged goddess. She stands on two lionesses, and holds in her hands sticks and circles. Naked goddesses also appear on Old Babylonian, early 2nd millennium Syrian, Kassite and Syro-Mittanian seals, which are identified as Ishtar or Lama.¹⁴⁰⁰ The goddess on Mittanian seal has twisted legs.¹⁴⁰¹

Of two nude winged goddesses from Ashur, one is depicted formally from the front on an alabaster vessel (Fig. 3.19.c), and the other is on a partly preserved terracotta plaque. They are dated to the second millennium BCE.¹⁴⁰² Many appear in Assyrian and Zagrosian art of the Iron Age. In the Neo-Assyrian art, as in the Old Babylonian period, the female demon Lilith is depicted with four wings on an ivory plaque from Nimrud,¹⁴⁰³ and another on a terracotta fragment from the temple of Ishtar at Nimrud.¹⁴⁰⁴ In the Nimrud tomb treasures a golden crown has a female figure, separately cast in gold surrounded with leaves and fruit. It is a well dressed female with four wings.¹⁴⁰⁵ From the Northern Zagros in the Iron Age we have the nude winged female on the golden bowl of Hasanlu. She stands on two rams (or one ram with two heads) spreading her wings (Fig.3.19.d).¹⁴⁰⁶ This representation is like the Akkadian

¹³⁹⁵ Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: 118.

¹³⁹⁶ Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 61-62. Although Nurbary and Afifi referred to another example of nude goddess from Tepe Qalaichi, but in their published paper and the published articles concerning the glazed bricks of Tepe Qalaichi yet there is no published image of that mentioned goddess.

¹³⁹⁷ Frankfort, 1939: Pl. XXII a; Frankfort & Roaf, 1996: fig. 93.

¹³⁹⁸ She is called the 'Queen of the night' by Collon in a monograph with that title. For further details see Collon, 2005: esp. fig. 6.

¹³⁹⁹ Moortgat 1982: 11; Collon 2005; Andrae, 1922: Tafel 28.

¹⁴⁰⁰ For further details see Pizzimenti, 2014: pp.135-147; Otto 1998: fig. 9.

¹⁴⁰¹ Frankfort & Roaf, 1996: fig. 287; Star 1937: pl. 100.B.

¹⁴⁰² Moortgat 1984: Abb. 32.

¹⁴⁰³ Mallowan, 1966: 105, fig. 133.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Hussein 2008: 98, fig. 12-x.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Reade 2008a: 103, Pl. VI a, fig. 13-a.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Winter 1989: 90, fig. 6.

goddess standing on an animal (perhaps a bull) with her arms outstretched from which rain is falling.¹⁴⁰⁷

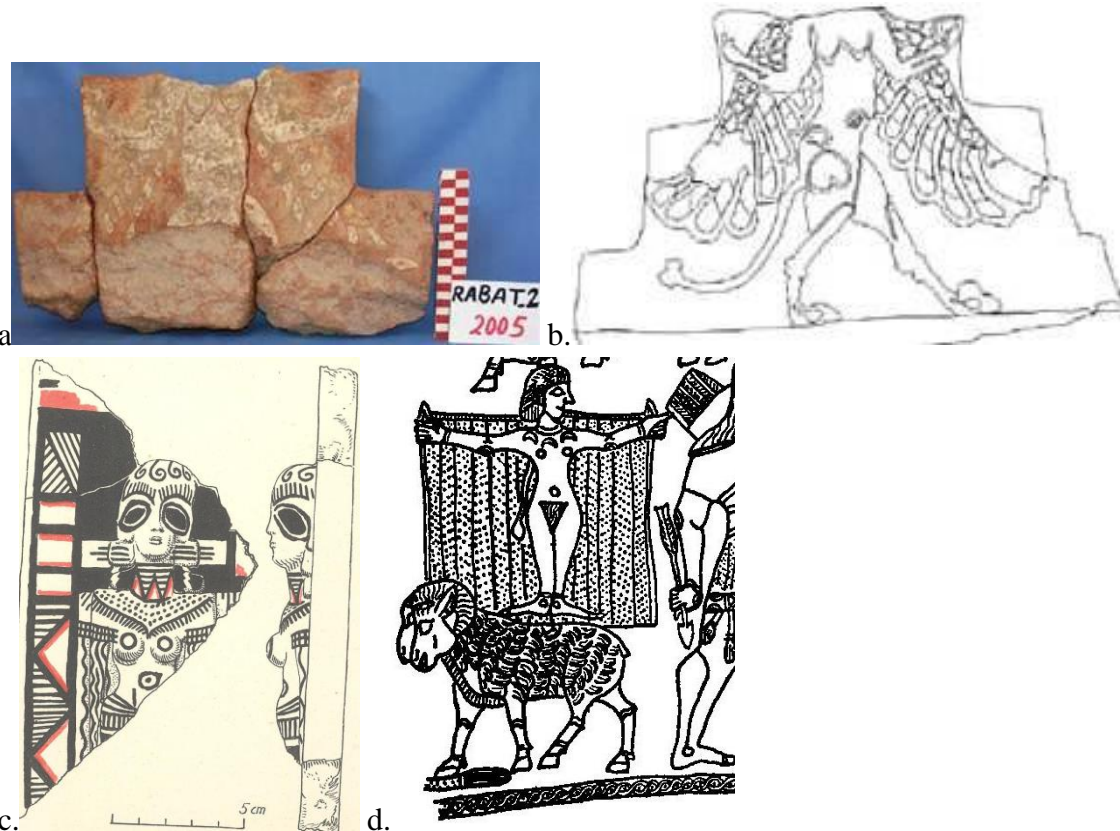


Fig. 3.19. Naked winged goddesses on bricks from Rabat Tepe and in the art of the Northern Zagros, Assyria, and Near East.

- a. Drawing a ‘serrated’ glazed brick painted with a nude winged ‘goddess’ (after Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: fig. pl. 9).
- b. A winged goddess with ‘lion’s legs and tail’ painted on a glazed brick from Rabat Tepe (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig. 25).
- c. Painted terracotta plaque from the temple of Ishtar in Ashur, early second millennium BCE (after Andrae, 1922: Tafel 28.c).
- d. A naked ‘winged goddess, stand on two rams, depicted on the golden bowl of Hasanlu (after Mellink, 1966: Text-fig. I-b).

It is noticeable that these goddesses occur in the art of ancient Mesopotamia during the third, second, and the first millennium BCE, including Assyria, in Ashur in the early second millennium BCE. The Neo-Assyrian depiction suggests Mittanian influence. The image on the golden bowl of Hasanlu was probably Ishtar or weather goddess. The example from Rabat Tepe was made under Mesopotamian influence, or more precisely adapted from Mittanian art, reaching Rabat Tepe from Assyrian art.

Some of the merlon shaped glazed bricks of Rabat Tepe have **winged bearded creatures**. One has eagles’ legs and wings, and wears a leopard skin. His open arms are raised and he wears two bracelets. The image is painted in yellow, black, and white on a turquoise

¹⁴⁰⁷Frankfort 1939: Pl.XXII a.

background (Fig.3.20.a).¹⁴⁰⁸ A similar image on a fragment shows the claw and wing of an eagle.¹⁴⁰⁹ Two other damaged images of eagles legs and wings but without the upper part of the body may also have had bearded or beardless heads.¹⁴¹⁰ A stair-shaped brick fragment of a leg and part of a wing of an eagle is in white, green, and yellow (Fig.3.20.b),¹⁴¹¹ but the rest of this mythological creature's body is missing.

The earliest standing winged bearded male creature is on the seal of the Mittanian ruler Shaushtatar (fig.3.20.c).¹⁴¹² A similar parallel came from the Northern Zagros. The upper part of the winged bearded creature of Rabat has a body and head similar to the winged genies on the Marlik bowl.¹⁴¹³ In Ziwiye north east of Rabat Tepe there was a bowl with a human headed winged bull (*lamassu*), with hands and wings similar to those at Rabat Tepe.¹⁴¹⁴

In Assyrian art comparable examples are the legs and feet of Pazuzu, the Assyrian mythological winged lion, on an Assyrian bronze plaque.¹⁴¹⁵ There are also Assyrian cylinder seals with figures very similar to the Rabat Tepe ones. On a Middle Assyrian cylinder seal we see a creature with a naked human body, four wings and eagles' legs.¹⁴¹⁶ The Scorpion Man on Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals has eagles' legs and raised hands (fig.3.20.d).¹⁴¹⁷

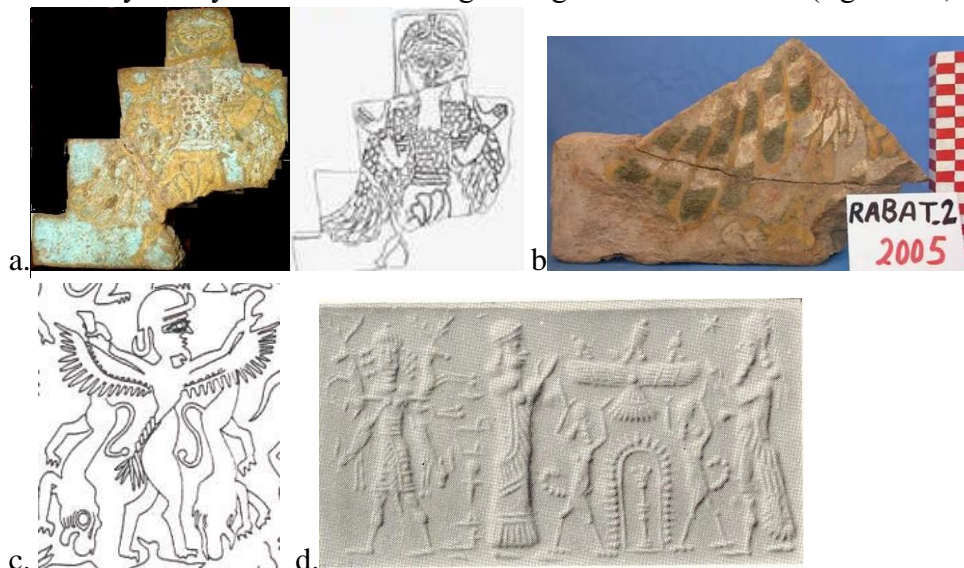


Fig. 3.20.

a. Photo and drawing of a winged bearded creature on a merlon shaped glazed brick from Rabat Tepe (after Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig. 27).

b. Partly preserved image of an eagle, only a claw and a wing of it the image preserved on the glazed brick (after Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: 118, pl.13.).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Nubary & Afifi, 2009: fig.27.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Nubary & Afifi, 2009:fig.10.

¹⁴¹⁰ Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: 118, pl.12-13.

¹⁴¹¹ Kargar & Binandeh, 2009: 118, pl.13.

¹⁴¹² Star 1937: pl.118.I.

¹⁴¹³ Negahban 1996: 56, Illustration: 215, fig. 415.

¹⁴¹⁴ Godard, 1950: fig.20.T.

¹⁴¹⁵ Oates & Oates, 2001: fig.35.

¹⁴¹⁶ Frankfort, 1939: Text-fig.59, p.187

¹⁴¹⁷ Collon 2008: fig.28.

- c. A winged bearded hero with a human head on the cylinder seal of the Mittanian ruler Shausatatar (after Collon, 1978, fig. 269).
- d. Impression of Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals (after Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXXIII e).

Five glazed brick fragments from Rabat Tepe have short cuneiform inscriptions coloured white, two of which are poorly preserved.¹⁴¹⁸ The word [ha]-ba-[tu] ‘to plunder’ is reconstructed on one fragment,¹⁴¹⁹ and a complete brick (33 X 22 X 9 cm) refers to a king, a city and two deities.¹⁴²⁰ The script is Neo-Assyrian 9th-7th century BCE,¹⁴²¹ which is confirmed by geomagnetic tests giving a dating between 830 BCE and 680 BCE (+128) (Fig.3.21.a).¹⁴²²



Fig.3.21.a. Inscribed glazed brick from Rabat Tepe (photo by Reza Heydari, courtesy of Rabat Tepe Project).

In conclusion, Rabat Tepe provides an important assemblage of Northern Zagros glazed bricks, to be compared with those of Qalaichi and Satu Qala, the contemporary local kingdoms there. An inscription on one of the glazed bricks shows that Rabat Tepe was ancient Arzizu in the Assyrian province of Zamua or bordering Mannea. Reade and Finkel described the culture of Rabat Tepe as “*indigenous ... with a discreet Assyrian veneer.*”¹⁴²³

Iconographically there are three styles: local, Assyrian, and ones which are common in the Northern Zagros and Urartu. In details and in colour they are distinguishable. The main colour at Rabat Tepe is a kind of turquoise for backgrounds and yellow, black, white, and red for images.¹⁴²⁴ The scenes are mostly religious and mythological, framed by geometric patterns of braids, concentric circles, and rhombuses. Most of them will have decorated a public building, probably a temple of Bel (Marduk) and Nabû (see chapters II and IV). The merlon bricks with mythological scenes of human headed winged lions and the winged nude goddesses would have been placed high on the inner wall of the temple or the internal façade of the gate. The artistic elements of Rabat Tepe seem to have had a role in transmitting

¹⁴¹⁸ The dimension of the complete bricks which bear inscription are 33 x 22.5 x 9cm. Heidari, 2010: 149.

¹⁴¹⁹ Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 64, fig.28. The preserved signs on the glazed brick read as *habātu* v. (to plunder, rob, maraud), see *AEAD* 32.

¹⁴²⁰ For further details concerning the text and its translations see Heidari 2010: 150; Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 65, fig. 29-30; Reade and Finkel 2014: 193. Also see Chapter II, 2.5.

¹⁴²¹ Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 65-66.

¹⁴²² Nubary & Afifi, 2009: 66, see Chapter I, 1.2.3.

¹⁴²³ Reade and Finkel 2014: 294.

¹⁴²⁴ Heidari 2010: 148.

Assyrian styles to Achaemenid art and architecture at Susa and Persipolis. Since Satu Qala, Rabat Tepe and Tepe Qalaichi have not been intensively excavated, we wait for results of future excavations to modify or substantiate these preliminary conclusions.

Hasanlu is one of the few settlements in the Northern Zagros of which the material culture is well documented, and a small number of glazed plaques and bricks were found there, as well as a glazed bowl¹⁴²⁵ and some wall-knobs.¹⁴²⁶ Glazed terracotta wall tiles were found in the so-called “*Burned Building II*,” and at this level in various places in the buildings other fragments were found.¹⁴²⁷ Many of these glazed objects would have originally been attached to the walls of Burned Building II (BBII), the Iron II temple of Hasanlu.¹⁴²⁸ Among the ornamental objects were “*a great many glazed wall tiles*,”¹⁴²⁹ and these seem to have come off decorated walls on the second floor which had collapsed.¹⁴³⁰

Scholars have examined the scenes and artistic styles of the glazed bricks of Hasanlu to distinguish local elements from Assyrian influence. Some fragments of glazed wall tiles show features identical to those on Assyrian glazed bricks,¹⁴³¹ while others “*represent local copies of Assyrian and Elamite products*.”¹⁴³² Some local styles were marked with Assyrian elements.

A combined fragment of a glazed wall-peg (HAS. 70.360) discovered in the Lower Court outside Burned Building IV.¹⁴³³ It has a chevron frame. In each corner there is a flower with eight petals separated by concentric circles. The centre of the knob is missing, but it was surrounded by a painted thick circle.¹⁴³⁴ Similar flowers can be seen elsewhere in Assyrian and the Northern Zagros art. A flower with eight petals appears in the centre of a glazed wall knob from Nimrud, not in the corner.¹⁴³⁵ The flower on a vase from Ashur has twelve petals.¹⁴³⁶ From the Northern Zagros there is a flower with eight petals on a glazed fragment from Tepe Qalaichi,¹⁴³⁷ and a wall-peg from Satu Qala has a large flower with ten petals.

Concentric circles occur on many glazed bricks and wall-pegs in the Zagros and Assyria,¹⁴³⁸ as well as chevron frames on glazed bricks and ceramic in Assyria.¹⁴³⁹

Many incomplete glazed plaques and knobs, like those from Hasanlu, have no inscriptions. We have examples dating back to the 9th century BCE, comparable to Assyrian specimens.

¹⁴²⁵ Danti & Cifarelli 2015: 61-156.

¹⁴²⁶ Albenda 1991: 43; Moorey, 1994: 178f.

¹⁴²⁷ Winter 2010: p. 440, fig.19.

¹⁴²⁸ Dyson 1989: 118-120.

¹⁴²⁹ Dyson 1989: 120.

¹⁴³⁰ Dyson 1989: 120.

¹⁴³¹ Crawford 1961: 85-94, esp. p.91.

¹⁴³² Marcus 1996: 47.

¹⁴³³ Winter 1977: Illustration 18. XXVI.

¹⁴³⁴ See Winter 2010: fig.19.

¹⁴³⁵ Albenda 1991: fig.3.

¹⁴³⁶ Parrot 1961: fig.300.

¹⁴³⁷ Kargar 2004: fig.9:2-3, p.233.

¹⁴³⁸ For the Assyrian examples see Albenda 1991: fig.2, 4, 6; Albenda 2005: fig.5 a-c; Andrea 1925: pl.6. For the Northern Zagros examples, for instance see the depiction of concentrated circles on the glazed bricks of Rabat Tepe, see Afifi and Heidari 2010: 154; Nubary & Afifi 2009: 56-7.

¹⁴³⁹ Andrae 1925: pl. 7; Oates and Oates 2001: fig.153; Albenda, 1991: pl. IX, c.

Their scarcity means that any attempt to distinguish local artistic elements is futile, except for the black dots which painted randomly on the plaques. We can assume Assyrian influence was strong, since essentially they replicate Assyrian examples. The circles, flowers and chevrons on Tepe Qalaichi, Rabat Tepe, and Satu Qala glazed bricks are noteworthy.

From illegal diggings, and then archaeological excavations which began in 1985, we have hundreds of glazed bricks and fragments, from the Mannaean site of **Tepe Qalaichi**. Some have made their way to Iranian and Japanese museums.¹⁴⁴⁰ Most are still under restoration and unpublished.¹⁴⁴¹ In 1999 an Iranian team discovered a monumental 'Columned hall' (19x35m) with its outer walls covered with glazed bricks and its inner walls lined with red mud plaster.¹⁴⁴² Most of the glazed bricks came from here. They have various scenes and motifs: zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, geometric, botanic, and mythical. Some styles are unique and considered to be local. Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi refer to '*Zagros Artistic Style*' according to some identified elements.¹⁴⁴³ Others are comparable with Assyrian, Urartian, Marlik, Luristan and other Northern Zagros specimens.¹⁴⁴⁴ These glazed bricks, the Aramaic inscription, and the pottery from Qalaichi are dated to the 8th-7th century BCE.¹⁴⁴⁵

Leaving aside the unique local styles, I shall consider in detail the many scenes and styles comparable with Assyrian ones.

On one fragment we see a beardless human head,¹⁴⁴⁶ probably of a eunuch or a woman. Among several different winged animals some have human heads.¹⁴⁴⁷ The beardless ones are of eunuchs or women.¹⁴⁴⁸ These mythological creatures are Assyrian. A female headed winged lion (sphinx) is like the one on the garment of Ashurnasirpal II on a relief from his palace at Nimrud ca. 856 BCE.¹⁴⁴⁹ The difference is that the tail of the sphinx of Qalaichi is raised, but on the Assyrian relief it hangs low. A winged bull *lamassu* with a bearded head has a horned headdress,¹⁴⁵⁰ like those of Ashurnasirpal II from Nimrud,¹⁴⁵¹ and on the golden plaque of Ziwiya.¹⁴⁵² Several winged genies appear on the glazed bricks of Qalaichi. One brick has an image of a female kneeling winged genie bending her head. She wears a headband, a long dress which exposes her right shoulder and her right leg, and bracelets. In her raised right hand she holds a mirror and in her left hand a branch with two 'pomegranate' flowers.¹⁴⁵³ This genie is like one in wall paintings in the Assyrian palace at

¹⁴⁴⁰ Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi 2011: 409, note.3.

¹⁴⁴¹ Hassanzadeh 2007: 49; Kargar 2004: 229f; Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi, 2011: 409f.

¹⁴⁴² Hassanzadeh, and Mollasalehi 2011: p.409f, 214f.

¹⁴⁴³ Hassanzadeh, and Mollasalehi 2011: 414.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi, 2011: 414.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Mollazadeh 2008: 107; Fales 2003: 131-47.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Kargar 2004: fig.12:4.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Kargar, 2004, fig.11:1-2, p.233.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Azarnoush & Helwing 2005: fig.43.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Reade, 1983, fig.21.

¹⁴⁵⁰ For further details see Musavi 1994: 7-18.

¹⁴⁵¹ Parrot 1961: fig.29; Reade 1983: fig.17.

¹⁴⁵² Wilkinson 1975: fig. 25 T.

¹⁴⁵³ I would like to thank Yusif Hassanzadeh (National Museum of Tehran), who showed me the image of that glazed brick, and let me to refer to it, but the photo of the image will be published in his book which deals with the discovered glazed bricks of Qalaichi.

Til Barsib.¹⁴⁵⁴ They are both supported on their left knee with their right knee outstretched. They both hold in their left hands a branch with ‘pomegranate’ flowers (she holds two at Qalaichi and three at Til Barsib), and pomegranate flowers feature in other Assyrian contexts.¹⁴⁵⁵ They both wear a long two-piece dress: a tunic reaching above the knees, and a long wrap open at the front. At Qalaichi her right shoulder is bare. They both have one raised and one lowered wing and they both bend their heads. At Til Barsib she wears a diadem of ‘real’ flowers. They both wear bracelets. There are some differences. At Qalaichi she holds a mirror in her right hand, and at Til Barsib she holds a lotus flowers, and they are painted in different colours. Other similar genies in wall paintings at Til Barsib have black hair, but the one at Qalaichi has white hair. At Til Barsib they all wear flowered diadems. The wall paintings of Til Barsib show genies like those at Khorsabad.¹⁴⁵⁶

The **kneeling winged geni** of Qalaichi **holds a mirror**. In Assyrian, Zagros, and Carchemish art it is “*goddesses, royalty, and upper class women*” who hold mirrors¹⁴⁵⁷ From the Zagros, beside this example of Qalaichi, the famous golden bowl of Hasanlu shows a “goddess’ who is ‘sitting’ on a lion and carrying a mirror.¹⁴⁵⁸ This ‘Great Goddess’ appears on several Scythian objects from Southern Russia.¹⁴⁵⁹ She is compared by Muscarella to the goddess or priestess holding a mirror a relief from Carchemish in North Syria.¹⁴⁶⁰ Another slab from Carchemish (850-750 BC) shows the goddess Kubaba holding a pomegranate in her right hand and a mirror in her left hand.¹⁴⁶¹ The woman on the golden bowl of Hasanlu and the winged lady on the brick of Qalaichi are not likely to be goddesses. There is a well-known Assyrian example of a female holding mirror in her left hand on a bronze plaque fragment from the time of Sennacherib or Esarhaddon, perhaps showing Queen Naqī’a .¹⁴⁶² Apart from the genie of Qalaichi, the others are holding their mirrors in their left hands. As far as I know the Qalaichi example is the only one in the art of the Near East of a winged genie holding a mirror.

¹⁴⁵⁴On the wall paintings in Til Barsib several kneeling winged genies were depicted (Parrot 1961: fig. 4.b. pl. XLVI, XXV). These wall paintings are still controversially dated by scholars. Surely, are not painted in reign of one Assyrian king, generally are considered to be undertaken in ca.744-661BC, for further details see Albenda 2005: 27, 69-74.

¹⁴⁵⁵see Russell 2008: 185.

¹⁴⁵⁶For the Assyrian beardless kneeling winged genies from Til Barsib wall paintings (see Parrot 1961: fig. 4.b. pl. XLVI, XXV). And for a kneeling winged genies depicted on the wall paintings from the citadel buildings at Khorsabad (see Loud and Altmas 1938: fig. 11 h; Albenda 2005: pl. 31).

¹⁴⁵⁷Albenda 1985: 2-9.

¹⁴⁵⁸Mellink, 1966, pp. 72-87, p.79, fig.1 b.

¹⁴⁵⁹Rice 1965: p. 66, fig.54-55.

¹⁴⁶⁰Winter 1985: 2-9.

¹⁴⁶¹Bryce 2012: fig.8; Parrot 1961: 133. Also, from Charchemish there are other depictions of females who are carrying mirrors in their right hands, see Gilbert 2011: fig.71.

¹⁴⁶²Parrot, 1961, p.133. On the other hand, it seems that the other Assyrian queens were also used mirrors, for instance, in one of the Assyrian queen tombs in Nimrud a mirror discovered, for further details see Hussein and Sulayman 2000: p.436, fig.218.

One well preserved brick from **Qalaichi** shows a kneeling bearded winged genie (fig. 3.21.b),¹⁴⁶³ in general comparable to the kneeling genies on the wall paintings of Khorsabad and Til Barsib.¹⁴⁶⁴ When compared to the one from Til Barsib both are shown in profile facing right, with curly hair, and supported on their right knee. But the genie of Qalaichi has a long beard in contrast to the beardless one of Til Barsib.¹⁴⁶⁵ Their legs are outstretched at different angles. Both hold in their left hand a branch (with two stems at Qalaichi, and three at Til Barsib). They both have a long dress made from two pieces, one a tunic reaching above the knee, the other long and open at the front. What the Qalaichi genie carries in his raised right hand is unclear because the colours are damaged. The genie of Til Barsib carries in her (or his) left hand ‘a set of three wavy drooping stems’ with round buds, and in the left hand of the one of Qalaichi are two wavy drooping stems. He is a bearded genie like those of Khorsababd, with similar wings.



Fig. 3.21.b. A line drawing (by Hassanzadeh) of the kneeling winged genie depicted on a glazed brick from Qalaichi (after Hassanzadeh, and Mollasalehi 2011: fig. 4-5).

There are differences of detail. The Assyrian kneeling genie of Til Barsib is beardless, while the one of Qalaichi has a long beard. What the Assyrian genie holds in his raised right hand has been identified in other Assyrian examples as lilies (nymphaea) or lotus flowers.¹⁴⁶⁶ It is a lotus or pomegranate branch with three drooping stems in his left hand. On the Qalaichi glazed brick of holds in his left hand ‘a set of wavy drooping stems’ ending with round buds.¹⁴⁶⁷ A branch with two drooping stems apparently emerges from the left hand of the genie of Qalaichi through the bracelet (there is some damage preventing an accurate description).¹⁴⁶⁸ Other differences are the horns on genie of Qalaichi,¹⁴⁶⁹ and he faces left while the one of Til Barsib faces right.

¹⁴⁶³Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi 2011: fig.4-5. I thank Dr. Y. Hassnzadeh who allowed me to use the published images of Tepe Qalaichi Project.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Parrot 1961: fig. 4.b. pl. XLVI, XXV.

¹⁴⁶⁵Parrot 1961: pl.XLVI, fig. XXV, XLVI.

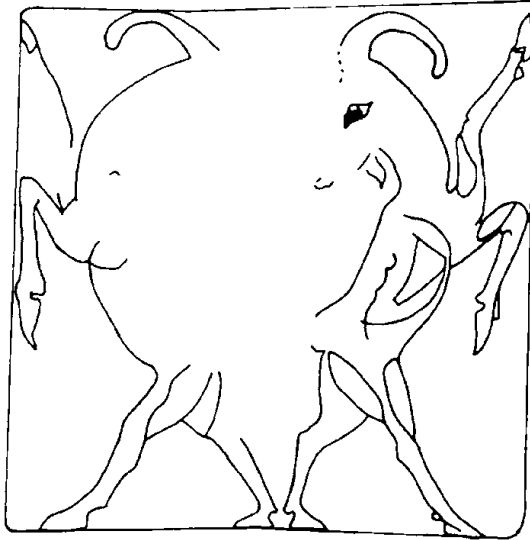
¹⁴⁶⁶Albenda, 1974, p.6.

¹⁴⁶⁷Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi, 2011, p. 412.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi, 2011, p. 413.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi, 2011, p.412.

A damaged brick has the remnant of a scene of two rampant **caprids** (ibexes). They face each other antithetically with their heads are turned away (fig. 3.22.a).¹⁴⁷⁰ Hasanzadeh and Mulasalihi see in the iconography of these ibexes parallels with neighbouring styles of Hasanlu, Ziwiye, and with Assyrian art.¹⁴⁷¹ At Hasanlu two ibexes are depicted on a vessel, separated by a stylized tree, dated to the 9th century BCE.¹⁴⁷² At ‘Ziwiye’ they appear on a golden object dated to ca. 700 BCE.¹⁴⁷³ These antithetical motifs appear in Mittanian art, especially on the Mittanian seals.¹⁴⁷⁴ An Assyrian example which Hasanzadeh and Mulasalihi could also see as like motifs of Qalaichi is found on a Neo-Assyrian seal of the 8th century BCE, where a hero is in combat with two ibexes, like a relief from Nimrud.¹⁴⁷⁵



a.

Fig.3.22.

a. Line-drawing of antithetical rampant ibexes on a glazed brick from Qalaichi (after Hasanzadeh and Mulasalihi 2011: fig. 9-10).

A serrated tower depicted on fragment of a brick from Qalaichi,¹⁴⁷⁶ its similar to an Assyrian element on the walls of the gate towers of the palace of Sargon II in Khorsabad.¹⁴⁷⁷ Another example is painted on a vase from Ashur in a scene of natural landscape, with an antelope and trees, framed above with a line of serrated elements.¹⁴⁷⁸ It appears again on wall paintings of Altintepe in Urartu.¹⁴⁷⁹

The brick from Tepe Qalaichi with a row of concentric circles is interestingly similar to glazed bricks of Rabat Tepe.¹⁴⁸⁰ A glazed brick from Tepe Qalichi also has a braid

¹⁴⁷⁰Hasanzadeh and Mulasalihi, 2011, fig.9-10.

¹⁴⁷¹Hasanzadeh and Mulasalihi, 2011, fig.11-13.

¹⁴⁷² Hasanzadeh and Mulasalihi, 2011, p.413; Porada, 1965, pl. 33.

¹⁴⁷³ Hasanzadeh and Mulasalihi, 2011, p.413; Parrot 1961: fig. 168.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Collon, 1987, fig.250.

¹⁴⁷⁵Wilkinson, 1975, fig.14.

¹⁴⁷⁶Kargar, 2004, fig.11:4.

¹⁴⁷⁷Parrot, 1961, fig.107.

¹⁴⁷⁸Parrot, 1961, fig. 300.

¹⁴⁷⁹Özgüç, 1966, p.25, fig.25:2, 28; Piotrovsky, 1969: fig. 11.

¹⁴⁸⁰Shahbazi, A. Sh. et al. (eds.), 2001: fig. 140. Also, see Afifi & Heidari 2010: p.153; Kargar and Binandeh, 2009, p.117; Kargar 2004: fig.11:3; Hassanzadeh 2006.

element.¹⁴⁸¹ In Assyrian art concentric circles and braid elements often appear on glazed bricks and wall paintings.¹⁴⁸²

The Assyrian motifs appearing on glazed bricks of Qalaichi include winged genies, generally similar but different in detail, but although there are several parallel scenes, motifs and styles with Assyrian art, Assyrian influence on the glazed bricks of Qalaichi is not so strong when compared to that on the glazed bricks of Satu Qala and Rebat Tepe. Scenes and motifs of Qalaichi include many local styles, some of which are comparable to elements in the art of the Zagros (Qalaichi, Ziwiye, Hasanlu, Luristan and even from Marlik). Some Qalaichi elements were borrowed from Achaemenid art.¹⁴⁸³

It has been suggested that glazed bricks were made locally by “*Mannean artists*”, who they borrowed Assyrian motifs and added local elements. Epigraphic evidence confirms that they were made locally by order of the Assyrian kings for public buildings in the Northern Zagros.¹⁴⁸⁴ This was necessary because transporting glazed bricks too far would cause damage to the art work, and would make loads too heavy for mountain tracks. Assyrian wall-panels and plates of Ba’shiqa (Tell Billa), Nimrud, Arban, and Ashur were made locally. Albenda says they were made “*in different ceramic workshops...under the supervision of a master ceramist.*”¹⁴⁸⁵ Artists and manufacturers of glazed bricks may well have travelled to the Zagros, but we have no epigraphic evidence.¹⁴⁸⁶

The Assyrian deputy Mannu-ki-Ninua in Media wrote to Sargon II saying:¹⁴⁸⁷

*[...The land of the king my lord i]s well. [Concerning what the king], my lord, wrote me: “[Go] to Media [wi]th the magnates!” – I went with them. [The god]s of the king provided peace, and we returned [s]afely. I am (now) here in Kar-Šarrukin, **I am building the grand hall with whatever bricks have been glazed**, and we are cultivating the arable fields and doing our work. The king, my lord, can be glad. Also, on the first day the magnates fetched from outside whatever bricks were left there, and delivered them to me. The outer city-wall is finished and plastered. They [came c]lose to it and [pla]stered it from boats.*

This letter shows that the Assyrians glazed the inner walls of a public building called the ‘**grand hall**’ (É *dan-nu*) in the Median city of **Harhar/Kar-Šarrukin**. Probably it was the reception hall in the residence palace of the Assyrian deputy, who supervised the work and informed Sargon II about progress. Assyrian magnates sent by Sargon delivered bricks from outside. A large renovation project was ongoing in Harhar, which Sargon renamed Kar-Šarrukin, at the same time as the rebuilding in the Neo-Assyrian capital Dur-Šarrukin. Sargon may have wanted this Median city as an important centre of operations in the easternmost province of his empire. Future discoveries there may show the level to which public buildings

¹⁴⁸¹Affi & Heidari 2010: p.153; Kargar and Binandeh, 2009, p.117; Kargar 2004: fig.11:3.

¹⁴⁸²For further details see below the discussion of the depicted concentrated circles on Rabat Tepe glazed bricks.

¹⁴⁸³For further details see Hasanzadeh and Mullahalihi 2011: 414-415.

¹⁴⁸⁴For further details see above, Glazed bricks in Zamua.

¹⁴⁸⁵Albenda 1991: 52.

¹⁴⁸⁶Concerning travelling artists, the Achaemenid king Darius I refers to the Medes, Babylonians and the Egyptians who adorned his palace in Susa and made glazed bricks. See Razmjou 2005b: 271-314. For further details see below.

¹⁴⁸⁷SAA XV 94: 10-15.

were adorned with Assyrian glazed bricks, reliefs, and ornamentation. Roaf proposes that Assyrian reliefs and wall paintings, such as at Til Barsib, probably remained after the fall of Nineveh and influenced Achaemenid art and architecture.¹⁴⁸⁸ But that palace was not like Til-Barsib. If it was built by the Assyrians, it was like Dur-Šarrukin, and therefore called Kar-Šarrukin. Nevertheless, the palace was used during the seventh and sixth centuries and may have influenced the Achaemenids, as Roaf suggests.

A glazed brick fragment from the palace of Sargon II in Khorsabad names the city of Harhar, probably on a panel commemorating one of his campaigns to Media (fig.3.23.a.).¹⁴⁸⁹

However, excavations at ‘Median’ sites tell us little about the use of glazed bricks in Media during the Iron Age. Tile-shaped bricks from **Baba Jan** in the Central Zagros have several monochrome geometric motifs. They were not glazed, and decorated the Painted Chamber, covered with red plaster.¹⁴⁹⁰ The paintings and the motifs there are considered local in style, with some influence from paintings on the pottery from Sialk.¹⁴⁹¹ Similar designs are on Assyrian glazed brick fragments from Khorsabad with geometric designs. In general the glazed bricks of Khorsabad are like the tiles of Baba Jan, with a “Chequer Board” pattern of squares (fig. 3.23.b).¹⁴⁹² The tile-shaped bricks of Baba-Jan are seen to echo painted tile decorations from Media.¹⁴⁹³

We know much more about glazed bricks from Mannea and inner Zamua and Mazamua, than from Media. Only the painted tiles of Baba Jan can be matched with an Assyrian example from Khorsabad, but the squares there are smaller than on the tiles of Baba Jan, which are not glazed.

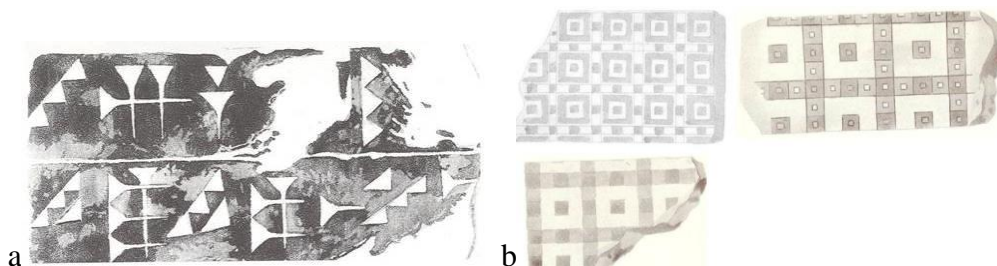


Fig.3.23.a. The name of the Median city Harhar on a glazed brick fragment from Khorsabad (after Botta & Flandin, 1972, Tome II, pl.156, 9).

b. Some glazed brick fragments painted with geometric designs (after Botta & Flandin, 1972, Tome II, pl. 156, fig. 1-3).

3.5. Seals and Sealing

A few Assyrian records indirectly refer to seals in the Northern Zagros. Assyrian administrative letters were legalized by royal seals in the Northern Zagros.

¹⁴⁸⁸Roaf 2003: 13-22.

¹⁴⁸⁹See Botta & Flandin, 1972, Tome II, pl.156, 9; Bordreul 1996, fig.10, for further details see below.

¹⁴⁹⁰Goff 1969: 128f, pl. IV a, b-f.

¹⁴⁹¹Goff 1969: 127f; Razmjou 2004: 382f.

¹⁴⁹²Botta & Flandin 1972, Tome II, pl.156, fig.1-3.

¹⁴⁹³Razmjou 2005b: 290. There are debates about attributing the remains of Iron Age levels of Baba Jan to the Medes, either to the Cemmero-Scythians, for example, Goff considered Baba Jan B level as a result of Cemmero-Scythian arrival to Baba Jan. For further details see Goff 1968, pp.130-132.

Among the booty that had been taken by Sargon II from the temple of Haldi in Musasir was a golden seal ring of the goddess **Bagbartu**: “*I seal ring of gold (used) for validating (lit., completing) the decrees of Bagbartu, the spouse of Haldia, was completely covered (full) with precious stones.*”¹⁴⁹⁴

This record might indicate that in the temple of Haldi deities had their own seals.

In a badly preserved letter which is sent to Sargon II, perhaps by the Assyrian governor of Mazamua Šarru-em[uranni], is a list of **precious stones** including *milhu* and *nukur* stones. Partly preserved signs suggest the word “[en]graver” and at the end of the letter he mentions the city of Cal[ah], where he could meet Sargon II.¹⁴⁹⁵ But the letter is so badly preserved that these stones and the engraver may have or not have belonged to Mazamua.

The Assyrian crown prince Ashurbanipal sent a letter to his father Esarhaddon. The letter deals with the Assyrian north-eastern frontier and the fortresses of Hubuškia, Mannea, Media and Urartu. Part of the letter deals with the attitudes of protecting the border:¹⁴⁹⁶

They [the garrisons] must not be negligent in their guard duty. Moreover, let them pay attention to the deserters from their surroundings. Should a deserter from M[annea, Medi]a or Hubu[ški]a fall in their hands, you are to put him immediately in the hands of your messenger and send him to the crown prince. And if he has something to say, you will tell it to the crown prince accurately. Make your report good!

Ashurbanipal gave a command to the messengers to send a better report and seal it with a specific seal:¹⁴⁹⁷

^{r.9-17} “*Let one [...] scribe ...[who] guards[...]s write it down from his dictation, let it be sealed with the cross-shaped (stamp) seal, and let Ahu-dur-enši, the cohort commander of the crown prince, quickly bring it to me by express delivery.*”

In the letter there is mention of a specific stamp seal NA₄.*is-pi-lu-ur-te* (*ispillurtu*) translated as **cross-shaped (stamp) seal**. Interestingly the letter itself is sealed with four stamps with crossed-form decoration, the same cross-shaped style of the seal mentioned in the letter.¹⁴⁹⁸

Some of the administrative letters which are sent from the Northern Zagros to the Assyrian court are sealed. For instance, Ṭab-šar-Ašur, in a letter informs Sargon that he received a sealed message in the city of Anisu (of the land Habhu): “*A cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch delivered me the king’s sealed message in the city of Anisu on the 27th.*”¹⁴⁹⁹

Sometimes the **royal seal** was sent to the Northern Zagros for validating shipments. In a letter to Sargon II, Šamaš-bel-ušur the governor of Arzuhina received the seal ring of the king: “*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!’*”¹⁵⁰⁰

¹⁴⁹⁴ARAB II: 173.

¹⁴⁹⁵SAA V 205; also see Radner 2008: 489; Radner 2009: 481-515.

¹⁴⁹⁶SAA XVI 148: 13-r.8; Radner 2008: 502f.

¹⁴⁹⁷SAA XVI 148: r.9-17.

¹⁴⁹⁸See SAA 16:148, p.129. figs.15-18; Radner 2008: 502f.

¹⁴⁹⁹SAA I 45 4-7.

¹⁵⁰⁰SAA V 234: 1-9, r.1. For further details about similar cases in the Assyrian empire see Radner 2008: 481-515.

The letter suggests that the seal was not sent separately at speed but with the cohort commander.

As in Mesopotamia, stamp seals were used in the Zagros from Prehistoric times,¹⁵⁰¹ and cylinder seals were used in the Zagros from the Uruk period, when for the first time cylinder seals were invented in Sumer. They were soon adopted by the peoples of the Zagros, who developed local styles.¹⁵⁰² There are a few Middle Bronze Age cylinder seals from the Northern Zagros, an Akkadian cylinder seal made from lapis lazuli was found in a pass near the **Haji-omran** district to the west of the Urmia basin inside Iraq. The seal bears scenes of combating deities, and also killing or capturing the bird Anzu.¹⁵⁰³ In **Tell Kunara**, in the Tanjero valley in Sulaimania, an Ur III/Gutian cylinder seal was discovered.¹⁵⁰⁴ An Ur III seal style was discovered in **Bakrawa**.¹⁵⁰⁵ In **Shemshara**, some Old Babylonian cylinder seal impression fragments have been discovered.¹⁵⁰⁶

Also, Mittanian seals and seals of Mittanian style and iconography were found in Bakrawa, in Hasanlu,¹⁵⁰⁷ and also, beyond the Zagros at Gegharot in the South Caucasus two Mittani style cylinder seals were discovered.¹⁵⁰⁸ It proves interaction between the Zagros foothills, Mesopotamia, especially with Assyria and beyond the Zagros, made via the Northern Zagros, perhaps through commerce. Even in Central Asia a cylinder seal was found with local motifs compared to the iconography of the figures and scenes on the Mitannian seals from the Mediterranean shores of western Syria.¹⁵⁰⁹ Discovering these seals in the Zagros and beyond proves that old roots of commercial and cultural contact were getting intensified during the Bronze Age.

More intensive interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros concerning seals and sealing happened during the Iron Age period. Many Assyrian and Assyrianized style seals were discovered in several sites in the Northern Zagros. These seals were used by the Assyrians and by other peoples of that time. Seals from several Iron Age sites in the Northern Zagros will be discussed below.

The biggest number of Iron Age seals in the Northern Zagros came from Hasanlu; twenty-one seals were discovered there.¹⁵¹⁰ They were studied and classified by Marcus. She

¹⁵⁰¹ For instance Halaf style stamp seal found in Gird Banahelik in Ruwanduz/Diana valley (see Watson 1983: 574, fig.210. Also, Ubaid stamp seal styles found in Girde Resha in Arbat in the Sharezur plain (see Hijara1976: 59-80, pl.8.1-2.

¹⁵⁰² Recently some Uruk and Early Dynastic seal impressions were found in Kani-Shaie in Bazian plain, to the west of Sulaimania (Renette, S., et al., "Kani Shaie Archaeological Project," in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) Forthcoming. *The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress. For further details about the Bronze Age seals in Mesopotamia and Iran and the influence of the styles on each other see Porada 1965; Collon 1987; Amiet and Lambert 1980.

¹⁵⁰³ See Chapter II, 2.4.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Kepinski & Tenu 2014: fig.17.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Miglus, et al., 2011: fig. 18.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Eidem & Læssøe 2001: pp.159-161, pls.86-88.

¹⁵⁰⁷ About the discovered seals in Marlik see Negahban 1996:pl.95. And for the discovered seals and seal impression(s) in Bakrawa see Miglus, et al., 2011: Abb.32-33; fig. 18, and fig.41, c.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Smith 2012: 685.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Collon 1987: 61-65; Smith 2012: 685.

¹⁵¹⁰ Marcus 1996.

classified the seals and seal impressions into three main styles according to the sources of the scenes and elements and their carved styles: local styles, other Iranian styles,¹⁵¹¹ Syro-Palestinian Style stamp seals, and two stamp seals considered as Urartian styles.¹⁵¹²

Some of these seals are identified as Assyrian (Middle and Neo-Assyrian) products by Marcus.¹⁵¹³ She classifies the Assyrian style seals into two main types: “*Central Assyrian style*” seals, and “*Provincial Assyrian style*” seals.¹⁵¹⁴ Some of them are typical Assyrian cylinder seals of the ninth century BCE, especially in the iconography of the archer hunting a stag/wild goat.¹⁵¹⁵ On two Assyrian style seals from Hasanlu is the scene of an archer hunting a snake coil; its head is similar to the head of the Babylonian *mušhuššu*.¹⁵¹⁶ It has comparable scenes to those on the seals from Assyria. For instance two seals with a very abstract scene show the archer hunting the coiled-snake resembling the *mušhuššu* head.¹⁵¹⁷ And recently from the Zagros another similar seal was discovered in the Iron Age Graveyard near Sanandaj.¹⁵¹⁸ The scene of hunting coiled-snake was also depicted on many seals from Nimrud, and on a seal from Halaf.¹⁵¹⁹ The two seals were attributed by Dyson and then by Marcus to the period Hasanlu IVB, but recently attributed to ward **Hasanlu IIIB**, and dated by Collon to the 7th century BCE.¹⁵²⁰

The Assyrian and Syrian seals from Hasanlu prove a cultural contact between Hasanlu, Assyria and beyond Assyria. If such interaction was made by merchants from Assyria and Hasanlu it proves commercial contact between them and the Urmia basin.

Among the Assyrian elements depicted on the seals of Hasanlu is the winged disc found on many Assyrian seals. It does not always represent Ashur, but sometimes Shamash or a foreign deity. The winged disc is also depicted on an Assyrian style seal from Hasanlu.¹⁵²¹ Later the winged disc was also depicted on many Achaemenid seals.¹⁵²² It has been assumed that the winged disc originated from the Egyptian *uraei*, then depicted on the Mittanian seals and then borrowed by the Assyrians.¹⁵²³

A **cylinder seal impression** of the Urartian king **Rusa II** has been found at Ziwiye, and other impressions of this seal in Bastam and Toprakkale.¹⁵²⁴ The scene shows Rusa walking or standing. He raises his right hand, and holds a ‘mass’ in his left hand. In front of him a lion is walking, raising its tail up to its back and opening its mouth, apparently to roar. Behind Rusa, a servant holds an umbrella for him, which has edges decorated with several textiles

¹⁵¹¹ Marcus 1996: 35-37.

¹⁵¹² Marcus 1996: 39-42, 110ff, figs. 67-70, 117-118; Muscarella 2006: 87.

¹⁵¹³ The Middle Assyrian seals are only few seals, see Marcus 1996: pl.25, figs. 78, 79, and 81.

¹⁵¹⁴ Marcus 1996: 47ff, 114ff.

¹⁵¹⁵ Dyson 1965b: 199.

¹⁵¹⁶ Marcus 1996: fig.82, no.60, fig.93, no.71,

¹⁵¹⁷ Loud & Altman 1938: pl. 58, figs., 83, 86; Kroll 2010a: fig.10, no. 60, and 70.

¹⁵¹⁸ Amelirad et al., 2012: pl.22:2; Kroll 2013a: 190. Marcus 1996: no.71,

¹⁵¹⁹ Parker 1962: Pl.XVI, fig.4-5; Collon 1987: 353.

¹⁵²⁰ Kroll 2010a: 25; Marcus 1996: fig. 117-118, fig.no.60; Kroll 2013a: 189, fig.12.

¹⁵²¹ Marcus 1996: 84, no.61.

¹⁵²² Merrillees 2005:80f.

¹⁵²³ For further details see Collon, with Sax and Walker, 2001: p.80ff, pl.XL, fig.163.

¹⁵²⁴ Another impression of that seal was discovered in Bastam (the Urartian city in Iran, located to the north of Lake Urmia); for further details see Hellwag 2012: 210; Kroll 2003: 282; Muscarella 2012a: 267; Kroll 2009: 520; Kroll, 1984: 151-170, Abb.2; Muscarella 2013.

like plumes. Behind him is a big trident. The lion and the trident are both symbols of Haldi. The scene is framed horizontally with two lines of inscriptions, above and below, which reads:¹⁵²⁵

Above: i-ni KIŠIB ¹Ru-sa-a- „dies ist das Siegel <des> Rusa... [This is the seal of Rusa]

Below: ¹Ar-giš-te-hi-ni-i „des Sohnes des Argišti“ [the son of Argišti].

The trident and lion symbols on the seal have been suggested as hieroglyphic characters. The seal is compared to a stamp seal of Sennacherib, which shows Sennachrib standing and a servant holding an umbrella. In front of the king instead of a lion there is a horse, standing on its hind legs.¹⁵²⁶

The stamp-cylinder seal impression in Bastam has a very similar or even the same scene. It is inscribed with two horizontal lines which frame the scene above and below: Of Rusa, son of Sarduri, seal of the ‘prince’.¹⁵²⁷

The iconography of the king and his servant who holds the umbrella is similar to the iconography of the Assyrian kings who are depicted on the Assyrian reliefs and ivories. Perhaps the Urartians borrowed the idea of the umbrella from the Assyrians. Umbrellas were used for the Assyrian kings since the ninth century BCE, in their chariots, on their thrones, and during their campaigns, to protect them from the heat of the sun. The umbrella is usually held by a beardless servant. The umbrella of Rusa is slightly different with its plumes, though such a plume is seen on Assyrian umbrellas since the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II, Tiglath-pileser, and Ashurbanipal.¹⁵²⁸

On a relief from Khorsabad Sargon II is depicted on his chariot in a mountainous area, on his way from Mannea to Musasir. He has an umbrella held by a servant in the chariot. It is more advanced than the umbrella of Rusa, since Sargon’s umbrella is foldable, with two stretchers (arm supports), and the outer surface of the canopy is decorated. Some motifs may represent decorated textile. It has a top cup, and the edges of the canopy are decorated with a saw-tooth motif. Perhaps the umbrella of Rusa was Assyrian in style, especially since the area was under Urartian control from Lake Van to Lake Urmia an area with mild weather compared to the hot summers of Assyria. Sargon’s servant on the way to Musasir used the umbrella to protect the king’s face from the sunlight¹⁵²⁹

Six cylinder seals were discovered in grave A12 in the so-called **Iron Age graveyard/Zagros Cemetery**. They date to the Iron Age and most of them are in Assyrian style. The Assyrian style standing archer is one of the motifs on Neo-Assyrian seals found on three seals of the Zagros Cemetery. On one the archer hunts a wild goat/ibex, with a sacred tree in between.¹⁵³⁰ This is a well known Assyrian style and comparable to the scene of an

¹⁵²⁵Hellwag 2012: 208.

¹⁵²⁶Hellwag 2012: 210; Mitchell & Searight 2008: p.104f.

¹⁵²⁷The stamp of the seal of Rusa also has a lion similar to the lion of the cylinder part of the seal, see Collon 1987: p.87, no.401.

¹⁵²⁸Botta and Flandin 1972: pls.113, 161; Barnett 1975: fig. 45; Barnett & Falkner 1962: pl.VIII; Mallowan & Davies 1970: pl.XX, 69.

¹⁵²⁹Botta and Flandin 1972: pls.113, 161.

¹⁵³⁰Amelirad et al., 2012: p.55, pl.22.1.

archer hunting on one of the Assyrian style seals of Hasanlu.¹⁵³¹ On the second seal the archer hunts a horned serpent/coiled snake (*mušhuššu* head), again with a sacred tree.¹⁵³² This is a common scene on the Assyrian seals, and one found on a seal from Hasanlu. On the third seal the archer hunts what seems like a winged horse.¹⁵³³ Hunting winged horses by archers is also depicted on Assyrian seals, such as one from Layard's excavations at Nineveh (BM ME 89419) with an archer hunting a single-horned winged horse. The seal of the Zagros Cemetery shows the horse turning around about to flee, different from the seal from Nineveh.¹⁵³⁴ A fourth seal shows a galloping horse standing on its hind legs and an ibex. Above them there is a crescent and a star with eight points. The motifs and iconography are similar to the iconography and the motifs of the seal impression of Yasin Tepe in Sharezur (Yasin Tepe is ca. 200km away from the Zagros Cemetery, see below). The fifth seal has a row of ostriches spreading their wings, and can be compared with several Assyrian seals with this motif, and the different ostriches on the seal of Urzana (see above).¹⁵³⁵ The sixth seal has a geometric design like some Hasanlu seals,¹⁵³⁶ and simply decorated Mitannian seals.

A local stamp seal discovered in grave no.10 in **Kul Tarike** is decorated with an abstract bowlegged creature in a frame. The back of the seal is carved with a head of a dancing person who wears what might be a crown.¹⁵³⁷

The well-known cylinder seal of **Urzana**, king of the land of **Musasir**, till now is the only known cylinder seal from Iron Age Musasir. The seal was acquired at the end of the 18th century by the Austrian ambassador Count Josef Peter von Schwachstein/Graf von Schwachheim in Istanbul, and then by Dr. Wilhelm Dorow. In 1825 the seal was purchased by Baron van Zuylen van Nijvelt.¹⁵³⁸ It is one of the earliest Near Eastern seals to have reached Europe.¹⁵³⁹ It reached the Cabinet des Médailles in The Hague in the Netherlands,¹⁵⁴⁰ and then became part of the Koninklijk Penningkabinet's collection at The Hague.¹⁵⁴¹ After that it was stored in the Geldmuseum in Utrecht, and now its exhibited in "Rijksmuseum van Oudheden" the National Museum of Antiquities of the Netherlands at Leiden.¹⁵⁴²

¹⁵³¹ Marcus 1996: Table 20, fig.65.

¹⁵³² Amelirad et al., 2012: pl.22.2.

¹⁵³³ Amelirad et al., 2012: pl.22.3.

¹⁵³⁴ Collon 2008: p.235, fig.28-d.

¹⁵³⁵ Collon 1987: 97, no.354, p.84, no. 384-385.

¹⁵³⁶ Marcus 1996: pl.14, figs. 33-35.

¹⁵³⁷ Rezvani & Roustaei 2007: pl.19.b.

¹⁵³⁸ For the details see van Ginkle, E., (ed.): 2009:36. According to Dorow the seal of Urzana "was found before 1820, and is said to come from the mound at Nineveh." (Albenda 2004: 99, note 49). Perhaps the seal was touring antiquity markets during 18th-19th centuries, which is the period of the early discoveries in Nineveh. Perhaps the seller claimed that the seal was found at Nineveh to make the purchasers happier and willing to pay more for it.

¹⁵³⁹ Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952:38, no. 148; van Ginkle, E., (ed.), 2009:36; Collon 1994:37.

¹⁵⁴⁰ van Ginkle, (ed.) 2009:36; Menant 1878: 54ff.; Collon 1994:37; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952:38, no.148.

¹⁵⁴¹ Radner 2012b: 246, note.32.

¹⁵⁴² I thank Lucas Petit, Curator of the Department of Ancient Near East in "Rijksmuseum van Oudheden" the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, and Janneke van Esch, the collection manager of the Geldmuseum in Utrecht for their kind support, providing me with high quality images of the seal of Urzana.

A cylinder seal in Neo-Assyrian style of unknown provenance has become one of the well known seals among scholars, not only because of its Assyrian iconography.¹⁵⁴³ But also because it bears a long inscription proving that it was the seal of Urzana, the king of Musasir.¹⁵⁴⁴ On the basis of its design and appearance Collon suggests that it is likely that the seal had been acquired by Urzana in Assyria. According to her it may have originated in a workshop of a seal cutter at Nineveh.¹⁵⁴⁵

The seal of Urzana is one of the few Neo-Assyrian style seals of this type which bear an inscription. Collon says all Assyrian uninscribed seals in this category are dated on the basis of the inscribed seal of Urzana. A rare exception is an Assyrian cylinder seal in the British Museum, which according to Collon “*is very likely to have originated in the same workshop as Urzana’s seal.*” She adds “*This workshop is probably to be situated at Nineveh where a close parallel for Urzana’s seal has been found.*”¹⁵⁴⁶ The rarity of inscribed Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals supports the idea that the Assyrian style seal of Urzana was later inscribed for him in Musasir, perhaps by a local seal cutter who had poor experience in adding a cuneiform inscription to a seal. The inscription is not written in the correct format for seals.

By contrast the iconography of the seal of Urzana is of the “highest quality” Neo-Assyrian style.¹⁵⁴⁷ It shows a standing four-winged bearded genie, facing right, clutching/throttling two ostriches. Each ostrich turns its head back and opens its beak. The genie wears a fringed tunic tied with a belt, its lower part opened from the front, and decorated with dotted squares in a “criss-cross pattern.”¹⁵⁴⁸ (Fig. 3.24.a).

A closely parallel ostrich scene is on the seal from Nineveh, IM 67880, a scene of winged genies capturing ostriches that open their wings, but their tails are larger. The genie on the seal of Nineveh is taller and has a longer beard than the one on the Urzana seal. There is less detail of his dress and he is throttling the ostriches high on their necks but on the seal of Urzana the genie grasps the middle of their necks.¹⁵⁴⁹ Another seal shows a winged genie fighting two winged single horned horses.¹⁵⁵⁰

These types of seal date to the 8th century BCE. Interestingly, the measurements of both seals are similar; the seal of Urzana is 4.85 x 2.2 cm; the seal of Nineveh is a little smaller, 4.2 x 2.0 cm.¹⁵⁵¹ There are not many Neo-Assyrian seals with measurements around 4.0cms x 2.0cms. The similar measurements and similar iconography though differing in several details persuade Albenda that perhaps they originated in the same seal-cutter’s workshop at Nineveh,¹⁵⁵² with the inscription added later in Musasir.

¹⁵⁴³The style of this seal is comparable to some Assyrian seals; its carving style is considered Assyrian rather than the simpler linear style of the Urartian seals. For instance see Azarpay 1968: 46, 106, note.157.

¹⁵⁴⁴For the details of the inscription see Collon 1994: 37; Radner 2012b: 247.

¹⁵⁴⁵Collon 1994:37-38, pl.4.1.2, 4.1.3; Collon 1987: no.348, 350.

¹⁵⁴⁶Collon 1994: 38, pl.4.1.2, 4.1.3; Collon 1987: no.348, 350.

¹⁵⁴⁷van Ginkle, (ed.) 2009:36; Collon 1994:37.

¹⁵⁴⁸Ostriches appear in Assyrian art, on other seals, and the wall painting at Dur-Katlimmu during the Assyrian period. Albenda 2005:29, Fig.5c; Collon 1987: 77,87, no. 405; Collon 1994:37; Radner 2012b: 247; Albenda 2004: 99.

¹⁵⁴⁹Wartke 1993: Abb. 16.

¹⁵⁵⁰Collon 1987: 363.

¹⁵⁵¹Collon 1987: 77, 87; van Ginkle, (ed.) 2009:36.

¹⁵⁵²Albenda 2004:99.



a. Fig. 3.24.a. The seal of Urzana and its impression (photo by Janneke van Esch, Geldmuseum, Utrecht).

That the iconography of the seal is completely Assyrian is generally agreed,¹⁵⁵³ a good example of Assyrian craftsmanship.¹⁵⁵⁴ But different opinions are proposed concerning its origin. One is that it “*may have been an official Assyrian gift to Urzana*”.¹⁵⁵⁵ However, Roaf proposes that the seal later in 714 BCE “*might have been amongst the booty taken by Sargon*” to Assyria.¹⁵⁵⁶ There are objections to this suggestion. We know from the annals of Sargon, that the Assyrians had taken much booty from Musasir, so they would hardly frisk the pockets of Urzana for his seal, especially one with an inscription making him the only owner with no attempt to erase it. The eighth campaign of Sargon II records that Urzana’s family was taken hostage and thousands of his people were deported to Assyria, but Urzana was allowed to stay in position, reinstalled by Sargon as ruler of Musasir.¹⁵⁵⁷

There is no evidence that relations became deeper between Assyria and Musasir after the eighth campaign had started, but now Urzana owed his position to Sargon.¹⁵⁵⁸ It has been suggested that the seal of Urzana was not used as a royal seal, but as a jewel or symbol of rank or an amulet.¹⁵⁵⁹ This theory is based on the fact that the text on the stone of the seal is carved like an inscription, not as a mirror image. Rolling this seal onto wet clay would produce a mirror image of the intended text.¹⁵⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the iconography of the seal shows that it was carved by an experienced Assyrian seal cutter. The inscription is placed in the space between the two birds, strong evidence that it was added later.¹⁵⁶¹

¹⁵⁵³ Collon 1987: 86.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Radner 2012b: 247.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Radner 2012b: 247. Although, there is no evidence concerning to this suggestion that the seal of Urzana is “*an official Assyrian gift to Urzana*” as some scholars suggests, this hypothesis based on the iconography of the seal and its Assyrian style, it’s not shows any specific features that this is an official seal. In addition, the Assyrian seal styles generally exist in the Northern Zagros and Urartu, as an example there are Assyrian style seals uncovered from Hasanlu (Marcus 1996: 114, Fig.81-91.).

¹⁵⁵⁶ Roaf 2012a: 207, note 75.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Lie 1929: 26-29; II: 149-165; Thureau-Dangin, TCL III, 1912: 346-353.

¹⁵⁵⁸ For the details of the Assyrians correspondence with Urzana, as an example see SAA 1 30; SAA V 187.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Radner 2012b: 247, note. 33; Collon 1994:37; Collon 1987: 87, 405. Also for more information about *lamassu* as a precious or protective stone ‘amulet stone,’ etc. See CAD L, p. 61ff; Foxvog, et al., 1983: 453; van Ginkle, (ed.) 2009: 36f.

¹⁵⁶⁰ van Ginkle, (ed.) 2009:36.

¹⁵⁶¹ A similar example is the inscription on the Horēn-Shekhān rock relief (east of Diyala/Sirwan River), another local Zagrosian work, which dates back to the early second millennium BCE. Here also, the sculptor carved the

The layout of the inscription on the seal is “somewhat anomalous.”¹⁵⁶² The seven lines are in two framed panels. According to Collon the inscriptions of the two panels might have been “incised at the same time,” and “cut by the same hand.”¹⁵⁶³ Although, there is agreement among the scholars, that probably the inscription had been cut by a specialist craftsman, they do not mention whether the craftsman cut the outlines of the frames or not.

According to Collon the inscription was not completed as originally planned. A panel had been widened by erasing the line of a frame to accommodate longer lines of text, and in the second panel the last line is left blank, although the break between the two panels in the inscription comes in a logical place.¹⁵⁶⁴ Very probably the inscription was added to the seal later by local Musasirian seal cutter, who had no good experience in adding long cuneiform inscriptions to a seal with restricted and irregular space. That is why he failed to stretch the text into the eighth line.

Collon says it is one of the longest and most informative seal inscriptions of the period.¹⁵⁶⁵ The first panel has three horizontal lines, and the second also has three lines, with what may be the fourth line between the panels outside the frames near the ostriches’ tails, and cut by the same hand as the other lines.¹⁵⁶⁶ Radner considers that this line was carved before the two framed inscriptions.¹⁵⁶⁷ It was because the frames were carved before the inscription, that there is a blank space at the end. There is no evidence that the unframed line was added before the other three lines above it in the first frame. Very probably this line was added after the other lines by the same seal cutter. There is no reason for choosing the narrowest space between the tails of the birds to add what Radner considers the first line, but can be taken as the fourth. The seal cutter had other spaces available, so why choose the one between the tails of the ostriches. This line was not inscribed before the two framed panels, that it is not the first line. It is actually the fourth line, or even perhaps added later.

Collon noticed that “*there are differences in the way the sign -sir- has been cut in the second and fourth lines but the craftsman had a higher space available in the second line and had space for four horizontals, whereas in the fourth line he had to title the initial wedges to fit them into the narrower space available*”¹⁵⁶⁸ The other irregularity in the inscription is the placing of the shortest line, the line between the tails of the ostriches, where there was

inscription in framed panels; but some of the panels were left empty and the second panel without inscription and drew lines. (See Fig. 4 a). Similarly, the Middle Bronze inscription of Horēn-Shekhan includes several mistakes in recording of some of the signs, which probably that the sculptor as Postgate and Roaf suggested was copying the text from a very poor preserved transcription (Postgate & Roaf 1997: 146). Perhaps it means, probably that the writer/sculptor did not have experience, in carving cuneiform inscriptions, it more probably, that the sculptor of Horēn-Shekhan rock relief, could not read the cuneiform inscription i.e. he was illiterate, so that, it might be he drew the signs of the text, which have been written by some on a tablet. Although, still the inscription well preserved, but the problem is, that some of the signs does not carved in its standard/regular way, which made/make confusing for those scholars who read this inscription (see Fig.4 a-b). For the details see Postgate & Roaf 1997:143-154; Edmonds 1966: 159, pl. XLVII; Ahmad 2012: 62, 79, 9.

¹⁵⁶² Collon 1994:37.

¹⁵⁶³ Collon 1994:37; Collon1987:87,405; Radner 2012b: 246; Thureau-Dangin, TCL III, 1912: XII.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Collon 1994:37f.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Collon 1994:37.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Collon 1994:37.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Radner 2012b: 247.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Collon 1994:38.

insufficient space for it, instead of in the blank space in the lower panel.¹⁵⁶⁹ Collon says it was because the inscription cutter/the scribe “wished to make absolutely clear the distinction between this separate text and the main inscription.”¹⁵⁷⁰ The signs of the last three lines in the second frame are smaller and sharper than the signs in the first four lines. Collon suggests that “the inscription could have been carved by an Assyrian, on a seal captured at Musasir, but it is more likely that Urzana, having acquired his seal in Assyria, subsequently had it inscribed, according to Urartian custom, with his name and title; the punning addition is an unusual elaboration.”¹⁵⁷¹

The inscription has been transliterated and translated in different ways with various restorations (fig. 3.24. b). Thureau-Dangin read the inscription as follows:¹⁵⁷²

*Kunuk*¹Ur-za-na, šar^{âl}Mu-ša-šir, âl âribi, ša kîma širi, ina šade-e limnûti^{pl}, pî-šu pi-tu-u.

*Seal of Urzana king of the city Musasir, city of raven, which, like a snake, in the hostile mountains, its mouth is open.*¹⁵⁷³

Thureau-Dangin suggested another reading for lines 2-3: šar^{âl}Mu-ša-šir u | âl Ú-ab-(?)-ti (roi de Musasir et d’Ubatî) King of the city Musasir (and) the city Ubatî.¹⁵⁷⁴ Another reading proposed by M. de Laigre Bühl as âl lumri (GA.ŠIR) / (GA.NU-x.MUŠEN) – “the city of the ostrich.”¹⁵⁷⁵ Another reading of the third line published in (Collon 1987) is¹⁵⁷⁶ “an Urartian (?) city,” later Collon published another reading for the same line in (Collon 1994) as: (URU ú-ra!-as-ti) “a city of Urartu.”¹⁵⁷⁷ The most recent reading of the inscription published by Radner. She prefers:¹⁵⁷⁸

NA₄.KIŠIB^{PN}Ur-za-na²LUGAL KUR.Mu-ša-šir³URU.Ú.NAGA¹ MUŠEN⁴ ša GIM MUŠ⁵ina KUR-e HUL.MEŠ⁶KA-šú pe-tu-u.

Seal of Urzana, the king of Musasir, the city of the raven, of which, like a snake in difficult mountains, the mouth is open.

In line 2 Radner read Musasir with the KUR determinative, but in line 3 the city has the URU sign. What Radner reads as KUR in line 2 is similar to what she reads as URU in line 3, and different from what she reads as KUR in line 5. We consider that Musasir is prefixed with URU in line 2.¹⁵⁷⁹ Radner suggests (Ú.NAGA¹ MUŠEN¹) for line 3, in that generally she

¹⁵⁶⁹ Collon 1994:38.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Collon 1994:38.

¹⁵⁷¹ Collon 1994:38.

¹⁵⁷² TCL III: XII.

¹⁵⁷³ TCL III: XII.

¹⁵⁷⁴ TCL III: XII.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952:38, no.148.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Collon 1987: 87, no. 405.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Collon 1994:37.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Radner 2012b: 247, note 34.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Professor van Soldt has drawn my attention to the fact that this sign URU is similar to the URU in the third line. For the differences between the signs URU and KUR during the Neo-Assyrian period see Labat, and Malbran-Labat, 1988: 38, 366.

follows Thureau-Dangin in his *āl āribi* (UGU.MUŠEN) - “the city of the crow/the city of raven”.¹⁵⁸⁰



Fig.3.24. b.The seal of Urzana and its impression (Photo by Janneke van Esch, Geldmuseum, Utrecht).

Local inhabitants from Mdjeser village found a big jar,¹⁵⁸¹ with an impression of a stamp seal on its shoulder. It was made by a round stamp of baked clay 3 cm. in diameter. It shows a tree at the centre with three outgrowing branches, one to the right, one to the left, and one upwards. From each branch there are offshoots terminating in small granulations, probably representing fruit (Fig. 3.25. a-c).

If we look for a parallel we find that Urartian jars occasionally bear stamp seal impressions,¹⁵⁸² but for the impression on the jar of Mdjeser, I know no exact parallel among the Urartian stamps. This impression is larger than most Urartian stamp impressions and Urartian stamp-cylinder seals. Also, the late Assyrian stamp seal impressions are smaller than the seal impression.¹⁵⁸³ It seems that the stamp seals of the 8th-7th centuries in Urartu,¹⁵⁸⁴

¹⁵⁸⁰*TCL* III: XII; Collon 1994: 38; Radner 2012b: 247. For further details about interpreting this line see Roaf 2012a: 207, note 75. Radner 2012b: 247; Rashid (1978): lines, 3, 31, 37, 41; 48; 49; 51; 55. For more details and a new interpretation of the author for this line and the relation of raven to the city of Musasir see Chapter III, the city of Musasir. Also see Marf 2014: 13-29.

¹⁵⁸¹A personal communication with Abdolwahab Soleiman, the director of Soran antiquities, who kindly gave the author permission to study the jar and its impression. The large jar has a trace of bitumen on its rim and inner surface, so that it probably contained bitumen or liquids; for details see further below.

¹⁵⁸²Kroll, et al., (eds.) 2012: 37.

¹⁵⁸³The royal Assyrian stamp impressions on bulla or dockets are a type of stamp. From the reign of Shalmaneser III to the reign of Assur-etil-ilani they were used by the official signatory. These stamps usually show a lion being attacked with dagger by the Assyrian king. One example is 27 mm in diameter (see Mallowan 1966: vol.1, 181, Fig.116); also see conoid-knob stamp seal from Balawat (Marcus 1996: pl.43 a; Mallowan 1966: vol.1: 189, fig.116).

Musasir, the Northern Zagros,¹⁵⁸⁵ and Assyria agree in one point of the scene, a single figure or an animal, and sometimes vegetation with the animal.¹⁵⁸⁶ Therefore the Mdjaser stamp seal impression can hesitantly be described as classical Urartian in style.¹⁵⁸⁷ The plant suggests the Urartian sacred tree on seal impressions and metalwork.¹⁵⁸⁸ In iconography it probably represents a rare local style of Musasir, but we are unable to identify the owner of the seal. He/she may have been an official or priest of the temple of Haldi in Musasir,¹⁵⁸⁹ as with other Urartian seal impressions on ceramic.¹⁵⁹⁰

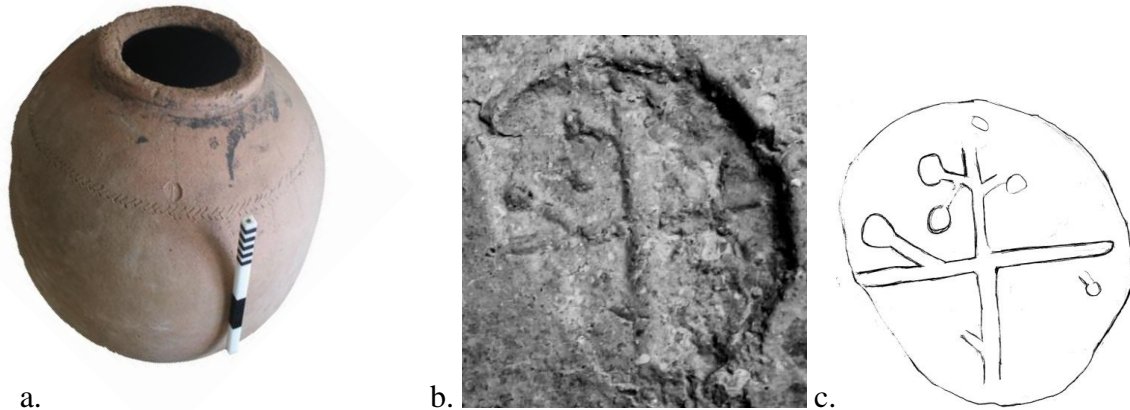


Fig. 3.25. a-c. The jar of Mdjaser with a stamp seal impression on its shoulder. (Photo and drawing by the author).

The Iron Age sites where seals or seal impressions were discovered are between the Lower Zab and the Upper Diyala (Sirwan) rivers, part of Zamua during the Neo-Assyrian period. An

¹⁵⁸⁴For further details of the scenes on the Urartian stamp seals, see Ter-Martirosov 2009:128, fig.2; Ter-Martirosov 2012: pl.IIc; Kroll 2012: pl.IIc); for heads of the Urartian stamp-cylinder seals see an example in Collon 1987: 87, 401;402; Özdem 2003: 145-154; van Loon 1966:156-157.

¹⁵⁸⁵ For the Northern Zagros seals (especially Hasanlu) see Marcus 1996:103ff. fig. 49-52.

¹⁵⁸⁶Ter-Martirosov 2009:128, Fig.2; Ter-Martirosov 2012: pl.IIc; Kroll 2012: pl.IIc; Marcus 1996: PL.43 a, 103 ff, fig.49-52; Mallowan 1966: 189, Fig.116; Collon 1987: 87, 401;402; Özdem 2003:145-154; van Loon 1966:156-157.

¹⁵⁸⁷ van Loon 1966: fig.20, G1, G2.

¹⁵⁸⁸van Loon 1966:156-157, fig.19; Batmaz 2012b: 39-50; see also, Azarpay 1968: 45-46, 105, note.156.

¹⁵⁸⁹The traits which support identifying the seal as a temple seal include the traces of bitumen, and what might be depiction of a sacred tree. The bitumen jar of Mdjaser might be similar to that of Ayanis, both related to rituals. The jar of Ayanis was found in the temple (Cilingiroğlu 2011: 354), and the jar of Mdjaser in a possible area for the Haldi temple (for further details see Marf, D.A. (forthcoming), 2016 “Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012),” in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) Forthcoming. *The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress). Bitumen could have been used as a fuel in the temple at Musasir in the cold winters or for ritual purposes and the jar was temple property, since 17 column bases were found in Mdjaser near the place where the jar was found; for further details see Marf 2014: 13-29; and Chapter IV, 4.2.

¹⁵⁹⁰For the details concerning the stamp seal impressions on jars in the Urartian period, see Ter-Martirosov 2009:128, Fig.2.

Assyrian cylinder seal now in the Ashmolean was bought in Sulaimania. It may have been found around **Sulaimania**, since it reached the Ashmolean before 1920, or it may have been taken to Sulaimania to be sold. It is inscribed “*Seal of Nabû-shar-usur, the ...-official of Adad-nirari[III].*”¹⁵⁹¹ The seal depicts Ishtar on her throne on a lion. Another symbol in front of her is perhaps Marduk on *mušhuššu*. Two worshippers are dressed like Assyrian officials. There are two symbols in the space above. One is the well known winged disk with a bearded man, and the other is a similar bearded man inside a radiating disk of sun.

During the second season of the excavation at **Satu Qala**, a typical ninth century Assyrian cylinder seal was discovered. A bearded archer kneels on his left knee and stretches his right leg forwards. He is dressed as an Assyrian hunting a griffin. It has a lion’s body, eagle’s head and wings, and attacks the archer with its left front paw. The spaces are filled with a lozenge, palmetto, star, crescent, solar disc, and rhomb. The scene is framed with two parallel bands of geometric zigzag motif above and below. Such a geometrical motif is common on ninth century Assyrian cylinder seals and glazed bricks, and a similar motif is depicted on an Assyrian glazed brick from Satu Qala itself.

The seal is like Assyrian seals found in the Assyrian capitals and at Hasanlu.¹⁵⁹² It has been compared with a Neo-Assyrian style seal from Hasanlu (seal no.69), the seal considered by Marcus as one of the “Provincial Assyrian styles” of Hasanlu. That seal of Hasanlu is more abstract in style than the seal of Satu Qala.¹⁵⁹³ Seal no.58 has a similar scene to the seal of Satu Qala.¹⁵⁹⁴ Moreover, among the Assyrian style seals from Hasanlu there are other seals with similar motifs. Seal no.61 depicts a similar griffin.¹⁵⁹⁵ A bearded archer hunts a griffin on a seal from the territory of Sulaimania, to the north east or east of Satu Qala. The headdress of the archer has a long head band, and his beard is long and pointed. The griffin is also similar, except for some details of the head and the outline. That is perhaps because of the different type of stone or the different seal cutter.¹⁵⁹⁶

The griffin on the seal of **Sleman museum** has a lion’s body with its tail hanging behind its legs, but the Satu Qala griffin has the body of a horse, with its tail hanging between its legs. The motifs filling the spaces are similar. The rhombs are over the back of the griffin. On the seal of Satu Qala the crescent is over the space between the archer and the griffin but the seal of Slemani has no space there so the crescent is placed above the wings and head of the griffin. Slemani has no palmetto or star motifs, and its frame is two simple horizontal lines, one above and the other below. Perhaps both seals were made in the same workshops or by artists within the same school of seal cutters. The one from Satu Qala may have been made for the ruler since it shares many similarities in style and iconography with motifs on Assyrian bas reliefs. The Slemani seal also dates to the ninth century BCE.¹⁵⁹⁷

Many years before the discovery of Idu Marcus was right in assuming that Ashurnasirpal II used Assyrian artisans to decorate his palace in Zamua in *Atlila/Dur-Ashur*, and that

¹⁵⁹¹ Collon 1987: 554; Baker 2001: 874-879.

¹⁵⁹² van Soldt 2013: 204., fig.15; Marcus 1996: 44-45

¹⁵⁹³ Marcus 1996: fig.91, no.69.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Marcus 1996: fig.80, no.58.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Marcus 1996: fig.83, no.61.

¹⁵⁹⁶ That seal reached Slemani museum (SM 2640) from local antiquity dealers. Marf 2007:209ff, pl.68, fig.68a.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Marf 2007: Pl.68, fig.125a.

Assyrian seal cutters were with him “to furnish seals for local administration” there.¹⁵⁹⁸ He gave several possibilities about how Assyrian style seals reached Hasanlu, such as local artists copying Assyrian seals, or Assyrian artists carving them in Hasanlu.¹⁵⁹⁹ These hypotheses are possible, but we should not forget that small seals are easily taken from place to place and are transferred by inheritance. If some Assyrian and Assyrian style seals are related to commercial and administrative transactions those were made in Assyrian workshops in Nineveh for Zagrosian merchants or Assyrians employed in the Zagros.

In the **Louvre** there is a cylinder seal (AO 1511) very similar to the seals of Satu Qala and Slemani museum. It shows an archer (a winged bearded genie) and a griffin, as well as rhombs, a star and a palmetto in the spaces. There are two other symbols, the Sibittu (seven stars or dots) and the winged disc. All the subjects and the motifs are carved in a very abstract style, perhaps one used after the ninth century BCE. It is one of the Neo-Babylonian seals influenced by Assyrian seals. Collon says “*this cut style is used for scenes which have their counterparts on 9th century BC Neo-Assyrian linear style seal.*”(fig. 3.26.a)¹⁶⁰⁰



a. Fig.3.26.a. Impression of the cylinder seal of Satu Qala (after van Soldt, et al. 2013: fig.15).

A potsherd found at **Yasin Tepe** has a cylinder seal impression of a mountain goat or ibex with a single-horned horse. The space above the horse is filled with an eight pointed star.¹⁶⁰¹ It is paralleled by a cylinder seal in the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago (OIM-A.17647.00),¹⁶⁰² also executed in the Cut Style. That seal shows row of animals with astral symbols. Both seals date to the Iron Age Neo-Assyrian period.¹⁶⁰³ An eight pointed star appears on some Assyrian seals, including those found in the Assyrian heartland.¹⁶⁰⁴ A seal from Nimrud has a similar ibex.¹⁶⁰⁵

¹⁵⁹⁸Marcus 1996: 48.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Marcus 1996:47.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Collon 1987: p.80, no.363.

¹⁶⁰¹Altaweel, et al., 2012: p.26; fig.16:5.

¹⁶⁰² Altaweel, et al., 2012: fig.16:5.

¹⁶⁰³ Altaweel, et al., 2012: p.26.

¹⁶⁰⁴Collon 2001: Pl.VI. fig.68; al-Gailani 2008:155-162; Marcus 1996: figs. 79, 87-89; Collon 2001: pl. III, fig. 27; pl. VI, fig.68.

¹⁶⁰⁵See Parker 1962: pl.X, fig.4.

A ceramic cylinder seal decorated with unclear motifs was found in level I in the courtyard of the palace of **Tell ed-Dem**.¹⁶⁰⁶

Beyond the Zagros at **Marlik** several seals were discovered, including Mittanian and Middle Assyrian seals.¹⁶⁰⁷ A Middle Assyrian cylinder seal discovered has a fragmentary inscription, perhaps to be read as “*Adad ? X? ilisu the Temple of the god? X,*”¹⁶⁰⁸

The vassal treaty between Esarhaddon and the Medes was perhaps made in the Assyrian court or one of the Assyrian temples in Nineveh or more probably in Ashur. The Median vassal leaders did not use their seals because they were treated as subjects of the Assyrian king, not as equals. Moreover, the seals used on the vassal treaty were traditional historical seals of the Assyrian royal family. One was the seal of a god usually kept in the temple. The seal of Sennacherib which was used was inscribed with a curse, a rare feature for seals. That seal may have been a monumental seal, echoing the inscriptions of Sennacherib’s monumental rock reliefs and other Assyrian rock reliefs and steles in Zagros that usually end with curses on anyone who destroys or erases or changes it.¹⁶⁰⁹

At **Nush-i Jan** a badly preserved Neo-Assyrian stamp seal was found, showing a cow suckling a calf, and a star in the background.¹⁶¹⁰ Such suckling cows appear on ivory plaques discovered in room 10 at the Fort of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud.¹⁶¹¹

The **museum of Erbil** has some stamp seals found by local people from different local territories. The author has studied the collection of stamp and cylinder seals in the museum. It includes a knob-stamp seal very similar in shape to one of the knob-stamp seals from Hasanlu.¹⁶¹² Marcus took the one from Hasanlu to belong to the group she called “*Other Iranian Styles*”.¹⁶¹³ The scene on the Erbil museum seal is different from the seal of Hasanlu. It shows the head of an animal (probably a dog) on a small platform decorated with vertical lines (fig.3.26.b).



Fig. 3.26.b. A knob-stamp seal and its modern impression Erbil museum. (Photo by the author).

¹⁶⁰⁶ Al-Tikrity 1960: p. 109, pl. 11.

¹⁶⁰⁷ For further details about the discovered seals in Marlik see Negahban 1996: vol.I, pp.205-215.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Negahban 1996: 212.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Wiseman 1958: p.15; for further details concerning the iconography of the deities on the seal of Sennacherib and the rock reliefs of Sennacherib in the Zagros, see the discussion of Assyrian rock reliefs on the Zagros mountains in this chapter.

¹⁶¹⁰ Stronach 2008: p.834, Pl.40b.

¹⁶¹¹ For instance see Herrmann, et al. 2004: pl.17.

¹⁶¹² Marcus 1996: figs.51-52, No.26, and No.27.

¹⁶¹³ Marcus 1996: p.

Several scenes, motifs and elements on Assyrian seals are similar to those on metal work from the Zagros. These are discussed in other chapters, and include depictions of Gilgamesh, Enkidu and Humbaba (see Chapter II, 2.4).¹⁶¹⁴

During a recent survey by a German team north of Nineveh, near the lower ranges of the Zagros at **Tell Bassetki** to the west of Duhok, an Assyrian style cylinder seal was found. It is dated to the 9th century BCE and depicts a kneeling bearded figure hunting a bird with a scimitar. The scene can be compared to ones on Assyrian seals from Nimrud and Khorsabad.¹⁶¹⁵

A recent excavation by the Directorate of Antiquities of Duhok at **Tell Semil** revealed remains of an Assyrian palace which had been built by Shalmaneser III. Several Middle and Neo-Assyrian seals also discovered there are not yet published.¹⁶¹⁶

¹⁶¹⁴See Chapter II, 2.4.

¹⁶¹⁵For further details see Pfälzner and Sconzo 2015:114f, fig.28.

¹⁶¹⁶Personal communication with Mr. Hassan A. Qasim, the head of the team.

3.6. Ivories in Assyria and the Northern Zagros

Ivories were the finest type of art of the ancient Near East, appearing first during the second millennium BCE in Mari, Elam and Ashur.¹⁶¹⁷ Iron Age ivories have been discovered elsewhere, such as Assyria, the Northern Zagros, Syria, Phoenicia, the Levant, Anatolia, and Urartu.

On Assyrian reliefs and Assyrian ivory plaques elephant tusks feature among the gifts, tribute and booty from defeated enemies, as on the throne base reliefs of Shlamaneser III and on ivory plaques from Nimrud.¹⁶¹⁸ The Black Obelisk of Shlamaneser III shows that a live elephant was taken from Egypt to the Assyrian court as gift or tribute.¹⁶¹⁹ Raw ivory and partly made ivory items were found in wells AB and AJ in Nimrud. Safar and al-Iraqi take this as evidence of ivory workshops in the Assyrian capitals.¹⁶²⁰

Those bringing the ivory to Assyria come mainly from the west, although Mallowan hesitantly proposed that some on the Assyrian ivory plaques were “Medes?”.¹⁶²¹ But they wore shoes with upturned toes (as worn by mountain dwellers), and their dress was not the typical Zagrosian dress of Medes as depicted on the Assyrian reliefs of Khorsabad. Metal reliefs said to come from Ziwiye show a delegation bringing something like long stag horns. Because some of these horns are smooth they could perhaps represent ivory tusks. Some of the tribute bearers on ivories from Nimrud, considered by Mallowan as Medes, can be compared with the figures on the bronze container of the treasure of Ziwiye.¹⁶²² Their dress is different from the dress of the Medes and of the Manneans shown on later Assyrian reliefs from the reign of Sargon II at Khorsabad.¹⁶²³ It is closer to the dress of the people of Gilzanu seen on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, who hold similar offerings.¹⁶²⁴ Both the ivory and the Black Obelisk date to the 9th century BCE, when Gilzanu occurs often in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III.¹⁶²⁵

According to the Assyrian annals, the Assyrians mainly received ivory objects and raw ivories from the west, from **Syria, Phoenicia and the Levant**. In the annals of Tukultī-Ninurta II, Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III, Adad-narari III, Tiglath-pileser III and Shamshi-Adad V there are many details about ivory booty, tribute or gifts from the west and western parts of the Assyrian empire.¹⁶²⁶ Sennacherib claims that at Nineveh he received from

¹⁶¹⁷Muscarella 1980b: 210; Parrot 1961: fig.327, fig.329.

¹⁶¹⁸Mallowan & Davies 1970: pl.XXIX, fig.100.

¹⁶¹⁹Barnett 1975: fig.46.

¹⁶²⁰Safar & al-Iraqi 1987:12; Mallowan & Davies 1970: 7.

¹⁶²¹Mallowan 1966: 250—251.

¹⁶²²Mallowan 1966: 250; Mallowan & Davies 1970: 14; Godard 1950: figs.4-5; We have to bear in mind that the objects which are said come from Ziwiye reached the museums from antiquity markets, and it is uncertain whether they are genuine.

¹⁶²³Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 145; Albenda 18=986: pl.126, Room 2, slab 22. For further details about the Zagrosian costumes see the section 3.9 below in this chapter.

¹⁶²⁴For the depiction of the tribute holders of Gilzanu, see Barnett 1975: fig. 49; for the tribute holders on the Nimrud ivory see Mallowan 1966: 250.

¹⁶²⁵Gilzanu brought gold, silver, and bronze objects as tribute to the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II while he was camping in Kirruri (RIMA II A.0.101.17: i 79-81a.), and also gave Shalmaneser III teams of two-humped camels and horses as tribute. (RIMA III A.0.102.2: 33b-40a).

¹⁶²⁶RIMA II A.0.100.5: 64b-73a; RIMA III: A.0.101.1: 118b-125a; A.10.1: 95; A.0.102.3: 98; A.0.104.8: 15-21; ARAB I 769; ARAB II 18; Barnett 1975: 114.

Hezekiah of Jerusalem “*couches of ivory, house chairs of ivory, elephant hide, and ivory (lit., elephant’s “teeth”).*...”¹⁶²⁷ Once Sennacherib took ivories from Babylon.¹⁶²⁸

Once Sargon II took ivory items from the Northern Zagros, from Musasir. His records suggest that Musasir was one of the richest cities for ivory objects in the Northern Zagros and Urartu, saying that in Musasir he took: “*the treasure-(houses), overflowing with heaped-up stores, I broke open the seals of their treasure.*”¹⁶²⁹

Those treasures included several ivory objects: “*ivory staves, ... ivory “baskets for vegetables,” “drinking-cups.”*”¹⁶³⁰ “*1 ivory couch,*” “*139 ivory staves, ivory tables, ivory vegetable baskets, ivory daggers, poniards of ivory....*”¹⁶³¹ Sargon took these ivories and other treasures from the temple, palace and the houses of Musasir palace and temple in Musasir.¹⁶³²

In the Assyrian heartland ivories have been discovered at Ashur, Nimrud and Khorsabad.¹⁶³³ The oldest known Assyrian ivories are dated to the Middle Assyrian period. They are ivory boxes and plaques discovered in a tomb in Ashur.¹⁶³⁴ Most ivories come from Nimrud, where hundreds of objects and fragments were discovered, more than from any other city in the Near East.¹⁶³⁵ The Nimrud ivories were found in the North-west Palace, the Nabû Temple, Fort Shalmaneser, some private houses on the Acropolis, and the palace of Adad-nirari III. At the fall of Nineveh, attacked by Medes and others these ivories were not plundered but thrown by the Assyrians into wells for safety, and even those damaged by fire were not completely destroyed.¹⁶³⁶

Ivory objects, unlike metal ones, cannot be melted down for reuse,¹⁶³⁷ which is why so many fragments were kept in storage rooms in the Assyrian palaces. Ivory was rare and expensive and found only in palaces, temples, or the houses of the elite. The few discovered in private houses on the so-called Acropolis of Nimrud are assumed to “*have been acquired at a relatively later period by wealthy merchants or courtiers from dismantled, damaged, or even looted furniture.*” The Nimrud ivories mainly date to the 9th century BCE, with a few to the 8th century BCE.¹⁶³⁸ They can be classified into three main types: Assyrian or Assyrianized, North Syrian, and Phoenician. They are distinguished by their styles of carving and particular motifs in iconography.¹⁶³⁹

¹⁶²⁷ARAB II 240.

¹⁶²⁸ARAB II 646.

¹⁶²⁹ARAB II 172.

¹⁶³⁰ARAB II 172.

¹⁶³¹ARAB II 173; also see Barnett, 1975: 114, 144.

¹⁶³²ARAB II 174.

¹⁶³³Outside the Assyrian heartland, and in Assyria in Til Basrsib, ivories have also been discovered; for further details see Bunnens 1997: 435-450.

¹⁶³⁴Feldman 2006: pp. 21-43, fig.3-4; Parrot 1961: fig.329.

¹⁶³⁵Safer & al-Iraqi 1978: 11.

¹⁶³⁶Mallowan & Davies 1970: 1.

¹⁶³⁷Wilkinson 1975: 10.

¹⁶³⁸Mallowan & Davies 1970: 7.

¹⁶³⁹The Phoenician ivories have many motifs from the art of New Kingdom Egypt; see Mallowan & Davies 1970: 12. North Syrian ivories have motifs from bas reliefs from Zinjirli, Carchemish and Tell Halaf; see Herrmann, et. al, 2009: 75-100; Herrmann & Laidlaw 2013. Assyrian and Assyrianized ivories have motifs from the Assyrian reliefs; see Herrmann, et al., 2009: 101-112; Mallowan 1978; Mallowan & Davies 1970; Herrmann, et al., 2009; Barnett 1975.

Some Syrian and Phoenician ivories could have been made in Assyria by craftsmen deported from their homelands, and Assyrian ivories by Assyrian or foreign craftsmen. Raw ivory was brought from Phoenicia or Syria and carved in the style of a craftsman. Some imitating the Assyrian reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II.¹⁶⁴⁰ There are also motifs echoing ivories from Urartu and the Northern Zagros. In Altintepe and Toprakkale Assyrianized ivories have been discovered recently. Hermann hesitantly asks, “*Some Assyrianizing ivories found at Nimrud: could they be Urartian?*”¹⁶⁴¹

The iconography of some of the carved bulls can be compared with similar Urartian depictions of bulls. It has been assumed that the Urartians copied this from Assyrians, for both the Assyrian and Urartian items date to the ninth century BCE. But the Urartian forms can be dated to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.¹⁶⁴² The ivory ND.10328. (B) is carved with a scene of a winged eagle-headed genie, with the “*arrangement of the hair in two large locks.*”¹⁶⁴³ It has been compared to other Assyrian ivories from the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, and to three objects from Urartu from Altin Tepe.¹⁶⁴⁴ The geni on an ivory plaque from Toprak Kale is similarly compared to objects from Assyria and Ziwiye. The one from Ziwiye, carved on a gold pectoral, has been compared to one on a Luristan type bronze situla.¹⁶⁴⁵

Among other motifs to be compared with those on ivories and metals from the Northern Zagros is ND.7742. from Nimrud, depicting a kneeling deer and a kneeling cervid, for which a similar example comes from Ziwiye.¹⁶⁴⁶ ND.10519, with “*the herringbone decoration*” on the throat of the kneeling goats at the sides of palmettes, is compared to a similar example from Ziwiye. It is hesitantly dated to the 9th century BCE, but the one from Ziwiye is later.¹⁶⁴⁷

Some of the ninth century ivories from Nimrud are marked with West Semitic alphabetic characters. It has been assumed that Phoenician craftsmen in the workshops in Kalhu marked the back of their ivory items, perhaps as a guide to attach the plaques in order on wooden furniture, or to indicate the craftsmen who made it.¹⁶⁴⁸ Ivories from the Northern Zagros sites have no such letters.

Most of the ivories from the Northern Zagros are from **Hasanlu**. These, unlike those from Ziwiye, come from controlled excavations so specific levels and locations are known. The Hasanlu ivories are the second most important group in quantity and quality after Nimrud.¹⁶⁴⁹ The various scenes, carving styles, motifs and iconography show three styles: local,¹⁶⁵⁰

¹⁶⁴⁰For further details see Safer & al-Iraqi 1987: 12ff; Herrmann 2008: 225-232; Collins 2006: 19-31; Dreyfus 2001; Mallowan & Davies 1970.

¹⁶⁴¹Altintepe is geographically outside the area of the Northern Zagros, and whether the Altintepe ivories were made locally in Altintepe or in Toprakkale or in Musasir we do not know. Therefore we do not discuss them in detail, and for further details see Herrmann 2012: 339-50; also see Barnett 1975: 229, W. 13-14, pl. CXXXI; Barnett 1950: 1-43, fig.6-7.

¹⁶⁴²Mallowan & Davies 1970: 12.

¹⁶⁴³Mallowan & Davies 1970: p.50, no.189, pl.XLIII.

¹⁶⁴⁴Özgüç 1969: p.39, figs. 36, 37, pl.B., no.3-4.

¹⁶⁴⁵Mallowan & Davies 1970: 7, 51; Godard 1950: fig.25.

¹⁶⁴⁶Mallowan & Davies 1970: 43, Pl.XXXIV; Godard 1950: figs. 66, 69.

¹⁶⁴⁷Mallowan & Davies 1970: No.162, Pl.XXXVIII; Godard 1950: fig. 66 and 69.

¹⁶⁴⁸For further details see Millard 1962: 41-51; Millard 2008; Ap-Thomas 1973: 275.

¹⁶⁴⁹Muscarella 1980b: 221.

¹⁶⁵⁰Winter 1977:371.

Assyrian,¹⁶⁵¹ and Syrian style.¹⁶⁵² Among the local styles are a few which Muscarella assumes were not been in Hasanlu but elsewhere in the Northern Zagros or to the west of Caspian Sea in Iran.¹⁶⁵³ Some local ivories are interpreted as Assyrianized.¹⁶⁵⁴ The ivory “cheek piece” from Hasanlu IV is taken as a specimen of Scythian art,¹⁶⁵⁵ to be dated before the Scythians arrived in the Urmia basin in the late 8th century BCE.¹⁶⁵⁶ The local style predominates, with images of persons, animals and mythological creatures, as well as some copying elements of Assyrian art. Syrian ivories are assumed to have reached Hasanlu via Assyria in the 9th century BCE.¹⁶⁵⁷

Collins assumes that many of the Assyrian style ivories were sent to Hasanlu from Assyria as “imported furniture,” or as “a royal gift.”¹⁶⁵⁸ However, Muscarella says:¹⁶⁵⁹

With regard to Assyrian art it has been demonstrated that the local artisans were aware of specific representations on the stone reliefs at Nimrud, created there to glorify royal power - the massive battle scenes with chariots, cavalry, soldiers, and besieged cities.

He notes that none of the “Assyrian ivories recorded from Hasanlu depicts a battle scene, siege scene, or chariots of any kind, nor do any of the locally made ivories depict ostriches, figures carrying an animal, or heraldic sphinxes, scenes depicted on the imported Assyrian ivories,”¹⁶⁶⁰ and continues: “these facts reinforce the suggestion that the larger, non-portable stone reliefs in Assyria, rather than the minor art of Assyrian ivory (at the very least not example presented at Hasanlu), played the crucial role as the source of inspiration available to and accepted by the local workers.”¹⁶⁶¹ This is completely different from the ivories assumed to come from Ziwiye, which generally have carved scenes inspired by the Assyrian reliefs, ivories and other items of Assyrian art, including wall paintings.¹⁶⁶² Some of the local style ivories from Hasanlu may “reflect a knowledge of North Syrian Art,” such influences, according to Muscarella, seem “to derive from the non-portable stone reliefs, although the portable ivories and metalwork from North Syria clearly played a role.”¹⁶⁶³

Several scholarly answers to the question of how the Assyrian and Syrian ivories reached Hasanlu are given. Although different in some points they agree. Dyson says Phoenician workers were brought by Shalmaneser III to Kalhu and they made some of the fine ivory pieces of Hasanlu.¹⁶⁶⁴ The Syrian and Assyrian ivories were sent to Hasanlu as royal gifts. Or

¹⁶⁵¹Collins 2006: 19–31.

¹⁶⁵²For the Assyrian ivories see Muscarella 1980b: 200ff. fig.280-284. For the North Syrian ivories and the North Syrian styles from Hasanlu, see Muscarella 1980b: 192ff; Dyson 1965b:199; Dyson 1965: pl.XXXVI, fig.6.A.

¹⁶⁵³For further details see Muscarella 1980b: 191, fig.214-221;

¹⁶⁵⁴ For further details see Collins, 2006: 19–31; Dreyfus 2001; Mallowan & Davies 1970.

¹⁶⁵⁵Dyson 1965b: 211.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Assyrian administrative letters prove that intensive Scythian penetration started in the first half of the 7th century BCE, first in the area of the Urmia basin, and then to the Assyrian eastern frontier. With the Cimmerians they attacked Media. These events are recorded in Esarhaddon’s questions to Shamash; see SAA IV 35, 36.

¹⁶⁵⁷Winter 1977: 375, note 19; Muscarella 1980b.

¹⁶⁵⁸Collins 2006: 19, 28; Muscarella 1980b: 212-213; Paul 2006: 19-31.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Muscarella 1980b: 210.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Muscarella 1980b: 210.

¹⁶⁶¹ Muscarella 1980b: 210.

¹⁶⁶²For instance, see the Glazed Bricks in this chapter.

¹⁶⁶³Muscarella 1980b: 211.

¹⁶⁶⁴Dyson 1965b: 199.

local Hasanlu craftsmen traveled to Assyria and learned the motifs and styles of Assyrian and Syrian art. Or Syrian and Assyrian craftsmen traveled to Hasanlu as envoys or captives or fugitives.¹⁶⁶⁵ Perhaps craftsmen from the Northern Zagros went to Assyria with delegations, where they saw the Assyrian reliefs and other art in the Assyrian palaces, and may well have met Assyrian craftsmen and learned their skills. All this means that North Syrian objects probably reached Hasanlu via Assyria.

All these hypotheses are possible. Even if one seems stronger it lacks textual and archaeological support. From the records we have, especially the Assyrian records, it appears that the Urmia basin was under Assyrian influence during the ninth and eighth centuries BCE. The area was occupied or paid tribute several times after Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III reached the Northern Zagros. Gilzanu, which is identified with Hasanlu, paid tribute to Assyria and is mentioned in the Assyrian annals several times.¹⁶⁶⁶ The Assyrians intended to link that area and Assyria, perhaps not only for military control and secure tribute or exchanging gifts, but also to foster commercial and cultural contact, for both locally made ivories and perhaps also elephant tusks.¹⁶⁶⁷ Muscarella observed, “*None of the Assyrian style ivories seem to have been copied locally at Hasanlu, but a few of the North Syrian examples may have influenced the local workshops.*”¹⁶⁶⁸

Scholars have compared several motifs from Hasanlu with the Assyrian and Syrian style of ivories. Of these we note the sphinx on an ivory plaque similar to one from Nimrud, the head like one on a silver plaque from Sinjirli, and the female head like those from Nimrud and Tell Halaf.¹⁶⁶⁹ The best example is the plaque showing a bearded male carrying in his right hand a “knob-headed staff or mace” and “an animal cradled,” in his left arm. His hair is bound with a fillet, and he wears a decorated short-sleeved garment. Another notable Assyrian ivory plaque is No.280.A. with a winged man (genie). In his right hand are flowers held down, and “*he carries a kid cradled in his left arm*”. This has been compared to figures in the Assyrian relief from Nimrud, dated to the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, where there is a similar winged genie. There is also a relief from **Khorsabad** showing a similar wingless bearded figure.¹⁶⁷⁰ And the round carved calves from Hasanlu to be compared with similar examples from Nimrud (fig.1.3.27).¹⁶⁷¹

¹⁶⁶⁵Muscarella 1980b: 211.

¹⁶⁶⁶Gilzanu with Hubushkia brought tribute to Ashurnasirpal II in his camp in Zamua (see RIMA II A.0.101.17: i 79-81a; A.O. 101.44: 12-13) and Shalmaneser III campaigned against Gilzanu and Hubushkia and occupied them. (see RIMA III A.0.102.2: 33b-40a).

¹⁶⁶⁷Muscarella 1980b: 215.

¹⁶⁶⁸Muscarella 1980: p. 222, nos.280-293.

¹⁶⁶⁹Muscarella 1971: 264.

¹⁶⁷⁰Muscarella 1980b: no.281; Collins 2006: 28; Barnett 1975: fig.4.

¹⁶⁷¹Muscarella 1971: 264.



Fig. 1.3.27. A bearded figure from Khorsabad on a relief from Khorsabad, similar to the iconography of the bearded man on the ivory plaque of Hasanlu (after Botta and Flandin 1972, vol. 1, pl. 43).

Ziwiye¹⁶⁷² is a mound in the Urmia basin, in the territory of ancient Mannea. It is hesitantly identified with ancient Izibia, a Mannean city of the Assyrian annals.¹⁶⁷³ The so-called Ziwiye ivories, unlike those from Hasanlu, and other treasures from there have not in general come from controlled excavations at the site, but were traded by antiquity dealers in places including Iran.¹⁶⁷⁴ Many of these objects may not have come from Ziwiye itself. Wilkinson agrees with Godard, that “*many pieces not of the treasure itself came from a village about three miles away which has been called Kaplantu, Qaplantu and Ghaflantu.*”¹⁶⁷⁵

The authenticity of any object coming from the black market to antiquity dealers is suspect. Some items from what is called the Ziwiye treasure (now exhibited in Iran and other museums and collections in the West), did not come from scientific excavations and may not be authentic, as can be seen from elements of style and iconography. Wilkinson clearly recognizes this, and even though later Ziwiye was professionally examined, that was “*after the site had been looted.*” He adds:¹⁶⁷⁶

... though this helps in forming a general picture, it does not make good the loss of information that a proper excavation of the treasure itself would have afforded. Unfortunately, what is left in an empty stable after a horse has been stolen merely tells us that a horse was once there – it does not identify the horse.

Wilkinson says that “*the function of some pieces more or less in the round is obscure,*”¹⁶⁷⁷ which raises more doubts. Muscarella notes that “*... hundreds of objects of different materials – gold, silver, bronze, ivory, terracotta - some of them ancient, others of apparent recent manufacture, are said by dealers to have come from Ziwiye. Not a single one of these objects has ever come out of the ground in the presence of an archaeologist and yet many scholars*

¹⁶⁷²Concerning the Ziwiye treasure, especially the ivories, several specific studies been published; see Godard 1950; Wilkinson 1975; Mazzoni 1977: Tav.IX, fig. AIII 3, AIII 7, AIII 8; Ghirshman 1979.

¹⁶⁷³Frayne 1999: 144; Reade 1995a:p.34, fig.2.

¹⁶⁷⁴Muscarella 1977: 197-219.

¹⁶⁷⁵Wilkinson 1975: 7; Seidl 1957: 344-346.

¹⁶⁷⁶Wilkinson 1975: 7; also see Barnett 1962: 77-95.

¹⁶⁷⁷Wilkinson 1975: 10.

*accept them as archaeologically derived from Ziwiye.*¹⁶⁷⁸ We have to treat any conclusion based on these objects very carefully.

The Ziwiye ivories are generally different from those from nearby Hasanlu, and more like ivories from Assyria and Syria.¹⁶⁷⁹ Muscarella found no link between those from Ziwiye and Hasanlu, or between them and the second millennium ivories of Elam. He found only one ivory from Ziwiye comparable with Hasanlu style and motifs and styles but recognizes that we do not know where that ivory was made.¹⁶⁸⁰

Some have scenes imitating Assyrian reliefs, such as kings hunting wild bulls with a bow from his chariot, accompanied by horsemen and soldiers in procession in Assyrian dress.¹⁶⁸¹ Other ivory plaques show a sacred tree in Assyrian style.¹⁶⁸²

Kul Tarike is located in the Urmia basin to the east of Ziwiye. Part of the Cemetery was excavated in two seasons in 2001-2003 by an Iranian team. What were discovered dates to the Iron Age and it is considered to be a site within Mannean control. Here only one small ivory object was discovered, carved as a flower with 14 petals.¹⁶⁸³ It resembles one of those assumed to come from Ziwiye. Similar flowers, with 14 or 12 petals, are carved on ivories from Nimrud.¹⁶⁸⁴ On Assyrian reliefs from Khorsabad a flower with 12 petals is on the bands of the diadem of Sargon II, and the headdress of the *lamassu* sculptures.¹⁶⁸⁵

At **Bakrawa** only one small ivory object was found, a loom weight from Level 8, dated to the Late Assyrian period, with an Assyrian parallel from Nimrud, North-West Palace, well 4 (court 89).¹⁶⁸⁶

Sites excavated in Media have not produced ivory objects, as important as those from Hasanlu. From outside Media, in Anatolia at Kerkenes Dağ (ancient Pteria), a plaque was discovered and identified as a Median ivory inlay panel from the 6th century BCE. It shows a row of animals, including ewes and rams, framed at the top with reels and beads, and at the bottom with a meander motif.¹⁶⁸⁷

Qarachatan village is located at the foot of Mount Pir-e-Megrun (Nishpa/Nişir) ca. 30 km to the east of the Lower Zab near Sulaimania. There the stele of Haladiny was found, with a royal inscription of Iddi(n)-Sin, ruler of the Middle Bronze Age kingdom of Simurru.¹⁶⁸⁸ Two miles to the east of the village at the bottom of the mountain there are fortifications and remains of carved architecture, controversially dated to the Bronze Age or to the Parthian period.¹⁶⁸⁹

¹⁶⁷⁸Muscarella 1980b: 221; also see Muscarella 1977: 197-219.

¹⁶⁷⁹Wilkinson 1975: 16.

¹⁶⁸⁰Muscarella 1980: 210; Godard 1950: fig.91.

¹⁶⁸¹See Mazzoni 1977: Tav. II, fig. AI 3; Tav. III, fig. AI 4; Ghirshman 1979: Pl. XXII, 1-3; Winter 1977:376.

¹⁶⁸²Mazzoni 1977: Tav. XIV, AV 9; Tav. XX, fig. AIX 1.

¹⁶⁸³Rezvani & Roustaei 2007: pp.139-184, Pl.20, d.

¹⁶⁸⁴Barnett & Davis 1975: pls. XXX s43, s44 a-b.

¹⁶⁸⁵Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.165, pl.12; Parrot 1961: 327.

¹⁶⁸⁶Miglus et.al, 2013: p.75, fig.41b.

¹⁶⁸⁷Dusinberre 2002: pp. 17-54, fig.11.

¹⁶⁸⁸For further details about the discovery and the inscription see Ahmed 2012: 255-272.

¹⁶⁸⁹For further details see Marf & Amedy 2011: 230-239; Ahmed 2012: 293f.; see also, Marf, Dīshad A., (forthcoming), "Ancient Fortifications and Architectural Ruins between Lower Zab and Sirwan (Upper Diyala)

I have personally communicated with the villagers who found the stele in their field, and they say that while ploughing in the same field where the stele was found they found ‘carved bone plaques,’ by which perhaps they mean ivory plaques.¹⁶⁹⁰ These objects never reached the local museums. The foot of this mountain was one of the areas mentioned in the campaign of Ashurnasirpal II against Zamua. He camped somewhere in the valley and occupied several cities and towns there.¹⁶⁹¹

I conclude that in the Northern Zagros there were two important cities where ivories were found. Those objects from Hasanlu mainly date to the ninth century BCE, but some are perhaps later. While most of the ivories are found in Urartian sites outside the Northern Zagros perhaps they were manufactured in the Northern Zagros, such as those plundered from Musasir. Alternatively those ivories may have been sent as royal gifts from Urartu to the temple of Haldi in Musasir. Musasir probably had more in quality and quantity but for that city our only information comes from the record of Sargon II plundering the city in 714 BCE. He removed hundreds of fine ivory objects and inlaid furniture. These ivories will perhaps have been mixed with others in the Assyrian capitals in the eighth century.

As yet we have no ivories from the important Iron Age cities of Tepe Qalaichi (Izirtu?), Rabat Tepe, or Satu Qala (Idu), and so must hope that future excavations will provide more information about local styles of carving in the Northern Zagros and the Assyrian influence on it.

rivers (Preliminary report on field work),” in: Nathan Morello, Simone Bonzano, and Cinzia Pappi, (eds.): *BEYOND MILITARY: FORTIFICATIONS AND TERRITORIAL POLICIES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST*, Brill.

¹⁶⁹⁰Personal communication with farmers from the village of Qarachatan on September 9th 2005.

¹⁶⁹¹RIMA II: A.0.101.1, 74.

3.7. Mosaic Glass

Assyrian mosaic glass was discovered in Tell al-Rimah and dated to the early 9th century BCE.¹⁶⁹² It's comparable to a beaker from Marlik.¹⁶⁹³ Calmeyer takes this as evidence of an interaction of glass technologies from Assyria to Marlik.¹⁶⁹⁴ But as yet we have no evidence of such mosaic glass in between. If there was some interaction between Tell al-Rimah and Marlik it must have passed through the Northern Zagros. Any further observations on this must wait for further discoveries.

In Assyria cobalt blue glass was also produced,¹⁶⁹⁵ and at Hasanlu Egyptian blue glass was found in the Burned Building II.¹⁶⁹⁶ It was made under Middle Assyrian influence, and Marcus suggests Kassite influence. The iconography of the reconstructed images shows similarities with Kassite iconography of the elite persons in wall painting at Dur-Kurigalzu, and comparable elements on Kassite cylinder seals and *kudurru* stones.¹⁶⁹⁷ A stone bowl with inlaid decoration found at Hasanlu (HAS 64-656) has an inscription naming the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil, this proves some Kassite contact with Hasanlu.¹⁶⁹⁸ The fragment of a glass vessel from Hasanlu is similar to the ones from Marlik and Tell al-Rimah.¹⁶⁹⁹ In general, in Assyria and the Northern Zagros glass was rarely found, but we have many glazed ceramics and glazed bricks.¹⁷⁰⁰ A technical analysis of the glass from Hasanlu proves that it was made locally and Stapleton found that “*dolomite composed significant portions of the white opaque glaze on a potsherd from an Assyrian-style vessel.*”¹⁷⁰¹

From Hasanlu also a fragment of an Egyptian blue glass vase was discovered, decorated with an ibex and a sacred tree in relief, the iconography of the relief similar to the iconography of depicted similar animals with sacred tree in the Assyrian art, as well the frame which is made from braided decoration is common in Assyria, Zagros and other areas of the Near East art.¹⁷⁰²

¹⁶⁹²Calmeyer 1995:pp.33-46; fig.11-12, fig.III; Barag, et al., 1985: 36, fig.1. no.4.

¹⁶⁹³Negahban 1996: pp.33-46, vol.2, pl. XXI b, 62; Calmeyer 1995: fig.11-12, fig.IV.

¹⁶⁹⁴Calmeyer 1995: pp.34-35, fig.11-12.

¹⁶⁹⁵Barag, et al., 1985: 27-37, fig.1. no.4; Curtis 2008: 61.

¹⁶⁹⁶Dyson 1989: 124, fig.22.

¹⁶⁹⁷For further details and different opinions about the glazed beakers of Hasanlu see Marcus 1991: 536-560; Baqir 1945: pp. 9f, pl.xxvi, fig.28; Baqir 1946: 73-93; Parrot 1961:ig.335; Brinkman 1976a; Brinkman 1976b.

¹⁶⁹⁸Brinkman 1976a: p. 134, no.J.2.10; Calmeyer 1995: P.34, Pl.24, p.84.

¹⁶⁹⁹De Schauen 2001: 99-106. For the Assyrian examples at Nimrud see Curtis 2008: fig.8.g.

¹⁷⁰⁰For further details see in this Chapter, 2.4., and 2.10.

¹⁷⁰¹Stapleton, Colleen P., 2011: 87-102; Stapleton 2011: 100.

¹⁷⁰²Crawford 1961: 85-94. fig.5.

3.8. Metalwork

Since the Middle Bronze Age Mesopotamian records mention metal from the Zagros. Gudea of Lagash (22nd century BCE) brought copper from the Kimash mountains, from a place called *Abullāt* (KÁ.GAL-at.KI) “a city of copper,”: *In Abullāt, on the mountain range of Kimaš, he mined copper, and he (used it to) make for him the “Mace-unbearable-for-the-regions.”*¹⁷⁰³ Kimash is identified with modern Quš Tepe south east of Kirkuk in the foothills of the Zagros.¹⁷⁰⁴

The Turukkean ruler from the Northern Zagros, Pišendēn sent a letter to Yašub-Addu, the ruler of Ahazum kingdom, in the foothills of the Zagros west of the Lower Zab.¹⁷⁰⁵ He asks Yašub-Addu for copper, tin, stones, and other items: “14 minas of pure metal, 10 minas of *kurbianum*,” say “I need the copper and the tin for (the manufacture of) weapons.”¹⁷⁰⁶ This record indicates that from Ahazum copper and tin reached Turukku. These metals may have been mined in Ahazum, or Ahazum may have been an intermediary post between Assyria and the Zagros from where they were sent to Turukku. The letter appears to show that the Turrukeans were able to manufacture their own metal weapons, meaning there were metalworkers there. And “10 minas of *kurbianum* (10 MA.NA *ku-ur-bi-a-nu-um*),” is taken by Eidem & Læssøe to refer to type of metal,¹⁷⁰⁷ and if so perhaps it was a metal associated with *Kurbianum*, the name of a city mentioned in Neo-Assyrian records as *Kurbail/Kurban*. The ‘city’ at the time of Turukku and Ahazum may have been called *Kurbianum*, which became *Kurban/Kurbail* in Neo-Assyrian records.¹⁷⁰⁸ A similar change in Neo-Assyrian records occurs with *Arbail*, which in the Ur III period was *Urbilum*.¹⁷⁰⁹ *Kurbail* was perhaps an Assyrian adaptation of the Bronze Age name of the toponym, as they adapted *Urbilum/Urbel* and recorded it as *Arbail* (URU *arba-il*). In Neo-Assyrian *Arbail* can be translated as “four gods”, but with no relation to any four gods, because in this way local toponyms were recorded by Assyrian scribes.¹⁷¹⁰ Philologically perhaps it is possible to conclude that *Kurbail* is first mentioned in this Shemshara text as a source of copper.¹⁷¹¹ Moreover, Šušarra also seems to have been rich in bronze. In one letter Kuwari, the ruler of

¹⁷⁰³RIME 3/1, Gudea E3/1.1.7. StB: vi 21-25.

¹⁷⁰⁴For further details see Ahmed 2012: 69; Frayne 1999:159-162.

¹⁷⁰⁵Ahazum is located somewhere between the Rania plain and Erbil, see Khwshnaw 2009: 30-59; Ahmed 2012: 266f.

¹⁷⁰⁶Eidem and Læssøe 2001: no.67= SH 816.p.140-141.

¹⁷⁰⁷Eidem and Læssøe 2001: pp.140-1, no. 67 = SH 816.

¹⁷⁰⁸For *Kurbail* see Postgate 2005.

¹⁷⁰⁹See MacGinnis 2014; Unger 1932:141f. And also see Chapter II, 2.3.

¹⁷¹⁰George 1992: 465.

¹⁷¹¹In a personal correspondence and communication Y. Eidem has expressed doubt about my opinion. He says that “the passage is preceded by mention of “x minas *masum*” which means “x minas of purified, cleaned (metal)” - and therefore the possible meaning of *kurbianum* “lumps” could fit here - as probably a less “purified” version of the same metal (silver?).” Even so, for me *kurbianum* may still specify a metal associated with a place with the same name. In the Shemshara letters there are other examples of goods and garments named after places, the places where the goods originated or were manufactured. Zadok assumes that “*Kamazi-garment*” in the letter SH 845 indicates a garment from *Kamazi/Hamazi*, a Lullubean toponym; see Zadok 2001a: 33-37; Eidem & Læssøe 1992: 124=SH 845; for further details about *Hamazi* see Ahmed 2012: 64ff.

Šušarra, sent bronze vessels to Ištar (*eš₄-tár*) (Šawuška) of Ninua (Niniveh), and in another there is a list of bronze vessels.¹⁷¹²

Tiglath-pileser I plundered the temple and the palace of the Lullubean fortified city **Murattaš**, and he took “*120 copper kettles, 30 talents of copper bars.*”¹⁷¹³

In Neo-Assyrian records metal objects and metal ores from Northern Zagros provinces and cities were often plundered or taken as tribute.

Ashurnasirpal II claims that in **Zamua**, Ameka, the king of the city of **Zamri**, left his city and took the treasure from his palace to the mount Etini. But Ashurnasirpal chased him and plundered the treasure on the mountain. Although he seems to have failed to kill or capture Ameka, he lists the metal objects he captured during his raid: “*Many bronze utensils, bronze tubs, bronze casserole(s), bronze bowls, bronze tureens, the treasure of his palace, (and) his store house.*” “*a dish decorated with gold.*”¹⁷¹⁴ At his camp at the foot of the mount Nispi in Zamua Ashurnasirpal II claims, “*I received bronze, bronze ..., bronze rivets, (and) beams, the tribute of the land Sipirmena.*”¹⁷¹⁵

Ashurnasirpal received metal tributes from the lands of **Hubuškia** and **Gilzanu**:

*While I was in Mount Kurruru the radiance of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed the Hubusku and the Gilzanu (and) they brought to me as their tribute horses, silver, gold, tin, bronze, (and) bronze casseroles.*¹⁷¹⁶

The Assyrians plundered **gold objects** from **Media**. Shalmaneser III plundered a door of gold from the palace women of Ianziburiaš king of Paddira.¹⁷¹⁷ Later, Sargon received gold, silver and weapons from **Hundir** and **Harhar** in Media.¹⁷¹⁸

Shamshi-Adad V plundered “*utensils of silver (and) gold, (and) pieces of bronze*” from the fortified city Uraš in the land of Gizilbunda in Nairi.¹⁷¹⁹

Rusa on his stelae claims that he brought to **Musasir** treasure “*...gold, silver, copper, and cattle.../I brought [to] the city of Musasir*”.¹⁷²⁰

The city and the temple of Musasir were plundered by Sargon in 714 BCE. He looted many metal objects, including several metal statues of the Uartian kings, statues of animals from the temple, cauldrons, metal shields, equipment, weapons, metal ores, and melted metal objects.¹⁷²¹ From the temple of Haldi, Sargon’s official plundered big amounts of metal treasure include raw material. “*3 minas of gold, 162 talents, 20 minas, less 6/36, of silver, 3,600 talents of rough copper.*”¹⁷²²

Some metals were used for weapons:¹⁷²³

¹⁷¹²Eidem 1992: 128, 133.

¹⁷¹³RIMA II/1 A.0.87.1: iii 92 - iv 4.

¹⁷¹⁴RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 63-64; ii 66-67.

¹⁷¹⁵RIMA II A.O. 101.1: 74-76a.

¹⁷¹⁶RIMA II A.0.101.17: i 79-81a.

¹⁷¹⁷RIMA III A.0.102.6: iv. 1.

¹⁷¹⁸Levine 1972: 36-38.

¹⁷¹⁹RIMA III A.0.103.1: iii. 16-17.

¹⁷²⁰Roaf 2012a: 193, Movana stele inscription, the Assyrian version, Face III, 28-30.

¹⁷²¹Roaf, 2012: 200f, note.43.

¹⁷²²ARAB II 173.

¹⁷²³ARAB II 173.

6 shields of gold which hung right and left in his house and shone brilliantly, with the heads of snarling dogs projecting from their centers (lit., hearts), and containing 5 talents and 12 minas of shining red (gold); "1 great dagger of gold, the sword of his hand, which weighed 26 3/36 minas of gold; 96 lances of silver, gurpisi of silver, bows of silver, spears of silver, whose setting and inlay were of gold, 12 great shields of silver, whose edges (molding) were ornamented with heads of dragons, lions and wild-oxen." "33 chariots of silver, silver bows, silver quivers, silver maces (?), silver manziâte (?), silver shields, silver siprat, purdî and standards of silver," "25, 212 bronze shields, great and small, siprat of bronze, gurpisi of brozne, and gulgullat of bronze; 1, 514 lances of bronze, great and small, large lance blades of bronze, purdî of bronze, kutahi of bronze together with their bronze bases; 305, 412 daggers of bronze, heavy and light, bows of bronze, azanâte of bronze, and spears of bronze;"

There was also metal equipment and kitchenware:¹⁷²⁴

1horns,the ashtarti of its doors, which had been cast from 2 talents of fine gold; 1 bolt of gold, a human finger (in form), the fastening of the door-leaf, -on top of it crouched a winged (lit., flying) dragon, 1 peg of gold to secure the lock, to strengthen (?) the barring of the temple, to guard the heaped-up treasures and property, two keys of gold (shaped like) protecting goddesses wearing the tiara, and bearing mace(?) and ring, their feet planted upon snarling dogs, the four of them (constituting) the lock of the door; ornaments of the shrine, which weighed 2 talents and 12 minas of gold, and secured (lit., held) the door-leaves;"

"67 basins of silver, vases of silver, silver ovens, silver vegetable baskets, whose inlay and setting was of gold, 62 silver musarirte, silver lukilte, miscellaneous (lit., not distinguishable) objects of silver, whose setting and inlay was of gold;" "393 pans of silver, heavy and light, of Assyrian, Urartian and Kirhian workmanship,"

"607 basins of bronze, heavy and light, washbasins of bronze, asallâte of bronze, jars of bronze, pans of bronze; 3 large basins of bronze which held inside them 50 measures of water, together with their great covers of bronze; 1 great vat of bronze, which held inside it 80 measures of water, together with its large cover of bronze, -belonging to the kings of Urartu, (used) for offering sacrifices before Haldia, (and) which were full of sacrificial wine."

There was a special treasure of the goddess Bagbartu:¹⁷²⁵

"The jewels of Haldia and Bagbartu, his spouse;" "1 seal ring of gold (used) for validating (lit., completing) the decess of Bagbartu, the spouse of of Haldia, was completely covered (full) with precious stones;" "9 vestments, the garments of his divine majesty, whose embroidery (edges) was of gold, and whose iar was of gold, whose shibtu were held by murdû; 7 shusuda of nigsud-wood, which were full of (covered with) stars, with a whip of silver, whose kiblu and inlay were of gold; 1 ivory couch, a bed of silver, for the repose of his divine majesty, covered with jewels and gold;"

There were metal statues of deities, creatures and the Urartian kings:¹⁷²⁶

¹⁷²⁴ ARAB II 173.

¹⁷²⁵ ARAB II 173.

“2 horns of the great wild-ox (aurochs), whose inlay and nikkasu (were of gold?) and with (?) bands of gold completely surrounding their inlay;” ... “4 statues of bronze, the colossi which guard his gates, whose four bases, as well as their shrines, were of cast bronze; 1 statue of supplication, representing the royal highness of Ishtar-dûri, son of Ishpueni, king of Urartu, whose shrine was cast of copper; 1 bull, 1 cow, together with its calf, on which Ishtar-dûri, son of Ishpueni, turned and poured out for-, the bronze of the temple of Haldia; 1 statue of Argishti, king of Urartu, who wore the-diadem of a god, and whose right hand was held in the attitude of blessing, together with its shrine, weighing 60 talents of bronze; 1 statue of Ursâ, with 2 of his horsemen, (and) his charioteer, with their shirne, 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”; (these things) together with his great wealth, which was without calculation, I carried off.”

Even more objects will have been plundered but not recorded officially, for Sargon II refers to ‘opening the hand of his soldiers’ to loot the city and the temple:¹⁷²⁷

This does not include the objects of gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, ivory, maple, boxwood, and all (other) kinds of wood, which the people of Ashur and Marduk had carried off from the city, palace and temple in countless quantities.

These metal objects from Musasir may mainly have been gifts to the temple. Sargon says that the Urartian kings brought many treasures and statues for rituals there. Treasure also came from Urartu, Assyria and the Northern Zagros, for in the list of looted treasures some objects are named as Urartian, Assyrian, or Kirhian: “393 pans of silver, heavy and light, of Assyrian, Urartian and Kirhian workmanship.”¹⁷²⁸

Sargon’s plundering is illustrated on the reliefs of Khorsabad, including the metals to be found in Musasir. Shields are shown hanging on the walls and on the sloping roof of the temple of Haldi. The soldiers grasp a shield or two shields (fig.3.28.a).¹⁷²⁹ Round shields decorated with lion heads are mentioned by Sargon II:

“6 shields of gold which hung right and left in his house [i.e. the temple of Haldi] and shone brilliantly.”¹⁷³⁰ “12 great shields of silver, whose edges (molding) were ornamented with heads of dragons, lions and Wild-oxen.”¹⁷³¹

Two big cauldrons stand in front of the temple, perhaps in the courtyard and used for rituals. There is a cow and a suckling calf in the courtyard of the temple beside the gate (fig.1.1).¹⁷³²

Another scene of plundering the treasure of the city on the relief of Khorsabad shows two eunuchs (they are without beards) weighing metal on a balance “constructed with tiers of

¹⁷²⁶ARAB II 173.

¹⁷²⁷ARAB II 174.

¹⁷²⁸ARAB II 173.

¹⁷²⁹Recently, at the temple of Ayanis a similar shield was found, perhaps from the walls or the roof of the temple, see Batmaz 2012a: 234-252; Çilingiroğlu 2012: fig.20.14.

¹⁷³⁰ARAB II 173.

¹⁷³¹ARAB II 173.

¹⁷³²Albenda 1986: 91, abb.18, pl.133.

*animal-footed and cone-shaped legs.*¹⁷³³ To the left there are five Assyrian soldiers running, the last one holding a big cauldron on his right shoulder, and the one in front of him a shield on his back. That shield was one that had been hanging on the temple, and it is decorated with a lion head. Of the two soldiers in front of him, despite the upper part being damaged, the first holds a vessel in his left hand and holds what looks like a sack on his right shoulder.¹⁷³⁴ Below in the ‘valley’ three Assyrian soldiers use hand axes to cutting up a ‘metal’ statue (Fig.3.28.b).¹⁷³⁵

The two statues at the gate of the temple seem to be Urartian in style. Sargon II refers to metal statues of the Urartian kings and other statues that had been set in the **temple of Haldi** by the Urartian kings. They were taken as booty, with their iconography, size and weight recorded in detail by Sargon II “*4 statues of bronze, the colossi which guard his gates.*”¹⁷³⁶

According to van Loon the helmeted statue on the Khorsabad relief (in Room XIII no.3), being cut by three Assyrian soldiers was “*probably the life-size statue of Argishti I.*”¹⁷³⁷ van Loon’s suggestion based on a statement of Sargon II: “*1 statue of Argishti, king of Urartu, wearing a crown with a star like that of a god and making the gesture of greeting with his right hand, including its canopy, weighing 1,800 kg of copper.*” van Loon suggests that this statue must have been at least life-size, and he proposes that “*this must be the statue which is being hacked to pieces...*” by three Assyrian soldiers. However, according to the inscription of Sargon II, the statue of Argishti was “*wearing a crown with a star like that of a god,*”¹⁷³⁸ but on the relief of Khorsabad the fallen statue did not wear this crown. The description of the statue of Argishti states that the headdress is not identical with a pointed helmet. While van Loon may be right to say that the Assyrian soldiers were cutting a metal statue with axes, it cannot be the statue of Argishti because it looks different from Sargon’s description. What is depicted on the slab of Khorsabad looks like one of the guardian statues in front of the temple of Haldi (fig. 1.1-1.2 A).

Another relief from Khorsabad (unfortunately with its upper part damaged) shows a “flat wagon with solid wheels upon which are two huge door-leaves”, and two statues are also on the wagon (fig. 1.2. B).

¹⁷³³ Albenda 1986:91, abb.18, pl.133; Radner 1999: 135-136.

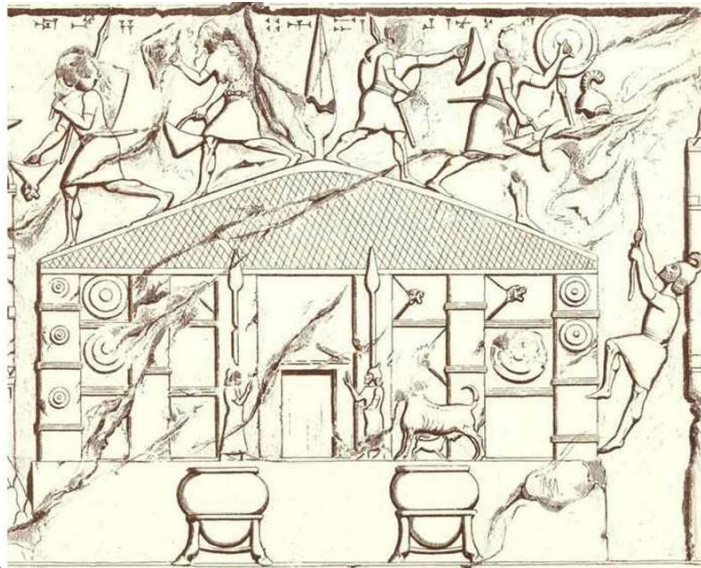
¹⁷³⁴ Albenda 1986: pl.133; Reade 1979: 83.

¹⁷³⁵ Albenda 1986:91, abb.18, pl.133.

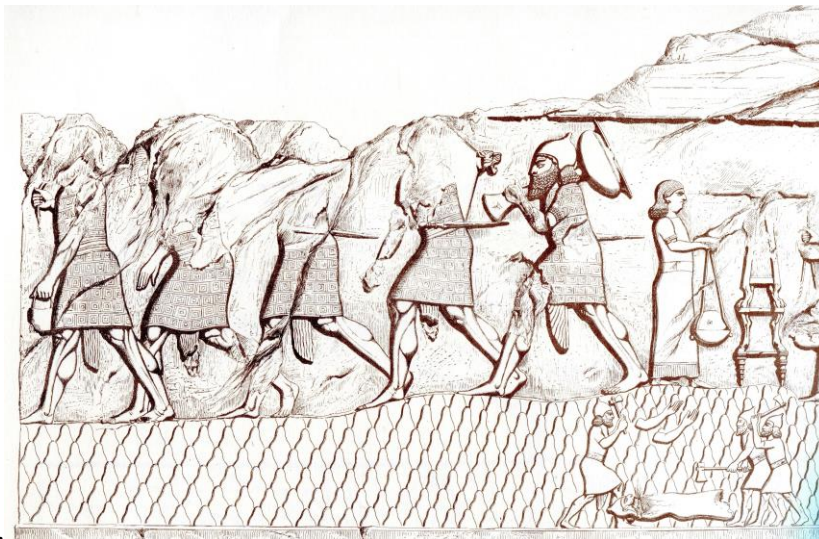
¹⁷³⁶ ARAB II 173; van Loon 1966: 85-86. According to this text probably the temple has more than one gate, perhaps two with each one flanked with two copper statues of “divine chief doorkeepers”. On the relief of Khorsabad only one gate of the temple is depicted. The second gate may have been on the other side of the temple. For further details see Marf 2014: 13-29.

¹⁷³⁷ van Loon 1966:86, note.34, 36.

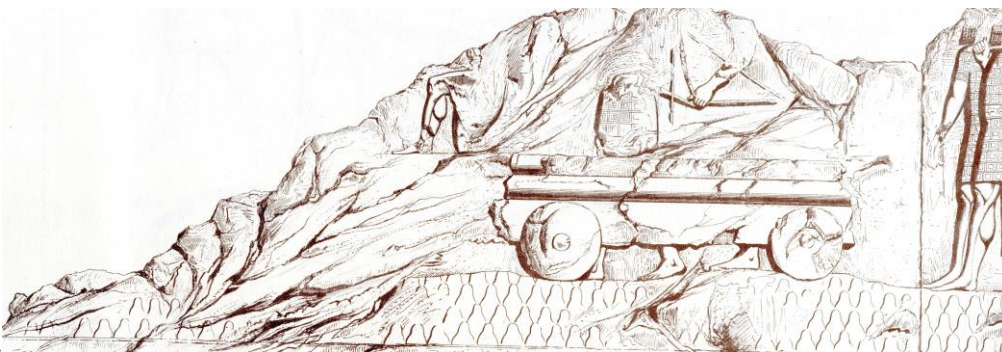
¹⁷³⁸ ARAB II 173; van Loon 1966:86, note.34, 36.



a.



b.



c.

Fig. 3.28.a. A relief from Khorsabad shows shields hanging on the walls and the roof of the temple, statues flank both sides of the gate of the temple, a big statue of a cow with its kid suckling, two cauldrons in the courtyard of the temple (after Botta and Flandin 1972: vol.II, pl.141).

b. A relief from Khorsabad shows details of plundering the metal treasures of Musasir (after Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.140, 3).

c. a flat wagon depicted on a relief from Khorsabad, transporting looted metal treasure from Musasir to Assyria (after Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.140, 1).

The treasure from Musasir was the biggest treasure looted by the Assyrians from the Zagros, with so much gold, silver, and bronze, including so many different objects, weapons and statues. It shows how rich the city and its temple were. This holy city's riches came from its temple and its strategic location. Many of the objects called with local names and some were identified as Assyrian, Urartian or Kirhian. Sargon completely plundered the city of all its treasure, but after a few years the city may have regained some richness, since Sennacherib mentions Musasir as having gold, silver and iron in a fragmentary inscription:¹⁷³⁹

".....silver, gold and iron, I had them makeof the city of Musasir.....which (?) Sennacherib....."

In this long fragmentary text of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib talks of renovating and enlarging many temples in Assyria, and mentions Musasir after a long description of the temple of Ishtar of Arbail and its treasure. From this we can at least conclude that the city was regaining importance, but that is the last time it is mentioned in the Assyrian records.

Mallowan considers some of the tribute holders depicted on the Nimrud ivory plaques as "Medes?"¹⁷⁴⁰ They hold metal objects and jewelry in the Assyrian court. Their dress is not typically Zagrosian.¹⁷⁴¹ They are holding big earrings and other jewelry, beakers, bowls, and even slabs of metal or precious stone.¹⁷⁴²

Different techniques for casting and carving metal were developed. In Assyria the best examples of most of the styles come from the treasures in the tombs of the Assyrian queens from Nimrud. Youkhanna detected several ways for treating gold, including casting, hammering, weaving, soldering, encapsulation, inlaying, granulation, and gluing.¹⁷⁴³ In the Zagros also most of these techniques were used.¹⁷⁴⁴

In ancient times metal objects were among the more desirable gifts. The Assyrian annals mention thousands of metal objects taken from the Zagros and other areas of the Near East, but in excavations at the Assyrian capitals, Ashur, Nineveh, Nimrud, and Khorsabad these objects were never discovered. No treasure from Musasir was found at Ashur or Khorsabad. Perhaps for some reasons; Sargon II referred to some metal booty as Assyrian any such objects discovered in an Assyrian capital would not be recognized as from Musasir. Urartian and Kirhian objects are also mentioned, as well as some made in Musasir or assorted gifts from the Zagros, Urartu, Kumme and other kingdoms, but these also are never found or not recognized as from Musasir. The absence of most foreign and local Assyrian metal objects from the Assyrian heartland relates to them being melted down and reused for other purposes. Another reason is much foreign booty perhaps looted with much Assyrian treasure during the fall of the Assyrian capitals in 614-612 BCE. In Assyria the only significant cache is in the queens' tombs at Nimrud, where there are dozens of golden, silver and copper items.¹⁷⁴⁵

¹⁷³⁹ARAB III 761B.

¹⁷⁴⁰Mallowan 1966: pp. 248-250, figs.209 and 215.

¹⁷⁴¹For further details, see Textiles and Costumes in this chapter, 3.9.

¹⁷⁴²Mallowan 1966: fig.215.

¹⁷⁴³For further details see Youkhanna 2008: 103ff. Also see Moorey 1994.

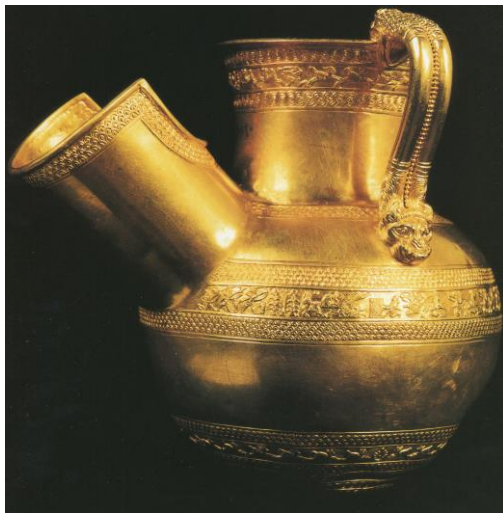
¹⁷⁴⁴For instance see Negahban 1996; Mellink 1966: 72-87; Winter 1989; Schauensee 2001: 1-42.

¹⁷⁴⁵Hussein & Sulayman 2001.

While no metal object clearly identifiable as from the Zagros has been found, the golden jug from Tomb III of the vault tombs of the Assyrian queens in Nimrud,¹⁷⁴⁶ probably did come from the Northern Zagros or Urartu, or was made by an Urartian or Zagrosian craftsmen in Nimrud. The jug has a unique shape and the carved decorative bands on the body of the jug display a hammering technique. They are showing the hunting of wild gazelles, goats, deer, ostriches and lions. There are also chariots in a battle in front of a castle, the gate of which is flanked by two towers. In contrast to the Assyrian hunting scenes, here one of the hunters killed by one of the lions. The iconography of the gazelles reminds the Urartian style of depicting running animals with only two legs on the ground. (fig. 3.29.a-b).

There are the charioteers, and two groups of hunters, some kneeling on one leg, and others standing. The gazelles flee away, with their hind legs on ground and their front legs raised. This style is seen on many Urartian metal objects. Rows of Urartian deities are depicted on the bronze Anzaf shield, each one riding a similarly depicted racing animal.¹⁷⁴⁷ This style as depicted on one Assyrian relief from Nimrud from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II is found later on the Assyrian metalwork.¹⁷⁴⁸

At the fall of Nineveh Assyrian treasures were looted. When Nimrud was captured around 612 BCE, Reade says the conquerors “*discovered the tunnel in Room 74, and entered the vaulted complex. They probably began by collecting any gold they could see, because some of the seals found inside the vaults had already lost their caps or mounts; other seals were broken in Rooms 74 and 77.*”¹⁷⁴⁹



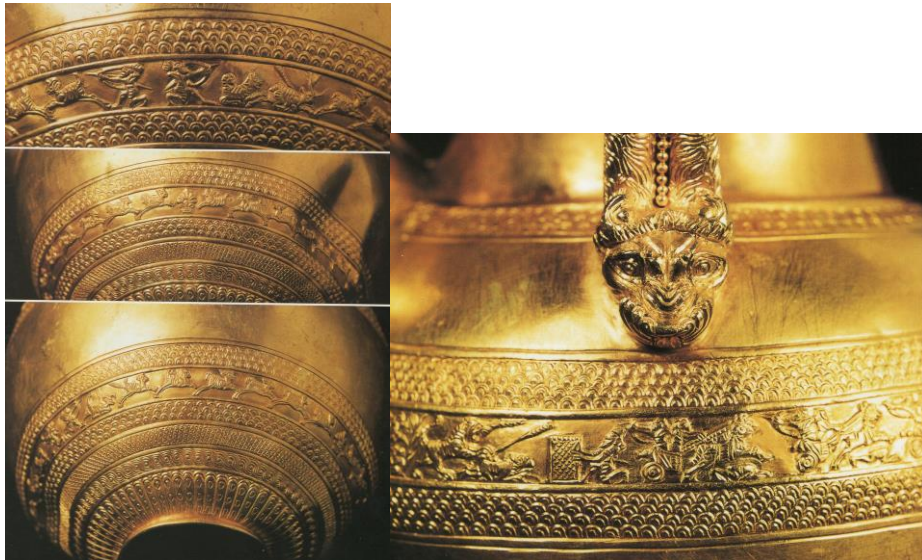
a.

¹⁷⁴⁶Hussein & Sulayman 2001: 366f; Reade 2008a: pl.VII; p.116, fig.14.s; Youkhanna 2008: 103.

¹⁷⁴⁷Roaf 2012c:p.365, fig.24.15.

¹⁷⁴⁸Urartian and Assyrian metalwork influenced each other. There are some common motifs and styles. There was also Assyrian influence on Urartian jewellery. The Assyrians looted much Urartian metalwork from Musasir, which they took to Assyria, see ARAB II 173. For comparing Urartian and Assyrian metalwork see Curtis 2012: 427-443; Cavusoğlu 2011: 250ff; Pittman 1996: 334-335.

¹⁷⁴⁹Reade 2008a:102.



b.
Fig. 3.29.

a. The golden jug from the tomb at Nimrud (after Damerji 1999: Abb.49).

b. Details of the decoration on the golden jug from the tomb at Nimrud (after Damerji 1999: Abb. 50-52).

Rhyta were usually made of gold or silver but sometimes were ceramic. Muscarella observed that rhyta first appear in Iran in the Zagros in the second millennium BCE, and reached Assyria under Iranian (i.e. Zagrosian) influence.¹⁷⁵⁰ From the west rhyta were also brought to Assyria as tribute.¹⁷⁵¹ No excavation in the Assyrian heartland has produced a metal rhyton, but a ceramic rhyton with ram-headed discovered in Khirbet Khatuniyeh during the salvage excavation in Eski Mosul Dam, it's dated to the Late Assyrian period.¹⁷⁵²

Nevertheless, we can see rhyta on Assyrian reliefs being used as drinking vessels in banquets. A relief from the reign of Sargon II shows several Assyrian officers holding them, perhaps celebrating a military victory in the Zagros.¹⁷⁵³ In the same occasion on another relief two Assyrian generals stand facing one another holding rhyta with lion-head bases (fig.3.29.c).¹⁷⁵⁴ There is another showing eunuchs filling rhyta with a drink from a large cauldron (Fig.3.29.d).¹⁷⁵⁵ Most rhyton bases are shaped with the head of a lion or a ram. It may be significant that the Assyrian banquet scenes with Assyrian soldiers with rhyta are usually in the upper registers of the reliefs from Khorsabad, and the lower registers show Northern Zagros cities, mainly Median, being captured. Each banquet may be celebrating individual victories, with the rhyta indicating that they were looted from the Northern Zagros. In the Zagros several rhyta have been discovered. The oldest was found at Hasanlu. It is bronze with a ram's head base inlaid with lapis lazuli paste and bands of decorations showing two ibexes and a flower between them.¹⁷⁵⁶ Of the rhyta said to come from Ziwiye or its

¹⁷⁵⁰Muscarella 1980b: 213.

¹⁷⁵¹ See Botta & Albinda 1972: pl.103; also see Ebbinghaus 2008:182ff.

¹⁷⁵²Curtis & Reade 1995: 133.

¹⁷⁵³ Albenda 1986: fig.138.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.65.

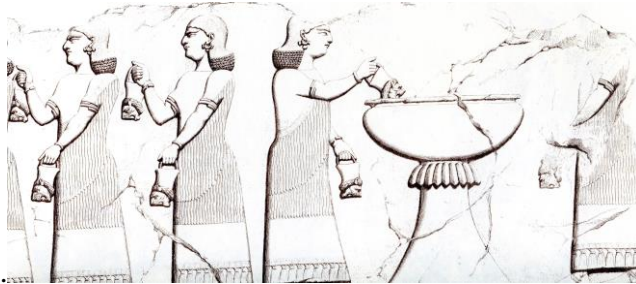
¹⁷⁵⁵Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.76; Salvatore 2007: 145-184.

¹⁷⁵⁶Dyson 1960: 128; Porada 1965: fig.32.

surroundings, one is bronze (now in Tehran Museum) with a ram's head, a silver band, and inlaid with Egyptian-blue. It is dated to the ninth century BCE.¹⁷⁵⁷



c.



d.

Fig. 3.29.c. Assyrian generals holding rhyta with lion-headed bases, celebrations of their victory on the defeated cities in the Zagros, scenes from the reliefs of Khorsabad (after Botta and Flandin 1972: pl. 64).

d. Assyrian eunuchs filling rhyta from a cauldron (after Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.76).

At **Nush-i Jan** some metal objects taken as Assyrian, including the bronze head of the Assyrian demon Pazuzu of Nush-i Jan may have been looted from Assyria.¹⁷⁵⁸ The same applies to a bronze fibula from Nush-I Jan which can be compared to examples from the late 7th century from Nimrud.¹⁷⁵⁹

The bronze statue of a human figure bearing a Middle Assyrian inscription in the Louvre has been assumed to come from the Urmia basin. The inscription states that it was originally dedicated to the temple of **Ishtar of Arbail**, so it may have been taken from there to the Zagros after the fall of Assyria in 612 BCE.¹⁷⁶⁰

After the fall of Nineveh Assyrian goldsmiths may have continued to work under Mannean/Median rule in Ashur, for according to Parpola a “*small archive discovered in Ashur, written in a previously unknown, presumably Mannean variety of cuneiform, proves that Assyrian goldsmiths still worked in the city in post-empire times, though now under Median command.*”¹⁷⁶¹ Later, the Medes were famed as goldsmiths in the 6th century BCE.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Crawford 1961: fig.7.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Stronach 1968: 185, fig.14

¹⁷⁵⁹ Stronach 1968: 185, fig.13.

¹⁷⁶⁰ MacGinnis 2014. Also see chapter II, 2.1.

¹⁷⁶¹ Parpola 2003: 340.

When Darius built his palace in Susa he brought craftsmen from all over the Achaemenid Empire, including Median goldsmiths:¹⁷⁶²

The goldsmiths who worked the gold were Medes and Egyptians. And the men who carved the wood were Sardians and Egyptians. And the men who made the bricks were Babylonians. And the men who decorated the terrace (adorned the wall) were Medes and Egyptians.

At **Hasanlu** about 30 iron and bronze mace heads, 40 iron and bronze swords were found. There were also about 25 iron and bronze daggers, bronze axes, pikes, horse armour, knives, swords, spears, arrowheads, vessels, a bowl and beakers, arrowheads, and helmets discovered there.¹⁷⁶³ Among these some objects were identified as Assyrian in style, comparable to Assyrian metal objects of the period. For the horse armour of Hasanlu there is a similar example from Nimrud.¹⁷⁶⁴ For the chariot in the first register of the silver beaker of Hasanlu there are similar Assyrian ninth century examples. According to Muscarella the helmet was actually imported from Assyria.¹⁷⁶⁵ He considers the horses and animals with four hooves on the ground from Hasanlu as Syrian in style.¹⁷⁶⁶ Diakonoff called the local styles of metalwork at Hasanlu, and other metalwork of ‘Ziwiye’ as the work of “Mannaean craftsmen”.¹⁷⁶⁷ But whether to attribute the Ziwiye treasure to the work of Medes, Scythians or Manneans is controversial, and Mannean styles are evidently not yet categorized.

The bronze breastplate of **Hasanlu** shows a warrior with a long beard and wearing a helmet. He is depicted in profile fighting two bulls. The head of the warrior and the heads of the bulls have been cast, and are high relief. For other details the bronze was carved. The bulls and the hero’s helmet can be compared to Assyrian examples from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II in iconography.¹⁷⁶⁸

The golden bowl of Hasanlu is actually a beaker, and is decorated with several mythological, religious and ritual scenes from motifs (some unknown) in local and Near Eastern mythology. The identification and explanation of the motifs with Mesopotamian, Anatolian-Syrian, local Zagrosian and Iranian material is controversial.¹⁷⁶⁹ Essentially we are given two different views, one denying any context from Mesopotamian and Near Eastern material, and other supposing the scenes illustrate a particular context.¹⁷⁷⁰

The tomb of **Ziwiye** has been considered as Scythian and to be dated to the 7th century BCE.¹⁷⁷¹ This assumes that the Ziwiye treasure was buried with a Scythian prince, with

¹⁷⁶²Potts 1999: 328, DSf, § 3k. DSz [12, 46-52].

¹⁷⁶³Winter 1989: 26; Muscarella 2013: 187f, 258f; Muscarella 2006.

¹⁷⁶⁴Dezsö 2012: 59-60; Mallowan 1966: 409, fig. 336a-e; Dezsö 2004: 322; Muscarella 1988: nos. 102-104.

¹⁷⁶⁵Muscarella 1971: 264; Muscarella 1980b: 210; Dyson 1965b: 199.

¹⁷⁶⁶Muscarella 1971: 264.

¹⁷⁶⁷Diakonoff 1985 *CHI II*: 72; also see Muscarella 1980a: 31ff; Muscarella 1979.

¹⁷⁶⁸Winter 1980: pp.4ff, 14-15.

¹⁷⁶⁹For further details about comparing the elements with Anatolian art and mythological scenes see Mellink 1966: 72-87; Porada 1965. Even some of the elements are compared with Scythian art elements see Rice 1965: p.66, fig.54-55. For analyzing some of the scenes on the golden bowl see Chapter II, 2.4.

¹⁷⁷⁰Muscarella 1971: 266.

¹⁷⁷¹Diakonoff 1985 *CHI II*: 100.

objects acquired from elsewhere in the Near East or copied styles of the 9th-7th centuries BCE.¹⁷⁷²

A bronze coffin, said to come from Ziwiye, has a frieze on its rim showing tribute bearers and ‘prisoners’ who are supposed to be Median “*natives brought as prisoners before an Assyrian official.*”¹⁷⁷³

Some Ziwiye metalwork is compared to motifs on Scythian metal objects from Kelermes, north-east of the Black Sea, and some objects and scenes are also considered as Scythian, influenced by Mesopotamian/Assyrian elements. Some of the objects may have been looted from Assyria at the fall of Nineveh.¹⁷⁷⁴ Zimansky was right when he says the objects from Ziwiye show a mixture of local, Iranian, Assyrian and Urartian styles, reflecting cultural interaction of the 7th century.¹⁷⁷⁵

Previously, the treasure of Ziwiye was considered as part of the dowry for the daughter of Esarhaddon who married the Scythian king B/Partatua. Barnett says, “*such an attractive theory is hard to resist. But I find the first objection to it in the fact that the principal pieces which seem closest to Assyrian art are in fact not certainly royal Assyrian gifts but rather suggest the possessions of an Assyrian governor.*”¹⁷⁷⁶ It is decorated with several carved scenes which in general appearance look like Assyrian scenes and subjects on Assyrian reliefs and ivories from the Assyrian heartland. That is why Wilkinson assumes it is “*unquestionably Assyrian, and there are some grounds for thinking that at least this particular one was made somewhat earlier than the end of the seventh century B.C. It is more than likely that the man who receives the tribute is of more exalted rank than governor.*” Moreover, he adds, “*such a man would be assumed only by the king himself or by his appointed viceroy. Such a man would be of exalted rank, perhaps even that of a prince.*” He concludes, “*It could be Sennacherib.*”¹⁷⁷⁷ However, we must remember that the sarcophagus of Ziwiye was not obtained from archaeological excavations, so we are not able to build any strong theory about Assyrian influence. Even though the scenes are similar to Assyrian ones some details allow doubts about its genuineness.¹⁷⁷⁸

The Iron Age graveyard of **Sarrez** is near the town of Kamyaran in Kurdistan province in Iran. That area was part of Allabria or Media during the Iron Age. In a salvage excavation there, metals, potsherds and bones were discovered. The site dates back to Iron Age III. Some metal objects are comparable to Neo-Assyrian ones.¹⁷⁷⁹

A **bronze bowl** in the collection of Foroughi in Tehran has been assumed to have come from somewhere in the Zagros. It has a one line inscription: EN URU (*bēl āli*) šá URU.za-rat šá Zarāt, ‘the’ city lord of Zarāt(u).¹⁷⁸⁰ KUR.Za-ra-a-te occurs in the Assyrian eponym of

¹⁷⁷² Godard 1950; Wilkinson 1975; Ghirshman 1979.

¹⁷⁷³ Barnett 1965: 116.

¹⁷⁷⁴ See Razmjou 2005: fig.30-31. The Assyrian heartland cities were looted by the conquerors during the events of the fall of Assyria in around 612 BCE, for instance see Reade 2008a:102.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Zimansky 2011: p.119, fig.8.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Barnett 1965: 111-116. Also see Godard 1950; Wilkinson 1975; Ghirshman 1979

¹⁷⁷⁷ Wilkinson 1960: 219.

¹⁷⁷⁸ See Chapter IV, 4.9.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Raznpouh & Amelirad 2015: 207-216.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Radner 2001: 17-25, *Abb.2.*

Šarru-hattu-ipēl in year 815 BCE in the reign of Shamashi-Adad V,¹⁷⁸¹ but no exact location for the place is known. It could be the same as *the land of Zuzarura* in the annals of Shamshi-Adad V, and perhaps located in the land of Nairi.¹⁷⁸²

Metal works from the cemeteries of **Marlik** are comparable to similar examples and motifs from Ziwiye and Hasanlu. According to Diakonoff, perhaps the rulers of Andia were buried in the Marlik cemetery.¹⁷⁸³ The objects discovered date to the 11th and 10th centuries BCE. There is no mention of Andia and the rulers at this time in ancient records. The material from Marlik, especially objects from the graves, date to the late second millennium and early first millennium BCE. Piller however assumes that “*there are virtually no objects that can be dated to the period after ca. 1000 BC.*”¹⁷⁸⁴ The metalwork have motifs and elements borrowed from Mesopotamia and Assyria, including a depiction of the mythological bird Imdugud on one of the beakers.¹⁷⁸⁵ Guilloche motifs (meanders) are also depicted on Marlik metal objects. The demon-like and monster-like figures on the Marlik metal beakers have been compared to similar Mesopotamian and Assyrian motifs.¹⁷⁸⁶

The griffin in the upper register of the golden bowl (no.12, from tomb no.36) of Marlik has been compared to a similar example on a Neo-Assyrian seal and on a relief from Tell Halaf. It has been suggested that this motif was borrowed from Assyria from similar examples dated to the 9th- 8th centuries BCE. Accordingly, Negahban says “*It may indicate the remaining influence of Mitannian art in this area,*”¹⁷⁸⁷ unless, as mentioned, these objects of Marlik are to be dated earlier than these Assyrian examples. For the suckling kids of a gazelle (or wild goat) carved on the golden beaker (14) there are similar scenes on Assyrian ivories from Nimrud. There is something similar at Musasir and also the statue of a cow and suckling calf at Nush-I Jan.¹⁷⁸⁸

Many ‘Zagros’ metal objects in museums came there from markets or dealers, they were said to have come from the Zagros, even from a named site are mentioned by name, such as Ziwiye in the Northern Zagros or the Kalamakara cave in the Central Zagros in Luristan. These objects have to be treated with caution, for there are many forgeries. The motifs and objects, especially in the Northern Zagros the objects which said came from Ziwiye where most items reached museums from antiquity markets, may have been copied. It is well known that Luristan metal objects mainly came from the markets, which includes what is said to come from the hoard of the Kalmakareh cave in Rumishgan province in Luristan and now in international collections and museums.¹⁷⁸⁹

Most Iron Age metalwork went to museums in Iran, Iraq or elsewhere to the private collections and museums in other countries.¹⁷⁹⁰ For the Northern Zagros antiquity dealers

¹⁷⁸¹SAAS II: pp. 32, 57.

¹⁷⁸²RIMA III A.0.103.1. 61; also see Radner 2001.

¹⁷⁸³Diakonoff 1985 *CHI II*, 1985: 65.

¹⁷⁸⁴Piller 2010: 16.

¹⁷⁸⁵Negahban 1996: pl.XIV D. For further details see Chapter II, 2.4.

¹⁷⁸⁶Negahban 1996: pl.XIV-XVII.

¹⁷⁸⁷Negahban 1996: vol: 2: 73.

¹⁷⁸⁸Negahban 1996: Pl.XVIII, A.

¹⁷⁸⁹Waters 2005: 532.

¹⁷⁹⁰On the attribution of unexcavated metalwork in the ancient Near East see Muscarella 1979: 30ff.

usually gave Ziwiye as the provenance, and for Luristan it was (and is) the Kalmakara cave, to sell anything for the highest price.¹⁷⁹¹

Ancient metal objects were of interest since they were easily transported and valuable. They were important for paying tribute, seizing booty and exchanging gifts between states. The different techniques for making the objects, the carving, incising or casting for making shapes, images and motifs are important subjects of study. Assyria and the Northern Zagros would have had their own styles and motifs, but the Zagros borrowed Assyrian motifs and patterns. There can be seen Assyrian and also Urartian styles. Trade and migrating metalworkers brought styles from Assyria to the Northern Zagros and vice versa. While many Assyrian metal objects reached the Northern Zagros, but only one golden jug reached the Assyrian court from the Northern Zagros or from Urartu through the Northern Zagros.

From texts and visual records we know Assyria obtained many metal objects and metal ores from the Northern Zagros states, as booty, tribute and gifts. Urartian metal objects were looted from Musasir to Assyria. Assyrian metal objects were looted to the Northern Zagros from the Assyrian heartland at the fall of Assyria in 614-612 BCE. But the amount of Zagros metal objects we have compared with the amount recorded in Assyrian records is very small, perhaps because they were melted down and reused.

¹⁷⁹¹For further details about Ziwiye and Kalmakara cave objects, see Amandry 1966 ; Barnett 1965; Ghirshman 1979.

3.9. Textiles and Costumes

With so few written documents and excavated sites we know very little about Zagrosian costumes and textiles. Some written information comes from Assyrian and Zagrosian records, and visual information from reliefs, to supplement the few surviving textile specimens.

Textiles are rarely found in an archaeological context. Although a few fragments of garments and other textiles from both Assyria and the Northern Zagros have survived, they are in too poor condition for comparisons to be made to suggest influence. No details of decorations remain.¹⁷⁹²

Textiles were commodities in the Old Assyrian trade with Anatolia,¹⁷⁹³ and locally manufactured textiles and garments are mentioned as items of tribute, trade and gift in Assyrian records on the Zagros. Letters of Shemshara indicate that garments were exchanged by the local rulers of the Zagros. An Old Babylonian letter from Shemshara was sent by Pišendēn, the ruler of Turukku, to Yašub-Addu, the ruler of Ahhazum. In it Pišendēn asks Yašub-Addu for several items including a coat.¹⁷⁹⁴ In another letter two types of garments are named: the Tarnine garment (1 *túg ta-ar-ni-ne*^{rki7})¹⁷⁹⁵ and “1 *našinnu*-garment (*na-ši-nu*) for Kakme (*ka-ak-me*).”¹⁷⁹⁶ The former is named after the city of Tarnine, which Eidem has said was probably Tarninu (URU.*Tar-ni-nu*) listed for a grain payment in a letter from Nimrud.¹⁷⁹⁷ Another letter from Shemshara mentions “*one Kamazi-garment*” in a list. Eidem takes Kamazi to be an anthroponym, but Zadok disagrees saying it is a toponym, meaning a garment “*like other garments, which are defined by a geographical name, i.e. their place of origin.*” Zadok, suggests that Kamazi could be “*a late form of the toponym Hamazi,*” the capital of the Lullum in the third millennium BCE.¹⁷⁹⁸

The rich pastures of the Northern Zagros were the home of nomadic or semi-nomadic shepherds. Goat hair and sheep wool were always available. The Assyrian annals say that on several occasions coloured textiles and garments were taken from the defeated Zagrosians as booty, tax or as tribute. Ashurnasirpal II claims that he received tribute at his campaign camp from all the kings of the land of Zamua, from the peoples of the cities of Hudun, Hartišu, Hubuškia and the land of Gilzanu, which included “*garments with multi-coloured trim (TÚG lu-búl-ti bir-me).*”¹⁷⁹⁹

¹⁷⁹²For the textile fragments from Hasanlu see Love 2011: 43-56; De Schauensee 2011: 57-86. Gaspa 2013. On the other hand, some textile fragments discovered in the royal tombs in Nimrud have been identified as linen. See Crowfoot 2008: 149-154, fig.15.

¹⁷⁹³For further details about textiles and garments in the Old Assyrian trade, see Veenhof 1972: 28ff, 219-301; Madhlum 1971: 6.

¹⁷⁹⁴Eidem & Læssøe, 2001: p. 140-1: no. 67.

¹⁷⁹⁵Eidem 1992: 78.

¹⁷⁹⁶Eidem 1992: 118, 4-5.

¹⁷⁹⁷Eidem 1992: 78; Parker 1961: 54. According to the Nimrud letter, Tarninu paid 1000 homers, a very large amount when compared with Arbail in the same list which paid 70 homers. Tarninu, which was survived for more than a millennium, was rich, but no garments from there are mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian texts, and its location is unknown; for further details see Parker 1961: 54, line 1; Eidem & Læssøe 1992: 78.

¹⁷⁹⁸Zadok 2001a: 33-37; Eidem & Læssøe 1992: 124=SH 845; for further details about Hamazi see Ahmed 2012: 64ff.

¹⁷⁹⁹RIMA II A.O. 101.1: 77-79; RIMA II A.O. 101.1: 80-18.

When Sargon plundered Musasir he took woolen and linen garments from the temple of Haldi: "...colored (woolen) garments and linen, in countless numbers..."¹⁸⁰⁰ and "130 brightly colored (woolen) garments, purple linen garments, and wool for the scarlet garments of Urartu and Kirhi [Habhu]¹⁸⁰¹ to the Great Sea.... I carried off. I heaped up...."¹⁸⁰² It appears that in Musasir there were various types of locally made garments and also garments imported by the merchants from Urartu and Kirhi/Habhu. Probably they were garments donated to the temple of Haldi or to the palace of Urzana. Vestments and garments of the goddess Bagbartu were also looted by Sargon II: "9 vestments, the garments of his (i.e. Urzana's) divine majesty, whose embroidery (edges) was of gold...."¹⁸⁰³ Clearly the land of Musasir was a reliable source of costumes worth taking to Assyria as booty. Which seems to have been imported from Urartu and Kirhi/Habhu, but the rest were perhaps made locally.

Purple was the colour of royalty in Mesopotamia and the Near East, and given as such by the Assyrians to the Medes and Manneans in the Zagros.¹⁸⁰⁴ Garments with colored purple in the Assyrian records, in the Bible it is also mentioned as a royal gift. In a letter sent to Sargon II by the crown-prince Sennacherib, he says: "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 purple) and put a silver bracelet on his arm."¹⁸⁰⁵

There were textile weavers in **Arbail** and **Kurbail**, in the temple of Ishtar at Arbail and in the temple of Adad at Kurbail. Two letters deal with manufacturing garments when the weavers of Arbail went to Kurbail to make *kusitu*-garments. As a reply to a previous letter from Esarashaddon asked Balasî where the robes will be delivered. Nabû-šarru-usur replied:¹⁸⁰⁶

I have asked Balasî (and he answered): "We will supply red wool from the palace and they will do as ordered." Moreover, I have asked Aplaya (and he said): "They will give us red wool. The weavers of Ištar of Arbela will come (and) make (fabrics) in Kurbail.

A letter sent to the Assyrian king (Sargon II?) from the Aplaya, the Sangu priest of Kurbail:¹⁸⁰⁷

¹⁸⁰⁰ARAB II 22.

¹⁸⁰¹Habhi read by Luckenbill as Kirhi, see ARAB I 270; also see RIMA II A.0.87.16.

¹⁸⁰²ARAB II 172.

¹⁸⁰³ARAB II 173.

¹⁸⁰⁴SAA I 29: 1; 24-35; r.18-22; SAA XV 91: r.1-9. In Akkadian purple is denoted as *argumannu* and *takiltu*, it could have several tones: bluish purple, dark blue, or violet purple. One text mentions several types of purple used for covering a royal chariot: "they laid (blankets? of) red wool, blue purple wool, red purple wool on (the chariot), see (CAD A ii: 253; and AEAD 245). In Mesopotamia and in Ugarit the queen dressed in purple, since *takiltu*-wool is mentioned in a text from Ugarit as a present for the queen. van Soldt considers *takiltu* to be blue purple (van Soldt 1990: 336, 338, 344). In the Bible a *tekhelet* "purple, blue" dress was a luxury and used in worship. For instance see Luke 16: 19, also see Sterman and Sterman 2012: 135.

¹⁸⁰⁵SAA I 29: 1; 24-35; r.18-22. In the royal court of Babylon, when Daniel explained the writing on the wall to the Babylonian king, "Then Belshazzar gave the command, and Daniel was clothed in purpl.," Daniel 5: 29. The translations of biblical passages are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

¹⁸⁰⁶SAA XVI 84: 11-13, r.1-11.

¹⁸⁰⁷SAA 13 186: rev. 3-10; MacGinnis 1988: 67-72; SAA X 339.

.... the weavers have [not] given the clothes. Perhaps the king my lord will say "From where did they give (it) in the past?" They give *iskiiru*¹⁸⁰⁸ from the palace. The weavers of Arbail weave it.

Nabû-mušeši, son of Nabû-reši-išši in a letter tells the Assyrian king (Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal) that: "The temple weavers have not readied their assigned quotas for me. They are performing masonry-duty."¹⁸⁰⁹

Šilisruḥ, the Median ruler of **Abdadani**, refers to "plucking goats" in his inscription on the bronze plaque: "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!"¹⁸¹⁰ Here "royal goat hair" was to be used for making the textile.¹⁸¹¹

The Assyrian governor of **Zamua**, Addad-issiya, had been asked by Sargon II to "review the troops of **Mazamua** and write me!" Addad-issiya in his reply refers to chariots, cavalrymen, grooms confectioners, cooks and amongs twelve tailors (12 LÚ.KA.KÉŠ).¹⁸¹²

A Middle Assyrian record from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I refers to "a woven *mardatu*-carpet decorated with colourful figurative designs of gods, men, and animals".¹⁸¹³ Not a scrap of Iron Age carpet from Assyria has survived, but we have depictions (imitation) of carpets on a decorated slab in the palace of Tiglath-pileser III at Nimrud, and on a stone threshold in the South-West Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, similar to slabs in the North Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh.¹⁸¹⁴ The rosette motif on these slabs was borrowed from the Kassites who used the rosette at Dur-Kurigalzu.¹⁸¹⁵ The rosette motifs on Pazyryk carpet echo those on Assyrian depictions of carpets,¹⁸¹⁶ despite the differences of time and place.

The cobbled floor at Rabat Tepe is made from river-stones, set as concentric circles separated by rhombuses apparently, imitating a carpet pattern.¹⁸¹⁷ Also, on the Black Obelisk of Shalameser III there is a depiction of two tribute bearers brought two folded rugs to the Assyrian court.¹⁸¹⁸

¹⁸⁰⁸ *Iskiiru/Iškāru* (=ÉŠ.GÀR), *Iškāru work qoutal* "Assigned quota, series" for the attestation of the term in the Assyrian letters see SAA X, p.339.

¹⁸⁰⁹ SAA XIII 145: 78, r.1-2.

¹⁸¹⁰ Radner 2003b: 122.

¹⁸¹¹ Radner 2003b: 127. The Medes may have used goat hair for making clothes, like the people of the Zagros do today. In modern Hawraman district, their traditional suit called *shal*, a two-piece garment, is made completely from goat hair. The upper part is a jacket with an open front and long sleeves, with wide trousers as the lower part. Four colours are used, black, white, brown and grey, typical of goat hair. Bags and tents are also made from goat hair, usually black.

¹⁸¹² SAA V 215: 16.

¹⁸¹³ Radner 2003b: 122f.

¹⁸¹⁴ Good 2012: 342; Russell 1991: 19, fig.13; Matthiae 1998: 208-210; SAA XVI p.79; Russell 1991: 19, fig.13; Dalley 1991: 117-135.

¹⁸¹⁵ Taha 1959: fig.12. Also, see Radner 2003b: 127.

¹⁸¹⁶ Pazyryk carpet is made in the Pazyryk valley in the Altai Mountain in Central Asia. In the 5th century BCE that carpet was made for a Scythian prince. For further details see Dalley 1991: 120, 127; Good 2012: 342.

¹⁸¹⁷ Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 117; Reade & Finkel 2014: 581-596. For further details about the pavement of Rabat Tepe, see Chapter IV, 4.2.2.d.

¹⁸¹⁸ Börker-Klähn 1982: p.190, fig. 152 D 4.

Iron Age tiles from Babi Jan in Luristan have a motif of square panes divided into smaller squares which are filled with other motifs.¹⁸¹⁹ Some of these elements are cross-shaped, to be compared with the “Kassite Cross”, and other decorations are described as “Chequer Board,” these artistic elements could have been imitation of those of rug makers.¹⁸²⁰ It seems from their archives in Ashur that the Hundur family, deported from Media by Sargon II and settled in Ashur, became integrated into Assyrian society, some taking positions in the temple of Ashur, and others active in trading. They also worked with the textile called *massuku*, tentatively identified as a rug.¹⁸²¹ Radner says, “*If this is correct then we may perhaps credit these deportees from Western Iran with introducing to central Assyria the art of hand-knotting carpets with a pile.*”¹⁸²² The family were probably involved in trade with their former homeland, although the destinations of their caravans is not stated.¹⁸²³ We know that the city of Hundur and the nearby Harhar gave Sargon II coloured and decorated textiles as tribute and as booty. Sargon II claims that when he was in the Median city of Hundir (URU.hu-un-dir) he received rimmed garments and linen garments as tribute.¹⁸²⁴

Musasirians, Medes and Manneans were depicted on the Assyrian reliefs in similar dress. Their costumes are mainly “*short-sleeved, knee-long tunics girdled around the waist, fur wraps and high boots.*”¹⁸²⁵ The Zagrosians are depicted wearing fur from the Akkadian period.

In the Neo-Assyrian reliefs of Room XIII in the palace at Khorsabad the plundering of the city of Musasir during the eighth campaign of Sargon II is depicted. Apart from the Assyrian soldiers, some of the people of the city and statues from its temple are shown.¹⁸²⁶

Some information concerning Musasirian costumes comes from these reliefs. At the right side of the scene on relief no.4 in the Room XIII,¹⁸²⁷ there is a three-storied structure with a rectangular door (or doors). On the rooftop ‘tower’ several persons standing facing right are wearing fur cloaks.¹⁸²⁸ They raise both hands up to their faces.¹⁸²⁹ This is probably a representation of the palace of Urzana, and these persons could be Musasirian elite warriors. Albenda says their cloaks are of ‘sheep’s fur,’ but they are spotted suggesting leopard skin.¹⁸³⁰ (Fig. 3.30.a-b).

In the Zagros, from the third millennium to the beginning of the first millennium (towards 500 BCE), nobles and warriors wore leopard skin cloaks. These cloaks occur first (wear by

¹⁸¹⁹Goff, 1969, pl. IV a, b-f; Botta & Flandin 1972, Tome II, pl. 156, fig. 1-3.

¹⁸²⁰Goff 1969: 128.

¹⁸²¹Radner 2013: 448; Ádám Vér 2014:798; *AHw* II: 619.

¹⁸²²Radner 2013: 448.

¹⁸²³Radner 2013: 488.

¹⁸²⁴Levine 1972: p.39, I: 36-38.

¹⁸²⁵Radner 2003b: 125.

¹⁸²⁶Albenda 1986: 91, Abb.18, pl.133, Room 13, slabs 3-4; Pl.134, Room 13, slab.7.

¹⁸²⁷Botta & Flandin 1972: 141.4.

¹⁸²⁸Albenda 1986: 91, Abb.18, pl.133. The cloaks were perhaps made with fur or pressed wool of sheep

¹⁸²⁹Albenda 1986: 91, Abb.18, pl.133.

¹⁸³⁰For further details about the relief of Musasir see Albenda 1986: 29-30

the Lullubi warriors) on the Victory stele of the Akkadian king Naramsin, commemorating his campaign against the Lullubi people in the Zagros Mountains.¹⁸³¹

In the Neo-Assyrian period some of the reliefs of Sargon in the palace at Dur-Sharrukin from the reign of Sargon II depict Zagrosian delegations. They bring tribute of horses and city models to the Assyrian court from the areas of the Zagros Mountains such as Mannea, Media and other areas. Some of them wear sheepskin cloaks and others leopard skins (Fig.3.30.c-d).¹⁸³²

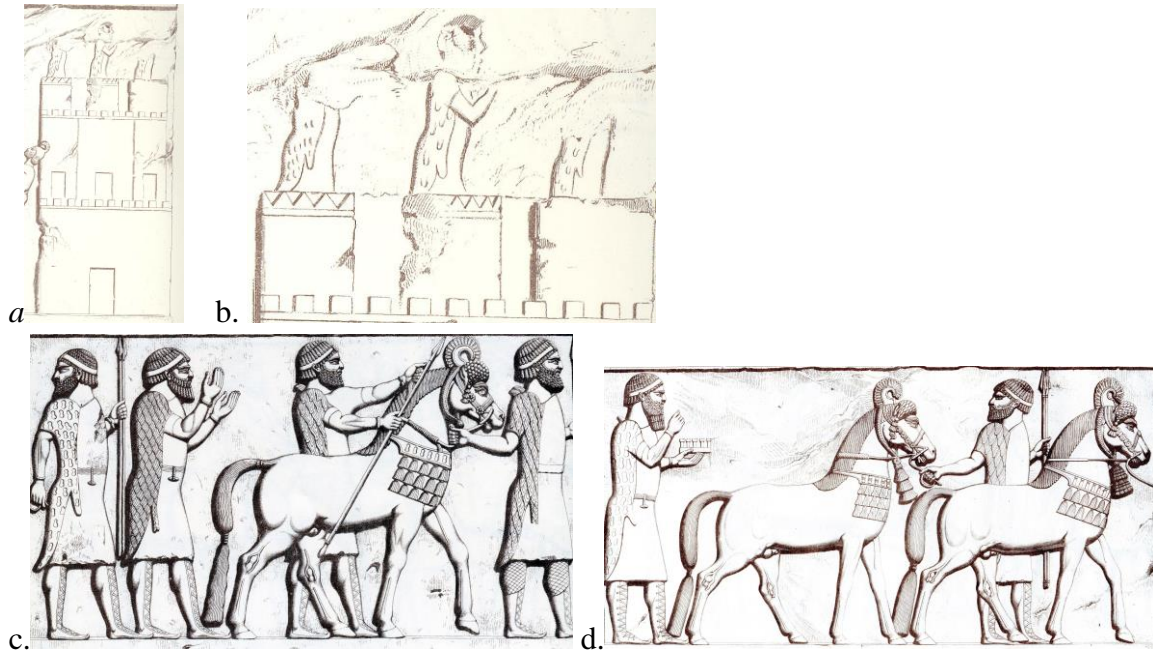


Fig. 3.30.a-b. Details of the Khorsabad relief, the warriors or nobles of Musasir stand on the roof of the palace of Urzana, they dressed in skin or fur cloaks (after Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.141, Room XIII, slab 4).

Fig. 3.30.c-d. Zagrosian leaders and delegations, wearing leopard skins and sheepskins bring horses as tribute to the Assyrian capital (after Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.125-126).

Details of some of the Assyrian campaigns of Sargon II are well recorded and show attacks on Zagrosian cities and fortifications in Mannea and Media etc.¹⁸³³ The local fighters defending their cities wear sheepskins and leopard skin cloaks (see, fig. 3 c). Zagrosian

¹⁸³¹Winter, 2004: 607-613, fig.2. According to B. Foster, the defeated Zagrosian ruler of the Lullubi, who stands facing Naram-Sin, wears a comparable tasseled garment. Although from the photographs the tassels are indistinct, Foster explains “*collation of the stele revealed traces of three of them towards the bottom of his garment.*” Foster 2010: 132. On the Victory Stele of Naramsin and the rock relief of Derband-i-Gawir from the Middle Bronze Age the hair of the Lullubu men is like women’s braids, recalling how Ashurnasirpal II described the hair of the men of one of the districts of Zamua in Lullubu. He says “*the land Sipirmena whose (inhabitants) do their hair like women.*” RIMA II A.0.101.1: 75-76a; also see Marf 2007; Winter, 2004: fig.2. Also see Chapter II, 2.1.

¹⁸³²Albenda 1986: Pl.33-34, Room 10, slabs 13-15.

¹⁸³³Albenda 1986: 68-69, Pl.29-30, Room 10, slab 6, 8.

captives wear fur/skin-cloaks.¹⁸³⁴ Similar to those worn by captured Zagrosian leaders, which identified as *Bel-šarri-ušur (?)*, *Kibaba (?)*, and *Aššur-le'u*.¹⁸³⁵

The Zagrosian warriors wear knee-length tunics with short sleeves, under a cloak of leopard skin or sheepskin also with short sleeves. The animals' feet are shown as part of the cloak open at the front, in such a way that it appears to worn on one side of the body. The warriors hold a long spear and a rectangular shield,¹⁸³⁶ like the Zagrosian captives on relief no.24 in the Room II, and the reliefs 17-18 in Room VIII,¹⁸³⁷ and the captured Zagrosian leader on relief no. 2 in Room IV.¹⁸³⁸ Warriors from other Zagrosian cities were wearing the same style of dress.¹⁸³⁹

Zagrosian delegations to the Assyrian court wear the same style of dress, with knee-length tunic, with short sleeves, under leopard skin cloaks, with sleeves reaching the knees, and leopard paws as part of the dress. Delegations from the Zagros to the Assyrian court wear a similar dress.¹⁸⁴⁰ Warriors from the Mannean city Panzashi wear cloaks of skin cloaks (Room 14, slabs 1-2).¹⁸⁴¹ A final example of traditional Zagrosian costume on the Assyrian reliefs is seen on captured Zagrosian leaders wearing skin cloaks. Behind them are two scribes, one bearded scribe writing on parchment, and the other a eunuch using a clay tablet. The scene is at the camp of the *limmu*-official Taklak-ana-Bel at the defeat of Kisheshlu.¹⁸⁴² On a relief from Khorsabad, the Assyrian siege of the Zagrosian city Kišesim depicted, the depicted warriors are bare headed and wearing skin cloaks.¹⁸⁴³ Therefore, we can assume that leopard skins and sheepskins were traditional Zagrosian garments during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age for warriors and nobles, where both sheep and leopards live in the mountainous areas. Sheepskins were a good protection from the bitter winters there and probably acted as shields from the heat of the sun in summer (Fig.3.30.e-g).¹⁸⁴⁴ Leopard skins would have been relatively expensive.¹⁸⁴⁵ Leopards still live wild in the Zagros Mountains.¹⁸⁴⁶

¹⁸³⁴In the relief of the Room 2, slab 22, and the relief of Room 14 slabs 10-11 in the palace at Khorsabad, see Albenda 1986: Pl.125; 137; see Reade 1979: p.78, note 59; Wäfler 1975: 266-288.

¹⁸³⁵On the reliefs of Khorsabad we see several captured Zagrosian leaders being punished. Russell identifies them with the leaders mentioned by Sargon II. Russell, 1985: 549:Fig.13. Also see Botta & Flandin, 1972: Vol. II, pl. 146, no.10-11, Room XIV. Kibaba was the city lord of Harhar, he was pro-Assyrian. According to Fuchs the mentioned Kibaba on the Najafehabat stele who deported by Sargon II (Levine 1972: 40f.) “perhaps identical with *Kibabiše*” see Fuchs 2000: 614.

¹⁸³⁶Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.68, Room II, no.22.

¹⁸³⁷Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.69, 119.

¹⁸³⁸Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl. 81.

¹⁸³⁹Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.70, Room II, slab.28; Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.77, slab.2.

¹⁸⁴⁰Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.123-127, Room X, slab.2-5; Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.128, Room V, slab.25; Pl.129, Room X, slab. 7-8; Pl.150, Room X, no.8; Pl.151 and Pl.132; Room X, no.10-11; Pl.155-156, Pl.134-135. Room X, no.12-15.

¹⁸⁴¹Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.145; Albenda 1986: 112, Pl.136..

¹⁸⁴²Albenda 1986:111, Pl.137, Room 14, slabs 10-11; Pl.146, Room XIV, no.10-11.

¹⁸⁴³ Albenda 1986: Pl.126, Room 2, slab 22; Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.68, Room II, no.22.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Nomadic shepherds in the modern Zagros still wear pressed sheepskins to protect them from the cold and the rain of winter and spring, and from the heat of summer. Some of these cloaks are oversized, to be used both as clothing and as a sleeping bag and as a mat. The item is called *Faranji* or *Kapang* and *Pastak* in modern Kurdish of the Zagros. The *Faranji* is usually made from pressed white sheep wool, open at the front and worn over the shoulders. The two edges are cone-shaped, similar to the cone-shaped edges seen in the oldest representations of cloaks of men from the Zagros; Assyrian reliefs show the back as one edge. The ancient cloaks were shorter and smaller than those of the modern *Faranji*, and modern garments have sleeveless. Someone wearing a *Faranji*



Fig. 3.30.e. *Pastak/Kapang* and the traditional cloak of the pastoral nomads, and semi-nomads (photo by the author).

f-g. *Faranji/Kulabal* the traditional cloak of the Hawrami Kurdish group who live in the Northern Zagros between Sharezur plain and Zrêbar lake (photo Shwan Hawrami).

Women were rarely depicted in the Zagros or in Assyria art, but on some Zagros items we find female genies and deities. Queens and ladies of the court are not depicted but on Assyrian reliefs women with their children deported from the Zagros are shown wearing long dresses, cloaks with opened front and with long unadorned hair, the men also wearing the well known Zagrosian dress, the short tunic, and the animal skin on it (see fig. 1.4).¹⁸⁴⁷

keeps his arms inside the *Faranji*, and even the sleeves of a *Pastak* are not used. The depiction of Medes on the Qizqapan rock relief and some Achaemenid seals (see Fig. 4 a-b, c) is similar, see Edmonds 1934: fig. 2, and for further details about Qizqapan see Chapter IV (Qizqapan and Kur-u-Kich) 4.8.e. Also, Mallowan considered the dress of other tribute bearers as Medes and compared their dress with Kurdish dress. In fact they are dressed like the Gilzanu tribute bearers on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III. See Mallowan 1966: 250f, fig.209; Barnett 1975: fig. 49; (for further details see this chapter, 3.6).

¹⁸⁴⁵The leopard is the most dangerous carnivore in the mountains, fiercer than mammals such as bears, wolves, or boars. The lion may be the king of the forest, but the leopard is king of mountains. Wearing a leopard skin cloak confers a high social class of nobility, bravery or even a leopard hunter.

¹⁸⁴⁶Leopards usually live in the mountainous areas. In the Assyrian art royal leopard hunts are unattested, though there are several scenes of kings hunting lions, bulls and birds. But one of the Assyrian wall paintings of the palace of Til Barsip shows two royal horses with leopard skin saddles (Hrouda 1965: Pl.30.7; Pl.42.1), so those horses may have come as tribute from the Northern Zagros. Also, on the Iron Age steles of Hakkari we find images of leopards (Franke 2012: 166-167, Abb.4).

Recently local people testify leopards in the Zagros, from the Iraqi side of the Zagros from Sirwan/Diyala River up to the eastern bank of the Upper Zab. The scientific name for this leopard and for the Asian Leopard is *Panthera Pardus Saxicolor*. There are reports of the deaths of some of these leopards in November 2012 and July 2013 in the mountains east of Mdjeser-Ruwanduz (in the area which was called the land of Musasir). Personal communication with local people of that district.

¹⁸⁴⁷SAA V: fig.33.

At the centre of the same relief from Khorsabad depicting Musasir and people clad in skin cloaks in front of the temple of Haldi we see two statues of guardians, bearded and carrying long spears in their left hands, standing on either side of the gate of the temple.¹⁸⁴⁸ They are raising their right hands in greeting one another and visitors to the temple. They wear full length tunics (reaching down to their heels) with short sleeves. The one on the left side of the gate wears a pointed helmet (Fig.3.31.a-c).¹⁸⁴⁹ Although the head and neck of the one on the right side of the gate has been damaged, clearly he wore no helmet and was probably bare headed.

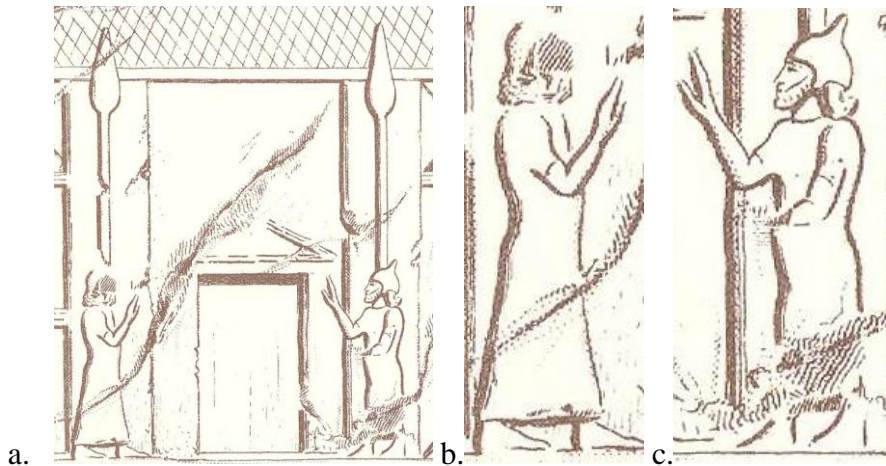


Fig. 3.31. a-c. Sacking the temple of Haldi in Musasir, where two statues guard the gate of the temple. Details in Figs. 5 b-c show the helmet and garments (after Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.141, Room XIII, Slab 4).

Another statue is depicted on relief no.3 in the Room XIII in the palace of Khorsabad. That statue lies on the ground, having been cut away with axes by three Assyrian soldiers (See Fig. 3.32.a, b). It looks very similar to the two statues guarding the temple and it may represent one of them. Their dresses are identical with the two above mentioned statues, and it wears a pointed helmet, identical to the one I refer to as the ‘Uartian statue’ (see Fig. 3.32. c, d, e). At the Assyrian invasion it may have been moved to this hill, which raises the question why the Assyrian soldiers vandalised it. Van Loon suggested that perhaps it was made of metal and had to be cut up to take as booty to Assyria.¹⁸⁵⁰ It might have been made of stone, and they

¹⁸⁴⁸The spears are more than twice as long as the statues are tall. If the statues represent the average height of a man and the spears are proportional, they would be 3-4 metres long.

¹⁸⁴⁹Whether the one on the left side of the gate wore a headdress is not clear because the relief has been damaged. It is very probable that he did not wear a helmet, and he may have been bareheaded, like the nobles wearing woolen cloak at the palace of Urzana. So that statue may represent a Musasirian warrior guarding the temple, greeting the other warrior opposite him on the other side of the gate of the temple. The one wearing the pointed helmet may represent an Uartian warrior. Both statues wear full-length short-sleeved tunics. According to C. Piller, the early Uartian short-sleeved tunic seems to be virtually identical to that of warriors from north-western Iran, especially, from Hasanlu, but their helmets are different (Piller 2012: 390). This means that they had short sleeved dresses at an earlier time, and our example from Musasir cannot be Uartian. Zagrosian nobles and warriors are shown wearing a dress with short sleeves under cloaks also with short sleeves. Short sleeves cannot denote a specific style of dress, at least not in that area in the Iron Age, for some Assyrian soldiers wore short-sleeves (see Albenda 1986: pl.126).

¹⁸⁵⁰ van Loon 1966:86, note.34, 36.

wanted to destroy it. In the same scene someone’s arms protrude from the trees. This might represent a person hiding while the city was being plundered and people were being deported, eventually surrendering after being discovered. His (or her) relation to the statue is unclear. The Assyrian artist was depicting different scenes of the sack of Musasir, so it is improbable that the fallen statue represented a person being hacked to death by the Assyrian soldiers. The Assyrians never used hand axes as weapons, but for clearing roads and felling trees, smashing through the wooden gates of enemy cities, and cutting up statues of metal and stone.¹⁸⁵¹ The sack of Musasir was accomplished without a battle.¹⁸⁵² Hand axes were used as weapons by Scythian warriors, but they had not yet arrived here.¹⁸⁵³

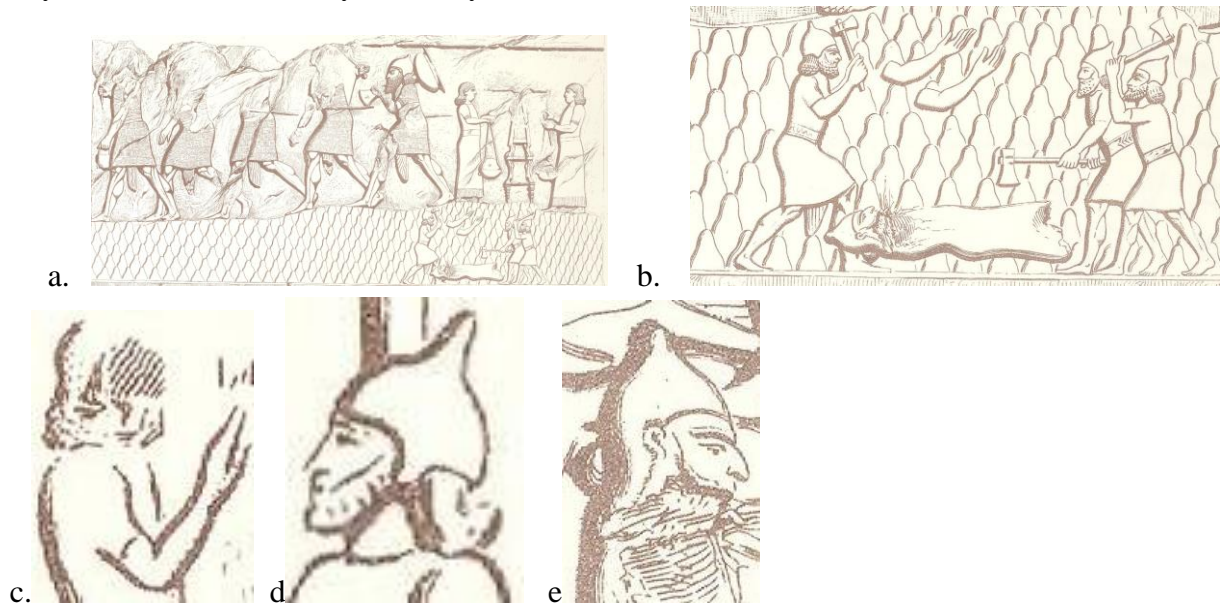


Fig. 3.32. a. *Plundering metal objects and raw metals from Musasir.* Three Assyrian soldiers cut up a metal or stone statue with axes (fig, 6b) (after Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.140, Room XIII, slab 3).

b. Details of Fig. 6 a, three Assyrian soldiers cutting up a metal statue with axes (after Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.140, Room XIII, slab 3).

c-e. The headdresses of the statues of Musasir depicted on the Assyrian relief in the palace of Khorsabad.

¹⁸⁵¹See ARAB. Sargon used hand axes for destroying orchards, and to clear the road to Musasir through rugged mountains. Ashruansirpal II cleared roads in Zamua; Marf 2009c:74-75.

¹⁸⁵² In Sargon’s Eighth campaign there is no mention of destruction and killing at the sack of Musasir, and on the reliefs of Khorsabad there is no depiction of a battle or a siege of the city. See Marf, D.A., (forthcoming), “Who Destroyed Musasir?” *Proceeding of the presented papers in the 61st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Geneva, on July 22nd 2015*, Orbit Biblicus et Orientalis (OBO).

¹⁸⁵³ A statue discovered in the village of Mdjeser represents a life-size bearded male warrior holding an axe in his right hand. The statue is dated by Boehmer to the Neo-Assyrian period and taken as an example of Assyrian style of the 9th century BCE (Boehmer 1973: 38). From archaeological evidence I suggest that this may be a Scythian warrior chief, an idea to be discussed later in detail; cf. Marf 2013: 13-29; Marf, D.A. (forthcoming), 2016 “Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012),” in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) Forthcoming. *The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress.

The figs. 6 c and d show the **headdresses** of the statues at the Haldi temple, and fig. 6 e the headdress of the statue hacked by the Assyrian soldiers. The depiction of the statues in front of the temple of Haldi show that at Musasir a conical pointed helmet was worn, with leather flaps for covering a warrior's ears and the nape of his neck, a style not known among Urartian helmets.¹⁸⁵⁴ At Hasanlu a conical bronze helmet was discovered, dated to the 9th or 8th century BCE, but one without ear flaps (see fig. 7 a).¹⁸⁵⁵ It resembles the helmet of the Assyrian soldiers hacking the statue.¹⁸⁵⁶ The representation of helmets on this Assyrian relief are similar to actual helmets found from Urartu,¹⁸⁵⁷ but Urartian bronze conical helmets, had no ear protection.¹⁸⁵⁸

The Assyrian soldiers on the Khorsabad reliefs wearing helmets; these are similar to the helmets of the Assyrian soldiers shown attacking the Mannean city Panziash (Pazish), and similar to the helmet of the guardian of temple of Haldi at Musasir. Those helmets have pointed tips, with leather protective flaps for the back of the neck and the ears, but the pointed tip is shorter and thinner than the Musasir helmets.¹⁸⁵⁹ That statue could represent an Urartian from its style, but it is not Argishti I as van Loon assumed. Sargon II states that he looted the statue of Argishti I from the temple of Musasir, and Sargon says that the statue of Argishti there wore “*a crown with a star like that of a god*”¹⁸⁶⁰, whereas the figure on the relief of Khorsabad wore a helmet with a pointed tip.¹⁸⁶¹

The eighth campaign of Sargon II probably led to changes in the demography of **Musasir** in the 7th-6th century BCE, when the Scytho-Cimmerians penetrated into that area.¹⁸⁶² The evidence for change is based on several funerary statues discovered there.

Since these statues were carved in a very abstract style, generally they give few details about clothing, though some wore a knee-length skirt, and one a wide conical cap.¹⁸⁶³ This was identified by Boehmer as an Assyrian king's cap supporting a tiara (Fig.3.33),¹⁸⁶⁴ but that is improbable since the details of the conical cap of the statue, which was discovered in Mdjeser, is not like the well known Assyrian king's caps. We now know of several nude

¹⁸⁵⁴ Nojehdehi, 2012:Fig.1-8, 10.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Azarpay, 1968: Pl.9.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Albenda 1986:91, Pl.133 (Room XIII, slab 3).

¹⁸⁵⁷ The two distinct forms of Urartian helmet are crested and conical. Crested ones may have horseshoes or crescents on top. Conical ones are commoner, with the lower circle tapering upwards, terminating with pointed tip. Crested helmets were worn by Urartian soldiers on the Balawat Gate reliefs of Shalmaneser III. For instance see Biber 2011: 242, Fig.10.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Biber 2011: 242, fig.10; Seidl 2004: Pl.6 a-c. For other examples of the Urartian helmet styles, see Wäfler, 1975: Abb.167-170; and for other examples of the Assyrian headdresses, caps and headdresses see Hrouda 1965, Pl.23. 1-21; Albenda 1986: 94, Pl.140; Nojehdehi 2012: fig.1

¹⁸⁵⁹ See Albenda 1986: Pl. 136, (Room XIV, slabs 1-2); Pl.133 (Room XIII, slabs 3).

¹⁸⁶⁰ van Loon 1966: 85-86. The coronation of some of the Urartian kings may have been performed in this temple, as well as a kind of ‘festival’ called ‘days of joy’ (mentioned in the Urartian bilingual stele of Merge Karvan) and performed over two weeks. Every day there were sacrifices and banquets for the city of Musasir in which the Urartian king Rusa son of Sarduri participated; for details see the Assyrian text of Merge Karvan Stele, Roaf 2012a:193; *CTU I*, A 10-4.

¹⁸⁶¹ For further details see the section on *Metalwork* in this Chapter, 3.8.

¹⁸⁶² For further details see SAA IV 24: 7-11; 269: 2-5; 35: 4-5; 36: 2-5; 43, also see Chapter I, 1.2.3.

¹⁸⁶³ Marf 2014; Marf D. A., (forthcoming): Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012), Oxford: *BAR Publisher*.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Boehmer 1973: 38, Taf.11 3.I; Taf.12 1-4.

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statues discovered recently in the area of ancient Musasir. One of them wears a 'jockstrap', identical to a jockstrap worn by one of the male figures on the Iron Age warrior burial steles of Hakkari (Fig.3.33).¹⁸⁶⁵ These statues might represent 'Scythian' warrior chieftains, who penetrated and dominated that area probably during the late seventh century and the sixth century BCE.¹⁸⁶⁶

A textile which reached Assyria from the Northern Zagros was the coloured plumes decorating the heads of horses sent as tribute to the Assyrian court. Median horses with these plumes are depicted on Assyrian and Zagrosian glazed bricks and on Assyrian reliefs from Khorsabad.¹⁸⁶⁷ On some Assyrian reliefs Egyptian blue and red (hematite) are used as pigments on the tassel and plume of carved horses, similarly, on the wall paintings of Til Barsib.¹⁸⁶⁸ While some Zagros dress which is depicted on local objects is different from Assyrian dress there are also some objects depicting people, especially on the ivories of Hasanlu and Ziwiyé.¹⁸⁶⁹



¹⁸⁶⁵See Sevin 2005b: 163-164, Fig.1-2; Sevin 2005a; Marf 2009; Marf 2014; Marf D. A., (forthcoming): Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012), Oxford: *BAR Publisher*.

¹⁸⁶⁶Marf 2013: 13-29.

¹⁸⁶⁷Collon p.fig.109, p.134; Albenda 1986: Pl.34, Room 10, slab.15.

¹⁸⁶⁸Verri, et al., 1999: 57-62.

¹⁸⁶⁹See Muscarella 1982; Ghirshman 1979, also see below.

Fig. 3.33. Several funeral statues discovered in the mountainous area which was called Musasir and Kurruri during the Iron Age. (Photo by the author).

When the Assyrians plundered the cities of the Zagros they looted garments and also they received garments and textiles as tribute. They dressed messengers arriving in delegations in purple. Zagrosians depicted on Assyrian reliefs generally wear local dress, leopard skin or sheepskin over a short tunic, a style of dress not worn by others. No specific headdress distinguishes the people of the Zagros on Assyrian reliefs. The Gilzaneans, the Musasirians, the Medes and the Mannans did not cover their heads.¹⁸⁷⁰ The warriors on the city walls defending their cities against the Assyrians were bareheaded Zagrosians bringing horses and city models to the Assyrian court have short hair with a headband round their foreheads.¹⁸⁷¹ The Median warriors on the walls and towers when Sargon II besieged Harhar and Kishesim, Tikraki and the Mannan city of Pazashi also had short hair but in a different style and no headband.¹⁸⁷² The people of the mountains usually wore high-laced knee-high boots, laced but open at the front.¹⁸⁷³

By contrast Šilisuḫ, the Median ruler of Abadani, is depicted on an inscribed bronze plaque wearing a long dress and headdress typical of an Assyrian king.¹⁸⁷⁴

On metal objects of Hasanlu local people are depicted. Their dresses are not like those of Mannans, Medes and Musasirians. In Hasanlu the long dress reached below the knee. It has a thick belt, and the shoulders and the lower part are fringed. Some individuals wore no headdress, and others wore a tall fez, with an upward pointing tail. Some archers wore a headdress perhaps made from fur, with a conically shaped liner at the back.¹⁸⁷⁵

Peoples, genies, deities are often depicted on local Zagros Iron Age glazed bricks, ivories, seals, metal objects etc. They wear different styles of dress. Most are local varieties of style, but some are similar to Assyrian and Urartian styles. In the main the objects themselves are carved or painted with motifs in Assyrian styles. The figures if not Assyrian are Mesopotamian, including Gilgamesh and Enkidu dressed as usual.¹⁸⁷⁶

¹⁸⁷⁰Especially the Medes and the Mannans, they did not cover their heads with a headdress. For instance see Albenda 1986: Pl.34, Room 10, slabs 15.

¹⁸⁷¹Albenda 1986: Pl.27, Room 10, slabs 1-2; Pl.34, Room 10, slab.15.

¹⁸⁷² Some of the 'leader/priests' depicted on the towers at the acropolis of Harhar are dressed slightly differently from the other warriors on the walls. One has a headband not seen on other warriors at Median and Mannan cities depicted on the reliefs of Khorsabad. See Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 145; Botta & Flandin, 1972, pl.55.7

¹⁸⁷³Albenda 1986: Pl.27, Room 10, slabs 1-2; Pl.34, Room 10, slab.15.

¹⁸⁷⁴Calmeyer 1973: pl.135. fig.29.

¹⁸⁷⁵For further details see De Schauensee 2001: 1-42, fig.1.14,b.; fig.1.19.

¹⁸⁷⁶To be discussed later in this Chapter.

3.10. Pottery in Assyria and the Northern Zagros

Later Khabur ware and Old Babylonian ware is the main ceramic found over a large area of Upper Mesopotamia, including Assyria, the Zagros foothills and some areas of the Northern Zagros during the Late Bronze Age, it is particularly common in Assyria and the Iraqi Zagros.¹⁸⁷⁷ It has been found in some sites of the Urmia basin. Late Khabur painted ware was found at Hasanlu VI,¹⁸⁷⁸ as well as Dinkha Tepe and Tepe Giyan II.¹⁸⁷⁹

In the Zagros, there are local wares. A well known example is Shamlu Ware, first found at Tell Shamlu in the Sharezur plain in a 1960s excavation by an Iraqi team. The plain during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age was part of Lullubum.¹⁸⁸⁰ Shamlu Ware is dated to the Middle Bronze Age, to what is known as the post-Simurru period.¹⁸⁸¹ No real parallel for Shamlu Ware has been found at sites near Tell Shamlu, but a few similar potsherds were found in the Sharezur plain and in Dinkhe Tepe near the Urmia basin.¹⁸⁸² It is not known where or by whom Shamlu Ware was made, but it cannot be attributed to Shamlu Ware to the Lullubeans, since other contemporary sites in the land of Lullubum have no Shamlu Ware.

Later, in the second half of the second millennium BCE, in Assyria and the Zagros foothills Khabur Ware was replaced by Nuzi Ware,¹⁸⁸³ throughout the Assyrian heartland and the Zagros foothills. It was found at Tell al-Rimah in the Assyrian heartland and in the Northern Zagros at Tell Bakrawa, contemporary with and comparable to the Mittani vessel found there.¹⁸⁸⁴ Moreover, it has been assumed that Nuzi ware found in the tombs of the chieftains of Hakari in southeastern Turkey, near the Iraqi border and the Upper Zab.¹⁸⁸⁵ However, in the area of the Urmia basin and the Iranian side of the Northern Zagros Khabur Ware was replaced by Grey Ware, not Nuzi ware. Why Khabur Ware was switched to Grey Ware in some of the sites in the Northern Zagros is an unanswered question. While there is no clear textual or material supporting evidence explain the appearance of Grey Ware as a sign of

¹⁸⁷⁷ See Edzard 1972-1975: 29-31; Postgate, et al., 1997: 52ff. For more details about Khabur ware and its relation with Nuzi ware see Stein 1984; also, see Al-Husiani 1962: 140-164; Madhloum 1965: 75-88; Miglus, et al., 2011: 136-174; Miglus, et al., 2013: 43-88.

¹⁸⁷⁸ For the discussion about the Khabur ware in the Northern Zagros and Assyria see Muscarella 2006: 72; Kroll 1994: 159-166. The term Khabur ware was first used by Mallowan during the excavation at Chagar Bazar. Khabur ware spread widely from the Urmia western shores at Dinkhe Tepe to the Mediterranean shores at Alalakh. See Oates et al., 1997: 52ff; Hrouda 1972-1975: 29-31. For further details about the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age ceramics in Hasanlu VIa – IVc, see Danti & Cifarelli, 2013: 143-276.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Dyson 1965b: 204, 211; Kramer 1977: 104ff. For further details about Dinkhe Tepe ceramic see Muscarella 1968: 187ff; Muscarella 1974: 35-90; Hamlin 1974: 125ff; Danti and Cifarelli 2013: 152-165.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Ahmed 2012:75-80.

¹⁸⁸¹ Altaweel, et al., 2012: 11; Al-Janabi 1961: Table 5, 6, and 12; Mühl 2013: Tafel. 93.

¹⁸⁸² There are two types of Shamlu ware, Older Shamlu and Younger Shamlu. Older Shamlu is contemporary with identical examples from Dinkha Tepe (Dinkha IVd), see Mühl 2013: 164, Tafel. 93; Al-Janabi 1961: Tables 5, 6, and 12; Danti and Cifarelli 2013: 158ff, fig.4.9.a.

¹⁸⁸³ Starr 1939: 388ff.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Miglus et al., 2013: 50f.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Özfirat discovered potsherd(s) in the tombs of Hakkari and called it Nuzi ware. By connecting Nuzi ware with Hakkari he concluded that the owners of the Hakkari tombs were chieftains trading metals between Caucasia, Urmia and beyond with Mesopotamia and Anatolia; see Özfirat 2001: 209-228; Sevin 2005b: 165; for Nuzi ware see Starr 1939: 219ff.; Hamlin 1974: 125ff; Oates, J., et al., 1997: 52-54; Stein 1984.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Sevin 2005b: 164; Sevin 2005a.

demographic and political change in the area of the Urmia basin and nearby territories. Muscarella raises some related questions:¹⁸⁸⁶

Did the Khabur-ware culture originate in Iran and move west, or does it represent an eastern extension of a western culture? Did this culture succumb to the invading gray-ware people or did the Khabur-ware people abandon the area before the arrival of the latter? Can the people of gray-ware culture be equated with any of the nations historically documented in the ninth century B.C. by the Assyrians and Urartians? These and other questions remain most interesting problems for future research.

Curtis supposes that the appearance of Grey Ware could be linked with Indo-European migrations.¹⁸⁸⁷ Abandoning one type of ware for another is mainly related to migrations or immigrations. Perhaps abandoning Khabur Ware was related to the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, especially in the area of the Urmia basin and the Northern Zagros when newcomers were arriving. The area was also the arena where Urartians and Assyrians fought for control. For some reason or other, Khabur Ware gave way to Grey Ware and other wares at the end of the Late Bronze Age.¹⁸⁸⁸

Assyrian ceramic had not so strong influence on Zagros ceramic compared Assyrian influence on Northern Zagrosian art, for which political and military advances of the Assyrians were responsible.¹⁸⁸⁹ Ceramic is important archaeologically for determining cultural boundaries and migrations.¹⁸⁹⁰ Every territory in the Zagros had its own local style of Iron Age ceramic, which changed or was replaced with new shapes and decorative motifs with changing demography because of migration or deportation. We have no evidence of Assyrian deportees in the Zagros,¹⁸⁹¹ for Assyrian penetration was mainly by soldiers, which did not change the pottery of the Zagros.¹⁸⁹²

Palace ware, also called elite ware, is a typical Assyrian ware made in the 8th-7th centuries BCE in the Assyrian heartland and in some areas of the Assyrian empire. It is found in the form of drinking cups, bowls and jars, usually with thin walls and small, between 15cm-4cm.¹⁸⁹³ It has been found at several sites in the Northern Zagros. The beakers from Bakrawa are “*a medium-fine yellow-reddish ware*” with rounded bases,¹⁸⁹⁴ similar to late Assyrian beakers from Ashur and Tell al-Rimah.¹⁸⁹⁵ Some fine beakers and “*carinated bowls with everted rim*” have been found in the Sharezur plain.¹⁸⁹⁶ In the vassal treaty of Esarhaddon with the Medes Assyrian Palace ware is mentioned indirectly with “*by holding*

¹⁸⁸⁶Muscarella 1968:196.

¹⁸⁸⁷Curtis (ed.), 1995:18.

¹⁸⁸⁸Muscarella 1968: 196.

¹⁸⁸⁹Saggs 1973: 157; Dyson 1965b: 195

¹⁸⁹⁰For instance, see Kramer 1977: 92ff.

¹⁸⁹¹The discovery of Assyrian style pottery in two houses in one of the Urartian settlements was interpreted as an indication that deportees from Assyria probably used those houses; see Stone 2012: 89.

¹⁸⁹²For similar discussion see Anastasio 2010: 27.

¹⁸⁹³Hunt 2015: 6ff; Hunt 2013: 135-142; Rawson 1954: 168-172; Anastasio 2010: 3.

¹⁸⁹⁴Miglus, et al., 2013: fig.7.

¹⁸⁹⁵In Bakrawa a clay cone found in the layer 1 is compared with similar clay cones from Nuzi and from Assyria in Tell al-Rimah. However, there is no other ceramic evidence to indicate similarities between the Middle Assyrians and the Zagros; see Miglus, et al., 2013: 47-48, fig.7 a.; Postgate, et al., 1997:51, 67, 69.

¹⁸⁹⁶Altaweel, et al., 2012: 26, fig.16:4.

*breasts, you will not bind each other by oath.*¹⁸⁹⁷ The expression “*by holding breasts (ši-bit tu-le-e)*” could mean holding breast-shaped wine cups. In Assyria and the Zagros no breast-shaped metal cups have been found, but one type of Palace ware is a beaker with a nipple-shaped base. Esarhaddon and the Medes may have used such a beaker when they swore their oath. The nipple-base beaker is first found in Mittani ceramics from the Middle Assyrian period. An example was also found at Tell al-Rimah, from the Neo-Assyrian period as a type of Assyrian Palace ware. Other examples were found at Satu Qala in the Northern Zagros.¹⁸⁹⁸

Many examples of fine **glazed colourful jars** have been found in the Assyrian heartland. In Ashur the ceramics are mainly painted with colourful decoration,¹⁸⁹⁹ and in Tell Bila, Nimrud, Tell al-Rimah, Qasir Shamamuk (ancient Kilizi), Arbail they are small fine glazed jars.¹⁹⁰⁰ The jars at Qasir Shamamuk have a flower with yellowish and white petals, identical with the decoration of glazed wall knobs and glazed bricks of Satu Qala (Idu).¹⁹⁰¹

In the Northern Zagros, several examples of these Assyrian small fine jars have been found, mainly in tombs and graves,¹⁹⁰² with plant, flower, and animal decoration in different colours. The one from Ziwiye had petals on its lower rim, and on a body panel a sacred tree or palmetto between two kneeling gazelles. This scene is identical to one on a jar from Ashur (see Fig. 3.34.a),¹⁹⁰³ and one on an ivory plaque from Nimrud.¹⁹⁰⁴ In the Urmia basin (Mannea) at the Kul Tarike Cemetery, (east of Ziwiye) a small Assyrian fine glazed jar was found with an Assyrian bottle. The cemetery is dated to the 7th century BCE and attributed to the Manneans (Fig.3.34.b).¹⁹⁰⁵



Fig. 3.34.a. Painted and glazed jars from Ashur (after Andrae 1925: Taf. 20).

b. A glazed fine jar found in grave no.7 in Kul Tarike Cemetery (after Rezvani & Roustaei 2007: pl.12).

¹⁸⁹⁷Wiseman 1958: p.42, col. iii: 155-156.

¹⁸⁹⁸Oates, et al., 1997:57, Plate 20, e; van Soldt, et al., 2013: 202, fig.6.

¹⁸⁹⁹Andrea 1925: Tables 12-20.

¹⁹⁰⁰Moorey 1985:157, 170ff; Oates et al., 1997: 57; Andrae 1952 .

¹⁹⁰¹Anastasio et. al, 2012: pp. 94, 153, fig. 45, fig.74.5; Anastasio 2010: pl.29.4; Anastasio, 2011: fig. 2d; for glazed bricks from Qasir Shamamuk, see Amastasio et. al, 2012: pp.89, 94,102, 112-13, 153.

¹⁹⁰²A small fine glazed jar was found in a tomb in Arab District near the citadel of Erbil (Arbela); see Van Ess, et al., 2012: 104-165). In the Northern Zagros in the cemetery of Kul Tarike an Assyrian fine glazed jar was also discovered, see Rezvani & Roustaei, 2007: pl.12.

¹⁹⁰³Ghirshman 1979: Pl. XXII, 5; Andrae 1925: Taf.20; Amandry 1966: pl.XXIX 1-2.

¹⁹⁰⁴Mallowan & Davies 1970: No.162, Pl.XXXVIII; Godard 1950: fig. 66 and 69.

¹⁹⁰⁵Azarnoush & Helwing 2005: 221; Rezvani & Roustaei 2007: 144; Amandry 1966: pl.XXIX, 1-2.

In the Northern Zagros many Iron Age sites have been excavated, but most incompletely during just a few seasons. Important finds of several types of **Iron Age pottery** come from Hasanlu, Dinkhe, Ziwiye, Qalaichi, Rabat, Nush-I Jan, Godin, Bakrawa, Satu Qala, Tell ed-Dem, and Basmusian. Most exhibit local styles sorted by colour and shape. The common Zagros Grey ware comes from Hasanlu,¹⁹⁰⁶ and elsewhere. We also have “reddish buff” ware (or red paste ware, pinkish-yellow in colour) from Northern Zagros sites.¹⁹⁰⁷

Several types were discovered in the area of the Urmia basin and elsewhere in the Northern Zagros. In Iron Age I monochrome Grey ware appeared, at Hasanlu V, Marlik, Sialk A., Yanik Tepe, and Goey Tepe B. Then came painted Triangle ware in Iron Age III in the Neo-Assyrian and Urartian expansion in the Northern Zagros, in Hasanlu III B, Sialk B, Ziwiye, Zendan, and Yankil Tepe.¹⁹⁰⁸ Brown Slipped ware, Urmia ware, knob ware decorated with little knobs and reddish-brownish ware date to the very late Early Iron Age pottery. Groovy pottery and Grey ware were in dozens of Early Iron Age sites and knob ware in the Urmia Basin.¹⁹⁰⁹

The area between the Lower Zab and the Upper Diyala from the Rania plain as far as the ranges bordering the east of the Sharezur plain was part of ancient **Zamua**, or **Lullume**. The ceramics there dated to the Iron Age were discovered in several sites. Some are compared to Assyrian ceramics in style, while other local styles occur elsewhere in the Northern Zagros. There are many sites, including Basmusian, Tell ed-Dem, Satu Qala, Tell Sitak, Bestansur, and Bakrawa.¹⁹¹⁰ In the Rania plain also, at Tell ed-Dem, in the second level under this palace a type of Iron Age ceramic was found dated to the 7th century BCE and compared to Assyrian ceramic examples from Nimrud.¹⁹¹¹

Iron Age potsherds discovered at **Sitak III** (east of Sulaimania)¹⁹¹² are compared to Nimrud and Khirbet Qasrij, and from the same level there is an example of ceramic dated to the 7th century BCE, compared to a similar one from Babajan in the Central Zagros.¹⁹¹³ In Sitak II, other Iron Age ceramics were found, to be compared with examples from the Assyrian heartland, in particular Tell al-Hawa and Tell el-Rimah.¹⁹¹⁴

¹⁹⁰⁶Khatib-Shahidi 2006: 17-29; Danti and Cifarelli 2013: 183, 277-312, Table.4.1. At Hasanlu also a painted vessel was discovered, considered by Muscarella as North Syrian to be compared with examples from Hama and Charchamish, see Muscarella 1980b: 211.

¹⁹⁰⁷Erdem & Konyar 2011: 274; Young 1965:55.

¹⁹⁰⁸Dyson 1965b: 204, 211.

¹⁹⁰⁹Kroll 2005:pp.65-85; Danti and Cifarelli 2013: 277-312.

¹⁹¹⁰See Abu-al-Soof 1971: 9; al-Tikrity 1960; van Soldt, et al., 2013; Saber 2015; Miglus 2013.

¹⁹¹¹In the Rania plain, at Tell Basmusian, a local coarse ceramic is dated to the 8th and 7th century BCE, al-Tikrity 1960: 96; and also in Basmusian some ceramic is dated to the second half of the second millennium BCE (abu al-Soof 1970: 9). No detailed report of that excavation was published by al-Tikrity, so any relation of these ceramics with Nuzi ware, Middle Assyrian or local wares of the Zagros is unknown.

¹⁹¹²The site, discovered accidentally, is located northeast of Sulaimania, in the ancient province of Mazamua. A salvage excavation was conducted by the Directorate of Antiquities of Sulaimania, see Saber 2015.

¹⁹¹³Saber et. al, 2015: 205-229, fig.13. 1-4, table 1. See also Curtis 1989: fig.40. No.266; fig.22, KQ9; Simpson 1990: 119-140.

¹⁹¹⁴Saber et. al, 2015: figs. 14.7, 16.3.; Curtis 1989: fig.22, KQ9; fig.36. No.220; Postgate et al., 1997: pl.97, No.1173; Ball, et al., 1989: 1-66.

At **Satu Qala** several Assyrian jars and many potsherds were discovered, including globular goblets dated to the Late Assyrian period. An Assyrian nipple-beaker, bowls and potsherds were also found.¹⁹¹⁵

At **Tepe Qalaichi** we have **Fine ware**, Fine Buff ware, Fine Reddish Buff ware, Common ware, and Glazed Common ware, dated to the late 8th century and the 7th century BCE.¹⁹¹⁶ At **Kul Tarike**, **Zendan-e Soleyman**, **Hasanlu IIIB**, and **Ziwiye**, the ceramic is mainly considered as Mannean.¹⁹¹⁷ In the Urmia basin, part of Mannea, at the Kul Tarike Cemetery, local style ceramics were discovered differently coloured: orange, Red ware, Grey-Black, Cream ware, and Glazed. The objects and the cemetery date to the 7th century BCE and attributed to the Manneans.¹⁹¹⁸

From **Rabat Tepe** we have Iron Age ceramics date to the 8th-7th centuries BCE, classified into three main groups: “*fine ware, an ordinary ware and a coarse ware.*”¹⁹¹⁹ No comparable Assyrian ceramics examples are mentioned, but are like contemporary ceramics from other Mannean sites such as Zendan-e Suleiman.¹⁹²⁰

Pottery said to come from **Ziwiye** has nothing comparable to Assyrian jars, except for two fine glazed Assyrian jars (see above). It is coarse buff and brown pottery, and includes incised jars.¹⁹²¹

The first evidence of Iron Age ceramic from the **Musasir** kingdom comes from Boehmer in the 1970s in Kale-Mdjeser/Kala-Mdjeser and in Ashkene, who found potsherds and jars there.¹⁹²² I have personally conducted field work in the Ruwanduz-Sidekan valleys during 2005-2012, part of the land of Musasir in the territory of **Hiptunu** in the Iron Age. Intact jars and potsherds were collected from a number of sites. Their size, shape, decoration, function and find-spots deserve fuller discussion.

In the **Diyana plain**, on the east bank of the Balkian River, there are sites such as Gird-e-Desht and its lower town Gird-e-Meer and also Dêlizian, as well as on the west bank such as Tell Haudian.¹⁹²³ Local people have discovered Iron Age potsherds there as well as two middle sized jars.¹⁹²⁴ These jars are semi-spherical in shape, handmade, similar in size and

¹⁹¹⁵van Soldt, et al., 2013: 202, 204f, fig.6.

¹⁹¹⁶Mollazadeh 2008:p.116; Kargar 1383: 230, fig.13.

¹⁹¹⁷Heidari 2010: 147; Kargar and Binandeh 2009: 114; Boehmer 1986: 95-115; Boehmer 1989: 335-347.

¹⁹¹⁸Rezvani & Roustaei, 2007: 144.

¹⁹¹⁹Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 119

¹⁹²⁰ Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 114.

¹⁹²¹Kroll 2003: 282; Reade 1995a: 39.

¹⁹²²Boehmer 1993-1997: 446ff; also see Boehmer 1979: 50-51; Boehmer 1973: 31-40. Also see Lehmann-Haupt 1926: 288-308.

¹⁹²³The Iron Age town Hiptunu (previously read by Assyriologists as Hiparna) (medieval Tell Haftun) is recorded in the annals of Sargon II (*TCL* III 425). It is located by Zadok with scholarly support in the area east of the Upper Zab near the Harir plain, (Zadok, 1978: 163ff.; Zadok 1995a: 443). I have proposed a different location, at modern Tell Haudian; see Marf 2015.

¹⁹²⁴The jar of Dêlizian is 14.7 cm in diameter and 14 cm in height. The Haudian jar is 16 cm in diameter and 17 cm in height. See Marf D. A., (forthcoming): Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012), Oxford: *BAR Publisher*.

decorated with projecting vertical lines. The jar from Tell Haudian has in addition vertical excised lines and is decorated with reliefs of wild goats (Fig. 3.35.a-b).¹⁹²⁵

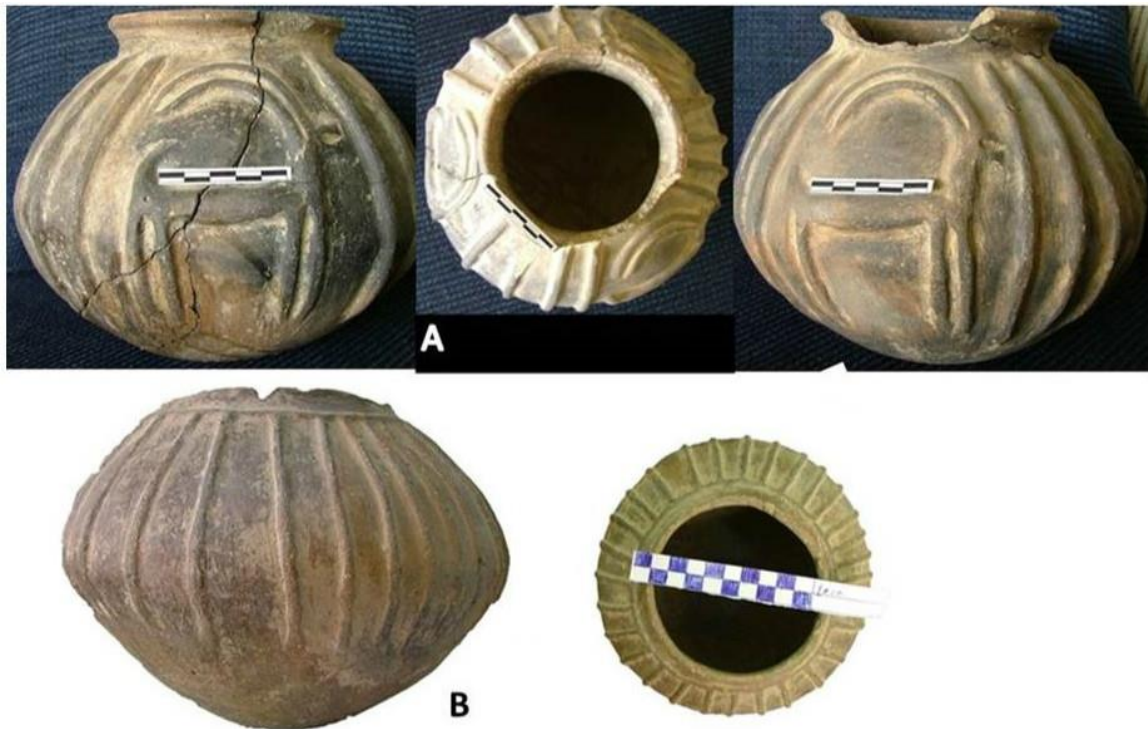


Fig. 3.35.a-b. Two middle size jars from Diyana plain; A. from Tell Haudian. B. From Delizian. (Photos by the author).

These jars are identical in shape, decoration and style with jars found in the burials and buildings of **Hasanlu** and **Dinkhe Tepe** in the Urmia Basin.¹⁹²⁶ The jars of Hasanlu and Dinkhe Tepe date to the Iron Age I, to the 9th century BCE,¹⁹²⁷ so we can date the jars of the Diyana plain to the same period. They provide evidence of cultural interactions between Musasir and Hiptunu with Hasanlu and Mannea, through the passes linking the Urmia Basin to Assyria, such as the Kêl-e-Shin, Barbazin, Minber and Gowre-Shinke passes.¹⁹²⁸ The discovery of these Hasanlu style jars not only show cultural contact between the Diyana plain and Hasanlu but also that Diyana-Sidekan-Bradost (ancient Musasir and Hiptunu) played in the interaction between Assyria and Hasanlu in the 9th century BCE.¹⁹²⁹

¹⁹²⁵In a personal communication Ms. Akhir told me that the villagers in Tell Haudian discovered the jars and are now privately owned in the village. A jar from Dêlizian was brought by Mahmud Dêlizi to the Department of Archaeology of Salahaddin University in Erbil for its collection; see further Marf 2009c: 65-67; Marf D. A., (forthcoming): Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012), Oxford: *BAR Publisher*.

¹⁹²⁶Schauensee 2011: pl.3.26a; Stein 1940: Pl.XXIV.12; Muscarrella 1968: fig.17; Stein 1940: 399, Pl.XXIV 9; 10; 12; Marf 2009c: 60-74.

¹⁹²⁷Muscarrella, 1968: fig.17; Muscarella 1994: 143, pl.12.1.2.

¹⁹²⁸See Levine 1973: 1-27; fig.1; Bendict 1961: 359-85, esp. 360-61.

¹⁹²⁹In addition to these similarities between jars found at the area of the Urmia Basin and the Diyana plain dated to the 9th century BCE, there are other signs of interaction between Mannea and Musasir. For example the Musasirian elite who are depicted on the tower of Musasir on the relief of Khorsabad showing Sargon II

The bowl discovered in **Tell Haudian** (fig.3.35.c) is like a number of other bowls in shape, size and style with a rounded rim.¹⁹³⁰ Nevertheless, this bowl is most like those from Hasanlu,¹⁹³¹ a ‘Median/Post-Assyrian’ bowl from a tomb in the lower town of Erbil,¹⁹³² a ‘Median/Post-Assyrian’ bowl from Kherbet Qasrij in the Eski Mosul Dam area, a bowl from Nimrud,¹⁹³³ and an 8th-6th century bowl recently discovered in Tell Bakrawa in Halabja.¹⁹³⁴ Recently a salvage excavation at Gundi Topzawa and the Qabrstani Topzawa found an assemblage of Iron Age ceramic.¹⁹³⁵



Fig.3.35.c. An Iron Age bowl found in Tell Haudian. (Photo by the author).

In 2005, when constructing a road to the village of Abu-bakra, a mechanical excavator dislodged a slab covering a subterranean storage room, 1.8 m deep and containing sixteen jars. The jars had been used for storing food and drink. They were taken to the local authorities and the author, with help from colleagues from Sulaimania museum, conducted a sounding in the narrow chamber down to virgin soil.¹⁹³⁶ The jars are of medium size and variously shaped. Two have one handle, two others have two handles¹⁹³⁷ and two others have lids. Most have a flat base but some are oval. There are examples of incised geometric

plundering the city in 714 BCE wear skin cloaks similar to the Mannean dress depicted on other reliefs of Sargon II from Khorsabad of the same time (see Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 141, Room XIII, slab 4). Also, the god Haldi, whose main centre was in Musasir, is recorded on the Aramaic stele of Qlaichi/Bukan see Fales 2003:131-47). Moreover, Bagbartu (Bagmaštu), the name of the wife of Haldi in Musasir/Ardini, originated in Mannea, since a Mannean prince from this same period was called Bagdati (*ARAB* II 10, 56). The closeness of the two regions means strong cultural interactions are to be expected.

¹⁹³⁰Marf 2009c: 60-74.

¹⁹³¹Muscarella 2012a: 272, fig.18.09.

¹⁹³²Van Ess, et al. 2012: 133.

¹⁹³³Lines 1954: Pl. XXXVII, 6; Curtis 1989: Fig.23, 9.

¹⁹³⁴Miglus 2013: 47-48, fig.7.a.

¹⁹³⁵See Danti 2014a: figs. 15–16.

¹⁹³⁶Abu-bakra is to the west of the Lower Zab in Mountain range of Qandil near the Iranian border. The discovery proved to be a well. The team from the Directorate of Antiquities of Sulaimania (Mr. Muhammad, Mr. Handrên and Mr. Salih) with the author briefly excavated the site. We found nothing else in the well, which was only ca. 1.8m deep. Its walls were lined with stones. How the jars were stored we do not know because before we arrived local residents had removed them from the well. We delivered them all to the Slemani museum.

¹⁹³⁷The handles are similar to some Iron Age handles in the Urmia Basin; see Muscarella 1994: 143, Pl.12.2.2.

decoration reminiscent of Urartian symbols for measurement on ceramics.¹⁹³⁸ By their shape and style, they are dated to different periods, including Khabur ware and Iron Age Iranian/Urartian medium sized types (see Fig.3.35.d). The location where they were found is cold even in summer. A spring nearby has icy water even in July.¹⁹³⁹ The village is located on the caravan route that led southeastward to the Lower Zab valley and the Raniya plain, northwest to the Ruwanduz valley and eastwards to the Iranian border through the Gowre-Shinke pass.¹⁹⁴⁰ The jars may have been made in a local workshop in different styles, some similar to Bronze Age jars in shape and decoration. More probably, they were kept in a well in the Iron Age, since most come from that period. Urartian influence on shape and decoration can clearly be seen.

Interestingly, the cover of one of the jars is similar to the cover of the stone bowl of Hasanlu, brought there from Idu (modern Satu Qala) in the 9th century BCE. That stone cover is inscribed with the name of Bauri, the king of Idu. At the centre is a pointed cylindrical gap for a finger to remove the cover easily. The tops of jars from Abu-bakara are similarly equipped, so they may date to the Iron Age, the 9th and 8th centuries BCE.¹⁹⁴¹



d.

¹⁹³⁸For example, see Payne 2005: 253, Taf.79; Erdem 2013: 193-220.

¹⁹³⁹The jars may have been used for long term storage of foods. Modern semi-nomads of the area told me that they still keep surplus food refrigerated for several months in this way, including *qairma* (a kind of semi-cooked spiced beef), cheese, and drink (*do/ayran*) in mountain caves, in skins and jars. The ancient jars were perhaps stored in this well for a similar purpose, but the owners never returned to consume the food.

¹⁹⁴⁰See Levine 1973: 1-27: fig.1.

¹⁹⁴¹Dyson 1989: fig. 21.



e.

Fig. 3.35.d. A jar with its cover, found in the well of Abu-bakra. (Photo by the author).

e. The assemblage jars from the well of Abu-bakra village. (Photos by the author and Slemani museum).

The ceramics from the Zagros Cemetery/Iron Age graveyard of Sennandaj comprise jars, bowls and mugs mainly of coarse, handmade pottery, similar to the Iron Age II examples from Hasanlu, Tepe Sialk, Luristan (Kite ware) and the tomb of War Kabud (Iron Age III), without Assyrian influence.¹⁹⁴²

In the Northern Zagros as well as Assyrian ceramics, **Uartian** ceramics have been discovered in several sites. Dozens of these sites show an Uartian presence in the area around Lake Urmia and the Urmia basin, mainly based on the Uartian pottery but also on Uartian steles and fortifications. Uartian ceramics were discovered at **Hasanlu III**, **Agrab Tepe**, and **Bastam**, in the area of **Mdjeser** (ancient Musasir) and even at **Tell Bakrawa** in the **Sharezur** plain.¹⁹⁴³ Most examples are Uartian Red Burnished ware and Uartian large storage jars, which according to Kroll are “a hallmark of any Uartian site.”¹⁹⁴⁴

In the citadel of **Hasanlu** a “red slipped pouring jar with a trefoils spout was found,” dated to Period IIIb (Uartian period). This type of jar is known as Toprakkale ware, and found in the Uartian cities of **Bastam**, **Karmir Blur**, **Ayanis**.¹⁹⁴⁵ A “red polished pitcher with trefoil spout and twisted strap handle” was also found at Hasanlu, a typical Uartian style, dated to

¹⁹⁴²See Amelirad, et al., 2012: pp. 46-47, fig.23-32.

¹⁹⁴³ Muscarella 2012a: 275; Kleiss 1972: 7-28, Taf. 18-19; Kroll 2010a: 21-35, fig.9.

¹⁹⁴⁴Kroll 2013a: 185; Erdem & Konyar 2011: 268. Red Burnished ware is also called “Palace ware”, “Bianili Pottery” or “Toprakkale ware”; for further details see Erdem & Konyar 2011: 270; Musarella 2012: 267. Musarella 2012 : 265-275; Kroll 1976.

¹⁹⁴⁵Kroll 2013a:184ff, fig.8.

the 9-7th centuries BCE.¹⁹⁴⁶ In **Kordlar I** and **Haftewan IV** similar pitchers were found with **Grey ware**.¹⁹⁴⁷ In **Bakrawa**, “*fine reddish slipped ware*” bowls are dated to the Iron Age II, similar in form to the Urartian examples from Bastam, in Urartian and Median contexts.¹⁹⁴⁸ Kroll assumes that the type of pottery found in Urartian sites date to a period “*later than the Urartian imperial period*”, and can be considered as Median. Triangle ware is one of these wares classified by shape.¹⁹⁴⁹ In **Hasanlu IIIA**, painted Triangle ware was found in the layers above the IIIB structures, the Median or Achaemenid layers.¹⁹⁵⁰ Hasanlu IIIB Triangle ware is “buff in color with small red-slipped bowls” with a preponderance of “*cross-hatched or solid hanging triangles painted on thin, fine, highly polished buff pottery.*” Triangle ware was also found at **Ziwiye** and **Tepe Giyan I**.¹⁹⁵¹

Ceramics from the period after the fall of Nineveh are sometimes called **Post-Assyrian** but that dated to the late 7th century and the first half of the 6th century from Assyria and the Northern Zagros may be called Median ware. Several sites during the salvage excavations in the Rania plain in the 1950s produced a type of 7th/6th century pottery called by Iraqi archaeologists **Median ware**, although as yet there are no published reports, photos or drawings or descriptions of what was found. What is called Post-Urartian ceramic comes from the Urmia basin and Urartu, similar to the Median ceramic from Late Iron Age sites dated to the late 7th century and the 6th century BCE.¹⁹⁵²

¹⁹⁴⁶Kroll 2013b: 321.

¹⁹⁴⁷ Kroll 2013b: 319-326.

¹⁹⁴⁸See Miglus, et al., 2013: 47-48, fig.7 a.

¹⁹⁴⁹Kroll 2014: 203-210; Kroll 1975: 71-74.

¹⁹⁵⁰Roaf 2012b: p.7, fig.2.

¹⁹⁵¹Dyson 1965b: 204.

¹⁹⁵²For further details see Kroll 2014: 203-210; Abu al-Soof 1970: 65-108; Erdem & Konyar 2011: 276f; Lines 1954: 164ff.; Marf 2009; Marf, D. A. (forthcoming), 2016 “Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012),” in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) Forthcoming. The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. *Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress.

Conclusions

To **conclude**, this chapter has been concerned with objects that have been known for some time as well as others that are new. Smaller objects, such as seals and ivory objects, could easily be transported from one place to another, but that does not apply so much to glazed bricks, and steles or the immovable rock reliefs.

The rock reliefs and steles in the Zagros prove that the Assyrians reached these areas, and wished to display on them their art and their religion. The inscriptions commemorate Assyrian victories there and the king's other military activities in the Near East. It was a way of symbolically creating propaganda in occupied territory, to keep their enemies subdued by the splendour of Assyrian might, writing and art. They never wrote in a Zagrosian language but wished to send their message to their enemies in Akkadian. These images of Assyrian kings influenced the Medes, inspiring one Median ruler to have his image cut out in the same way. Another local ruler tried to do the same, but with an incorrect cuneiform inscription. A Mannean ruler had an Aramaic inscription on his stele. There are several Urartian steles in the Northern Zagros between the Urmia basin and Musasir with bilingual inscriptions, in Akkadian and an Urartian language.

Assyrian palace reliefs functioned as a formal means of communication for Assyria. They portray military successes and the punishment of non-submissive enemies including many Zagrosian landscapes.

Glazed bricks made for Assyrian palaces and temples were also works of art, and they influenced locally made glazed bricks in the Zagros. What appears to be pure Assyrian glazed brick work was discovered in Satu Qala and Hasanlu. In Assyrian records glazed bricks are said to have been made in Zamua and Media under Sargon and his governors. The glazed bricks made at Rabat Tepe (the town Arzizu in Mazamua) and Tepe Qalaichi both are local work, Glazed bricks is all the Mannean and 'Mazamuan' art we have, but some borrow elements from Assyrian art. Assyrian texts and visual records refer to much loot and tribute of art, including works in metal, ivory and stone. These objects were plundered from cities in the Zagros or accepted from the rulers as tribute, although this may be exaggerated Assyrian propaganda. In fact no Zagrosian artistic object has been excavated in Assyrian capitals. The metal objects may have been melted down and reused or metal and other objects may have been reclaimed later as loot and taken back to the Zagros. Proof is impossible. Assyrian loot discovered in the Zagros can be assumed to have been taken during the fall of Assyria in 614-612 BCE. This includes the Assyrian style bronze Pazuzu head from Nush-i Jan, and the bronze plaque from the temple of Ishtar of Arbail.

Stamp and cylinder seals were mainly used for validating commercial and legal transactions but they were also used as amulets. Actual Assyrian seals and seals in Assyrian and Syro-Palestinian style have been discovered at several sites in the Northern Zagros, in elite graves and in public buildings. All of them may not have reached the Zagros from Assyria but some would have been made there under Assyrian influence, to validate commercial and legal transactions involving Assyria. They would be used by merchants travelling between Zagros and Assyria. Assyrians used royal seals on barley shipments from the Zagros, and on letters sent from Assyrian kings to their governors, commanders and local rulers.

The only seal from the Northern Zagros with an Assyrian inscription is that of the ruler Urzana. The images are purely Assyrian work and the inscription is in Akkadian, but there is no clear evidence that Urzana used it for sealing. A local ruler using an Assyrian style of seal reflected the political influence of Assyria and that his city and kingdom was under Assyrian control, with the local ruler acting as an Assyrian governor. That happened at Musasir and Idu (Satu Qala).

The Medes did not use their own seal to validate the vassal treaty with Esarhaddon, perhaps because the Assyrian king did not see them as equals, and Esarhaddon did not use his own seal but the seals of earlier Middle and Neo-Assyrian kings. Some discovered seals from the Zagros conform to a central Assyrian artistic style.

Ivories were specially prized objects of art. Those found in the Zagros are Assyrian or Syrian in style. They were mainly possessed by palaces and temples, and perhaps occasionally by the elite. What came from Hasanlu and supposedly from Ziwiye it has been assumed that they came from Assyria as royal gifts or in response to requests from local rulers to Assyrian workshops, or they were made by Assyrian craftsmen living in the Zagros. The Assyrians plundered much ivory from Musasir, though these were not discovered (or discovered but not recognized) when excavating the Assyrian capitals. Most Zagros ivory was found at Hasanlu, some of which has a local style. Assyrian styles of ivory are evidence of cultural contact between Assyria and the Northern Zagros rulers. The raw ivory from the workshops at Hasanlu and 'Ziwiye?' will have come from Assyria.

Assyrian references to metal objects and metal ore come from texts and images. Metal was taken as booty from the Northern Zagros or received as tribute. In the Zagros the techniques of making and carving metal objects were similar to those in Assyria.

We have found no evidence of Zagrosian influence on Assyrian costumes. The Assyrian formal style was already settled under influence from Babylonia. It was the cold mountain weather that dictated the way the people of the Zagros dressed, completely unsuited to the hot plains of the Assyrian heartland. Their shoes with pointed toes marked them as mountain dwellers. Conversely there is some evidence of Assyrian influence on local Zagrosian dress, to be seen in Assyrian depictions of peoples from the Zagros. Commercial contacts with Media and deportations may well have brought Median carpets to Assyria. From Assyrian records we know that the Assyrian temples were active in producing textiles.

There is very little Assyrian ceramic in the Northern Zagros, especially on the Iranian side, which may indicate that Assyrian penetration into the Zagros was not a process of migration, but involved official personnel, the army, merchants, and delegations. The small fine glazed decorated jars found in tombs in the Northern Zagros tombs and in its foothills may have come directly from Assyria or manufactured for elite persons.

Influences in styles and motifs on objects of art and ceramics could have come from trade contacts, military conflicts, migrations, deportations, travelling artisans, and the exchange of gifts among the elite, but to identify the precise source of influence in any place or on any specific object is difficult.

The Assyrians deported thousands of peoples in different areas of the Near East, including peoples from the Zagros. Some of them may have been craftsmen and artists, who worked in their exile in Assyria. In the 7th century BCE many craftsmen were working in the Assyrian court and in workshops in the Assyrian capitals. Some of them after the fall of Nineveh may

have moved to the Zagros, which would explain how Assyrian artistic and architectural elements and motifs reached the Zagros and Persia.

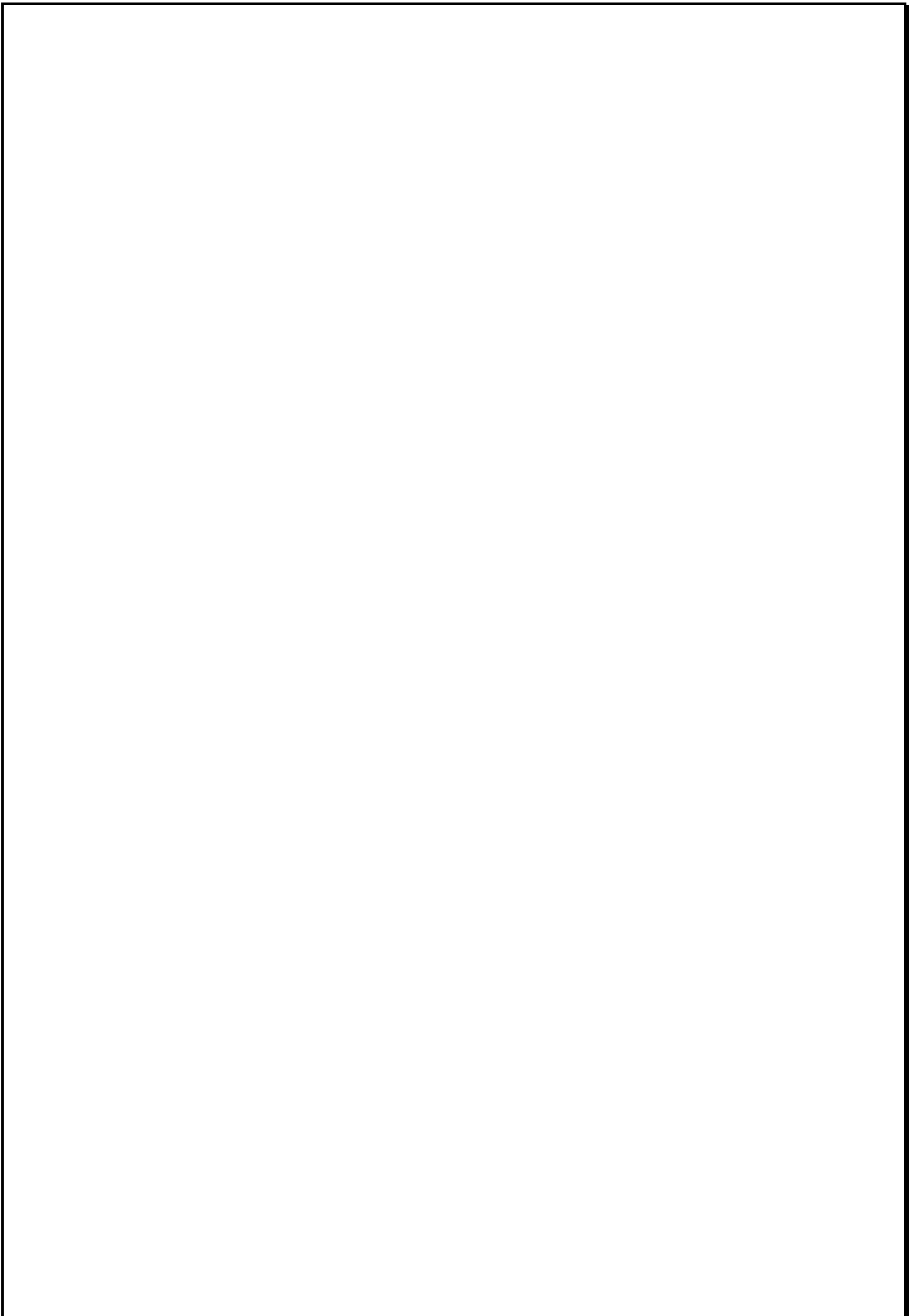
Some Assyrian artistic work was made by foreign hands. Assyrian ivories show a high level of interaction between foreign and Assyrian elements. The Northern Zagros was similarly open to foreign influence, with local styles mixing with foreign styles made by local craftsmen.

Assyria was the intermediary in allowing Syro-Palestinian art elements on seals and ivories to reach the Northern Zagros in Hasanlu. The Zagros was the intermediary in allowing raw materials from beyond the Zagros to reach Assyria and beyond. This applies to lapis lazuli, gold and some precious stones. There would have been a high level of state commerce and diplomatic exchange, and private commercial contacts also enabled artists and craftsmen to travel from one area to another.

In the Northern Zagros we find art of the Assyrian empire, and art in the Assyrian empire. Of the foreign elements in the art of the Zagros most are Assyrian but others include Syrian, Anatolia and even Caucasian ones.

Chapter IV

Architecture



Chapter IV Architecture

Introduction

There are three types of sources for understanding the plan and designs of the cities and their function. The archaeological evidence is unfortunately not great, for most of the contemporary Middle and Neo-Assyrian cities and towns in the Zagros are not completely excavated, and even the excavated sites give no clear picture about the plan of the ancient cities of the Zagros. On the other hand, there is some textual and visual evidence, mainly as recorded by the Assyrians. This evidence can give a general archaeological overview of the cities in the Zagros.

Archaeological excavations in the Northern Zagros revealed several Late Bronze Age and Iron Age cities/towns. Most of these cities/towns have not yet been completely excavated. At some of them only a few short season excavations have been made. Therefore, we do not have a clear idea about plans of the cities/towns of Idu (modern Satu Qala), Rabat Tepe, Tepe Qalaichi (Izirtu?), Ziwiyeh (Izibia?), Godin Tepe, or even Tepe Hasanlu. In some of these sites, public buildings have been completely or partly uncovered. However, we hardly have any clear evidence about the private houses (see below). Even at Tepe Nush-i Jan, although it is mostly excavated; only public buildings are found in a good condition.¹⁹⁵³ Those public buildings were the Temple, the Court and the Tower, and there is no evidence about any private houses at the site or below the citadel in the lower valley near the Tepe. Private houses may have existed. It has been suggested that the people may have lived below the citadel in tents as nomads.¹⁹⁵⁴ In addition, the excavations at Tell Bakrawa give good evidence about an existing a Bronze Age 'city', but for its Iron Age levels, there is not much important archaeological evidence. The only 'intensive' and prolonged excavation was done in Tepe Hasanlu. In Hasanlu, many architectural remains were uncovered, such as the burnt buildings/Columned Halls, the fortifications of the citadel, the so-called Triple Road System, a name that was later corrected when it was identified as Horse Stables.¹⁹⁵⁵ The previous published plans and details about architecture and the fortifications of Hasanlu have recently been reinvestigated by Muscarella, Kroll, and other scholars. They are re-examining all the published reports and details about the architecture of Hasanlu, they have found several instances of incorrect data published about the plan and the design of the architecture of Hasanlu and even their function. They also suspect the accuracy of the dating of some of the levels and layers.¹⁹⁵⁶

4.1. Assyrian and Zagrosian palaces in the Northern Zagros

Some of the Assyrian kings built several residential palaces outside Assyria in the lands they occupied under their empire. The Zagros was also occupied by some Assyrian kings who built palaces there, such as the residential palaces of Ashurnasirpal in Atlila and Idu. Most of the Assyrian palaces in the Assyrian heartland and in Assyria are mainly excavated. These

¹⁹⁵³Stronch and Roaf 2007.

¹⁹⁵⁴Further details will be given below.

¹⁹⁵⁵Kroll 2012 b: 277-284.

¹⁹⁵⁶see Kroll 2013a: 178; Muscarella 2006:80. Other details and comments of the scholars will be discussed in the next pages.

excavated palaces gave significant data for the architecture and ornamentation of the Assyrian palaces. Not only that, but also they show many aspects of the daily life of the Assyrian kings. The uncovered material culture, such as reliefs, wall paintings, and metal objects with inscriptions illuminate many aspects of the Assyrian court.¹⁹⁵⁷ Our knowledge about the well-known palaces of Assyria outweighs the hints we have about palaces of the Northern Zagros.

By contrast, as yet we have no important data concerning any excavated palaces in the Northern Zagros. There are two reasons for that. First, there are only a few excavated Iron Age sites. Secondly even these Iron Age sites are not completely excavated, and some were not well excavated. Thirdly there are very few uncovered texts from the Zagros. Therefore, we rely on Assyrian and local epigraphic and visual evidence, which is nevertheless scanty.

In the Assyrian and the Zagrosian records there are some hints about the two groups of palaces in the Zagros. The first group is the local Zagrosian palaces, and the second group is the Assyrian palaces built in the Zagros. Unfortunately, most of the Northern Zagros palaces are known only from textual evidence, and in the Zagros only a few of them have been discovered:

Some have supposed that the Lullubi were nomads or semi-nomads, but the Assyrian inscriptions show that they had fortified cities, palaces and ‘temples’ at least from the Middle Assyrian period. At that time both Assyrians and Kassites/Babylonians were trying to penetrate the foothills and the mountains of the Northern Zagros. In the course of these military advances some places are mentioned which were destroyed by the Assyrians, Kassites and or Babylonian invaders including the Lullubean palaces of the cities of Murattaš and Atlila. Fortunately, the Assyrian, Zagrosian, and Urartian epigraphic records record a few details about existing Iron Age palaces in the Northern Zagros and its architecture. Based on these records and the material evidence, I shall try as much as possible to construct an image from these fragments. In the Assyrian records, there are some direct and indirect references to some of the Assyrian and the Zagrosian palaces in the Northern Zagros.

Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BCE) in his annals refers to the Lullubean palace of the fortified city of **Murattaš**. According to him he took booty from the palace and the city and destroyed them:¹⁹⁵⁸

“With my prowess, with which I conquered enemies, I took my chariotry and army (and) crossed the Lower Zab. I conquered the lands Murattaš (and) Saradauš¹⁹⁵⁹ which are within the rough terrain of Mounts Asaniu (and) Atuma. I butchered their troops like sheep. I conquered their fortified city Murattaš within the first third of the day after sunrise. I brought out their gods, their possessions, their property, 120 copper kettles, 30 talents of copper bars, the outstanding property of their palace, their booty. I burnt, razed, (and) destroyed that city.”

¹⁹⁵⁷For further details about the Mesopotamian palaces and their general features see Heinrich 1984; also see Frankfort 1996.

¹⁹⁵⁸RIMA II A.0.87.1: iii 92 - iv 4, p.19. iii 92 - iv 4.

¹⁹⁵⁹Saradauš is identified with the modern area of Surdash on the east bank of the Lower Zab southeast of the Dukan dam. See Al-Qaradaghy 2008: 92.

Ashurnasirpal II in his annals tells us that **the Lullubean city of Atlila** and its palace was occupied and destroyed in the late second millennium BCE by Sibir, the king of Karduniash.¹⁹⁶⁰ Ashurnasirpal renovated the city and built a palace there (see below).

Ashurnasirpal in his campaign on Zamua mentions plundering the storehouse of the **palace of Ameka**, in the royal city Zamru. Also he mentions its walls and courtyard, where he killed some soldiers of Ameka and mutilated their corpses:¹⁹⁶¹

While I remained before the city Parsindu I set the cavalry (and) light troops in ambush (and) killed 50 of the combat troops of Ameka in the plain. I cut off their heads (and) hung (them) on trees of the courtyard of his palace in the city Zamru. I captured 20 soldiers alive (and) spread (them) out in the wall of his palace.

Ashurnasirpal II in his annals mentions the walls of the palace of the Lullubean king Ameka. The Assyrian king claims to have captured alive twenty of Ameka's men and "immured them in the wall of his palace."¹⁹⁶² From this I assume that the palace of Ameka had two thick walls between which to immure those men. To establish the truth of this not improbable claim of Ashurnasirpal is possible only if it can be confirmed by excavations. It may only have been royal Assyrian propaganda. We have to hope that future excavators of the palace will be able to establish modes of burial there.

It appears that Ameka the ruler of Zamru emptied his palace and his storehouse, and took those possessions to the Erinu mountain, on the other side of the *Lallû* river. Ashurnasirpal II climbed the mountain and plundered these goods:¹⁹⁶³

Moving on from the city Zamru I crossed the River Lallû. I marched to Mount Etinu over rugged terrain which was unsuitable for chariotry and troops (and) which no king among my fathers had ever approached. The king with (his) troops climbed up to Mount Etinu. I removed from the mountain his (Ameka's) property, possessions, [many bronze utensils], bronze [tubs], bronze casserole(s), bowls, tureens, the treasure of his palace (and) his storehouse. Returning to my camp I spent the night.

On several inscribed bricks from **Satu Qala** the local kings of Idu refer to their palaces. For instance, on inscribed brick buildings King Abbi-zēri of Idu says:¹⁹⁶⁴

¹Palace of Abbi-zēri, king of the land of the city of Idu, ²son of Šara...ni, also king of the land of the city of Idu. ³The embankment wall of the palace of Abbi-zēri.

It appears that after the reign of Abbi-zēri two of his sons (Bā'ilānu and KAM-ti-e-Ni) ruled the city one after the other, and both built a greater palace than their fathers had done, and they made an embankment wall for their castles. Bā'ilānu son of Abbi-zēri says on an inscribed building brick:¹⁹⁶⁵

¹⁹⁶⁰ARAB I 458; Thompson 1940: 104. Simbar-Shipak (Akkad. offspring of ((the god)) Shipak), Shipak is a common element in the Kassite personal names. Simbar-Shipak considered as the first king of the "Second Dynasty of the Sea-Land" /The Second Sea-land Dynasty, for further details see Brinkman 1968: 150-154; Goetze 1965: 121.

¹⁹⁶¹RIMA II/I: A.0.101.17, iii 80b-87.

¹⁹⁶²ARAB I: 455.

¹⁹⁶³RIMA II/I: A.0. 101.17: iii 62b-70a.

¹⁹⁶⁴van Soldt et al., 2013: 210.

¹⁹⁶⁵van Soldt, et al., 2013: 210-11.

Palace of Bā'ilānu, king of the land of the city of Idu, son of Abbi-zēri, king of the land of the city of Idu. The palace that he built he made greater than that of his fathers. The embankment wall of the palace of Bā'ilānu.

Similarly his brother KAM-ti-e-ni says on an inscribed building bricks:

Palace of KAM-ti-e-ni, king of the land of the city of Idu, son of Abbi-zēri, [also] king of the land of the city of Idu. The palace which he built he made greater than that of his fathers. The embankment wall of the palace of KAM-ti-e-ni.

On these inscribed building bricks King Bā'ilānu and his brother KAM-ti-e-ni may indicate that in Idu there was more than one palace. Probably the sons restored the palace of their father and made it bigger than before. Also, the last lines of the brick inscriptions of Abbi-zēri and his sons refer to *ki-si-ir É.GAL*, an embankment wall of the palace. This indicate that the palaces were placed on the west bank of the Lower Zab, in modern Tell Satu Qala. This embankment was made probably because this palace was built on the bank of the river, to make it higher and to protect it. Today the Lower Zab flows below the eastern side of the tell, and due to spring floods this part was eroded. Likewise, in Ashur during the Middle Assyrian period, Adad-nārārī I (1307-1275 BCE) built an embankment and made a quay wall against the Tigris to protect Ashur from the deluge. He used limestone, baked bricks and bitumen.¹⁹⁶⁶

We also have a reference for another palace of another king of Idu, Ba'auri. On an inscribed glazed brick uncovered in Satu Qala, the image of a sphinx is depicted. It is framed from above and below with a royal inscription:¹⁹⁶⁷

¹*Palace of Ba'auri, king of the land of Idu, ²son of Edima, also king of the land of Idu.*

Interestingly, from Hasanlu an inscribed stone bowl of the same king *Ba'auri* has been found.¹⁹⁶⁸ The inscription on the bowl also mentions a palace of *Ba'auri*, meaning that the bowl was a gift of the palace of Idu and was brought to Hasanlu, sent or taken (directly or indirectly) from the palace of Ba'auri.

Unfortunately, all these inscribed building bricks (some in fragments) were not found *in situ* at the palace(s). Most of them were uncovered accidentally by the local people of Satu Qala in different places, and some of them were uncovered during the first season of the excavation. They were reused in another context in the upper levels. In the survey we found another inscribed brick below the tell. In addition, a peasant from Satu Qala village brought us a brick inscribed on the edge. She informed us that they had found it in their field, near the tell. Perhaps one of these palaces was built outside the tell on the nearby plain, or this inscribed brick could have been taken from the tell of Satu Qala itself.

Although the two seasons of excavations in Satu Qala and the accidental discoveries by the locals revealed many materials from these palace(s). The inscribed glazed bricks and building bricks, the inscribed glazed and building bricks, however, were found *in situ*, but not in their original context. They had been reused in later periods for installations and grave coverings. The only evidence in Satu Qala suggesting a public building is the large double wall and the baked brick paving. Probably it was one of the palaces of Idu, which was

¹⁹⁶⁶For further details see *RIMA I*: A.0.76.11: A.0.76.1 A.0.76.8: 23-31; van Soldt, et al., 2013:210, note.20.

¹⁹⁶⁷van Soldt, et al., 2013: 213.

¹⁹⁶⁸Salvini & Belgiorno 1984: 55-56.

discovered in the first season in 2010.¹⁹⁶⁹ As yet the team has not been able to find other details or follow the plan of the building, because it was located in the southeastern corner of the excavated square. These walls possibly belonged to the western part of a public building, but only future excavation here can let us know the real function of this public building. Future excavations and surveys at the site and the surrounding fields may reveal remains of the recorded palace or palaces.

In the annals of Shalmaneser III he mentions the **women's palace of Paddira** (URU *pad-di-ra/ šur-di-ra?*) in the province of **Allabria**. He called it “*the fortified city of Ianziburiaš, the Allabrian (king).*”¹⁹⁷⁰ Shalmaneser III claims that “*I took booty from him: a door of gold, his palace women, (and) the extensive property of his palace.*”¹⁹⁷¹ This is the only known evidence concerning the women's palaces in the Zagros. Although it is an indirect mention of it, it is important in telling us that in the Zagros there were women's palaces. The one at Paddira even had a golden door. In Assyrian architecture and art we know of metal doors and gates decorated with bronze reliefs, but as far as I know there is no known golden door in the Assyrian palaces, excavated or referred to in a text. Even the most famous palaces only had bronze doors. When Sargon built the “Palace Without a Rival,” he mentions “*door-leaves of cypress and maple, I bound with a sheathing of shining bronze and set them up in their gates.*”¹⁹⁷²

Not only the Assyrians, but also the Urartian kings built palaces in the Northern Zagros. The Urartian king Menua, when he campaigned against Mannea and occupied its northern part, claimed to have built a palace and fortress of the city of Mešta in the province of Mešta, southeast of the lake.¹⁹⁷³ Sargon describes the palace of Ursa/Rusa in Ulhu:¹⁹⁷⁴

...into Ulhu, the store city (lit., city of properties) of Ursâ I entered triumphantly; to the palace, his royal abode, I marched victoriously. The mighty wall, which was made of stone from the lofty mountain, with iron axes and iron hoes I smashed like a pot and leveled it to the ground. Great cypress beams (from) the roof of his substantial palace, I tore out and carried to Assyria.

Ashurnasirpal II in his annals claims that he rebuilt the ruin of the second millennium Lullubean palace and city of Atlila in Zamua:¹⁹⁷⁵

“At that time in the land Zamua, the city Atlila which Sibir king of Kardunias had captured, was dilapidated (and) had turned into ruin hills. Ashurnasirpal, king of Assyria, took (this city) in hand for renovation. I put a wall around it, founded therein a palace for my royal residence, (and) decorated it more splendidly than ever before. I stored therein barley (and) straw from all the (surrounding) land. I named it Dūr-Aššur.”

¹⁹⁶⁹van Soldt 2013: fig.8, 10-12.

¹⁹⁷⁰RIMA III: A.0.102.6: iii 62-63; iv, 1; A.0.102.10 : iii 33-37 a; A.0.102.1001, line:4.

¹⁹⁷¹RIMA III A.0.102.6: iii 58-iv6.

¹⁹⁷²ARAB II 73.

¹⁹⁷³Mešta has been identified with Missi (see Young 1967:17). It has also been identified with modern Taš-Tepe. But the most probable assumption is to identify it with mod. Hasanlu; for further details see Al-Amin 1949: 215-249; CTU A 5-9 f.s. 1-5; A 5-10 1-5, p.231; Salvini 1995: 43.

¹⁹⁷⁴ARAB II 161. Ulhu is located somewhere to the southwest of Lake Urmia; for further details about the location of Ulhu see Burney 1977: 4f; Muscarella 1986: 473ff.

¹⁹⁷⁵RIMA II/I: A.0. 101.1: ii 84b-86a.

Some Assyrian kings claimed that they built palaces in the Assyrian empire. They called such a palace “*my royal residence*.”¹⁹⁷⁶ The Assyrian kings probably used those palaces temporarily during their campaigns in these provinces and beyond. This type of palace was also used for other purposes. For example Ashurnasirpal II indirectly mentioned that his palace in **Atlila/Dur-Ashur** in Zamua was used for storing grain and straw from the surrounding land, probably to transfer it later to Assyria. They were probably also used by officials and the local pro-Assyrian rulers or the Assyrian deputies in the lands occupied by the Assyrians.¹⁹⁷⁷ Ashurbanipal himself built several palaces in the occupied areas outside Assyria. We know of two of them to the east in the Zagros. One was at Atlila/Dur-Ashur and the other in Idu. In the north west of Assyria he built the so called “*Bronze Palace*” in the city of Tušhan (mod. Ziyaret Tepe). That was “*the official palace of Ashurnasirpal II*” in Tušhan/Tušha province.¹⁹⁷⁸

A fragment of an inscription on a glazed wall peg discovered in **Satu Qala** (SQ 11-T14)¹⁹⁷⁹ has an Assyrian inscription referring to a palace of Ashurnasirpal II: “*Palace of Aššurnašir[pal, king of the land of Aššur ...]*.”¹⁹⁸⁰ The king was identified by van Soldt and Hess as Ashurnasirpal II. They assumed that the inscription relates “*the administrative palace of Idu*,” van Soldt says: “*The inscription SQ 11-T14 would provide the first and so far only indication that Ashurnasirpal II or one of his governors built or rebuilt the administrative palace of Idu.*”¹⁹⁸¹

The Assyrian deputy, Mannu-ki-Ninua in Media informs Sargon II that he is building the ‘grand hall’ (É *dan-nu*) with glazed bricks in the Median city of **Harhar/Kar-Šarrukin**. Probably it was the reception hall in the residence palace of the Assyrian deputy.¹⁹⁸²

The Iron Age city of **Issete** was located to the north of Arbail, in the triangle between Arbail-Kirruri and the eastern banks of the Upper Zab. It is mentioned several times in the Assyrian administrative letters, most famously in the itinerary of Urzana on his visit to Assyria (Arbail), to bring tribute and to return the statues of Haldi and Bagbartu to Musasir.¹⁹⁸³ In an Assyrian administrative letter, we learn that Sargon II built a palace in Issete, the author of the letter (in which his name is not preserved) sent a report to Sargon II to

¹⁹⁷⁶For further details see Kerati 2013: 20.

¹⁹⁷⁷For instance see Kerati 2013: 20.

¹⁹⁷⁸Assurnasirpal II created the province of Tušhan, where he built a palace for his royal residence in its capital city of Tušhan. For further details see Wicke & Greenfield: 2013: 63-82. Moreover, Assurnasirpal claims that he resettled Assyrians at Tušhan/ *Tušha*; “*I took Tušha in hand for renovation. I cleared away its old wall, delineated its area, reached its foundation pit, (and) built (and) completed in a splendid fashion a new wall from top to bottom. A palace for my royal residence I founded inside. I made doors (and) hung (them) in its doorways. This palace I built (and) completed from top to bottom. I made an image of myself in white limestone (and) wrote thereon praise of the extraordinary power and heroic deeds which I had been accomplishing in the lands Nairi. I erected (it) in the city Tušha. I inscribed my monumental inscription (and) deposited (it) in its wall.*” (RIMA II: A.0. 101.1: ii 3b-6).

¹⁹⁷⁹For further details see Chapter III, 3.4.

¹⁹⁸⁰van Soldt, et al., 2013: 213-214.

¹⁹⁸¹See Chapter III, 3.4. See also van Soldt, et al., 2013:220.

¹⁹⁸²SAA XV 94: 10-15. For further details see Chapter III,3.4., Median glazed bricks.

¹⁹⁸³For further details about the location of Issete, see Lanfranchi 1995: 133ff; SAA 13: XXI.

say: “*what we are building is all right[.....] a palace [.....]. We are also building a fort [...]* and will pl[ace] guardsmen there.[L]et pack animals for the guards come up here [...].”¹⁹⁸⁴

Visual evidence concerning ancient architecture usually comes from depictions on reliefs, terracottas, wall paintings, model buildings, and other excavated material. For the Zagros, we have Assyrian depictions, and for the Northern Zagros we have some specimens of local architecture.

In his eighth campaign Sargon refers to the palace of Urzana in a fragmentary part of the text, “[*In the palace, the dwelling of Urzana*], I took up my lordly abode,”¹⁹⁸⁵ The Assyrian reliefs depict several Zagrosian cities, but as yet no depiction specifically of a Zagrosian palace. There is, however, a depiction of the holy city of **Musasir**/Ardini on the Khorsabad relief which shows three main structures: the temple in the centre; the private houses to the left of the mountain; and the tower-palace of Urzana to the right. This structure was probably a tower or a palace. In either case it was a secular public building used by Urzana. The relief depicts a few people on top of the roof of this structure wearing skin cloaks, the typical Zagrosian dress for warriors and elite persons.¹⁹⁸⁶ In general the appearance of this structure is more or less similar in style to the depicted private houses, but it is larger.¹⁹⁸⁷

This tower with two levels was called by Albenda a “*three-storied building.*”¹⁹⁸⁸ In my opinion it has only two stories. The ground floor has a main rectangular gate in the centre of the wall, with square crenellations separating it from the upper floor. On the first floor there are three rectangular doors, probably for three rooms, but they are smaller than the gate on the ground floor. At the top of the first floor we can see similar square crenellations. On the top of the building are three towers, more than one metre high. We estimate the height of the towers from the height of the people standing on the roof. The towers are decorated with triangular crenellations and they are buttressed. On the top of the roof we see three Musasirian elite persons looking to the right and wearing skin cloaks. That was traditional clothing which was also worn by Lullubi, Manneans and Medes. Sargon relates that when he entered the city of Musasir the people were frightened and retreated to the roofs.¹⁹⁸⁹

The public building in **Kunara** in the Upper Tanjaro valley at the foot of the Baranan range in Sulaimania is a commemorative structure recently discovered by a French team. The building is dated to the fourth quarter of the third millennium BCE. The monumental building was in Level II. This is considered to be a major urban centre of Lullubum in the late third millennium BCE.¹⁹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁸⁴SAA XIX 198: 6-10 .

¹⁹⁸⁵ARAB II 213.

¹⁹⁸⁶See Albenda 1986: pl.125; 137; Reade 1979: 78, note 59; Wäfler 1975: 266-288. Several Mannean leaders wear similar skin cloaks; see Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.68, Room II, no.22; P.129, Room X, no.7; pl.150, Room X, no.8; Russell, 1985: 549: fig. 3 d, fig.13. Warriors of the Mannean city of Panzashi wear fur cloaks; see Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.145, Room XIV, 1-2; Albenda 1986: 112, pl.136, Room 14, slab 2. For the campaign against Kisheshlu, see Albenda 1986:111, Pl.137, Room 14, slabs 10-11; Pl.146, Room XIV, no.10-11.

¹⁹⁸⁷Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 141, Room XIII, slab. 4.

¹⁹⁸⁸Albenda 1986:91, abb.18, pl.133.

¹⁹⁸⁹ARAB II 171. Also, for further details about the roofs of the public buildings of Musasir see Marf 2014: 21ff.

¹⁹⁹⁰Kunara is located at the foot of the Baranan range in the region to the west of Sulaimania. The site consists of two tells, called the lower and the upper town by the excavators. Potsherds and other material culture showed

Although the published report of the excavation did not mention any palace in **Basmusian**, Tenu refers to “*a (renewed) Assyrian palace in Bazmusian from the 9th/8th centuries BC.*”¹⁹⁹¹ But the published report of the excavations of Tell Basmusian, which is at present our only direct source about the site, did not refer to it. Even the reports of other excavated sites near Basmusian in the Rania plain did not refer to any Middle or Neo-Assyrian palaces. There is nothing in reports on Basmusian or the other 39 sunken sites of the Rania plain which have been excavated, sometimes by salvage excavations in 1950s, before the water of the Dukan dam took over. We know only of the Achaemenid palace at Tell ed-Dem. In fact a detailed report of one season’s excavation at Basmusian was never published. A brief report was published by Abu al-Soof about the architectural remains, which are called temples in Level III. The area where these temples were found is called the “*district of the temples.*”¹⁹⁹² In these buildings several fragments of Middle Assyrian tablets were found.¹⁹⁹³

The excavations at **Hasanlu** revealed some public buildings called Columned Halls, or Burned Buildings. Many papers were published by the excavators of Hasanlu about the architecture and origin of the style of these buildings. Dating the destruction of Hasanlu IV B is still a matter of debate, with radiocarbon results giving 850-750 BCE. The controversy about datings has led to disputes about whether Assyrians or Urartians destroyed Hasanlu.¹⁹⁹⁴ If the destruction happened in the 9th century BCE, probably it was the Urartians, who destroyed it, killed hundreds of its inhabitants, and burned the buildings.¹⁹⁹⁵ Muscarella said the Urartian destruction of Hasanlu “*fits the historical scenario.*”¹⁹⁹⁶ This dating makes the Columned Halls of Hasanlu older than the Urartian and Median columned halls. At Altintepe the Urartian columned hall had three rows of six columns.¹⁹⁹⁷ It has been compared to the columned hall of Godin Tepe, which had “*five rows of six columns,*” and was dated “*from the 8th or the 7th centuries BC.*”¹⁹⁹⁸ Some architectural elements of Hasanlu architecture can be compared to Assyrian architecture, such as “*the entry-porticos*”, which are generally assumed to be an Assyrian architectural feature.¹⁹⁹⁹

That columned halls were used as public buildings is agreed. But the purpose of the Columned Halls of Hasanlu is disputed. The view that considers them to be temples for

that the site was inhabited in the Neolithic (Hassuna period), Chalcolithic (Ubaid period), and the Bronze Age and also in the Iron Age (9th century BCE); see for instance, Kepinski and Tenu 2014: 8ff., 18f.

¹⁹⁹¹Tenu 2009:170; van Soldt, et al., 2013: 220, n.78.

¹⁹⁹²Abu al-Soof 1970: 65ff; al-Aseel 1956: 141-142. Further details about these temples will be given later in this chapter.

¹⁹⁹³The Middle Assyrian tablet fragments are too badly broken to provide any real information. They came from Level IV in a pit south of the temple II, B. Abu al-Soof assumed that the pit was cut by the inhabitants of the level II-III. Habur Ware potsherds were also found in this level, to be dated to the second millennium BCE. Læssøe dated the tablets to the 13th century BCE, or more precisely to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1260-1233 BCE); for further details cf. Abu al-Soof, 1970: 65ff; Læssøe 1959: 17; Tenu 2009: 170-171.

¹⁹⁹⁴Roaf 2012b: 8.

¹⁹⁹⁵Dyson 1965b: 202-203.

¹⁹⁹⁶Muscarella 2006: 80, note.9.

¹⁹⁹⁷Özgüç 1966:pl. V, VI.

¹⁹⁹⁸If we accept the dating to the 8th century BCE, this makes the Median columned hall of Godin Tepe older than the one of Altintepe. For further details see Özgüç 1966; Safari & Ghadim 2015: 63-70; Gopink 2011: 285-364.

¹⁹⁹⁹Winter 1977: 371-386.

public religious activities is based on the assumption that some of the installations in these buildings had a sacred function, such as an altar.²⁰⁰⁰ Others take them as features of a palace. Young assumed that they were probably “residences of local rulers?”²⁰⁰¹ He thought the style of the ‘wide entrances’ of the Burned Buildings (BB II and BB III) originated from the Iron Age palaces of Tell Halaf and Zincirli, with Anatolian and Northern Syrian styles combined in an Assyrian style.²⁰⁰² In Assyria columns are also known, but not columned halls. Roaf explained that the columns in Assyria “were placed on facades rather than in halls.”²⁰⁰³ We have evidence that columns decorated the façade of a temple (or a palace) and were found in porticos.²⁰⁰⁴

The Burned Building III also had a portico, which is to be considered as a later addition to the building. Dyson suggests that the original building “consisted of a narrow rectangular antechamber and a spacious square hall with central columns and hearth, and a bench around the walls.”²⁰⁰⁵ According to Dyson, “this plan is in some respects reminiscent of the “megaron” of Asia Minor and the Aegean. Although, the hall can be shown to have been two stories in height there is no evidence to show whether it was an open space or whether there was a balcony.”²⁰⁰⁶ Muscarella comments on the confused assumptions on the controversial views of the excavators of Hasanlu in their publications, as follows:²⁰⁰⁷

“Through the publications, incomplete or inconsistent settlement plans are illustrated, creating a source of confusion. Further, while it is stated in several publications that porticoes were added to the fronts of several of the Burned Buildings in Period IV B when they were reconstructed following the IV C fire (BB II, III, and IV-IV E, and V: (Young 1966:55; 2002: 387; Dyson 1965b: 210; Dyson and Muscarella 1989:1), this is explicitly denied for BB II in Dyson and Voigt 2003: 222, where it is claimed the portico was present in IV C-but the earlier claims to the contrary were neither cited nor explained away.”

It seems that a short time before the burning of the city and its public buildings or during the attack the functions of some of these public buildings were changed. According to Roaf, the inhabitants used them as refuges for their animals, especially horses “during the final assault on the city or in the days immediately before”. This he says may explain the horse skeletons discovered in the Burned Buildings III, IV-E, V and VI.²⁰⁰⁸

The remains of a fortress were discovered at the top of the hill at **Ziwiye**, with 16 columns of a columned hall.²⁰⁰⁹ The Iron Age column bases there were assumed to be part of a two-row columned hall at the fortress.²⁰¹⁰ There is no obvious ruler or group of people to which to attribute the columns, but Kroll points to a seal impression of the Urartian king Rusa son of

²⁰⁰⁰Dyson 1989: 120ff.

²⁰⁰¹Dyson 1989: 118; Roaf 2012b: 3.

²⁰⁰² Roaf 2012b: 3; Raede 2008: 22ff.

²⁰⁰³Roaf 1995a: 65.

²⁰⁰⁴Reade 1983: 103; Reade 1998b: p.84; fig.3.

²⁰⁰⁵Dyson 1965b:198-199.

²⁰⁰⁶Dyson 1965b: 198.

²⁰⁰⁷Muscarella 2013: 323, and the bibliography.

²⁰⁰⁸Roaf 2012b: 10.

²⁰⁰⁹Rezvani & Roustaei 2007: 139.

²⁰¹⁰Kroll 2003: 282; Motamedi 1997: 320-357; Kroll: 2014: 204.

Argishti at Ziwiye, which “*ties this fortress to the Urartian sites farther north.*”²⁰¹¹ This seal impression may be used as evidence of Urartian contact with Ziwiye. But one seal impression is not enough to prove that Urartians were present in the area south Lake Urmia. The fortress and the columned hall can be generally dated to the 7th century BCE.²⁰¹²

There are columned halls in the Median sites of Nush-I Jan and Godin Tepe, and also Baba Jan Tepe.²⁰¹³ Another columned hall from Tepe Nush-I Jan has “three rows of four columns,” and is dated to the 7th century BCE.²⁰¹⁴ Roaf identified a “*niche with multiple rabbets,*” in the Columned Hall of Nush-I Jan.²⁰¹⁵ He explains that the “*doorways with multiple rabbets were used in Iron Age Assyria and western Iran and ... this feature can be associated as closely with religious architecture in Iran as it can in Mesopotamia.*”²⁰¹⁶ Other examples of multiple rabbets are found in the Assyrian capitals Nimrud and Khorsabad. These Assyrian examples date to the Late Assyrian period.²⁰¹⁷

Godin Tepe is located to the south west of Hamadan, in Kermanshah province, where a big fortified Median manor was discovered fortified with walls and towers. It is fortified with walls and towers. The walls have arrow-slits.²⁰¹⁸ A large 30-columned hall was discovered, with five rows of six columns. The palace dates to the seventh century BCE. It can be compared with the ninth century columned halls of Hasanlu IV, and the eighth century Urartian columned hall of Atlin-Tepe. In addition, it is assumed that it probably influenced the later 6th century palace of Cyrus in Pasargadae.²⁰¹⁹ Moreover, the recessed and buttressed facades and arrow-slits at Goden Tepe are compared by Roaf to the Zagrosian fortresses depicted on the Assyrian reliefs.²⁰²⁰ According to Roaf, the columned hall of Godin Tepe appears to be more of a secular building, with fortified towers and storage magazines.²⁰²¹

One needs to bear in mind the snowy weather of autumn, winter and early spring in Urartu and the Northern Zagros to understand that columns were needed to support the roofs of the big halls. The depth of snow is sometimes more than a meter, putting considerable pressure on the roof of a large hall. Without supporting columns the roofs would have been likely to collapse.²⁰²² The columned hall was invented in the Zagros and the mountainous area of the Zagros, Urartu and even Anatolia as a consequence of the weather. As an architectural style of a particular area and or period it was probably transmitted to the Achaemenids under the influence of the Medes. The Achaemenid columned halls were not related to protection from

²⁰¹¹Kroll 2014: 204; Kroll, 2013: 319-326.

²⁰¹²Kroll 2003: 282.

²⁰¹³For further details about the columned hall of Baba Jan see Goff 1977: 125f; Stronach and Roaf 2007: 30ff, 155-169; Stronach 1968: 178.

²⁰¹⁴Stronach, et al., 2010:124.

²⁰¹⁵Roaf 1998: 65.

²⁰¹⁶Roaf 1998:58; Damerji 1987: 68-70. For other details about Mesopotamian temples, see Roaf 1995c: 423-441.

²⁰¹⁷Roaf 1995b: 58-59.

²⁰¹⁸Young 1972: 185ff.

²⁰¹⁹Stronach 1968: 178; Young 1972: 185ff.

²⁰²⁰Roaf 1995a: 65.

²⁰²¹Roaf 1995a: 65.

²⁰²²Marf 2014: 13-29.

the weather but rather a demonstration of luxury.²⁰²³ Most columns in ancient Near Eastern buildings, especially in the mountainous areas, were to support a flat roof.²⁰²⁴

In his report about the salvage excavations at The Rania plain on the banks of the Lower Zab river Abu-al-Soof discovered “*foundations made with baked bricks of some Assyrian buildings*” in the Late Assyrian level on the summit of the first of the two tells of Tepe Kuran in the Rania/Bitween Plain. He says that both tells showed “*Late Assyrian, Median, Sassanian, and Islamic material remains.*”²⁰²⁵ Unfortunately, the site was not excavated so we have no data from architecture to suggest that it was an Iron Age public building.

Sargon II describes the palace of **Ursa**, its walls and roof, storage places for grain and wine, gardens and the city moat.²⁰²⁶

The Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II in his annals claims that he renovated the ruin of **Atlila** in Zamua. He built a palace for his royal dwelling and adorned it. He surrounded the city with a wall. He collected grain and straw “from the whole land” and stored it there, and renamed the city Dûr-Ashur.²⁰²⁷

I put a wall around it, founded therein a palace for my royal residence, (and) decorated it more splendidly than ever before. I stored therein barley (and) straw from all the (surrounding) land. I named it Dûr-Aššur.

It is suggested that Tiglath-pileser I rebuilt a fortress in **Basmusian**, “*a (renewed) Assyrian palace in Bazmusian from the 9th/8th centuries BC.*”²⁰²⁸ But as far as I know in the Assyrian records there is no mention of an existing Neo-Assyrian palace there, neither at Basmusian nor at any tell of the Rania plain. Also, the Middle Assyrian fragment tablets discovered in Basmusian did not give any information about any Assyrian architectural activities there. Jasper Eidem has drawn my attention to a recently published brick inscription by G. Frame dated to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I.²⁰²⁹

"At that time, (with regard to) the great wall of the city of Pakute, which previously a ruler who had preceded me had built, I tore down the dilapidated (sections) that had become old. I delineated its site and reached (down to) the bottom of its foundation trench. I made bricks (and) (re)laid the foundation of that wall. I made the foundation twelve-and-a-half courses deep. I completely (re)constructed (the wall) from its foundations to its parapets (and) I built inside it a towered building (literally: house of towers). I surrounded (the city) with the wall. I raised (the wall) 180 courses (of brick) higher (than previously). I heaped up a pile of earth on top of its large mound. I made (it) much stronger than previously. I dug a moat round it. I built inside it a palace (to be) my royal residence. I completely constructed (the palace) from its foundations to its parapets. I raised its wall and its towers and made (them) fast with a facade of baked

²⁰²³For further details about possibility of transmission of the style and the plan of Median architecture to the Achaemenid architecture, see Roaf 2003:13, 15f; Stronach 2012a: 667-684. Also, see Gopnik 2010: 195-207.

²⁰²⁴For further details concerning the columned halls in ancient Anatolia see Değirmenciğlü 2013:6f.

²⁰²⁵Abu-al-Soof 1970: 6.

²⁰²⁶ARAB II 161. Relying on the itinerary mentioned in the inscription of Sargon II, the city of Ulhu is identified with Level III of modern Haftevan, see Burney 1977:4; Salvini 2011: 95; Muscarella identified it with Qalatagh; for further details see Muscarella 2013: 378. Further details will be given below

²⁰²⁷RIMA II A.O. 101.1: ii 84b-86a; Thompson 1940: 104; ARAB I 458.

²⁰²⁸van Soldt, et al., 2013: p. 220, n.78; Tenu 2009: 170-171.

²⁰²⁹Frame 2011: no.68: 49-63a.

bricks. I hung high doors of pine in its doorway(s). I placed monumental inscriptions of mine inside it."

Jesper Eidem has told me that recently people in the Rania plain handed a fragment of a brick inscription to the Slemani museum. He feels it may have originated from the same tell from which the inscription published as Schoeyen Collection MS 2004 originated. Both mention the city of Pakute, a site not identified yet.

4.2. Temples and religious places in the Zagros

An absence of written records for most of the Bronze Age and Iron Age public buildings in the Northern Zagros makes identifying their function difficult. Roaf refers to that issue at Hasanly “*it is sometimes difficult to tell whether an excavated structure was a religious or a secular building.*”²⁰³⁰ Based on the epigraphic, visual and archaeological evidence from both the Zagros and Assyria, below I try as much as possible to explain the links between the architecture, plans and elements of the material or depictions or records of religious buildings of both the Northern Zagros and Assyria:

Some depictions of temples come from the Assyrian reliefs from Khorsabad, from the palace of Sargon II, in particular those of the city of Harhar,²⁰³¹ of Kišessim,²⁰³² and the temple of Haldi in Musasir.²⁰³³ There is also the temple and ziggurat of Ishtar on a relief from Arbail from the reign of Ashurbanipal. Several temples of the Zagros are mentioned in Middle and Neo-Assyrian, Urartian and local records, such as the temple of Haldi at Musasir, the temple, the temple of Teššub at Kumme, etc.

Archaeological excavations in the Zagros have revealed several public buildings, considered as temples, and some more hesitantly religious structures, including structures at Tell Basmusian, Hsasanlu, Tepe Qalaichi, Rabat Tepe, Tepe Nush-I Jan, Godin Tepe, Baba Jan Tepe, and column bases of the temple of Haldi of Musasir, etc.

Some structures contemporary with the Middle Assyrian period were discovered at Tell Basmusian in the area called by the excavators the ‘*District of the Temples.*’ There were also several fragments of Middle Assyrian tablets found in that area at Basmusian, but there is no mention of temples or rituals in these tablets.²⁰³⁴ The walls are 3 m thick, with buttresses and recesses. The width of the niche is 2.06m near the western corner of the southwestern wall from the outside; the width of the gate 1.06m; also there is a platform, 4.0m wide and 25.0m high (Fig.4.1.b).²⁰³⁵ The temple of ‘Kumarbi’ at Urkesh has a “rectangular, single-roomed building with a broken axis” and is compared by Ahmed with the plan of the temple of Bazmusian/Basmusian, also with a “*rectangular room with the entrance on one of the long sides and the cella at the short side.*” This is a common plan for the Assyrian temples, for instance the old temple of Ishtar in Ashur.²⁰³⁶

²⁰³⁰Roaf 1998. 57. In Mesopotamia we have clear details about the temples and their architectural details, from intensive excavations in most of the capitals and major cities of Sumer, Babylon and Assyria; for further details, see Frankfort and Roaf 1996, also see Heinrich 1982: 143-197.

²⁰³¹Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl.55.7

²⁰³²For the temple of Kishesim also see Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.68, Room 2 slab 22.

²⁰³³For the temple of Musasir see below.

²⁰³⁴Læssøe 1959:15-18; Abu al-Soof 1970:10.

²⁰³⁵Abu al-Soof 1970:10., pl. VIII 1.

²⁰³⁶Ahmed 2012: 205f, note.314; for other details about Basmusian temples see Damerji 1987: figs. 21 and 45.

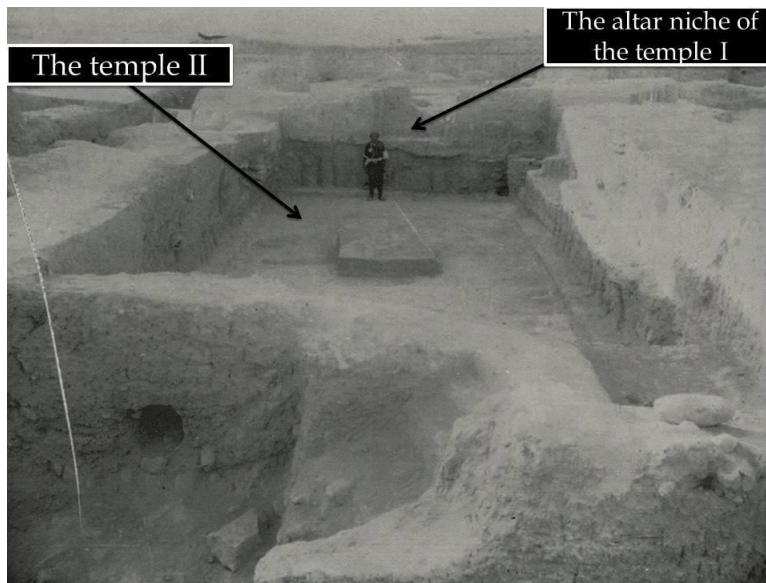


Fig. 4.1.b. Temples I-II in Basmusian. (Abu al-Soof 1970:10., pl. VIII).

The **temple of Haldi in Musasir/Ardini** was one of the most famous temples in the Northern Zagros. It was located in the province of Musasir, between Assyria and Urartu. But the temple of Haldi was considered the most important temple for Urartu, for Haldi was the patron deity of Urartu. The temple received gifts and offerings from Urartu and from other provinces and states. There are many references to the temple in the Assyrian and Urartian inscriptions of the 9th-8th centuries BCE, and the plundering of the temple and the city of Musasir is depicted on a relief at Khorsabad. Recently the author identified a probable location for this long lost temple on accidental discoveries in the village of Mdjeser. There several Urartian style column bases were uncovered, and have been studied by the author during his fieldwork in that area.²⁰³⁷

In the Urartian inscriptions the earliest known records are the bilingual inscriptions on the **stele of Kelishin** (late ninth century BCE). Ishpuini and his son and co-regent Menua say that they built a temple for Haldi in **Ardini/Musasir**. We do not know for sure if that temple was the first temple of Haldi in Musasir or if the temple already existed, who renovated or extended it, or if it is the first temple of Haldi in Musasir/Ardini. But in the late second millennium BCE Shalmaneser called the city a holy city.²⁰³⁸ This means that the city even in the second millennium BCE was well known as a holy city, and in the first half of the first millennium BCE. Still there is no direct known record of Haldi and its temple in the second millennium BCE.

Very probably Haldi was worshipped in Musasir/Ardini even before the Urartians made him their national god in the early first millennium BCE.²⁰³⁹ The stele of Kelishin was erected

²⁰³⁷This fieldwork, which was conducted during 2005-2012 was facilitated by the Directorate of Antiquities of Soran, also by Slemani, and Erbil museums. The aim of this field work was to record the accidentally discovered material objects (column bases, statues, ceramic), as well as studying the landscape and toponyms, to give a better understanding the ancient Musasir Kingdom. The results of this field work are discussed in this chapter and other chapters of this dissertation. And in Marf 2014; Marf 2015 and Marf 2016.

²⁰³⁸*RIMA I*: A. o.77.1. 47-48.

²⁰³⁹For instance see Taffet and Yakar 1998: 133-152.

by the Urartian king Išpuini (c. 825-810 BCE?) and his son and co-regent Minua (c. 815-810? / 810-785 BC?). After their victories they built a temple for Haldi at Musasir/Ardini. According to the inscription, they offered many expensive gifts, weapons and bronze vessels, and much silver, while sacrificing a large number of animals in front of the gates of the temple of Haldi.²⁰⁴⁰

The Urartian king Rusa I (ca. 735-713?/719-713? BCE) in the inscription on the stele of Topzawa said that he built a temple for Haldi in Ardini/Musasir. He referred also to a festival which continued for 15 days to celebrate his victory over the Assyrian auxiliaries, pushing them out from Musasir.²⁰⁴¹ We do not know for sure if he renovated the temple that had been built by Išpuini and Minua, or if he built a new temple for Haldi. But in the inscription of Kelishin, Haldi is mentioned first and is followed by several other deities, including the sun god (^DUTU / Šiwini) and the weather god (^DIM-še / Teišeba).²⁰⁴² On the stele of Topzawa, the temple was called “*god’s house*” by Rusa I.²⁰⁴³

... ...[. the king]s my fathers (ancestors) of [.] / these [.]. To the city of Musasir did not [bring] / [.] I during one expedition ...I brought / [more than all the king]s. to the city of Musasir I came down, / [and the king] [closed?] the gate of the god’s house / and fled to Assyria. Haldi, the lord [reopened its] gate; / [the religious practice?] in the midst (of the temple) I performed. Against Urzana I [...] / [his? troo]ps Urzana pr[epared] to the battle against me./ By order of Haldi I, Rusa, /w[ent to the moun]tain of Andarutu [and I de]feated (him). I [took] Urzana with my hand / [and I overpowered him.] I [set] him to his (former) position for the (exercise of) the kingship.

The gates of the temple are mentioned in the Urartian inscriptions. According to the inscription of Kelishin, the temple had more than one gate, and they sacrificed a large number of animals in front of the gates of the temple of Haldi.²⁰⁴⁴ The temple of Haldi, its gate and its ‘courtyard’ are mentioned also by Rusa I in his inscriptions on the Topzawa, Mergeh-Karvan and Movan steles. In the inscription of Topzawa Rusa I says that Urzana closed the gate of the temple of Haldi, called ‘*the gate of the house of the god*’.²⁰⁴⁵

The city of Arinu (i.e. later Ardini/Musasir)²⁰⁴⁶ was described by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 BCE) as a city founded on bedrock: “*The city Arinu, the holy city founded in bedrock...*”²⁰⁴⁷ Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BCE) also refers that the city Arinu as

²⁰⁴⁰For further details see CTU A 3-11; Benedict 1961: 337ff.

²⁰⁴¹Al-Amin 1952: 68.

²⁰⁴²CTU: A 3-11 20; also, the eighth campaign of Sargon II refers to deporting the statue of Bagbartu (Bagmaštu), the consort of Haldi as well as the statue of Haldi to Assyria (TCL III Sg. 385). For details about these deities see Petrosyan 2007: 188-189.

²⁰⁴³Roaf 2012a: 193, line: 31’-48’

²⁰⁴⁴Al-Amin 1952: 66; also see CTU A 3-11.

²⁰⁴⁵There are similar texts on the steles of Topzawa and Mergeh-Kervan; this text is recorded on the Movana stele, face III, Assyrian version. For the details see Roaf 2012a: 193ff; CTU A 10-5; A 10-3; A 10-4; A 3-10.

²⁰⁴⁶The mentioned city Arinu in the Middle Assyrian inscriptions is considered by K. Radner as the same later Ardini city of the land of Musasir, see Radner 2012b: 246f.

²⁰⁴⁷RIMA I: A. o.77.1. 47-48.

being located “... at the foot of Mount Aisa.”²⁰⁴⁸ Sargon II (721-705 BCE) refers to Urzana the ruler of Musasir/Ardini as “LÚ.šad-da-a-’u-ú.” i.e. a ‘mountain dweller’.²⁰⁴⁹

There is indirect mention of the temple of Haldi in the eponym of Aššur-bani in 713/712 BCE, the text of the eponym says during the eponym of Aššur-bani, the governor of Kalhu, “...;[the god] entered his new temple, [to] Musasir.”²⁰⁵⁰ The phrase ‘new temple’ of Haldi may indicate that a new temple was built for Haldi after it had been plundered in 714 BCE in the eighth campaign and Haldi and Bagbartu had been deported to Assyria. The Musasirians (with the Urartians) probably preferred to have their god residing in a new (or at least renovated) temple. When the statue of Haldi had arrived in Assyria it had been sent to the temple of Ashur, and so when it was sent back Haldi was back in Musasir in his own temple, a “new temple”.

The third line of the inscription on the seal of Urzana refers to the city as “URU.Ú.NAGA¹ MUŠEN¹”²⁰⁵¹ “the city of the raven”. This is interpreted by scholars in various ways. K. Radner says that the raven could be related to Haldi. According to her Mithra was another face of Haldi in the Roman period, and the raven was one of the symbols of Mithra. She supposed that there are underground temples of Mithra in the Bradost caves.²⁰⁵² Others consider the word raven as an Assyrian pun on the name of the city.²⁰⁵³ More simply when on the seal of Urzana the city is called ‘the raven city’ it means that the houses of the city were built on a rocky mountain slope, nesting there like ravens.²⁰⁵⁴ It seems that the Iron Age people also described some cities and fortresses of these mountainous areas as ‘raven nests’. So the name ‘raven city’ may not have had anything to do with Haldi and Mithra.²⁰⁵⁵ The author has seen most of the caves and surveyed some of them, and found nothing related to the Iron Age or Roman period, the periods when Haldi and Mithra were worshipped. I conclude that Shalmaneser’s description of the holy city as founded in bedrock, Sargon calls Urzana a ‘mountain dweller’, and Urzana’s description of his city as “the city of the raven,” all point to the fact that the city was built on a slope in a mountainous area. This is supported by the depiction of the city on the Khorsabad relief and the landscape of Musasir too (see further below).

Although we have no Urartian iconographic record depicting the city or the temple they are depicted on an Assyrian relief in Sargon’s palace at Khorsabad. It shows the city and its temple being plundered during the eighth campaign of Sargon II in 714 BCE (Fig.4.1. c). We have to keep in mind that the depiction of the city of Musasir/Ardini on the Khorsabad relief is somehow different from the depictions of other cities in the Zagros, especially the core of

²⁰⁴⁸RIMA II: A.0.87.1 v 77.

²⁰⁴⁹TCL III 310; Radner 2012b: 251.

²⁰⁵⁰SAAS II: 60; Ungnad 1938: 442.

²⁰⁵¹Radner 2012b: 247, note 34.

²⁰⁵²Radner 2012b: 253.

²⁰⁵³Collon 1987: 87, 405; Radner 2012b: 247.

²⁰⁵⁴Similarly, the western traveler Dickson in 1910 called similar houses in the modern villages of the Northern Zagros “swallows’ nests.” See Dickson 1910: 369.

²⁰⁵⁵Most of the caves of Bradost have been surveyed or excavated and there is no mention of any ‘underground temples of Mithra’ or other gods by the archaeologists. For further details see Solecki 1952: 37-48; Solecki 1980; Safar 1950: 118-123; Marf 2009c: 60-64; Marf 2009b: 586-589; Marf, et al., 2011: 30-34. For further details about the cult of Mithra during in the Roman Empire for instance see Beck 2006; Claus 2001.

the relief which focused on plundering the temple of Haldi. The text of the eighth campaign also focuses on that incident. Only by discovering the city in some future excavation will we have the right answer to the question of whether or not the city was walled. The relief shows some details of the temple: its facade, and its tent shape roof, the platform on which the temple was built,²⁰⁵⁶ the gate of the temple, and the two guardian statues standing on either side of the temple. Shields were hanging out over the wall and the roof of the temple. Sargon in his annals describes shields on the walls of the temple “*shields of gold that were hung right and left in his cell and with radiance shine, [and] the heads of wild lions come from inside out....*”²⁰⁵⁷

To establish the actual height of the temple, its columns and gates of the temple, the tower and the private houses of Musasir as depicted city on the Assyrian relief, the Assyrian soldiers are used in some studies to establish a scale. But this is not a correct procedure. It neglects Assyrian principals of depiction. The Assyrians usually depicted themselves bigger and stronger than others. The images of the Assyrian soldiers and scribes are depicted very large comparing with the Urartian/Musasirian statues of persons at the sides of the gate of the temple. The Musasirian elite persons depicted on the relief wearing skin cloaks and standing on the roof of the tower of the palace of Urzana are depicted as of normal size while the Assyrian soldiers and scribes on the relief are taller than normal. So we should assess the height of the building based on the height of the non-Assyrian figures on the relief. The gate of the temple and both the statues were probably reckoned as normal size, which gives us a height of more or less 2m. Then the height of the wall as far as the ceiling was probably about 4m. Then the tent shaped roof was probably less than 2m, and the plant/spear-shaped symbol at the top of the roof about 2 m high. The height of the platform on which the temple was built was about 2m. The height of the temple with its roof was probably about 6m. The length of its façade wall was probably about 9 or 10m. All these measurements have to be provisional. The Assyrian soldiers did not use ladders to climb the roof, not because the roof was low, but an Assyrian soldier is shown on the relief on the roof of the temple dropping a rope to help another soldier to climb the wall to reach the roof. We should not forget that Sargon II claims that he chose only special soldiers (the Assyrian commandos) for his attack on Musasir.²⁰⁵⁸

Gillmann thought that the size of the shields on the pillars of the temple of Musasir would have been like the Urartian bronze shields excavated, and assumes that the pillars were probably more than 1 meter thick.²⁰⁵⁹ But there are different sizes and shapes of shield shown on the façade of the wall, the roof and the ‘columns of the portico’ of the temple. The ones on the columns are the smallest, those on the left side probably less than half a meter across, and those on the right the same. There are others with a lion or dog head which on the inside of the pillars and they are seen in profile. The one big shield held on the right between the two pillars/columns is probably held on the external façade of the wall of the temple, and there are two other big shields held similarly between the two pillars/columns on the external façade

²⁰⁵⁶Gillmann 2011: 250. Archaeological evidence shows that the tower temple of Karmir-blur is considered to be the only discovered Urartian temple built on an ‘*artificial podium rather than directly on the rocks as one would expect on the basis of a two hundred year architectural tradition.*’ Dan 2010: 47.

²⁰⁵⁷Rehm 2004: 177f.

²⁰⁵⁸For further details about other suggestions and interpretations see Gillmann 2011: 250ff; Naumann 1968: 46.

²⁰⁵⁹Gillmann 2011: 249ff, 254f; also see Çilingiroglu 2012: 300ff.

wall of the temple. These three shields are very big, probably with a diameter of more than 1 meter. A statue of a female mammal with its suckling offspring is depicted on the right of the gate of the temple.²⁰⁶⁰ The cauldrons in the courtyard of the temple were probably used for some rituals and ceremonies in the courtyard (Fig.4.1.d).

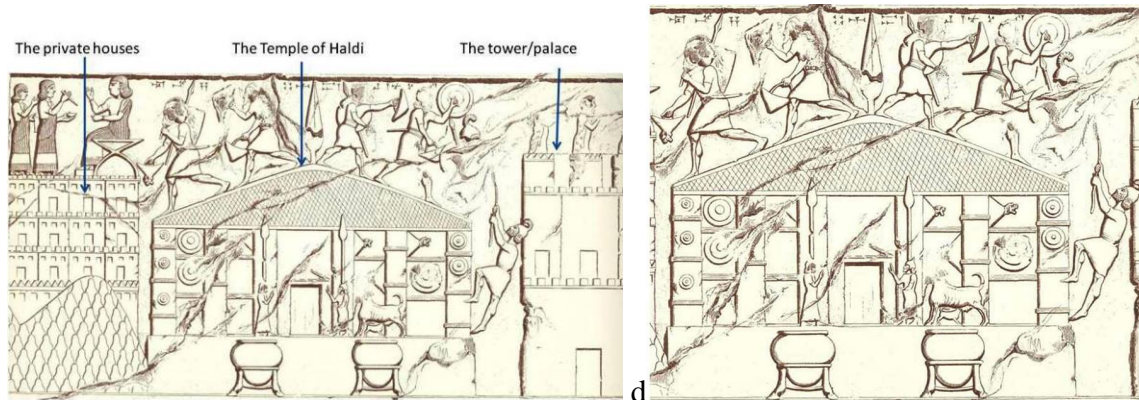


Fig. 4.1. c. The city, temple, and palace of Musasir as depicted on the Khorsabad relief. The sack of Musasir in 714 BCE by Sargon II (after Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 141, Room XIII, slab 4).

d. The temple of Haldi at Musasir. Details of the relief of Khorsabad (after Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 141, Room XII, slab 4).

Scholars disagree about whether or not to consider the platform as a feature of Urartian temple architecture.²⁰⁶¹ No parallel to the depicted platform of the temple of Haldi of Musasir has yet been found. During excavations at the Urartian temples no platforms have been discovered, except for the Toprakkale temple, which was built on a platform on the bedrock.²⁰⁶²

Probably the local topography is the reason for building the temple of Haldi on a platform in Musasir. This is clearly depicted on the Assyrian relief of Khorsabad. The climate was probably another reason for the platform. Flat areas in these valleys in the mountainous areas of the Northern Zagros were scarce, and what plains there were used for cultivation. That is probably why the private houses of the city and the temple of Haldi were built on the mountain slope.

The temple was a big building compared to the small private houses. So when they had to build the Haldi temple in Musasir, they had first to make a platform against the slope, as a base. This platform gave the building a distinctive contour among the other buildings of the city. The temple would also have been protected by this platform from the heavy rain and

²⁰⁶⁰In the eighth campaign Sargon II refers to plundering several animal statues, “...together with a bull of bronze, a cow of bronze, a calf of bronze, I carried off.” (See Lie 1929: II: 160), probably the cow and the calf statues are the same as are depicted on the relief.

²⁰⁶¹For details about this debate see Çilingiroglu2012: 301-302.

²⁰⁶²Çilingiroglu2012: 301-302.

snow. It blocked water more than a meter high from entering the gates and the doors of the houses.²⁰⁶³

If we look at the relief of Khorsabad which shows the main parts of the city of Musasir and its architectural plan, it appears completely different from the other cities depicted on Assyrian reliefs, such as Arbail, Harhar, Panziash and Kišesim in the midst or at the foothills of the Northern Zagros ranges.²⁰⁶⁴ In contrast to almost all the known architecture of the Zagros, including that depicted on the Assyrian reliefs, all had flat roofs. Only the roof of the temple of Musasir/Ardini has a gabled tent shaped roof.²⁰⁶⁵ The temple of Haldi which was located in the centre of the city is depicted with a square shaped tent roof.²⁰⁶⁶ Boehmer says that the temple of Haldi in Musasir had a special shape unlike a typical Urartian Tower Temple.²⁰⁶⁷ If the relief is an accurate depiction the temple had a tent shaped roof. Future archaeological excavation could determine whether this was so. Although there is no mention of destroying the temple in the Assyrian and Urartian records even if the temple is discovered it will be not easy to recreate the shape of the roof. No other temple except that of Haldi in Musasir and no other roofs of Urartian temples have been depicted on reliefs or other iconography. Information obtained from archaeological excavations about roofs or roof coverings of Urartian temples is limited. Some scholars have assumed that the roof of the Ayanis temple and other Urartian temples has generally been pyramidal,²⁰⁶⁸ but the only depicted evidence is the roof of the temple Haldi in Musasir.²⁰⁶⁹

The relief shows the temple with a tent shaped roof, if the roof of the temple to be tent shaped perhaps that was because of the weather and heavy snow in winter in this mountainous area.²⁰⁷⁰ At most times of the year it is cold, and in autumn, winter and early spring there are regular falls of snow. Sometimes the snow is more than a meter deep.²⁰⁷¹ To prevent snow **piling on the roof** the tent shape allows it to slip away from the roofs. If the roof was flat,

²⁰⁶³Much snow usually melts in late spring. This leads to small objects being washed away from the sites. This may be the answer for some scholars who wonder why there were so few potsherds on the archaeological sites in that area.

²⁰⁶⁴See for instance, Albenda 1986: pl.126; pl.136.

²⁰⁶⁵For further details concerning the proposed suggestions about the structure of the temple of Haldi at Musasir, see Gillmann 2011: 256ff; Rehm 2004: 174-178. For the details about the shape of the roof, and other examples of similar shape in Near East see Gillmann 2011: 256.

²⁰⁶⁶Boehmer 1993-1997: 448.

²⁰⁶⁷Boehmer 1993-1997: 448; Gillmann 2011: 253; Naumann 1968:49.

²⁰⁶⁸Çilingiroglu 2012: 305.

²⁰⁶⁹Gillmann 2011: 256.

²⁰⁷⁰As mentioned above Al-Qalqashandi (1355-1418 AD) recorded a local story that the reason for erecting the steles was to caution people about the cold and snow of summer in that area. As in the past, so also now every year the modern villagers of that area are cautious about the problems of heavy snow storms, which block the roads between the villages and the surrounding towns in the valleys and plains. As mentioned above, the heavy snow in ancient, medieval and modern times explains that it was snow and the topography that influenced the architectural style of buildings in that area (Al-Qalqashandi 1919 Subh'al-A'sha, vol.4: 376; Marf 2014: 13-29).

²⁰⁷¹As it was in the past, the ruler of Musasir Urzana sent a letter to Sargon II, saying that he could not bring or send his tribute of oxen and sheep to Assyria because of the snow. He says: "*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].*"SAA V II: 146:7-10. In reality Urzana was right, although Sargon II not believed him and attacked Musasir!

snow over such a large area of roof would soon make the square of supporting walls collapse under its weight. So many cubic meters of snow on a flat roof can be disastrous.²⁰⁷²

Another possibility which is less probably is the tent shaped roof of the temple may have originated from the tents of the semi-nomadic peoples of the pre-Musasirians or early Musasirians.²⁰⁷³ It might be that this temple existed even before the Urartians made Haldi their national god. There is evidence from the late second millennium that the city of Ardini/Musasir was considered as a holy city before the Urartian kingdom was established.²⁰⁷⁴ But until now we have no record about the temple existing before the ninth century BCE. The only early recorded evidence came from the inscriptions of the Meher Kapisi and Kelishin steles from Ishpuini and his son Minua. I hesitantly assume that in the land of Musasir before the 9th century BC, and even during the political structure of Musasir (during 9th-7th centuries BCE), some inhabitants or the ‘pre-Musasirians’ were probably semi-nomads and only a minority were sedentary in cities.

The temple of Haldi at Musasir/Ardini had a tent shaped roof, which might make it unique among other known Urartian temples. This shape may be related to it becoming the temple of the chief god. Alternatively, the tent shape for the large building with a ‘main large hall’ was functional, to protect the roof from the heavy snows of winter. The tent shape was the best choice to protect the main hall of the temple from the deep snow during the cold seasons of the year. It does not retain snow as a flat roof would. A flat roof after a heavy snowfall would have to be cleared of snow manually, as modern Kurdish villagers still do today with a befirnal ‘snow-remover’.

The reason the high platform on which the temple of Haldi was built corrected the slope of the site in that mountainous area. The platform also protected the temple from flood and heavy snow. There might also have been ritual reasons for this platform, especially when the temple became crowded with Urartian kings and rulers of the kingdom and their followers during ceremonies like the coronation of Urartian kings in this temple.

²⁰⁷² Today most of the houses in the villages in the Zagros are built with flat roofs, and this keeps all the villagers very busy when the snow starts. As a child I remember when the snow started in winter most of the men and women of the village were removing the snow from the roofs with a special tool, locally called a *befr-mal*, ‘snow-remover.’ Sometimes inhabitants of a house were killed because of roofs collapsing under snow. This happened, particularly with traditional flat roofs made with wooden columns or spar beams overlaid with leaves and mud.

²⁰⁷³ There is no direct evidence yet from material or immaterial culture that the people of the land of Musru/Musasir were semi-nomads, or that some of them were pastorals. But if we look at the Urartian and Assyrian inscriptions we can find indirect references to semi-nomadic pastorals in the land of Muşru/Musasir. The text of the stele of Kel-e-Shin refers to large number of animals which had been brought by the Urartian king Išpuini to ‘sacrificed’ or dedicated to the temple of Haldi at Musasir /Ardini, including “... 1,112 cattle, 9,020 goats(?) (and) sheep as an offering 12,480 large goats(?) for (the?) dedication” (Benedict 1961: lines 13-15, pp.382-383). Sargon plundered tens of thousands of animals from the land of Musasir to Assyria, including “692 mules and asses, 920 oxen, 100225 sheep” (see Lie 1929: 154-155). Such a huge number of animals would be owned by pastorals or semi-nomads not by inhabitants of villages or cites. Also, Dyson assumes that some of the people living around Hasanlu may have lived in tents or as semi-nomadic pastorals. (See Dyson 1989: 110).

²⁰⁷⁴ RIMA I: A. 0.77.1. 47-48.

The temple had a main gate which was depicted on the Khorsabad relief. This gate was guarded by two life-size standing statues. This main gate was mentioned by Rusa I on the stele of Topzawa. He says that it was closed by Urzana of Musasir. Probably the temple had more than one gate. Before Rusa I, the Urartian kings Ishpuini and his son Minua offered sacrifices at the gates of the temple of Haldi at Musasir/Ardini.

The only material which might support this assumption is the life-size statues discovered in Mdjeser and the surrounding area. Some of these funerary statues have been likened by the author to the steles of Hakkari, which date back to the Late Bronze Age - Iron Age I. In my opinion, the tent shape may have come from the shape of the main tent of the chieftain of the semi-nomadic people of Musasir. This is not surprising if we look at the same area nowadays, where we can see that the majority of the people are still from semi-nomadic tribes. They are living in the villages or settlements during the autumn and winter (Fig.4.1.e.). They build for their animals a type of stable with a tent shaped roof. Some of them do not even have villages, but come down to the western foot of Bradost range where the Upper Zab flows. Here they spend the autumn and winter in shelters, with bases and walls made from stones. The tent shaped roof made from reeds and wooden spars is overlaid with leaves. Sometimes a plastic cover gives additional protection from the rain. Those semi-nomads move every year in April to the high mountains with their animals (sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, dogs, chickens, etc). They camp there and erect their black tents, staying until the early autumn.



Fig. 4.1.e. Tent-shape winter shelters of the Bradostian semi-nomad shepherds, at the foot of Bradost range, and on the bank of the Upper Zab river. (Photo by the author).

In the 1970s, Rainer M. Boehmer found other stone statues, some potsherds and jars. In addition, he recorded details of architectural remains, fortifications at the Kala-Mdjeser and Ashkene. Boehmer also recorded two column bases found in the Kala-Mdjeser. He dated most of these architectural remains and even the collected ceramics from Ashkene and Mdjeser to the Iron Age, specifically to the 8th-7th century or earlier;²⁰⁷⁵ also, he considered one of the columns as Urartian (90-93cm in diameter), and the other one, which had a bell shaped base, as Achaemenid (Fig.4.2.a). Boehmer compared the uncovered Urartian column base of Mdjeser with the column bases of the temple of Çavuştepe. After the 1970s, for more than three decades, this region became a battlefield of the Iraqi-Iranian armies, then

²⁰⁷⁵Boehmer 1993-1997: 446ff.

Turkish/Iranian armies against Kurdish fighters. Therefore, this region remained virtually closed to archaeological activities.

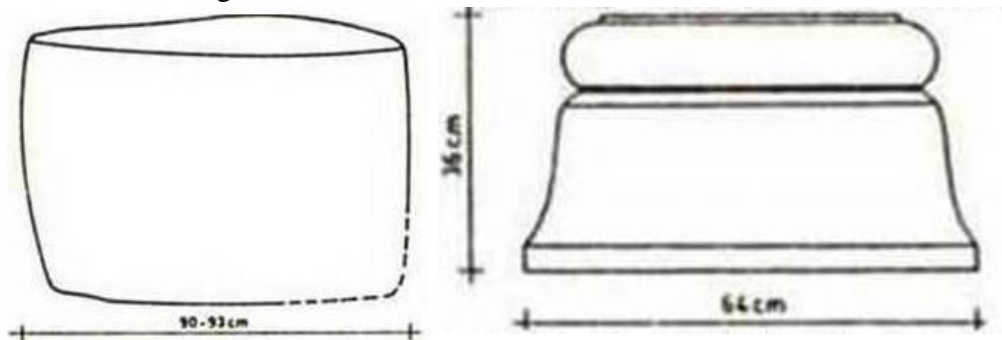


Fig. 4.2.a. An Urartian column base (drawn by Boehmer) found in the fort of Kala-Mdjêser (after Boehmer 1993-1997: Abb.3).

b. Achaemenid bell shape column base (drawn by Boehmer) found in the fort of Kala-Mdjêser (after Boehmer 1993-1997: Abb.4).

Since 2005, as a local archaeologist, I have embarked on fieldwork and recorded and studied 17 Urartian column bases, all reused by the local villagers in Mdjêser over the last 40 years. They were reused by the villagers as column bases, or steps, or as a seat in front of or inside the courtyard of their houses. We found some in ruins of destroyed houses, or in the vineyards of the village (see, Fig. 4.2.b). Most of the columns are made from green basalt, but some of them are made from sandstone, limestone, and marble (see, Fig. 4.2.c)



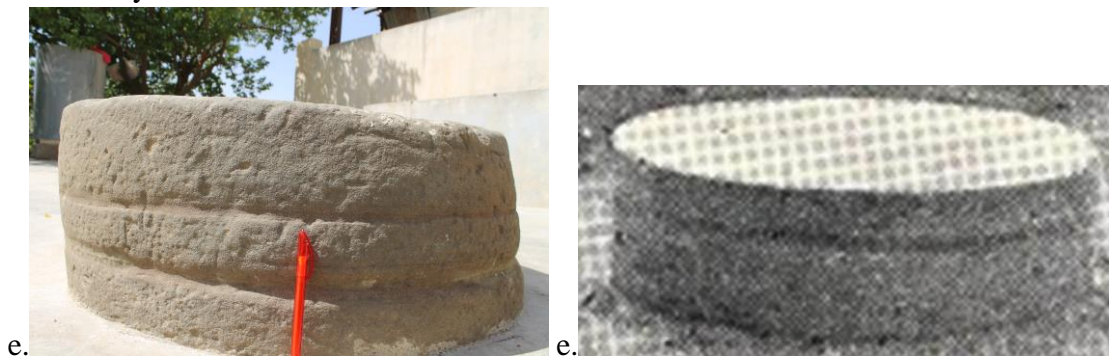
Fig. 4.2.b. The column bases discovered accidentally in Mdjêser village, and reused by the villagers. (Photo by the author).



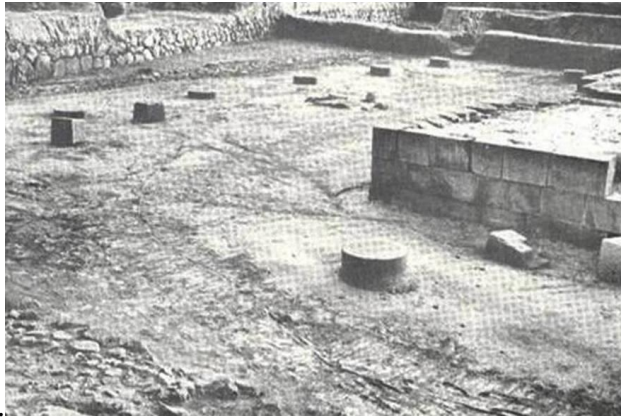
Fig. 4.2.c. The column bases discovered accidentally in Mdjêser village. (Photo by the Directorate of Antiquities of Soran).

These column bases are generally similar in size. The diameter of most of them is between 56-66 cm, but two are different. The smaller one is 33 cm in diameter, and the largest one 95cm in diameter. Most are 32 or 33 cm high, but two are different. The shorter one is 50cm high, and the taller one is 61cm high. These aberrant measurements belong to specimens carved from different stones, marble or limestone. There is no inscription, sign, or symbol on the items, apart from one with two horizontal lines incised around its diameter, and another with one incomplete line incised horizontally (Fig. 4.2.d).

These column bases are comparable with those already mentioned. Most are made from basalt, similar to traditional Urartian the column bases used in Urartian temples, as in the Haldi temple in Altin-Tepe and the inscribed column bases from Van (Fig. 4.2.e-f).²⁰⁷⁶ However, none of the 17 columns of Mdjêser is parallel to the one from Kali-Mdjêser considered by Boehmer as Achaemenid.



²⁰⁷⁶Özgüç 1966: I, Pl.X, XI; Özgüç 1969: II, Pl.XXXI; Cilingiroğlu 2011: 343. The column bears an inscription of the Urartian king Ishpuini son of Sarduri from Patnos (Van Museum): for further details see CTU III: A 2-10.



f.

Fig. 4.2.d. An incised column base from Mdjeser. (Photo by the author).

e. An incised column base at Altintepe (after Özgüç 1966: I, pl.-Leu.XXXI 1).

f. Column bases of the temple at Altintepe (after Özgüç 1966: Pl. Leu. XII).

The incised column of Mdjeser is unique among its group. The lines are probably traces of what might have been metal bands around the column. From Altin-Tepe came an identical column base with incised horizontal lines around its diameter (see fig. 4. e-f).²⁰⁷⁷

On the basis of the above mentioned parallels with the columns of the Urartian temples in Urartu, the columns of Mdjeser may be taken as contemporary with the Bainili/Urartu kingdom. It is a group of 17 columns of Urartian style from the 9th -8th century BCE. The column bases of Mdjeser may come from the ruins of an Urartian temple, and if so, this temple could be the long lost temple of Haldi of Musasir.

Steles were erected on the main trade route through the passes from Musasir (modern Sidekan/Bradost) to the Urmia basin or to the Urartian capital.²⁰⁷⁸ The inscriptions of both the Topzawa and the Kel-e-Shin steles mention ceremonies and the offering of sacrifices at the temple of Haldi in the city of Ardini/Musasir, which proves that the city and the temple were located in the district of modern Sidekan/Bradost on the east bank of the Tobzawa tributary. These steles were erected on the famous trade route, which can be called an 'Urartian royal road' as well, from Urartu to the temple of Haldi at Musasir/Ardini. It has been suggested by scholars that probably the coronation of the new Urartian king was conducted at the temple of Haldi in Ardini.²⁰⁷⁹ Some of the Urartian kings devoted big bronze statues of themselves in the temple of Haldi in Musasir. A bronze statue of Argishti with its plinth was looted from Musasir by Sargon II during his eighth campaign in 714 BCE.²⁰⁸⁰

On the basis of the above-mentioned evidence, and the columns in Mdjeser, I propose that the long-lost legendary temple of Haldi in Musasir/Ardini was located at the modern village of Mdjeser, in the district of Sidekan/Bradost in the Northern Zagros in Iraqi-Kurdistan. More precisely, what may be the remains of the temple of Haldi is located in a triangle, less than 2 square km in area, somewhere beneath the house of the Bradostian chieftain, the Bradostian castle, or beneath the stones of a cairn in an area of a hill separating the house of the chieftain

²⁰⁷⁷Özgüç 1966 I: 40; Cilingiroğlu 2011: 343.

²⁰⁷⁸Salvini 1993-1997: 445.

²⁰⁷⁹Roaf 2012a: 200f., note.43.

²⁰⁸⁰Fuch 2012:136.

to the south from a spring and orchards. That is where most of the column bases were found (Fig. 4.2.g).



Fig. 4.2.g. The temple of Haldi of Musasir/Ardini probably lay somewhere near the houses and the orchards of Mdjeser village. (Photo by the author).

In conclusion, the columns found in the village of Mdjeser are contemporary with the Bainili/Urartu kingdom, the 9th-7th century BCE. They are identical to columns of the Urartian temples at Altin-Tepe and other sites. On the basis of the columns from Mdjeser and other evidence from the same area published by other scholars, I can confirm that an Urartian temple or perhaps more precisely the temple of Haldi of Musasir/Ardini was located in the area of the modern village of Mdjeser.

As mentioned above, there are two main views about the function of the **Columned Halls** of **Hasanlu**. One considers some of them as temples, especially the Burned Building II (BB II) from the level Hasanlu IVB which is dated to the 9th century BCE.²⁰⁸¹ No divine statues were discovered in the buildings, but Winter assumes that the ivory eye-shaped inlays belonged to such statues from the “*Burned Building II*” at Hasanlu.²⁰⁸²

With no inscriptions from the public buildings of the Zagros to help him, Roaf tried to identify some of them on the basis of architectural features of temples in Mesopotamia, including multiple rabbets, giving the stepped outline to doorways that is typical of temples in Mesopotamia.²⁰⁸³ At Hasanlu in the Burned Building II *doorways with multiple rabbets were found.*²⁰⁸⁴ According to Roaf:²⁰⁸⁵

The three such doorways in the south wall of the main hall of BB II at Hasanlu do not function in the same way as such doorways in Assyria and Babylonia where they always

²⁰⁸¹Dyson 1989: 120ff; Dyson and Voigt 2003: 219-236.

²⁰⁸² Dyson 1989:p.120, fig.20.

²⁰⁸³For further details see Roaf 1998: 57-80; Roaf 2012b: 9.

²⁰⁸⁴Roaf 1998: 63ff., fig.7.

²⁰⁸⁵ Roaf 2012b:10.

lead into the main shrine where the statue of the god was situated and they do not inevitably indicate a religious function for BB II.

As for the temple of Hasanlu, Roaf assumes that “*if any building in Hasanlu IVB was a temple, certainly the strongest candidate is Burned Building II.*” He does not reject the idea that “*the Burned Buildings were residential, perhaps the palaces built by successive rulers of the city*”.²⁰⁸⁶ According to Roaf if the Burned Buildings of Hasanlu were as palaces, “*then by incorporating doorways with multiple rabbets into his palace, the ruler, whether consciously or unconsciously, was adopting a Mesopotamian religious form for his own secular residence.*”²⁰⁸⁷

The material evidence from BB II gives the structure a religious interpretation.²⁰⁸⁸ But as Roaf suggests until the function of BB II is properly solved this is only hesitantly acceptable.²⁰⁸⁹ Several stelas from and in front of BB II are over 4.5 m tall.²⁰⁹⁰ They can be compared to the rows of stelas erected in an open area at Ashur.²⁰⁹¹ Similar stelas were found in the Urartian open air temple of the Altin Tepe. The steles of Altintepe is thought to have been erected on the altar, in a courtyard beside a tomb. This symbolic altar was where libations were offered.²⁰⁹² It can be compared with the depiction on a seal impression of three stelas on an altar with a devotee offering libations.²⁰⁹³ A seal-impression from Toprak Kale also shows a devotee before three steles on an altar.²⁰⁹⁴ Other examples dating to the second millennium come from Hazor, Mari, Byblos, Gezer, etc.²⁰⁹⁵ According to Dyson the steles of Hasanlu probably were not erected for any ritual or religious purposes, but “*stood against the front wall of the double portico and against the party wall in the center*”.²⁰⁹⁶

In the first season of excavation in 1985 Yaghmaei found an Iron Age public building at **Tepe Qalaichi**, his team considered it to be a temple and called it Columned Hall C (19 x 35m).²⁰⁹⁷ Moreover, there was a platform in the centre of this ‘temple’ in addition to the four columns of the hall. The platform was decorated with glazed bricks. There are several side rooms, a stone-paved courtyard, and an entrance gate.²⁰⁹⁸ The Columned Building C is considered to be a Mannean temple. Karger felt there was not enough evidence to take it as the temple of Haldi, and compared the plan of this temple of Qalaichi with Urartian, Assyrian and even Hassanlu Columned Halls. He found no similarity between them and the columned Mannean temple of Qalaichi.²⁰⁹⁹ There is no doubt that the many glazed bricks at Qalaichi

²⁰⁸⁶Roaf 1998: 78.also see Roaf 1995a.

²⁰⁸⁷ Roaf 1998: 78.

²⁰⁸⁸Dyson 1989:120ff.

²⁰⁸⁹Dyson 1989:120ff; Roaf 2012b: 9.

²⁰⁹⁰Dyson 1989: 117; Forbes 1983: fig.44; Özgüç 1969: fig.29-31.

²⁰⁹¹Dyson 1989: 118.

²⁰⁹²Özgüç 1969: 73f.

²⁰⁹³Özgüç 1969: 74, fig. 29; Forbes 1983: 84

²⁰⁹⁴Muscarella 1971: 264.

²⁰⁹⁵Muscarella 1971: 264.

²⁰⁹⁶Dyson 1989: 117, fig. 14.

²⁰⁹⁷ Yaghmaei 1985: 9, Kargar 2004: 232, note 10. For further details see Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi 2011:409f.; Hassanzadeh 2007:51.

²⁰⁹⁸Mollazadeh 2008: 109f.

²⁰⁹⁹ Kargar 2004: 232, note 10.

were used for ornamenting this public building, but no inscribed glazed brick was found. A partly preserved Aramaic inscription on the stele of Qalaichi mentions two main deities, the Urartian national god Haldi, and the Aramaic chief god Hadad. Perhaps both deities were worshipped at Qalaichi (Izirtu) at the 8th-7th century BCE, but not necessarily in their own separate temples.²¹⁰⁰

Qalaichi is located in the area of Bokan. There an important column base decorated in relief was found. Malazade assumed it probably came from the Mannean site at Tepe Qalaichi (Izirtu),²¹⁰¹ perhaps part of a columned iwan/portico/porch on the building there, where glazed bricks were used to decorate the walls.²¹⁰²

The column base was decorated in relief with abstract plant and geometric designs. The main element is duplicated palmettos, linked by lines and each one enclosed by an omega like frame. A chain of these frames continues round the column base. The pelmet has seven leaves, with diamond or lozenge shapes at its base (Fig.4.3. a).²¹⁰³ Malazade dated it to the mid. or late 7th century BCE.²¹⁰⁴ His paper includes good comparisons with artistic elements in Assyrian column bases, as depicted and as actually found during excavations in the Assyrian capitals. From this we see that it cannot date to the late 7th century BCE as he suggests, but in the late 8th century or the first half of the 7th century BCE.²¹⁰⁵ The plant with seven buds plant is very similar to the palm with seven buds on the Assyrian wall painting of Til-Barsib, which is dated to the 8th century BCE (Fig.4.3.b). Also, it is seen on a fragment of a glazed brick from Ashur.²¹⁰⁶

The elements depicted on the column base of Qalaichi are compared by Mollazade with local elements from the contemporary art of Ziwiye and with other elements on the glazed bricks of Qalaichi.²¹⁰⁷ He found good parallels from Assyria. The closest parallel to the column base of Bukan are the column bases depicted on the Assyrian reliefs from Nineveh.²¹⁰⁸ This type of decorated column base is rarely found at the sites of Assyrian cities, but is often depicted on Assyrian reliefs, where we see them used in the *iwans* porticos). The oldest known examples are two huge simple Assyrian column bases discovered near the gate of the palace Khorsabad from the reign of Sargon II.²¹⁰⁹ Other Assyrian column bases decorated in relief are similar in design to the Qalaichi column base in their representations of plants and geometric figures (Fig.4.3. c).²¹¹⁰ A partly preserved relief shows a structure with rows of columns decorated in relief, their bases resting on lions. These columns decorate the façade of a public structure of the South-West palace at Nineveh.²¹¹¹ Interestingly, it seems that in Assyria as in Qalaichi the columned portico decorated in relief was a feature of simialr

²¹⁰⁰For further details about the mention of Haldi and Hadad on the Bukan stele, see Fales 2003: 134ff.

²¹⁰¹Mollazade 2013: 81.

²¹⁰²Mollazade 2013: 83, fig.13.

²¹⁰³Mollazade 2013: fig.2.

²¹⁰⁴Mollazade 2013: 86.

²¹⁰⁵Frankfort 1995: 151, fig.173.

²¹⁰⁶Parrot 1961: fig. 343; Miglus 2013: pl.XXVII d.

²¹⁰⁷Mollazade 2013: 85f.

²¹⁰⁸Reade 1983: 103.

²¹⁰⁹Mollazade 2013: fig.3-7. pp.77f.

²¹¹⁰Hall 1928: Pl. LVIII; Reade 1983: 103.

²¹¹¹For further details see Reade 2008b: 29, fig.15; Mollazade 2012: fig.8.

Assyrian style buildings. An Assyrian administrative letter sent to Sargon II mentions casting column-bases for a portico palace: “when are they going to cast the gate column-bases for the portico of the *hilāni* palaces.”²¹¹² After discovering this column base at Bukan and referring to the plan of the public building at Qalaichi, Mollazade reconstructed the “Columned Building,” of Tepe Qalaichi.²¹¹³

There are also some porticos depicted on the Assyrian reliefs from Nineveh, which had columns. The columns had simple or decorated bases and decorated capitals. A plan of a portico discovered at Khorsabad is dated to the reign of Sargon II, and is compared by Malazada with the plan of the Columned Building of Qalaichi.²¹¹⁴



Fig.4.3. a. A photo and drawing of the column base of Bukan, with linked elements of palmette relief (after Mollazade 2013: fig.2)

b. The linked elements of palmette decoration painted on the wall of Til-Barsib (after Parrot 1961: fig. 343).

c. An Assyrian column base decorated in relief, from Koyunjik (after Rawlinson 1876, vol.1, pl.LI, fig.3.I-III).

During the excavation at **Rabat Tepe**, when the Iron Age level with glazed bricks and stone design pavements were discovered, Heidary assumed that he had found the long-lost temple of Musasir in Rabat Tepe, but his identification has been rejected.²¹¹⁵ The area is assumed to be the remains of a temple, with the floor of the courtyard paved with cobbles and bricks, the cobbles and bricks, arranged in several concentric circles intricately linked with one other.²¹¹⁶ The circles are framed with squares, and the spaces filled with lozenge designs (Fig. 4.5. a-b).²¹¹⁷

²¹¹²SAA 1: 66: 4-8.

²¹¹³ Mollazade 2013: fig. 13

²¹¹⁴ For further details, about a similar plan in Assyria, see Reade 2008b: fig.11-12, 14; Mollazade 2013: fig. 13.

²¹¹⁵ Radner 2012b: 252.

²¹¹⁶ Kargar and Binendeh 2009: 116.

²¹¹⁷ Heidari 2010:148.

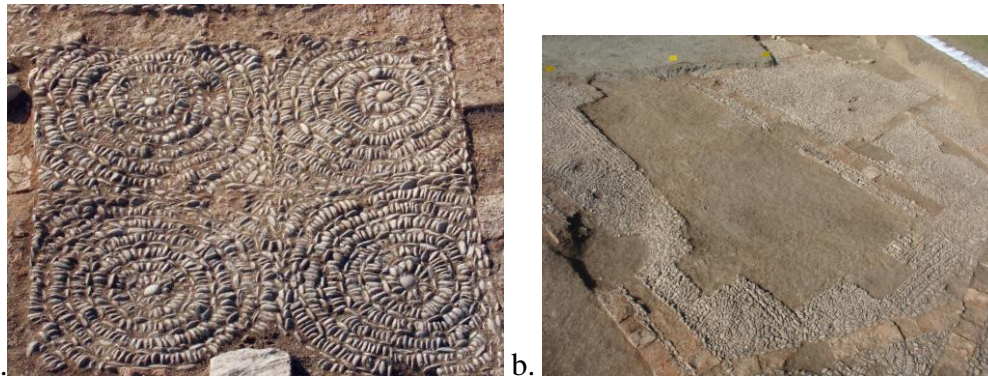


Fig. 4.5. a. The floor of the temple of Rabat Tepe, built with cobbles and bricks (after Heidari 2010: table. XLIX.1).

b. the floor with cobbles and bricks (photo by R. Heidari, courtesy of Rabat Tepe Project).

A ‘brick platform’ found in the courtyard was according to the excavators probably made for some ‘religious ceremony.’²¹¹⁸ The cobbled floor is probably related to the courtyard complex that is still not excavated. The cobbles were transported from the eastern bank of the Lower Zab nearby.²¹¹⁹ River-stone pavements were also used for floors in Urartu, in Altintepe,²¹²⁰ in Media,²¹²¹ and in other Zagros sites such as Area 2-Ad Iron Age BA 2207 at Tell Bakrawa,²¹²² in Ziyaret Tepe²¹²³ and in Satu-Qala.²¹²⁴ Reade and Finkel assume that “presumably these pavement designs tended to reflect the patterns of carpets, as did the carved alabaster doorsills in Assyrian palaces of the eighth-seventh centuries. We assume that Greco-Roman pebble and tessellated mosaics also imitated carpets.”²¹²⁵ They add that “the closest parallel for the Rabat mosaic is at the Assyrian centre of Ashur itself.”²¹²⁶ The one at Ashur is called “the Karawanserai pebble mosaic”, and the one at Rabat is also called a Karawanserai by the excavators.²¹²⁷

Tepe Nush-I Jan is located ca. 10 miles southwest of Hamadan, west of Malayer. It is an important site, where several public buildings were discovered, all built on a steep natural mound. The excavations revealed three major structures: the Central Temple which is incorrectly called a “Fire Temple?” The Fort and the Western Building (a Columned Hall 16 x 16m, with three rows each with four columns).²¹²⁸ According to Roaf and Stronach the three

²¹¹⁸Kargar & Binandeh 2009: p. 117, pl.4a.

²¹¹⁹ Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 117.

²¹²⁰Özgüç 1966: pl. XVI.

²¹²¹Safari & Ghadim 2015: 63-70.

²¹²²Also, in Bakrawa stone pavements are used in the Area 2-Ad Iron Age BA 2207. Miglus, et al., 2013: fig.8., p.49.

²¹²³At Ziyaret Tepe an ornamented style of pavement with river stones was discovered. The building was assumed to be the *herem* of the Assyrian palace, and also the *Akītu* building. For further details see Parpola 2008: 23f., fig.3.

²¹²⁴van Soldt 2013: 207.

²¹²⁵ Reade & Finkel 2014: 583f.

²¹²⁶ Reade & Finkel 2014: 583f.

²¹²⁷Reade & Finkel 2014: 584. For further details about the textual evidence concerning Rabat Tepe (Arzizi) as one of the trade centers in the Northern Zagros, see Chapter II, 2.8.

²¹²⁸For further details about the results of the excavations and architecture of Nush-I Jan see Stronach & Roaf 2007; Stronach & Roaf 1973: 129-140.

main structures of Nush-i Jan “*represented the three chief branches of the Median state: the church, the army, and the court*”.²¹²⁹

The Iron Age Central Building at Tepe Nush-i Jan is dated to the eighth-seventh centuries BCE. It is thought to have been a ‘Fire Temple,’ built on “*a mud-brick platform*.”²¹³⁰ The temple of Nush-i Jan was filled carefully with shale, mud-bricks and stones, then abandoned peacefully, largely blocking it.²¹³¹ Gropp assumes that the Medes probably adopted Zoroastrianism around 600 BCE.²¹³² But as yet there is no record to support that, and even the available archaeological evidence at Nush-i Jan does not give a direct link to any Zoroastrianism there. The bowl which was discovered is called a fire-bowl but considered “too shallow to allow for a permanently burning fire (such as is maintained in the deep metal fire-bowls of modern Zoroastrian temples). It has been suggested that the temple of Nush-i Jan was perhaps built by a Median chief for “his foreign wife” as an “alien cult”.²¹³³ Therefore this cannot be proved from the material culture. This Temple may or may not have been related to Zoroastrianism. The Medes of Nush-i Jan may or may not have adopted Zoroastrianism. These are assumptions needing textual support, but unfortunately at least for now that is absent. The oldest known mention of Ahuramazda is in inscriptions of 522 BCE, of Darius I, the third Achaemenid king, on the Behistun rock relief in 522 BCE: “*King Darius states: Under the protection of Ahura Mazda I am king, Ahura Mazda gave me the kingship*.”²¹³⁴ The design and plan of the temple is different from Assyrian architecture. It has been suggested that the architecture here influenced the quadrangular towers of Naqsh-e Rostam near Psargadae and Persepolis. A main hall with blind window, a bench, a square altar and a basin were discovered. Also, the south façade of the wall decoration of the Temple at Nush-i Jan can be compared with the decoration of the “*horned parapet*,” of Persepolis, and similar decorations in Gūnespān in the Median Heartland.²¹³⁵

The temple of Nush-i Jan is an example of the “*carefully filled*” temples constructed by the Medes, and then followed by Nebuchadnezzar II. He filled the temple of Ninmah, and his successor Nabonidus used sand to carefully fill the harbour temple at Ur.²¹³⁶ Whether the Chaldeans or the Medes first practised the technique is not known. There is another possibility, already mentioned. If the temple of Nush-i Jan was a Fire Temple, filling the temple carefully may have related to killing the fire ritually. According to Stronach and Roaf filling the Central Temple of Nush-i Jan was made carefully only with stone. They assume that this was related to the ‘*laws of pollution*,’ in Zoroastrianism; “*Perhaps there is a connection, therefore, between the use of stone to fill the Central Temple and laws of pollution such as those attached to Zoroastrian religion, laws which could easily have formed*

²¹²⁹Roaf & Stronach 1973: 129-140. Yamauchi 1990: 44; Roaf 1995a: 64; Stronach 1968:177-186.

²¹³⁰Roaf 1995a: 64, fig.28; Stronach & Roaf 1973: 129; Stronach & Roaf 2007: 67-107, 211f.

²¹³¹Stronach & Roaf 2007: 171, 212f. For further details about the architectural remains at Tepe Nush-i Jan see Stronach 1968: 177-186; Stronach & Roaf 1973: 129-140; Stronach and Roaf 1974: 214-215;

²¹³²Gropp 1998:18.

²¹³³Stronach and Roaf 2007: 212f. And also see its bibliography.

²¹³⁴Von Voigtlander 1978: OP, par 4, section 4: p.54.

²¹³⁵For further details see Stronach & Roaf 2007: fig. 25c, p.171; Roaf 2010:250, fig.21.2, 21.3; Yamauchi 1990: 45; Roaf 2010: 247-254; Naseri, et al., 2016: 103 – 139.

²¹³⁶Roaf 1995b: 57-80.

part of the religious background of the Medes.”²¹³⁷ But the practice of killing fire was known a century before that, for instance, from Urartu, there is a short record on a bronze shield that may indicate something about killing sacred fire. The bronze shield from the temple area of Haldi at Ayanis was probably hung on the façade of the temple. We have depictions of shields hung on the walls and roof of the temple of Haldi at Musasir.²¹³⁸ The shield of Ayanis has a two line votive inscription, saying that the shield was offered as a gift to Haldi by Rusa son of Argishti. Rusa son of Argishti dedicated the shield to the temple of Haldi of Rusaḫinili Eidurukai (mod. Ayanis). The second line of the text gives the earliest indication of innovation in Urartian religion: “*Rusa says: he who takes this shield, he who throws it, he who ...s waters, he who ...s, he who throws earth on fires and earth, he who effaces my name and put his name, may God Ḫaldi destroy him, his seed and the seed of his seed under the Sun(light).*”²¹³⁹ This taboo probably related to ‘sacred fire’ in Urartian religious worship.²¹⁴⁰ Cilingiroğlu suggests that probably fire was burned continuously at the temple of Ayanis, even in winter months. A nearby source of bitumen for fuel would be the Korzut Fortress, ca. 50 km from Ayanis. According to Cilingiroğlu, what supports this assumption is a jar found at the temple of Ayanis which is full of bitumen.²¹⁴¹ He concludes that “*the “Zoroastrian” religion, believed to have originated in Iran in the 7th century BC is symbolized by a continuous fire. More evidence is needed to clear whether the fire in the Ayanis temple was connected to this religion. However, it would be appropriate to add this fire cult to the links between these two regional cultures.*”²¹⁴² The bitumen in the jar was probably used in the temple as fuel, especially during the cold weather and with rain and snow, but not necessarily for rituals or for the sacred fire. A similar large jar with traces of bitumen was found accidentally in Mdjeser village, near to the probable location of the temple of Haldi of Musasir. The bitumen in this jar was also probably used for keeping warm when it was cold outside, or as a regular igniting fuel.²¹⁴³

In the 7th century BCE, the Assyrian deity Girru began to be worshipped. In Tarbisu, a town north of Nineveh, the temple of Nusku-Girru was cited and his name occurs in Assyrian inscriptions. The worship of Girru is related to fire,²¹⁴⁴ but he is not related to Zoroaster. On the bronze gates of Balawat we can see a scene of Shalmaneser III at the shore of the sea of Nairi (Lake Urmia) carving a rock relief. Several tables and a fire-altar are depicted, with the

²¹³⁷Stronch and Roaf 2007: 171,fn.2. Also see Stronch and Roaf 1974: 129-140; Stronach 1975: 187-188.

²¹³⁸Çilingiroğlu 2011 b: 354f, fig.8; Çilingiroğlu 2011a: 1055-1168; Botta & Flandedn 1972: II, pl. 141; Marf, D.A. (forthcoming), 2016 “Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012),” in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) Forthcoming. The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. *Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress.

²¹³⁹Batmaz 2012a: 246f.

²¹⁴⁰Çilingiroğlu 2011 b: 354.

²¹⁴¹Çilingiroğlu 2011 b: 354f; Çilingiroğlu 2011a: 1055-1168; Batmaz 2012: 246.

²¹⁴²Çilingiroğlu 2011 b: 354ff.

²¹⁴³For further details see Chapter III, 3.5.2, “A stamp seal impression from Mdjeser”, also see Marf, D.A. (forthcoming), 2016 “Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012),” in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) Forthcoming. The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. *Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress.

²¹⁴⁴Interestingly, mod. Kurdish *agir* fire, and *gir* flame, could originate from Girru, the name of the Assyrian god of fire, and the Old Babylonian word *Girru* for “fire”. See CAD g 1956: 93; Edzard 1957: 380.

king and others performing rituals in front of the fire altar (Fig.3.1.b). In another scene, on a coloured ceramic vessel found at Ashur, a man and a woman bare foot, kneeling and raising their hands, worship in front of an ‘incense’/fire altar with ‘tall flames’ and a ‘table for sacrifice,’ Andrea assumes that the scene is related to the cult of Ishtar, based on the star disk on the palmetto as a representation of Ishtar in the temple of Ishtar (Fig. 4.6.a).²¹⁴⁵ The Urartian votive text on the Ayanis shield and the worship of Girru in Assyria, both show that fire was worshipped before Zoroastrianism. So it is possible that the so-called ‘Fire Temple’ of Nush-I Jan was not related to Zoroastrianism, and that Zoroastrianism later borrowed the ‘worship’ of fire from the eighth and seventh century BCE predecessors of Media, Urartu and Assyria.



b.

Fig. 4.6.a. A male and female praying in front of a ‘incense’ altar, on a glazed vessel from Ashur (after Andrea 1925: pl. 26).

Bit-Bagaia is another Median city depicted on a relief from Khorsabad from the reign of Sargon. The king in his chariot leaves the city triumphantly, with corpses of the Medes lying on the ground. From his chariot he aims his bow at the enemy who fall before him. The scene is similar to an Assyrian royal hunting scene. Bit-Bagaia can be seen in the distance on a hill with torches on its walls and on its towers (Fig.4.6.b).²¹⁴⁶ This could show the burning of the city, but other Assyrian reliefs depict burning cities with flames in a different style. An alternative view is that the ‘torches’ belonged to the Medes who used them with religious or military significance, but without evidence it remains speculative.



²¹⁴⁵Andrea 1925: p.50f. fig.26. An ‘incense’ altar is depicted in Assyrian art of Shalmaneser III, Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II and Sennacherib. For instance see Jutta Börker-Klähn 1982: p.58, Abb. 8. a-f.

²¹⁴⁶Botta & Flandin 1972 (I): pl.76.

Fig. 4.6.b. The Assyrians flame the towers of the Median city Bît-Bagaia, as depicted on a relief from Khorsabad from the reign of Sargon II (after Botta & Flandin 1972 (I): pl.76).

An interesting Assyrian letter tells of six statues of Babylonian deities deported to the Zagros Mountains east of Arbail during the reign of Sennacherib when he destroyed Babylon. He reports on a “royally commissioned visit” to the province of the *rab-šāqê* on the eastern bank of the Upper Zab north-east of Arbail.²¹⁴⁷ The local people state that there are six statues of deities of Akkad, “Mārat-Sîn of Eridu, Mārat-Sîn of Nēmed-Languda, Mārat-Eridu, Nergal, Amurru, and Lugalbanda.” The statues had been transported to the city of **Issete/Issetu** north-east of Arbail, and stored “*in a single building (É),*” “*probably a temple.*”²¹⁴⁸

These Babylonian deities were probably taken from Babylonian cities by Sennacherib during his eighth campaign before 689 BCE, these statues were kept far from Babylon in **Issete**.²¹⁴⁹ The Assyrian scribe Šamaš-šumu-lēšir was a wise political advisor who reminded the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal that he could use the return of these statues to their temples as a diplomatic incentive for the leaders of Babylon. According to Fales, the letter could be dated to the early reign of Ashurbanipal when relations with Babylon were still good.²¹⁵⁰ However, there is no proof that the statues were sent back to their temples. The question remains where the statues were kept in Issēte. There is no clear evidence of a temple for a local deity, and why these statues of deities would be kept in this temple. Were they worshipped while in exile? If so, we assume an Assyrian transition of Babylonian religious images to the Zagros foothills of north-east of Arbail. If not, we have to ask how local people looked at these statues? Such questions may always remain unanswered.

The city of **Kurba’il** was located north-east of Nineveh, probably in the area of the modern district of Akrê, to the west of the Upper Zab. The temple and its priests are often mentioned in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, but we have no more information about the structure and plan of the temple from depictions or archaeological finds. From the Assyrian inscription we learn that in Kurbail and in Kilizi the *akītu* festival was celebrated in the temple of Adad.²¹⁵¹ Shalmaneser III dedicated a statue to Adad of Kurbaíl/Kurbail.²¹⁵² It seems that both at the temple of Ishtar of Arbail and at the temple of Adad of Kurbail textiles were made, and more details were reported in a letter of the Sangu of Kurbail.²¹⁵³

Sargon, after destroying the stronghold of Rusa at Ulhu, mentions a temple in the same province of Sangibutu. According to him earlier kings made lavish offerings in the temple:²¹⁵⁴

“From Ulhu I departed, against every (last) important stronghold of the province of Sangibutu I drew near. (This) province was the home of his temple, on which the kings

²¹⁴⁷The Assyrians created a separate administrative province during (799-695 BC) called *Rab-šāqê*. There are opposing views about the location of the *rab-šāqê*. It is generally located on the bank of the Upper Zab between points west of Kurruri and northeast of Arbail; for further details, see for instance, Lanfranchi 1995: 131-133; Postgate 1995: 17, fig.5; Holloway 2002: 139-141.

²¹⁴⁸Fales 1980: 151-152.

²¹⁴⁹Sennacherib seized Babylon in around 694 BCE and 689 BCE, see Fales 1980: 151ff; also see SAA 13 xii.

²¹⁵⁰Fales 1980: 151f.

²¹⁵¹Macgregor 2012: 20.

²¹⁵²See Postgate 1983: 367-368; MacGinnis 1988: 67-72.

²¹⁵³For further details see textiles, chapter III, 3.9. Also see MacGinnis 1988: 67-72.

²¹⁵⁴ARAB II 126.

of former (days) who lived (lit., went) before him, had lavished (their wealth) from early days, to extend (the power of) their land.”

Although there is no direct mention of the deity worshipped at this temple, Sargon says that Sangibutu (whatever that means) was “*the home of his temple*”. Did he mean Rusa? If so, it probably means Haldi. If Haldi was worshipped there it is not surprising because this province became an important centre of the Urartians, and Rusa built his luxurious palace and gardens in Ulhu, the stronghold in Sangibutu province. Haldi is also mentioned on the Aramaic stele of Qalaichi. Haldi was a well known deity in Manaea and other neighboring provinces.

On the stele of **Najafhabad**, which commemorating Sargon II’s campaign in Media, there is a possible mention of Sargon II building or renovating temples for several Assyrian deities:”*...I completed. His temples I built and I returned his gods to their places. Of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Ishtar,*²¹⁵⁵

On an Assyrian relief from Khorsabad the Median city of Harhar is depicted under a heavy siege and attack by Sargon II’s army. Many details of the city walls, towers, and gates are depicted (Fig. 4.6.c). It seems that the city was built on and around a mound. Beyond the main city walls the top of the mound can be seen, with three separate structures built on top of the mound. It seems that there was only limited space on top of the mound for these buildings. They needed support, and we see that on the mound against the building façade are several recesses and buttresses. They function as decoration for the mound, as well as to indicate that there is a temple at the top of the mound. Between the three structures two persons are standing with both hands raised. The structure on the left is tower like, with a plant on top, and a person with raised hands standing on the right of it. The middle structure is also tower-like with a plant on top.²¹⁵⁶ It has a window and arrow slits or blind windows. As before, a person with raised hands stands on the right of it. The third structure on the extreme right is bigger, having four towers built with bricks or shaped stones on a platform to provide a base at the edge of the mound. The platform provides a level terrace, giving more space on which to build. A plant is growing between the two towers on the left. Two people standing on the two towers on the right have their hands raised, one facing and the other on the far right depicted in profile (Fig.4.6.d). A man falling from the tower, injured by a big arrow/spear, probably was one of the leaders, he is depicted in bigger size comparing to the local rulers, however, he is smaller than some exaggerated sizes of some of the Assyrian soldiers. The tower probably was representing a tower temple.

²¹⁵⁵Levine 1972: lines 44, p.41.

²¹⁵⁶The depiction of these plants on these towers in the acropolis of Harhar reminds the story of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon mentioned in the classical sources. For further details about the Hanging Gardens of Babylon in the classical sources, see Dalley 2013.

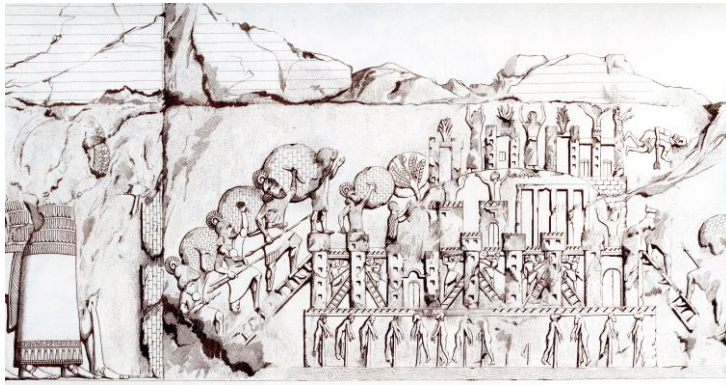


Fig. 4. 6.c. *The Median city of Harhar, depicted on a relief from Khorsabad, reign of Sargon II (after Botta & Flandin, 1972, pl.55.7).* Fig. 4. 6.c. *The Median city of Harhar, depicted on a relief from Khorsabad, reign of Sargon II (after Botta & Flandin, 1972, pl.55.7).*

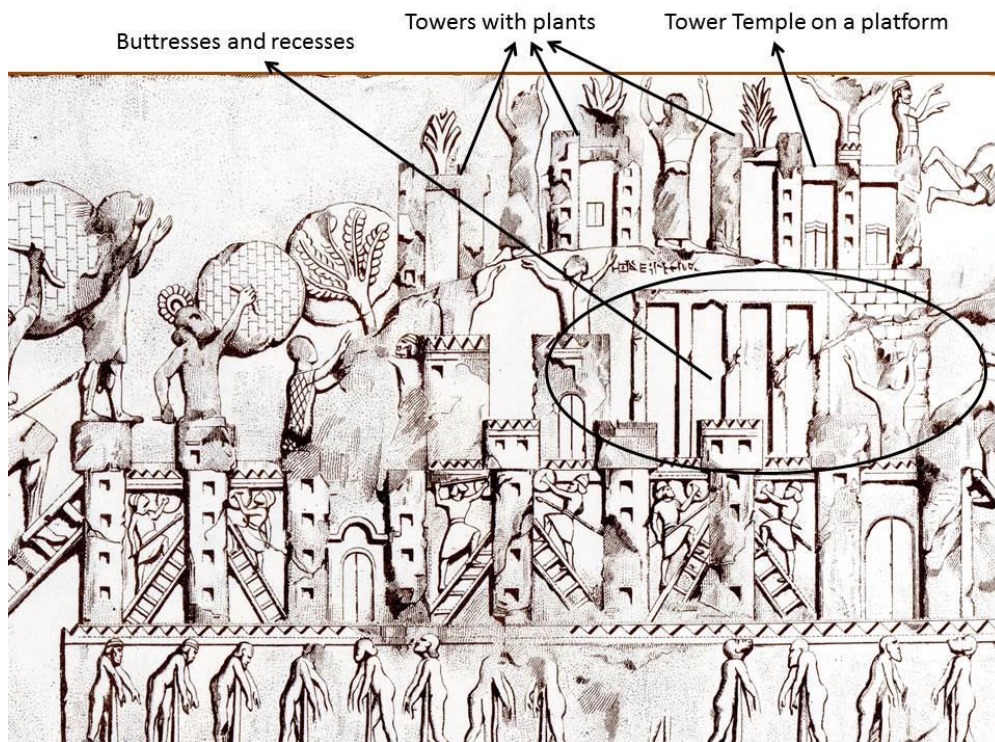


Fig.4. 6.d. Details of the Tower Temple and towers with plants depicted on top of a mound supported by a platform with buttresses and recesses above the city of Harhar (after Botta & Flandin, 1972: pl.55.7).

This structure has been described as a temple,²¹⁵⁷ an idea supported by some details. First, it is located at the top of a mound and built on a high platform. The buttresses and recesses on the façade are Median architectural elements. The façade of the outer walls of the Fort of Tepe Nush-i Jan had buttresses and recesses.²¹⁵⁸ Also the Median mud-brick citadel of Tell Gubba had buttressed and recessed walls.²¹⁵⁹ Sometimes these can be considered as architectural elements of a temple or ziggurat, as in the temples of Mesopotamia.²¹⁶⁰ At the top of the tell and at the top of the towers several unarmed people stand with raised arms and they are probably praying. What appear to be trees above the three structures, but Radner interprets differently. She says: “A fire is burning on the roofs of this building and of the two

²¹⁵⁷Radner 2013: 466; Botta & Flandin, 1972, pl.55.7; Albenda 1986: fig. 112-S. 181. Sgn II. Tafel 72:4.

²¹⁵⁸For further details see Stronach and Roaf 2007:155-169, 183ff.; Yamauchi 1990: 44.

²¹⁵⁹Stronach 2012a: 670f,

²¹⁶⁰For further details about Mesopotamian temples and their features, see e.g. Roaf, 1995 b: 426-432; Heinrich 1982; also see Frankfort and Roaf 1996: 131-150; Renette 2015: 49-64.

others situated prominently at the top of the mound, possibly indicating the presence of fire temples comparable to that excavated at Nush-i Jan.”²¹⁶¹ Probably they are in fact depictions of trees, especially the ones on the towers on the left and on the right. On the middle tower there may be large flames, but the image is damaged at the base, where the expected tree trunk would have been. Trees could be symbols of a deity. Haldi is depicted as a plant rising from a tower, and there are dozens of towers with plants on Urartian bowls from Karmir Blur, in other Urartian artistic designs. On Achaemenid cylinder seals we sometimes have an altar looking like a tower with a plant, which is not fire.²¹⁶² The depiction of Harhar on the Assyrian relief shows two important architectural features which persuade us that we are looking at a temple and a ziggurat: the platform, and the buttresses and recesses. Platforms and terraces were built for several Mesopotamian temples, from the earliest temples at Ubaid and Uruk in the 4th millennium BCE,²¹⁶³ and the temple of Haldi at Musasir had a platform.²¹⁶⁴ Buttresses and recesses were built for Mesopotamian temples and ziggurats from the 4th millennium BCE. Even the Assyrian ziggurat in Khorsabad had buttresses and recesses on almost every level,²¹⁶⁵ a structure contemporary with the temple of Harhar.

The temple of the warrior goddess **Ishtar of Arbail** was well recorded during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods. In the Middle Assyrian period, Shalmaneser I claimed that he had built the temple of Egašankalamma and the Ziggurat to the Lady-of-Arbail (i.e. to Ishtar): “*I built Egašankalamma, the temple of the goddess Ištar, the Lady-of-Arbela (?), my lady, and its ziggurat.*”²¹⁶⁶

The temple of Ishtar of Arbail was the first destination of the Assyrian kings and their armies before their military campaigns against the east, north-east and south-east kingdoms of the Zagros, and against Elam and Urartu. When they came back, it was the first place they visited in the Assyrian heartland. There they made offerings and gave tribute to Ishtar. On occasions they executed prisoners there, especially the leaders, in the temple or in the centre of the city or at the city gate. in the temple or in the centre of the city or at the city gate. The Assyrian kings attended the temple of Ishtar, to ask for her support and to question her about their destiny and that of their army and of Assyria. The temple of Ishtar of Arbail was called *Egašankalamma* “*House of the Lady of the Land*,”²¹⁶⁷ In Assyrian records the temple of Ishtar was called *Bīt-isinnāti*, ‘*Temple of festivals*’.²¹⁶⁸ Esarhaddon claims that “*he clothed Egašankalamma, the temple of Ishtar of Arbail, his lady, with zahalû and made it shine like the day. He fashioned lions, lion-headed eagles, bulls and naked heroes and griffins of silver and gold and set them up in the entrance of its gates.*”²¹⁶⁹

Some visual details depicted on the relief of Nineveh during the reign of Ashurbanipal show details of the city. It was depicted as a very well fortified city, and its upper part, the

²¹⁶¹Radner 2013: 446; Radner 2013: 442-456; Stronach and Roaf 2007: 67ff.

²¹⁶²For further details see Roaf 2012c: 351-372; Marf, D.A. (forthcoming), 2016 “Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012),” in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) forthcoming. *The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress.

²¹⁶³Roaf, 1995 b: 427f.

²¹⁶⁴Marf 2014: 13-29.

²¹⁶⁵Loud 1938: 36ff.

²¹⁶⁶Frame & Donbaz 1983: p.3, lines. 5’-12’.

²¹⁶⁷MacGinnis 2014: 32.

²¹⁶⁸Longman 1914:128.

²¹⁶⁹According to MacGinnis *zahalû* in this text is electrum, see MacGinnis 2014: 32.

acropolis, had its own fortifications, with a large fortified building.²¹⁷⁰ Ceremonial poles were kept on both sides of the towered-gate of the temple.²¹⁷¹ There was an altar depicted beside the second gate of the city (see fig.4.7.a).

Assyrian records give many details about rituals, priests and prophecies in the temple of Ishtar of Arbail.²¹⁷² It was used by the Assyrian royal family, especially the queens and the royal princes, who were probably raised there. Ishtar of Arbail told Esarhaddon: “*When you were small, I took you to me.*”²¹⁷³ The prophet Sinqisha-amur told Esarhaddon: “*I raised you between my wings.*”²¹⁷⁴ Similarly, the prophet Mullissu-kabtat, told Ashurbanipal:²¹⁷⁵

“You whose mother is Mullissu, have no fear. You whose nurse is the Lady of Arbail, have no fear. I will carry you on my hip like a nurse, I will put you between my breasts (like) a pomegranate. At night I will stay awake and guard you; in the daytime I will give you milk...my calf, whom I (have) rear(ed).”

These quotations indicate that in the temple there was probably a specific area for the royal family to reside, for the queen and the royal princes, especially when they were young.

It will have been plundered at the time of the fall of Nineveh, a suggestion based on the bronze statue of the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari I found in the Urmia basin, which was originally dedicated to the temple of Ishtar of Arbail. It is dated to reign of Ashur-dan I (1178-1133 BC), and may well have been taken from the temple of Ishtar of Arbail around the time of the fall of Nineveh. It is inscribed:²¹⁷⁶

“To Ištar, the great lady who dwells in the Egašankalamma [the temple] of Arbail, [his] mistress, Šamši-bel the scribe of Arbail son of Nergal-nadin-ahi, also scribe, for his life and his wellbeing and the wellbeing of his eldest son has dedicated and presented this statue weighing 1 (+) mina of copper. The name of this statue is Ištar-ana-kaši-uzni (“Ištar, my ear is towards you”). For the life of Aššur-dan king of Assyria, his [king].”

Outside Arbail in the Neo-Assyrian period there was a town called **Milqia**. From the Assyrian records we learn that the Akītu festival had been celebrated there since the reign of Shalmaneser III.²¹⁷⁷ It seems that Sargon II ordered rulers to work in ‘constructions’ in Milqia. Šamaš-upahhir in a letter to Sargon II says:

*“The king my lord’s servants, the city rulers under my authority whom the king [my lord] ordered to work in Milqia [have co]me [to my presence saying: ”..... (break) ”Send [.....to the pa]lace!” they have made [me] sack [the...of the ki]ng, my lord; what does the king my lord say?”*²¹⁷⁸

²¹⁷⁰ Russell 1999:p.188, fig.70.

²¹⁷¹It is seen on the relief of the North Palace of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal; for further details see Radner 2011: 328.

²¹⁷²For further details see Chapter II, 2.5.12, 2.5.14.

²¹⁷³SAA IX: 1.4: 16-40.

²¹⁷⁴SAA IX: 2.5: 19-35.

²¹⁷⁵Macgregor 2012: 23.

²¹⁷⁶MacGinnis 2014: 57.

²¹⁷⁷ SAA III 17: r.27-28; see further below.

²¹⁷⁸SAA I 146. Kišir-Assur wrote to Sargon II after he had travelled from Milqia to Dur-Sharruken to investigate an earthquake there, and reported that the palace, the temple, the ziggurat and the city wall were “well”: “*The king, my lord, can be glad.*”SAA I 125.

Ashurbanipal says that he restored **Milqia**, the site of the *bīt akīti* of Arbail.²¹⁷⁹ From the Assyrian records we learn that the Akītu festival had been celebrated there since the reign of Shalmaneser III.²¹⁸⁰ It seems that Sargon II ordered rulers to work in ‘constructions’ in Milqia. Šamaš-upahhir in a letter to Sargon II says:

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Ashurbanipal says that he restored Milqia, the site of the *bīt akīti* of Arbail.²¹⁸² **Milqia and its temple** were nearby and were involved in the Assyrian **Akītu festival in Arbail**. Perhaps the first known Akītu festival in Milqia near Arbail was arranged by Shalmaneser III. An epic poem in praise of Shalmaneser III says that “[he arranged] the festival of the Lady of Arbela in Milqia,”²¹⁸³ This happened also during the reign of Ashurbanipal in Arbail and Milqia. The festival was associated with a military march and the statue of Ishtar was processed from the Milqia temple and returned to the temple of Ishtar of Arbail,²¹⁸⁴ Ashurbanipal says:²¹⁸⁵

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

There is no **archaeological** evidence for a *bīt akīti* temple in the town Milqia, but probably **it was** not far from Arbail. Ashurbanipal claims that he himself restored it.²¹⁸⁶

This Akītu festival of Arbail was performed in midsummer or early autumn and was combined with victory celebrations and the executions of enemies.²¹⁸⁷ This makes the Akītu of Arbail different. Ashurbanipal indirectly referred to that, because Ishtar was the warrior goddess who helped Ashurbanipal in his triumph on their enemies. This made the Assyrian Akītu festival in Arbail different from the Sumerian one where the king performed a sacred marriage with one of the priestesses.²¹⁸⁸

In conclusion, we recognise that our information about Assyrian and Zagrosian temples is unbalanced. On the one hand, we have many Assyrian temples, but on the other hand, only limited numbers of Zagrosian ones. **Of those we have in the Northern Zagros**, the architectural features are not always clear. Some may have been public buildings where rituals were performed, but multiple rebates on the doors are considered to be a mark of Mesopotamian

²¹⁷⁹Russell 1999: 162; see further below for the *bīt akīti* in Milqia.

²¹⁸⁰SAA III 17: r.27-28. See below.

²¹⁸¹SAA I 146. Kišir-Assur wrote to Sargon II after he had travelled from Milqia to Dur-Sharruken to investigate an earthquake there, and reported that the palace, the temple, the ziggurat and the city wall “are well. The king, my lord, can be glad.”SAA I 125.

²¹⁸²Russell 1999: 162. See below the *bīt akīti* in Milqia.

²¹⁸³SAA III 17: r.27-28.

²¹⁸⁴Macgregor 2012: 21.

²¹⁸⁵Russell 1999: 162, Texts A, E, G, number 34.

²¹⁸⁶Russell 1999: 162.

²¹⁸⁷Russell 1999: 163, Texts A, E, number 26.

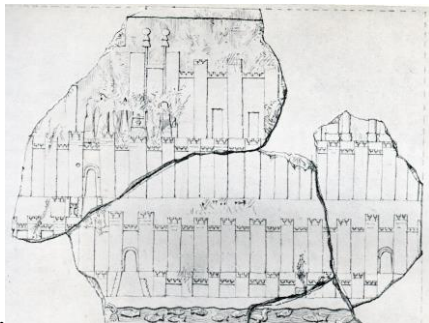
²¹⁸⁸For further details see Chapter II, 2.5.14.

temples, as found on the Burned Buildings of Hasanlu and the Temple of Nush-I Jan. Most of the public buildings are yet to be confirmed as temples, for no divine statues or symbols have been found in them.

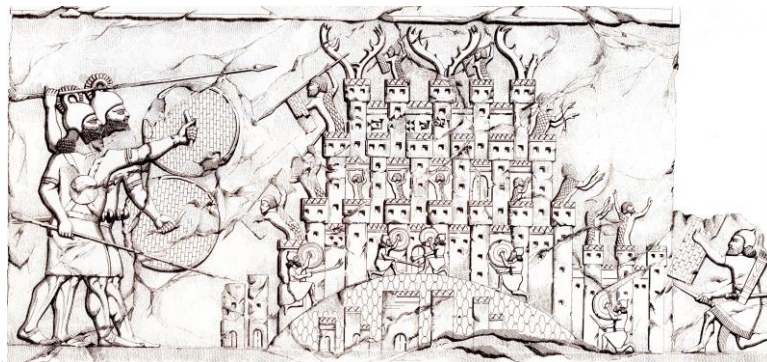
Assyrian and Urartian records deal with some temples in the Zagros. Most references are to the temple of Haldi in the city of Musasir/Ardini. The plundering of that temple is recorded on the relief of Sargon II, showing that a huge amount of treasure, several Urartian metal statues, and the statues of Haldi and his wife Bagbartu being deported to Assyria. The temple is assumed to be located in the modern district of Sidekan, where the author found Urartian column bases apparently from the temple of Haldi during his survey of the area, suggesting to him that the long lost temple of Musasir was near the village of Mdjeser.

The temples of Musasir, Harhar and Pazashi are depicted on the Assyrian reliefs, and some architectural features of these temples can be seen there, such as the tent shape roof of the temple of Musasir, and the platforms of the temple of Haldi and the temple of Harhar. Some of the temples were probably associated with ziggurats, such as the horned towers of the temple of Pazashi, and the temple towers of Harhar (Fig.4. 7.b).

For finding any interaction between Assyrian and Zagrosian temple architecture the Assyrian sources are better for written and archaeological evidence for the temples of the Zagros. Very little archaeological evidence comes from the Zagros compared to what we have from Assyria. At present our discoveries in the Zagros are limited. There are very few important excavated sites, and hardly one per cent of the dozens of known names of capitals and commercial centres in the Zagros have been excavated.



a.



b.

Fig. 4.7.a. An altar depicted at the side of the city gate of Arbail; a drawing of the relief of Nineveh depicting the city of Arbail (after Gadd 1936: pl.28).

Fig.4.7.b. Sargon II's army besieges the Median city Harhar. Huge animal horns are attached to the top of the acropolis towers of the city (after Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.68).

4.3. Cities and towns

There are many textual references to dozens of names of cities and towns in the Zagros. They show several types of toponyms of places inhabited by the Zagrosians, including royal cities, towns, fortified cities, villages and forts. The references are mainly from Assyrian annals and Assyrian administrative letters. There are also some local and Urartian inscriptions. But, unfortunately, there are usually no details about the plan and architecture of their cities. Indirectly some hints about architecture for some parts of the cities and towns are mentioned. The cities called fortified cities (URU *dan-nu-ti*) would have been focal centres of the local kingdoms of the Zagros.

Several cities and towns were fortified during the Middle Bronze Age. In a letter sent to Kuwari (the governor of Šušarra) from Etellum, the general of Shamshi-Adad I mentions ‘walled towns’ in Aḫāzum: “*I have no troops available. The troops have been left in four (sections) in walled towns in the land of Aḫāzum and cannot leave the town(s), (since) they hold the towns.*”²¹⁸⁹

For almost all the provinces and lands of the Northern Zagros Assyrian royal inscriptions and administrative letters mention fortified cities, strongholds, forts, fortified mountains and passes. For instance Shamshi-Adad I says “[I] captured all the fortified cities of the land of Arbela (Urbēl). I established my garrisons everywhere.”²¹⁹⁰

Tiglath-pileser I in his annals gives more details about the walls and fortifications of the city **Ḫunusa**, the fortified city of **Qumānu**. He mentions that the city had three walls made with baked bricks and claims: “[... the *Qumān*]u as far as the land *Meḫru* I conquered. I overwhelmed the city *Ḫunusu*, [their fortified city], turned (it) into a ruin hill, and strewed *šīpu*-stones over it.”²¹⁹¹ In other annals, he also calls *Ḫunusu* the fortified city of the land of *Qumānu* and gives more details about its walls and fortifications.²¹⁹²

“I overwhelmed the city Ḫunusu, their fortified city,...I burnt the city. The three walls which were constructed with baked brick and the entire city I razed, destroyed, turned into a ruin hill and (vi 15) strewed šīpu-stones over it. I made bronze lightning bolts (and) inscribed on them (a description of) the conquest of the landsOn that (site) I built a house of baked brick and put inside those bronze lightning bolts.”

Tiglath-pileser I also gives important information about the ‘royal city’ **Kipšuna**, with its walls and towers:²¹⁹³

“..., I took my chariotry and warriors (and) surrounded the city Kipšuna, their royal city. The king of the land of the Qumānu was frightened of my strong and belligerent attack and submitted to me. I spared that city. I ordered him to destroy his great wall and towers of baked brick. He destroyed from top to bottom and turned it into a ruin hill.”

He also claims that he conquered the “fortified city **Murattaš**” of the Lullubi.²¹⁹⁴ Later in Zamua in the land of Lullubi, Ashurnasirpal II mentions several fortified cities, such as Uzê,

²¹⁸⁹ Eidem and Læssøe 2001: 111-3, no.42; van Soldt et al., 2013: 222, note.90.

²¹⁹⁰ RIMA I:A.0.39.1001: III 1-12.

²¹⁹¹ RIMA II: A.0.87.2. 30-36.

²¹⁹² RIMA II/I: A.0.87.1: v 99 - vi 21.

²¹⁹³ RIMA II A.0.87.1: vi 22-38.

²¹⁹⁴ RIMA II/I: A.0.87.1: iii 99-100.

Berutu and Lagalaga,²¹⁹⁵ Larbus,²¹⁹⁶ Mamli,²¹⁹⁷ Kiširtu,²¹⁹⁸ Arzizu and Arsiandu.²¹⁹⁹ Ashurnasirpal also mentioned the fortified city of Libê in the land of Tummû.²²⁰⁰ Similarly, in Mannea and Media many cities were called fortified cities in Assyrian records.²²⁰¹ Sargon in his annals refers thus to Šuandahul and Durduka, in the north-eastern border of Mannea, and he claims that he destroyed them with battering-rams:²²⁰²

“with mighty battering-rams(?) I smashed their fortified walls, and levelled them to the ground (lit., reckoned them as ground).”

Adad-nārārī II referred to Idu (mod. *Satu Qala*) and Zaqu in his royal inscription, claiming that he *“brought into the boundaries of his land Idu (and) Zaqu, fortresses of Assyria.”*²²⁰³

Ashurnasirpal II in his campaign against the area of **Tumme** said:

*“I mustered my chariotry (and) troops. I passed through difficult paths (and) rugged mountains which were unsuitable for chariotry and troops (and) marched to the land Tummû. I conquered Libê, their fortified city, the cities Surra, Abuqu, Arura, (and) Arubê which lie between Mounts Urinu, Arunu, (and) Etinu, mighty mountains. I massacred many of them (and) carried off captives, possessions, (and) oxen from them. The troops were frightened (and) took to a rugged mountain. Since the mountain was exceptionally rugged I did not pursue them. The mountain was as jagged as the point of a dagger and therein no winged bird of the sky flew. (i 50) They had placed their fortress like the nest of the uđīnu bird within the mountain which none of the kings my fathers had ever approached. For three days the hero explored the mountain. His bold heart yearned for battle. He ascended on foot (and) overwhelmed the mountain. He smashed their nest (and) scattered their flock. I felled 200 of their fighting-men with the sword (and) carried off a multitude of captives like a flock of sheep. With their blood I dyed the mountain red like red wool, (and) the rest of them the ravines (and) torrents of the mountain swallowed. I razed, destroyed, (and) burnt their cities.”*²²⁰⁴

The Assyrian annals mention other details of Zagrosian towns and cities apart from fortifications and city walls. Some had royal palaces, such as the palace of Ameka in Zamua.²²⁰⁵ Storage places in Dur-Ashur (former Atlila) in Zamua²²⁰⁶ are mentioned by Ashurnasirpal and in Kar-Šarrukīn in Media in a letter sent to Sargon II.²²⁰⁷

The streets of the city of **Ammali** in Zamua were conquered by Ashurnasirpal. He claims: *“I felled with the sword 800 of their combat troops. With their corpses I filled the streets of their city (and) with their blood I dyed their houses red.”*²²⁰⁸

²¹⁹⁵RIMA II/I: A.0. 101.1 ii 28b-29a.

²¹⁹⁶RIMA II/I: A.0. 101.17: A.0.101.17 iii 4.

²¹⁹⁷RIMA II/I: A.0. 101.17: A.0.101.17, iii 39.

²¹⁹⁸RIMA II/I A.0. 101.17: iii50.

²¹⁹⁹RIMA II/I A.0. 101.17: iii 91-92.

²²⁰⁰RIMA II/I: A.0.101.1 i 44b-50a.

²²⁰¹ARAB II 20.

²²⁰²ARAB II 6.

²²⁰³RIMA II/I: A.0.99.2 34.

²²⁰⁴RIMA II/I: A.0.101.1 i 43b-54a.

²²⁰⁵For further details see in this chapter 4.1 (Palaces).

²²⁰⁶RIMA II: A.0.101.1ii 84b-86a.

²²⁰⁷SAA XV 100: r.10-16.

²²⁰⁸RIMA II: A.0. 101.1: ii 53-56.

The Assyrian annals call some cities in the Zagros a ‘royal city,’ (URU MAN-*ti-šú*),²²⁰⁹ such as the royal city of **Arzashkun**, the capital of Urartu, and Izirtu the capital of Mannea. Tiglath-pileser I claims that he destroyed the ‘royal city’ Kipšuna, the capital of Qumānu.²²¹⁰ The site of the Assyrian capital Dur-Sharrukin is located almost in the lower ranges of the Zagros at the northern edge of the Nineveh plain. Also the Urartians built their first capital in the Northern Zagros. Piller shows similarities between the armaments and dress of Urartian and north-west Iranian warriors of the 9th century BCE. This suggests to him:²²¹¹

that the early Urartian heartland with its capital Arzashkun could be located somewhere in the region west or south-west of Lake Urmia and not in the region of Lake Van, as previously supposed by other scholars.”

However, the exact location of the long-lost capital Arzashkun can only be confirmed by excavation. Even so this remains a probable location, especially because the Urartians built several cities and fortifications in the Northern Zagros, such as the capital city of Bastam, and the citadel of Hasanlu.

The annals of Ashurbanipal ca. 660 BC mention what might be ‘an internal revolt’ in Mannea against their king. The Mannians that were called by Ashurbanipal the servants of the king, King Aḥšêri, killed him in “*the street*” of the capital city of **Izirtu**.²²¹²

“[Ashur and Ishtar¹ delivered (lit. counted) him into the hands of his servants. Into the street (streets?) of his city they cast his body, leaving his corpse....”

Bubuzi, the fortress of Hundur, is surrounded by two walls. In front of each tower a *tubalu* was perhaps constructed in the moat (?).²²¹³

It seems that **Musasir/Ardini** as described in Neo-Assyrian and the Urartian inscriptions was larger than it was in the Middle Assyrian period. Tiglath-pileser I called it Arinu of the land Mušri (Musasir). He destroyed cities in the land of Mušri, and confined the population of these cities in Arinu:

*“The god Aššur, the lord, commanded me to conquer the land of Mušri and I took the way between Mounts Elamuni, Tala, and Ḥarusa. I conquered all the land Mušri (and) laid low their warriors. I burnt, razed, (and) destroyed their cities. The troop of the Qumānu came to the aid of the land Mušri. I fought with them in the mountains, (and) brought about their defeat. I confined them to one city, the city Arinu, which is at the foot of Mount Aisa. They submitted to me (and) I spared that city. I imposed upon them hostages, tribute (and) impost.”*²²¹⁴

The **city square** of **Uraš** (URU *šu-a-tú*) is mentioned in the annals of Shamshi-Adad V “*with the blood of their warriors I dyed their city square red like red wool.*”²²¹⁵

Sargon II paid attention to the fortified city of **Ulḫu** in the province of Sangibutu in the Urmia basin, where Rusa/Ursa dwelled.²²¹⁶

²²⁰⁹ RIMA III A.0.102.02: ii 48.

²²¹⁰ RIMA II A.0.87.1, 22-24.

²²¹¹ Piller 2012: 390.

²²¹² ARAB II: 851.

²²¹³ ARAB II 165. A letter was sent to Sargon II concerning the Tabalian runaways from the fortress of Nikkur in Media; see SAA XV 54 ri: I 7-16.

²²¹⁴ RIMA II: A.0.87.1.: V 67-81; Radner 2012b: 245f.

²²¹⁵ RIMA III A.0.103.1: iii. 10-14.

Some **city gates** are mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, including the gate of Rising and Setting of the Sun at **Arbail**.²²¹⁷ Some Assyrian enemies were executed in the center of Arbail.²²¹⁸ In his eighth campaign, Sargon II captured Urzana and placed him at the city gate: “As victor I caused him to sit before his (city) gate.”²²¹⁹ When Sargon arrived the gate of Musasir the people were terrified and went up to the **roofs** of their houses: *The “people, the old men and old women, went up on the roofs of their houses and wept bitterly. To save themselves they crawled on all fours (before me), [wringing] their hands.”*²²²⁰

From the Assyrian annals we learn that the Zagrosian cities, especially the Lullubean cities were built close to the passes at the foot of high mountains. The inhabitants dwelled in the valleys or on the bank of the rivers in these cities during peaceful times. But in some cases when an Assyrian campaign succeeded in occupying their city, they would flee to the mountains and scatter, or congregate in strongholds at the top of the mountains or beyond. In the mountains they apparently had strongholds, such as the Mesu garrison mentioned by Ashurnasirpal:²²²¹

“I marched after as many people as had fled from my weapons (and) climbed up into the mountains. They were ensconced between Mounts Aziru (and) Simaki (and) had made the city Mesu their garrison. I razed (and) destroyed Mount Aziru (and) piled up their bodies from Mount Simaki as far as the River Turnat. I slew 500 of their men-at-arms (and) carried off their valuable booty. I burnt the cities.”

Ashurnasirpal II, in his campaign against Tummé in his first regnal year (883/882 BCE), clearly mentions that they had cities in that area and forts in the mountains. These forts were built in rugged mountains and probably people hid there. The Assyrian king claims that he was searching in these rough mountains for three days to find these fortresses, which he compared to the nests of *udīnu*-birds.²²²²

*I passed through difficult paths (and) rugged mountains which were unsuitable for chariotry and troops (and) marched to the land Tummé. I conquered Libê, their fortified city, the cities Surra, Abuqu, Arura, (and) Arubê, which lie between Mounts Urinu, Arunu, (and) Etinu, mighty mountains. I massacred many of them (and) carried off captives, possessions (and) oxen from them. The troops were frightened (and) took to a rugged mountain. Since the mountain was exceptionally rugged I did not pursue them. The mountain was as jagged as the point of a dagger and therein no winged bird of the sky flew. (i 50) They had placed their fortress like the nest of the *udīnu* bird within the mountain which none of the kings my fathers had ever approached. For three days the hero explored the mountain. His bold heart yearned for battle. He ascended on foot (and) overwhelmed the mountain. He smashed their nest (and) scattered their flock. I felled 200 of their fighting-men with the sword (and) carried off a multitude of captives like a flock of sheep. With their blood I dyed the mountain red like red wool, (and) the*

²²¹⁶ ARAB II 161. Also see Burney 1977:4; Salvini 2011: 95; Muscarell 2013: 378.

²²¹⁷ Russell 1999: 163.

²²¹⁸ Russell 1999: 163.

²²¹⁹ ARAB II 172; Kravitz 2003: 87ff.

²²²⁰ ARAB II 171.

²²²¹ RIMA II A.0. 101.1: ii 82-83.

²²²² RIMA II/I: A.0.101.1 i 45b-54a. Also see Parpola & Porter 2001: map.4.

rest of them the ravines (and) torrents of the mountain swallowed. I razed, destroyed, (and) burnt their cities.”

Shalmaneser III in his annals says that he forced Kacia (Kaki), king of the city Hūbuškia, to flee to the mountain with his entourage:²²²³

... they ascended mountains (25) (where) they fortified themselves (lit. "they took as a fortress"). I climbed up the mountains after them. I waged mighty war in the mountains (and) defeated them.

A similar event occurred in the Median province of Allabria. Probably after an Assyrian campaign on Allabria, the Assyrian deputy Nabû-ḥamātū'a sent an administrative letter to the Assyrian king (Sargon?) to ask about re-settling Allabrian farmers, from the six forts where they lived to the fields, where they could build houses.²²²⁴

The Assyrians **restored** several **cities** in the Northern Zagros, once they had been captured and the people deported. Then deportees from other places were brought to reside within the restored city walls. Bīt-Kilmazah was inhabited by Kassites and Yasubigallians.²²²⁵ Some of these cities had been previously abandoned, but the Assyrians restored them.²²²⁶

The Zagrosians participated as **corvée labourers** in the construction of Kalhu. Ashurnasirpal in his annals claims that he forced Zamua to pay tribute, and also imposed corvée labour on Zamua to finish the restoration of his new capital Kalhu (Nimrud):²²²⁷

I put all of the land under one authority (and) imposed upon them (tribute of) horses, silver, gold, barley, straw, (and) corvée.

Some rulers of Zamua refused to send tribute or labourers to Kalhu, which provoked Ashurnasirpal II in his third campaign in his 4th regnal year to attack Zamua:²²²⁸

... I was in Nineveh (and) a report was brought back to me saying Ameka (and) Araštua had withheld the tribute (and) corvée of Aššur, my lord.

Ashurnasirpal also imposed a corvée on the cities of the lands of Kirruri and Simesu:²²²⁹

Moving on from the land Tammu I went down to Mount Kirruru. I received the tribute of Mounts Kirruru and Simesu, the city Simerra, the city Ulmania, the city Adauš (Addauš), the city Hargaia, the city Harmasaia — horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) bronze casseroles. I imposed upon them corvée.

The governors of Kalhu and Arrapha co-operated in building the city wall of Dur-Šarrukin.²²³⁰ We do not know if among the Zagrosian labourers there were any skilled masons.²²³¹

²²²³RIMA III A.0.102.21.1: 9b-29a.

²²²⁴SAA 05: 210; Kessler, 2001 *PNA II/2 L-N*: 833-834. For further details about the contents of the letter see below under "Private houses".

²²²⁵RINAP 3/1: 20-26.

²²²⁶RIMA II A.0. 101.1: ii 84b-86a; Thompson 1940: 104; *ARAB I* 458.

²²²⁷RIMA II/I: A.0. 101.1: ii 47-48.

²²²⁸RIMA II/I: A.0.101.1 ii 49-50.

²²²⁹RIMA II/I: A.0.101.17, 77b-80a.

²²³⁰SAAS XI: 26.

²²³¹Hubushkaia 'the architect' is mentioned in Assyrian legal documents from the Assyrian heartland (CTN 2 30:2, 9, 15; Fabritius 2000: 475). Probably he came from Hūbuškia; see Zadok 1995b: p.249: 4.7.4.1.21; also see Chapter II, 2.3.

Of the many Zagrosian and Near Eastern cities depicted on the Assyrian reliefs, almost all are related to the Assyrian military campaigns. They show sieges, attacks, plundering and destruction. These reliefs were displayed in the reception rooms of Assyrian palaces as military and political propaganda, especially to threaten foreign delegations and others visiting the Assyrian court. The images of the defeated cities show many architectural details, such as city walls, gates, arrow-slits, buttresses, merlons, windows, doors and roofs. Mostly they concern public buildings, but some details of private houses in these cities, such as Musasir, are shown. Since there is no stereotypical depiction of a city the information provided can be regarded as that of an eye-witness. The military campaigns against the Zagrosian cities are well recorded on the Assyrian reliefs. But the depiction of the city of Musasir is different from the depiction of the Mannean city Pazashi, or from the Median city Karhar, yet they were probably all made by one or one team of artists. Thus we have the possibility of using details from these depictions to establish a general style of the cities in the Zagros, especially the planning units and architectural features.

The depicted cities are surrounded by city walls, with all the buildings (palaces, temples, private houses) within the walls. This is not surprising, because the Assyrians depicted them as foreign cities defended against their necessarily vicious attack. Musasir and Ukku are shown as not fortified with a city wall.

In the late Bronze Age, there is a mention of a fortified city of **Qabra** on the west bank of the Lower Zab River to the south of Arbail. This fortified city is well recorded on the stele of Daduša (19th century BCE) king of Eshnunna, who occupied the city. Moreover, on the stele the towers of the city are depicted and described by the inscriptions.²²³²

In its last stages of his 8th campaign Sargon unexpectedly plundered the temple of Haldi and the city of Musasir. There is no doubt that the depiction of Musasir/Ardini includes special details not usually seen for other non-Assyrian cities in Assyrian reliefs. I shall discuss what can be seen on the relief, even though we cannot be sure that it is an absolutely accurate description of the actual architecture and plan.²²³³ The relief of Khorsabad depicts the tower-like palace, the temple and the private houses as separate structures. The only wall marks a terrace on the slope (mountain) around the private houses of the city. We see a city with three separate 'districts'; the palace of Urzana on the right, the temple in the centre, and the private houses on the left, up the slope (mountain) inside the terrace wall.

Musasir was located along the valley in modern Mjeser-Sidekan-Topzawa on the bank of the Topzawa River. Very probably the temple and the palace-tower were located at Mjeser, and the private houses located at Shkene-Sidekan, ca. 2 km to the north-east. This might explain the scene on the relief of Khorsabad, depicting a slope (mountain) separating the area of the private houses from the temple and the palace-tower. This topographical detail enables us reliably to locate this famous city of Musasir/Ardini in this narrow valley beside the Topzawa River, flowing down from Topzawa-Sidekan-Mjeser as far as the Diyana/Ruwanduz valley.

²²³²MacGinnis 2013: 3; Ismaïl 2003: Abb. 4. a.

²²³³Perhaps only by excavating the city shall we know whether the city had a main wall.

There are some hints in the Assyrian, Urartian and the Musasirian epigraphic records, about where Musasir was built. all pointing to a city built on a rocky mountain.²²³⁴ So we shall not have to look for a traditional archaeological tell, like most other Near Eastern cities. Very probably, what remains will be found on the east bank of the Topzawa among the Mdjeser-Sidekan villages. The palace-tower, the temple and the private houses will have to be excavated separately, because the lack of space in this narrow valley means that public buildings were built apart from private buildings.

Sargon II in his annals describes the citadels of Mannea and Nairi, with “*their high citadels, which were firmly founded, like the mountain down to their foundation platform.*”²²³⁵ There are several cities in the Zagros, such as Hasanlu, where archaeological evidence suggests that they had an acropolis and a necropolis (in the lower town).²²³⁶

The recently excavated Bronze Age town/city of Kunara,²²³⁷ and the acropolis of Tepe Nush-I Jan (where the lower town has not yet been found) also fit this pattern.²²³⁸ The Assyrian reliefs show some Zagrosian cities with acropolises, such as Kišsesem.²²³⁹ What remains of Godin Tepe shows that it had a citadel.²²⁴⁰ From the Assyrian heartland, the city of Arbail during the Assyrian period had a prominent acropolis, as depicted on the relief of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, its upper district identified as the temple and ziggurat of Ishtar of Arbail.²²⁴¹ It was a multi-walled, well fortified city during the 7th century BCE. with a moat filled with water. The relief depicts some architectural features of the city, including several gates with arches in the city walls, flanked by towers. At the gate of the acropolis (the temple/Ziggurat of Ishtar) fly the flags of the deity. The inscriptions of Ashurbanipal state that in the city of Arbail the Akītu festival was performed.²²⁴² Ashurbanipal claims in one of his inscriptions that at one of the gates of Arbail “*I chained Dunanu, Samgunu, and Palaya, together with a bear, to the Gate of the Rising and Setting of the Sun for a display to my people.*”²²⁴³

He also mentioned the city centre of Arbail, where he flayed the messengers (or nobles) of his enemies.²²⁴⁴ Arbail during the 7th century BCE was enjoying its golden age. From the annals of Ashurbanipal we learn that he stayed there when his army invaded and destroyed Elam. Probably he was not in the best of health, since he claims that Ishtar told him to stay in Arbail, and she as a warrior deity had participated in the battle at the Ulai river against

²²³⁴For further details about the Assyrian and Musasirian records concerning the place where the city was built, see below under “Private Houses”.

²²³⁵ARAB II 164.

²²³⁶Diakonoff 1985 CHI II: 57-58; Dyson 1989: 107–127.

²²³⁷The Middle Bronze Age city Kurnara is located on the bank of the Upper Tanjarow river, near Sulaimaniya Airport. Recently a public building with massive mud brick and earth/pisé (in Kurdish called *more-qur*) walls with a stone foundation was uncovered at the Upper Town of the settlement. For further details see Kepinski 2014: 4-19; Kepinski, et al., 2015: 51-88.

²²³⁸Ball 2012:11-23.

²²³⁹Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.55.7; Stronach and Roaf 2007: 183f.

²²⁴⁰Gopink 2011: 285-364.

²²⁴¹SAA III, fig.6, p.7.

²²⁴²Russell 1999: 162, 165, 187; SAA III: fig.6, p.7. For further details about the *Akītu* of Arbail see Chapter II, 2.5.14.

²²⁴³The expression “*the Gate of the Rising and Setting of the Sun*” in the inscription of Ashurbanipal is considered by Russell as the name of one of the gates of the city of Arbail; see Russell 1999: 163, Texts A, E, number 26.

²²⁴⁴Russell 1999: 163-70.

Teumman, the Elamite king.²²⁴⁵ On the relief a figure with a slaughtered head at its feet depicts Ashurbanipal over the head of Teumman. Ashurbanipal, holding a bow, is probably making and offering “*before an incense stand and table,*” which are depicted on the relief.²²⁴⁶

Sennacherib captured and burned Ukkû, which is depicted on a relief in his palace at Kouyunjik. The city is described by Layard as having “*well-built houses, some two or three stories in height. The flames are seen issuing from the doors and windows....behind and above the buildings are mountains.*”²²⁴⁷ What Layard called houses with “two or three stories” are actually single storey houses built on a mountain slope, as in Musasir. A main wall with three gates in the centre was perhaps a public building, and on both sides there are private houses (fig.4.8.a.).

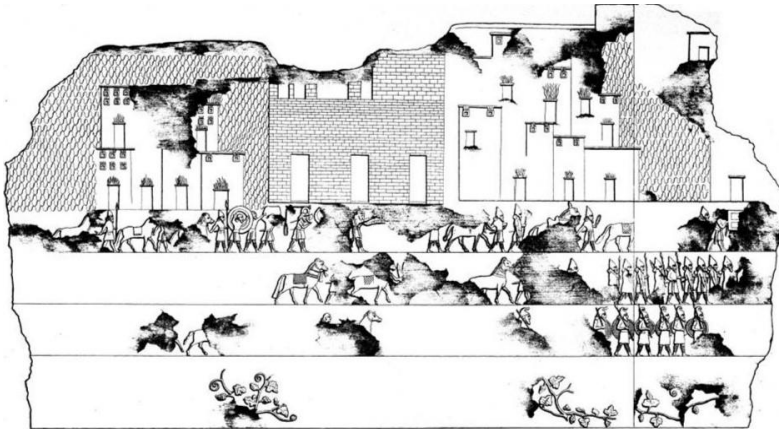


Fig. 4.8.a. the depiction of the cities and houses of Ukkû (after Layard 1853b: pl.74, p.7).

On the Assyrian reliefs, especially those from the reign of Sargon, eastern delegations from the Zagros wearing skin cloaks and western delegations from Syria can be seen (Fig. 4.8.b).²²⁴⁸ City rulers brought with them models of their cities as tribute to the Assyrian court (Fig. 4.8.c). Offering city models as tribute to the Assyrian court probably had political significance, showing the submission of the king and all the inhabitants of these cities to the Assyrian court.²²⁴⁹

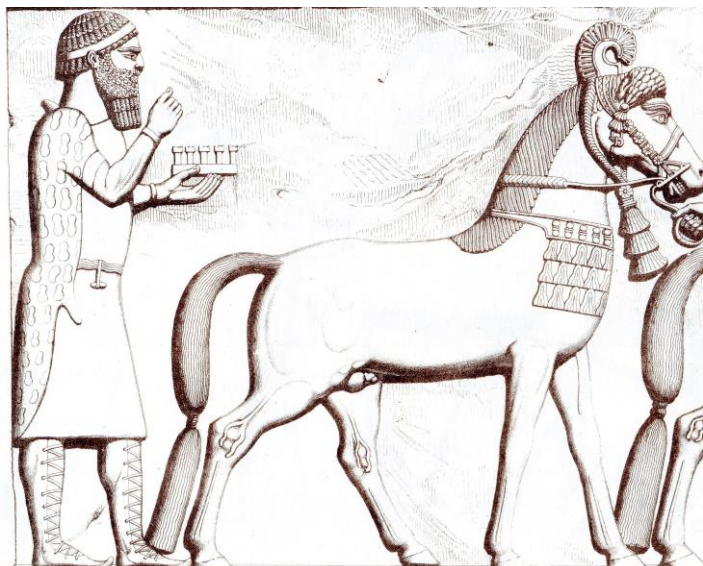
²²⁴⁵Russell 1999: 164; also see Gerardi 1988.

²²⁴⁶Russell 1999: 186.

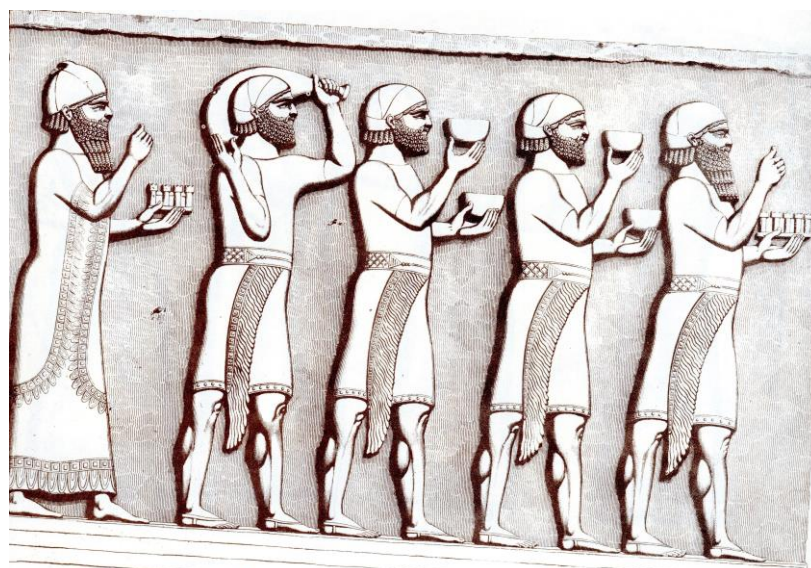
²²⁴⁷Layard 1853b: Pl.74. No.1, and part of No.2. ch. B, Kouyunjik.

²²⁴⁸For Syrian tribute bearers on the reliefs of Khorsabad, see Albenda 1986: pl.29-30.

²²⁴⁹Albenda 2010: 12f.; Albenda 1986: pl.27-32, figs. 45, 48, 79; esp. Pl.29, Room 10, slab 6; Pl.30, Room 10, slab 8, pp.68-69



b.



c.

Fig. 4.8.b. Median tributary (delegate) holding a model of a fortified city, depicted on a relief from Khorsabad (After: Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 129).

b. Syrian tributary (delegate) holding models of fortified cities, depicted on a relief from Khorsabad (after Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.126).

4.4. Assyrian and local fortifications in the Northern Zagros

For fortifications in the Zagros in the Iron Age we have various sources, textual, iconographic and archaeological. All show well-fortified cities with many towers, and gates surrounded by ditches. In the Zagros remnants of many such fortifications can be seen. B. Dickson in a journey to the Northern Zagros in 1910 was amazed by what he saw and records, “*Few countries have so many ruins of ancient fortresses and citadels as Kurdistan. It is a paradise for the archeologist....*”²²⁵⁰ In the Zagros, there are many types of fortification, most local Zagrosian or Urartian. Both types were built to protect the citizens from Assyrian assaults. Assyrian records show that they themselves also built some Assyrian forts and fortifications in the Zagros, including city walls and camps. Of those fortified structures attested textually and visually we distinguish cities, citadels, strongholds, forts, fortresses, citadels, watchtowers, outposts, and passes.

The fortresses in the Zagros mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions were built by local rulers, Assyrians or Urartians. The Assyrians fortified the eastern entrances of passes to control the people of the Zagros and enforce taxation. This also secured their newly occupied provinces from any counter attack. Zagrosian fortifications were built at the western entrances to the passes against Assyrian assaults, and in the mountains near water sources and trade routes (fig.4.8.d).

At some time the Assyrian forts were built as administrative centres to control the political and military situation in a certain province. The royal inscriptions and Assyrian administrative letters mention Assyrian forts in the province of Zamua, Media and also on the Urartian borders. The Urartian fortress in the Zagros was mainly built in the area of the Urmia basin and on its western shores, as well as near the buffer zones. The Assyrian architectural activities in building fortifications in the Northern Zagros cannot compare, for example, with the Urartian architectural activities in the northern part of the Northern Zagros, especially in the area around the Urmia basin, where the Urartians built many fortifications.²²⁵¹ The Assyrians were more active in building activities in the provinces of Zamua and Media, while the Urartians were active in architectural activities in the northern part of Mannea.

The Assyrian royal inscriptions and administrative letters mention some Assyrian architectural activities in the Zagros, on fortresses, forts, fortifying cities, camps, etc. which were built under the direct or indirect supervision of the Assyrian kings. For instance, Ashurnasirpal renovated the Lullubi city of Atlila/Dur-Ashur and he built a wall around the city.²²⁵² Also, Shalmaneser III established a fortress beyond the Kullar pass in the Inner Zamua, he says; “*In my sixteenth regnal year I moved out from Arbail, crossed Mount Kullar, (and) established a fortress in the interior of the land Zamua. I conquered from the interior of the land Zamua.*”²²⁵³

²²⁵⁰Dickson 1910: 367.

²²⁵¹For further details see for instance Kroll 2010b: 150-171.

²²⁵²RIMA II A.0.101.1ii 84b-86a.

²²⁵³RIMA III A.0.102.6: iii 58-60.



e.

Fig.4.8.d. The ruins of the Iron Age fort of Warraz at the side of Tang-i Qutabian pass in Sharbazher adjacent to Chami Kanrwê, the tributary of the Lower Zab. (Photo by the author).

The Assyrians seem to have had several forts in Zamua province, judging from an important administrative letter sent by Nabû-hamatu'a "*the royal official*". possibly a deputy of Mazamua province to Sargon II: "¹ *To the king, [my lord]: your servant Na[bû-hamatua]. Good health to [the king, my lord]!* ⁴ *The for[ts] of the king, [my] lord, are well.....*" ²²⁵⁴

In another letter, the same official mentions six Assyrian fortresses in Allabria. ²²⁵⁵ In it he orders the people in these forts to leave them and to build their houses in the field. The Assyrian strategy was not to leave people in the forts as army personnel, for if they stayed there with no food then they may think about raiding the Assyrian administrative centres in the area, or plundering caravans and disturb trade routes. By moving them to the fields, they would become busy with farming and away from their weapons. Farming benefited them and the Assyrians, who would impose a tax on their produce. These six forts of Allabria may well have been like Middle Assyrian rural forts, *dunnu*, successors to the Mittanian countryside forts, *dimtu*. ²²⁵⁶

In Issete, to the north-east of Arbail in the mountains, Sargon II built a fort. ²²⁵⁷ In his tenth regnal year he fortified cities as outposts on the Urartian border; "*The cities of Luhsu, Burdir, Anmurru, Ki-, Anduar-salia, I fortified as outposts toward Urartu.*" ²²⁵⁸ Also, in an Assyrian

²²⁵⁴ SAA V 211:1-5; Kessler 2001: 833-834. Concerning the Luhayati and Iašubean's attack on the fortresses of Der and southeastern Mazamua, see SAA XVII 172.

²²⁵⁵ SAA V 210.

²²⁵⁶ A well preserved Middle Assyrian *dunnu* is Tell Sabi Abyad; for further details see Akkermans 2006: 201ff; see also Harmanşah 2013: 76ff.

²²⁵⁷ SAA XIX 169.

²²⁵⁸ Wiseman 1964: 119; ARAB II: 27

administrative letter, we learn that the Assyrians considered the fortress of Meši as their fortress. A letter sent from the *nāgir ekali*²²⁵⁹ Ashur-natkil probably to Sargon II says, “; “A provincial governor of the Urartians came up into Meši. It is a fortress of my lord. The camp of the Urartians at the order of the City-lord of Meši has been attacked. The camp.....of its region it repulsed. Let me occupy.....the well-being of my lord....”²²⁶⁰ This fortress seems to have been threatened by the Urartian governor. Salvini and Muscarella identified **Qalai Ismail Aqa** with the fortress of Uaiais/Usai/Uaijais, mentioned by Sargon II in his eighth campaign in 714 BCE.²²⁶¹

Visual evidence comes from terracotta models and from the depiction of architectural features on reliefs and seals. From the Zagros during the Late Bronze Age some terracotta models of towers were made in both Shemashra and Basmusian. The towers were made from baked clay surmounting a terracotta animal, usually a wild goat, sometimes two, and one surmounts a pig. These model towers have windows. One from Basmusian has two figures attached on the top, and a bird below its roof. They are crenellated and some are built on two levels. The figures are sitting on lion-thrones. These towers were probably censers used in rituals (see Fig.4.8.e-f). Those from Shemshara and Basmusian found in the temples probably represented towers on public buildings and were presented by the rulers to the temple as a protective act, showing the loyalty of the citadel and the rulers of the castle to the gods of these temples, in return for which the deities gave them protection and blessings.²²⁶² From Ashur come similar towers, more or less from the same period of the Late Bronze Age, but simpler and surmounting animals.²²⁶³ We note also that in Nuzi simple terracotta towers were made during the Mittani period,²²⁶⁴ and the Zagrosian delegation leaders during the reign of Sargon II brought fortified city models to the Assyrian court in Dur-Sharrukin.²²⁶⁵

²²⁵⁹*nāgir ekalli* the “Palace Herald” was the administrative office in a district created by Sargon II (see for further details Postgate 1995: 8-9); its center can be identified with mod. Diyana/Ruwanduz plain east of the Upper Zab, between Musasir and Hiptunu. So that, probably the fortress of Meši located somewhere nearby that area. There is another cities in the Northern Zagros with similar name one of them was the city/district of Misiandu in Mannea near the border of Urartu (ARAB II:56) and the other one called Messu/Missi in also in Mannea (see ARAB II: 148; Levine 1974: 113).

²²⁶⁰Saggs 1974: 207-209.

²²⁶¹Zimansky 1990:7; ARAB II 166, 167.

²²⁶²For further details see Eidem 2011: 79-92; Muller 2002: fig.28-30; Marf, D. A., (in preparation) “A lion-throne on a tower from Tell Basmusian,” *PIHANS*.

²²⁶³Muller 2002, vol. II: fig.2-13.

²²⁶⁴Starr 1937: pl.61b; pl.113 a, b1,2,3.

²²⁶⁵Albenda 1986: 68-69, pl.29, Room 10, slab 6; pl.30, Room 10, slab 8; for further details see above.

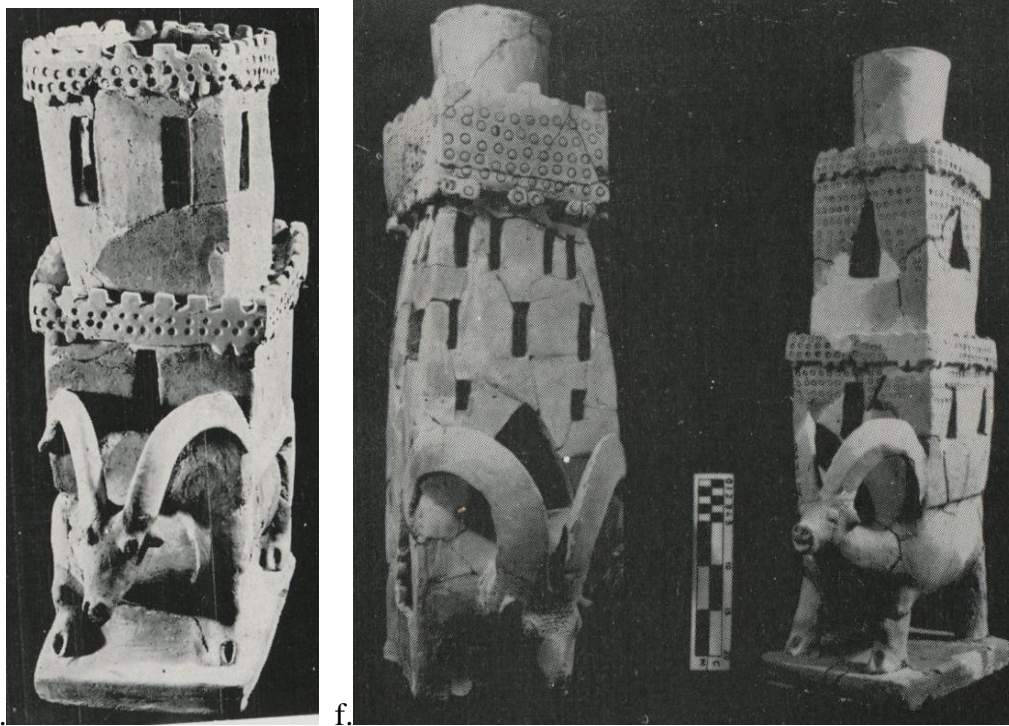


Fig. 4.8.e. A terracotta tower uncovered on the floor of Temple I in Basmusian, level III (after Basmachi 1976: 402, Fig.132).

f. Two terracotta towers from Shemshara (after Abu al-Soof 1970: Pl.XIII a-b).

From **Hasanlu** a fortification depicted on a bronze plaque shows towers on which are archers seated ready to shoot.²²⁶⁶ Similarly on an Assyrian cylinder seal there are two archers standing ready to shoot.²²⁶⁷

Assyrian kings recorded their campaigns textually and visually. The visual records are usually on slab reliefs adorning the Assyrian palaces depicting the sieging and attacking of fortified cities and fortresses. Several Zagrosian fortified cities, forts, watchtowers were depicted on reliefs of Ashurnasirpal, Shalmaneser, and especially of Sargon at Khorsabad.

One of these from Khorsabad shows the **Mannean city Pazashi** as one of the well-fortified cities in Mannea. It was built on a summit beside of a pass with two levels of fortification with six towers. There was a lower level, and the other was probably at the acropolis. The city had at least two main gates. On the right two Assyrian soldiers with torches are setting fire to a wooden city gate. On the left a big ramp probably leads to another city gate. The ramp would have been made from bricks or shaped stone blocks. In between another ramp leads to the main city gate in the centre of the main city wall. A moat surrounds the city. To mount their heavy attack the Assyrians used something like ‘tanks’ to destroy the walls and they burned the wooden city gates (Fig. 4.8.g).²²⁶⁸

²²⁶⁶Schauensee 2011: 64.

²²⁶⁷Collon 1987: fig.752.

²²⁶⁸Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.145; Russell 1999: 119.

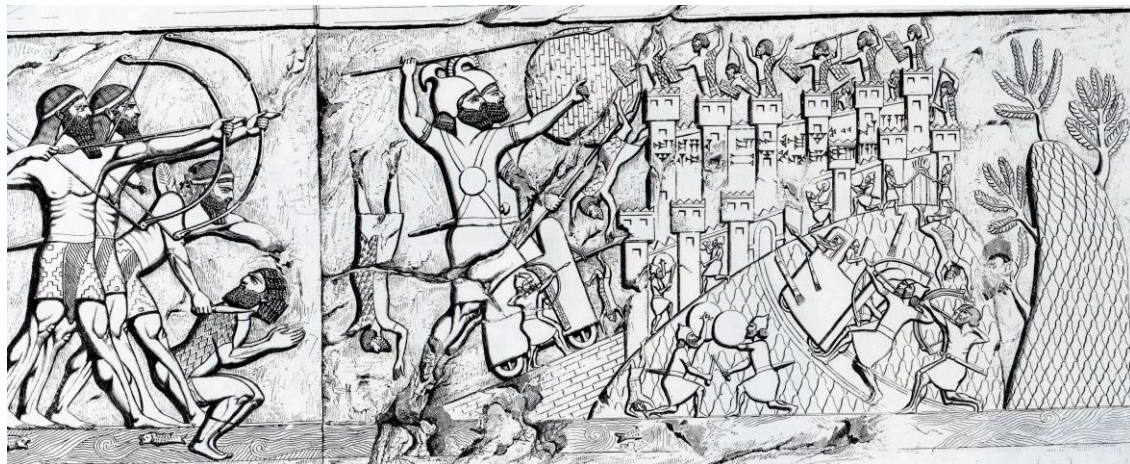


Fig. 4.8.g. The Mannean city Pazashi under a heavy Assyrian siege, depicted on a relief from the palace of Sargon II (713/714 BCE) at Dur-Sharrukin (after Botta & Flandin 1972: pl. 145).

A relief from the Khorsabad palace depicts a besieged Median city, considered to be **Tikraki/Sikris**, fortified with high walls and several towers, and built high on a hill. An Assyrian stele is set into the walls of the city itself (fig.3.2.b).²²⁶⁹

According to Abu-al-Soof, a huge mud-brick wall surrounds the western upper part of **Tell Basmusian**, similar to the city wall which surrounds the modern Citadel of Erbil. Unfortunately he gave no date for the wall, and no report of the excavation was published by the head of the team so we have no photos.²²⁷⁰

Excavation has begun at the mounds of **Rabat Tepe** but as yet only a few parts of the mound have been excavated. Part of a 2.5 m wide defensive wall, with two rows of stones backfilled with rubble have been revealed. The excavators take this to be an outer (or inner) wall of the Iron Age settlement (or city) of Rabat Tepe.²²⁷¹

Many fortified cities depicted on the Assyrian reliefs are walled cities. All the buildings (palaces, temples, private houses) are located inside the main walls of the city. This was so, even in the land of **Musasir**. For instance the 'fortress of Zapparia' in the land of Musasir was recorded by Shalmaneser III.²²⁷² But on the relief of Khorsabad, where the plundering of the city of Musasir in 714 BCE by Sargon II is depicted, Musasir is not a main fortress. There is no city wall around the public and private houses of the city. The different sections of the city (the palace-tower, the temple and the private houses) are at a distance from each other. Only the private houses had some fortification, with a walled terrace on the mound on which the houses are built.²²⁷³

²²⁶⁹Holloway 2002: 154; Botta & Flandin, 1972: vol. I, pl. 64. = Albenda, Palace of Sargon, pl. 120 Room 2, slab 17; SAA IV, 59, fig.22.

²²⁷⁰The excavation at Basmusian was made by al-Tikrity in 1950s but the report was never published. I have tried several times to obtain a copy of the report from the General Directorate of Antiquities of Iraq in Baghdad with no answer; I understand that Mr. al-Tikrity has not released the report. Without this report we miss important information about the Middle Assyrian period in the basin of Lower Zab in the Rania plain. For further details about the general results of the first season of the excavation see Abu al-Soof 1970: 65-104.

²²⁷¹Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 115.

²²⁷²*RIMA* III: A.O.102.14 ll. 178-179.

²²⁷³Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.141, Room XIII, slab 4; Marf 2014: 13-29. The city Ukku also had similar wall; see Layard 1853b: pl.74, p.7.

Lehmann-Haupt visited that area in 1899 and described the **Urartian steles**. He was the first to describe the architectural remains at **Ashkene** in **Sidekan**.²²⁷⁴ According to him it is to be identified with ancient Musasir.²²⁷⁵ In the 1950s, Al-Amin visited the area and recorded architectural evidence from Sidekan-Topzawa. He confirmed what had been recorded by Lehmann-Haupt. Al-Amin describes the architectural remains of Shkene in the east of Sidekan thus:²²⁷⁶

“There are remains of ruins of a fortress about 1 mile (south east) of the stele of Topzawa at Shkene, the remains on a hill rising from the surrounding valley about 30m. The walls of the fortress/castle can be seen to have been destroyed, even with its foundations taken away. There are heaps of stones which had been used in the construction of this building. But there are probable remains of the internal walls of a building or a palace, looking like the remains of a tower (36m x 32m). It was built with big stones, each one about 3.5-4m thick. There are remains of foundations of houses inside the internal walls, which were built with small cubic stones. Many stones are visible outside the external wall. In the valley there are remains of a long wall/fortification built with small stones.”

During fieldwork in recent years, I visited these sites described by Al-Amin, but apart from a few remains of stones or of what might be a foundation of a wall there is nothing else in Shkene. This may be because of cultivation activities. During the military unrest some looters also removed architectural objects from Shkene by illegal digging.

In the 1970s, Rainer Boehmer recorded details of architectural remains of fortifications at **Kala-Mdjaser** and **Ashkene**. Boehmer also recorded two column bases found in Kala-Mdjaser. He dates most of these architectural remains and even a group of collected ceramics from Ashkene and Mdjaser to the Iron Age, specifically to the 8th-7th century or earlier. He considered one of the columns as Urartian (90-93cm in diameter), and the other (with a bell shaped base) as Achaemenid. He compared the Urartian column of Mdjaser with the columns of the temple of Çavuştepe. He also drew a detailed plan of the fort of Kala-Mdjaser, showing that the fort was built on and around the hill with several towers. There is a rectangular public building at the top of the hill inside the walls of the fort. Ceramic evidence from the fort is dated to the Iron Age. The two column bases, one Urartian in style and the other Achaemenid, Boehmer dated also to the Iron Age.

The Iron Age fort of **Gerdesorah** (*Gird-e-Sore* “Red Hill”), is considered to be an Urartian fort destroyed by Sargon II in 714 BCE on his way to Musasir from Mannea.²²⁷⁷ But it may have been destroyed later, in the Cimmerio-Scythian invasion in the first half of the 7th century BCE.

²²⁷⁴Lehmann-Haupt 1926: 288-308.

²²⁷⁵Lehmann-Haupt 1926: 288-308; Lehmann-Haupt 1910: 241-261; also see Al-Amin, 1952: 61, 69. Unfortunately I was not able to obtain a copy of the primary source: Lehmann-Haupt, C. F., 1916 *Musasir und der achte Feldzug Sargons II. (714 v. Chr.)*, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 21: 137-140.

²²⁷⁶Al-Amin 1952: 70. Al-Amin visited the area of Ruwanduz and recorded other architectural remains, probably from fortresses/forts “*There are remains of ruins of three settlements a few miles distant from south of Ruwanduz in Farzan, Bestora, and Kurous, the foundation of buildings built with huge stones.*” Al-Amin 1952: 69.

²²⁷⁷Jakubiak 2004: 199, fig.1.

In 1958, Brown identified a line of huge stones on the mountain ranges of **Merga** on the eastern bank of the Lower Zab river and the **Rania plain** as fortifications dating back to ancient times.²²⁷⁸ Qaradaghy, in field work at the **mountain range** of **Asus** to the east identified other lines of fortification on the Rania plain, including a long wall dating back to the Late Bronze Age.²²⁷⁹ Dating these fortresses as ancient is acceptable because the material and the style are different from those in Sassanian, Islamic, Medieval, or the later fortresses of Kurdish princedoms in the mountainous area of the Northern Zagros. But to date them more precisely we need to identify details of style and to find material such as ceramics and weapons (arrowheads or spearheads). At the moment we do not have enough material evidence. However, we do have Assyrian texts describing this type of fortress in the Northern Zagros. Ashurnasirpal relates that when Nūr-Adad (^mZÁLAG.^dÍŠKUR), the “sheikh” (LÚ *nasì-ku*) of the land of **Dagara** in **Zamua**, rebelled against Assyria supported by the entire land of Zamua, he walled up the pass of the city Babitū:²²⁸⁰

“In the eponymy of Aššur-iddin a report was brought back to me saying Nūr-Adad the sheikh of the land Dagara had rebelled; (the inhabitants of) the entire land Zamua had banded together; they had built a wall in the pass of the city Babitū; (and) they had risen against me to wage war and battle.”

Furthermore, Shalmaneser III, advancing against **Hubuškia**, says his enemies: “...ascended mountains (25) (where) they fortified themselves (lit. “they took as a fortress”). I climbed up the mountains after them. I waged mighty war in the mountains (and) defeated them.”²²⁸¹

Recently a Japanese team discovered an Iron Age fort at tell **Qalat Said Ahmadan** in the territory of **Qaladeze** near the Lower Zab east of Shemshara. In their report they assume that the fort was probably destroyed between the 7th and the 6th centuries BCE. Iron Age ceramic sherds of cooking pots, jars, and storage jars were discovered at the site.²²⁸² They suppose that the fort was probably used at the time when Sargon II campaigned in that area.²²⁸³ But if the fort was destroyed at the time they state the perpetrators may have been Scythians. Esarhaddon’s letters of enquiry to Shamash ask whether Scythians would cross the Assyrian border and the pass of Harania.²²⁸⁴

Muscarella discusses the **citadel** at **Hasanlu IV** and says it “seems to have had no fortification wall, although in many publications up to 1975, it was accepted that the citadel was fortified.”²²⁸⁵ Here I quote some of the comments of scholars on the excavations and publications of Hasanlu concerning the main plan of the site and the problems in recording and reporting movable and immovable materials. Kroll says:²²⁸⁶

“After getting access to the Hasanlu archives from 2007 onwards, it turned out that several assumptions, published before, were without foundation. Published architecture

²²⁷⁸Brown 1958: 122-5.

²²⁷⁹al-Qaradaghy 2008: 220-222.

²²⁸⁰RIMA II: A.0.101.1: ii23b-25b; see also Levine 1973: 18, note.69; Brinkman 2001, PNA 2/II, L-N: 967.

²²⁸¹RIMA III A.0.102.21.1: 9b-29a.

²²⁸²Kudo, et al., 2015: fig. 7.8; 7.9.

²²⁸³Kudo, et al., 2015: 1-50.

²²⁸⁴SAA IV 31. For further details see Lanfranchi 1995: 131ff. Also see Chapter II, 2.5.12.

²²⁸⁵Muscarella 2006: 82-84.

²²⁸⁶Kroll 2013a: 175-192.

plans show mistakes, the “triple road system” is in fact a double building. Period III should be divided into IIIc, IIIb and IIIa. There was never a fallen Urartian fortification wall that separated period IIIb from IIIa. Two seals published as period IVb should better be assigned to period IIIb as they have no recorded archaeological context in period IVb.”

The plan of the citadel was imaginary, since only five towers (Period III) were uncovered there, but the map of citadel 13 shows towers. Kroll also notes problems in dating the layers and levels:²²⁸⁷

“...Not all was published correctly regarding the stratigraphy of the site, the architecture, single finds and scientific data like C-14. In the same way critics from outside doubted results: this led to heated discussions over the years and to a credibility gap for Hasanlu project itself that has not been resolved and will persist for years to come.”

Perhaps it will persist for ever. Also Kroll shows that even some of the recent efforts do not correct the mistakes, and are sometimes disappointing:²²⁸⁸

“...Again it is unfortunate that this new plan, published for the first time in 2011, is in many respects not correct, but again provisional. It is correct in taking away from the plan structures that were never excavated, but only reconstructed. But on the other hand it does not show all the excavated architecture on the so-called west slope.”

Both Kroll and Muscarella agree that *“throughout the publications, incomplete or inconsistent settlement plans are illustrated, creating a source of confusion.”*²²⁸⁹ All these comments directly or indirectly tell us that we have to treat previously published data very carefully about architecture, stratigraphy, and even the movable material culture of Hasanlu, especially when using the site as a scale for dating and stratigraphy or for comparative study.

The Mannean ‘Hasanlu IVB’ site²²⁹⁰ on the other hand has been identified with Gilzanu,²²⁹¹ a toponym recorded several times in Assyrian inscriptions from the 9th century as a source of tribute of horses and metals.²²⁹² The archaeological excavations at the site prove that the city was destroyed in the late 9th century BCE. There are two different views about this destruction. Some scholars attribute it to the Assyrians, but most to the Urartian expansion in the Urmia Basin during the late 9th century BCE.²²⁹³ After an intervening period the Urartians built a new fortress at the citadel of Hasanlu, corresponding to Hasanlu III and the Urartian city Mešta.²²⁹⁴ The towers of the citadel at Hasanlu are comparable to those of

²²⁸⁷Kroll 2013a: 175-176.

²²⁸⁸Kroll 2013a: 179.

²²⁸⁹Muscarella 2006:80; Kroll 2013a: 178.

²²⁹⁰Forbes 1983: 35.

²²⁹¹Röllig 1957-1971b, *RIA* III: 375; *RIMA* II A.0.101.17: i 77-81; A.0.102.1: 33b-40a; Salvini 1995: 43-53.

²²⁹²*RIMA* II: A.0.101.17: 77b-81a.

²²⁹³Kroll 2010a:21; Dyson 1989: 107–127; Dyson 1965b:198; Muscarella 2006: 82; Salvini 1995:25, 41-42, 46.

²²⁹⁴Salvini 1995:25, 41-42, 46; Röllig 1957-1971b, *RIA* III: 375; *RIMA* II A.0.101.17: i 77-81; A.0.102.1: 33b-40a;.

the Urartian city Karmir Blur.²²⁹⁵ Kroll says: “*Hasanlu IIIB saw lots of Urartian construction activities in the reign of Rusa II.*”²²⁹⁶

It has been assumed that the Urartians probably built this defensive fortress at Hasanlu III to protect the southern frontier of Urartu.²²⁹⁷ But it seems that in fact they never completed their architectural activities there, and they were “*interrupted, for unknown reasons.*”²²⁹⁸ The end of Hasanlu III and also the end of Agrab Tepe in the 7th century BCE may have been due to the Scytho-Cimmerian penetration into the Urmia Basin and the Northern Zagros, an event mentioned indirectly in Assyrian letters and omens from the first half of the 7th century BCE.²²⁹⁹

The Fort of **Nush-i Jan** at the acropolis there is associated with two other public buildings, a Temple and a Columned Hall, and constitute a unique archaeological discovery in the Zagros. Almost all the buildings have remained in a good condition. The fort is small, built on a rectangular plan of 21m x 21m. It has a small entrance (2m wide), a guardroom and four magazines. Vaulting was used in the Fort.²³⁰⁰ The square pier at the centre of the square room in the Fort is similar in form to an Assyrian staircase. It is also like one at Hasanlu, which dates back to the 9th century BCE, but that one is different in size and in details:²³⁰¹ “*At Nush-I Jan the scale is unusually generous and the grand manner in which the ramp itself is carried around almost four sides of the central pier before it gives way to the first steps in quite exceptional.*”²³⁰² At Nush-I Jan, the Fort, the Temple and the Court are all surrounded with a defensive structure. The Fort had air vents lower down the walls,²³⁰³ which Roaf compared to similar Assyrian vents in temples and fortifications, “*in the fortifications at Ashur,*” and in “*Building F at Dur-Katlimmu on the Habur River.*”²³⁰⁴ The “*deep arches*” of Nush-I Jan Roaf says are typical examples and have similar ground plans to those at Dur-Sharrukin in the “*temple area in the palace,*” and “*in the Nabû Temple.*”²³⁰⁵ The architecture at Nush-I Jan is dated to between ca. 750-600 BCE.²³⁰⁶

Roaf also says of the fort, “*Lower down the walls were pierced by air vents,*”²³⁰⁷ and he compares them to similar vents found in Mesopotamia and at Dur-Katlimmu (Building F) on the Habur River and in the fortifications at Ashur.²³⁰⁸ Rows of arches are attached to the edge of the wall, and deep arcades are built along the western and southern sides of the site.

²²⁹⁵Dyson 1965b: 198; Dyson 1989: 110; Roaf 2012b: 7; Kroll 2010a: 21-35.

²²⁹⁶Kroll 2010b: 150-171.

²²⁹⁷Dyson 1989:110; Muscarella 2012a: 265-279.

²²⁹⁸Kroll 2010b: 150-171

²²⁹⁹Muscarella 2012a: 276; SAA V 92, 144, 145, 174; SAA IV 23, 24, 36, 38; Sulimirski 1954: 282-318; Szmerényi 1980:5ff; Macgregor 2012: 69-70; ARAB II 517; 533; Reade 1995a: 41; Postgate 1987-1990: 341; Kroll 1984: 151-170.

²³⁰⁰Stronach, 1968: 180; Stronach and Roaf 2007:107-129.

²³⁰¹Stronach, 1968: 180.

²³⁰²Stronach, 1968:180.

²³⁰³Roaf 1995a: pl.52.

²³⁰⁴Roaf 1995a: 64ff.

²³⁰⁵Roaf 1995a: 64, fig.28; Loud and Altman 1938.

²³⁰⁶Stronach & Roaf 1973: 129-140, 129.

²³⁰⁷Roaf 1995a: pl.52.

²³⁰⁸Roaf 1995a: 64.

According to Roaf, at Dur-Sharrukin similar groundplans of constructions have been excavated in the temple of Nabû and the temple area in the palace of Sargon II.²³⁰⁹

A spiral ramp led to the roof. The façade of the outer walls had buttresses and was recessed with ornamental arrow slots. The walls were also buttressed.²³¹⁰ It has been assumed that there are similarities between these walls and the walls of the Zagrosian fortresses depicted on Assyrian reliefs.²³¹¹ The ground plan of the Fort can be compared to the plan of the “*corner towers*” of the Achaemenid Apadana at Persepolis. The excavators, Roaf and Stronach assume that Darius may have been following “*the traditional plan of still older redoubts such as the Fort of Nush-i Jan.*”²³¹² Some Assyrian objects were uncovered from the site, perhaps looted from Assyria during the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE.²³¹³ The contemporary Median fortresses uncovered in the northern and central Zagros include Godin Tepe and Baba Jan Tepe in eastern Luristan in the Central Zagros.²³¹⁴

In the area called Zamua/Mazamua province (i.e. mod. Sulaimani governorate) the author has identified several items which are probably came from ancient fortresses. Some surely date back to the Iron Age. These fortresses were in the mountains of **Warraz** (an Iron Age local potsherd was found there), **Surdash**, and **Tabin**. Other items date back to the first millennium BCE, and could be dated to the Iron Age or even earlier. Future excavations may reveal more precise dates.²³¹⁵ These ancient fortresses in the mountains of Sulaimania were almost always built at the western gates of the passes to protect the areas between the mountains from Mesopotamian/Assyrian assaults, and also to control movements and trade routes. Most of them are near water sources and rivers, and two are near iron deposits.

Recently the directorate of antiquities of Sulaimania uncovered a Zamuan fortified city in a rescue excavation at **Tell Sitak**, the only Iron Age site excavated in the Sharbazhêr district, about 20 miles east of Sulaimania. The site is located on a hill in the territory of Sitak village, at the foot of Mount Azmir with its pass.²³¹⁶ Unfortunately, the site was being destroyed by new construction activities in Sitak. Among the uncovered archaeological evidence in addition to fortifications and architectural remains there are ceramics, seals, a Neo-Assyrian tablet, and coins. These archaeological exhibits date the site to three main periods: the Iron Age of the Neo-Assyrian period (8th-7th century BCE); local metal object(s) are identical with Luristan objects of the Achaemenid period; the fortress was then reused in the Sassanian period.²³¹⁷

²³⁰⁹Road 1995a: 64.

²³¹⁰Yamauchi 1990: 44; Roaf & Stronach 1973: 129-140.

²³¹¹Roaf 1995a: 65. And the bibliography.

²³¹²Stronach 1968: 179.

²³¹³Stronach 1968: 177-186; Yamauchi 1990: 46.

²³¹⁴Stronach 1968: 178; Goff 1969: 115-130; Stronach and Roaf 2007; Melikzadeh 2004: 47-49.

²³¹⁵Marf, 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.

²³¹⁶Saber, et. al, 2015: 205-229; Directorate of Antiquities of Sulaimania, 2013: 248-265.

²³¹⁷Directorate of Antiquities of Sulaimania, 2013: 248-265. Recently the report of the excavations and the data discovered was reviewed by the excavators. In this report different datings and interpretations from what was discovered in Tell Sitak are given; see Saber, et al., 2015: 205-229.

What was found from the fortifications of Sitak came from the second level, which dates back to the Neo-Assyrian period. It was the main part of the site which survived the destruction of modern construction. At this level are the remains of foundation walls between 30-80cm high. Two main city walls have been uncovered, built with regular stones, measuring 110 x 40 x 40 cm and 40 x 40 x 40 cm, with a third wall as a façade for a building, thought to a palace.²³¹⁸

There are several towers built within the city walls. The distance between each tower is about 5m to 6m. The towers project from the wall about 1m. The excavators assumed that the tower was about 2.90m high of which only 1.25m remains. The walls of the towers are 1m thick.²³¹⁹

The floor of the buildings and the ‘palace’ are embedded with well-cut sandstone slabs.²³²⁰ One of the uncovered stone pavements is incised with a flower, to be compared with the Assyrian style of flowers.²³²¹ In this second level a Neo-Assyrian badly preserved tablet was uncovered.²³²² According to a preliminary reading, which was made by Farouq Al-Rawi, “*there are two badly preserved city names.*”²³²³

The excavators thought that probably the inhabitants were well experienced in iron mining, because much ore, iron slag and well-made small iron artifacts were uncovered.²³²⁴ Among these metalwork objects is a hand-axe with two heads, a hatchet with two heads, and a little chisel. They were probably used by craftsmen. Some of the metals are contemporary with the Assyrian period and others with the Achaemenid period.²³²⁵ Unfortunately, most areas of the tell were destroyed during modern construction in the area around the site and at the site. The salvage excavation only saved a small part of it. In the preliminary report part of the main constructions with a floor embedded with well-cut sandstone slabs was called a ‘palace’.²³²⁶ Later, the team, corrected that, saying, “*We believe the site was probably a fortress or fortified site occupying the hilltop and likely commanding or protecting the nearby region in the late Iron Age or when the site was occupied by Neo-Assyrians.*”²³²⁷ Based on the amount of iron and metal ores, slag and instruments they discovered, the excavators assumed that the site was a fort associated with mining and iron smiths.

²³¹⁸ Directorate of Antiquities of Sulaimania, 2013: 250; Saber, et al., 2015: 208f.

²³¹⁹ Sabir, et al., 2013: 251.

²³²⁰ Sabir, et al., 2013: 251.

²³²¹ Saber, et al., 2015: 208f.

²³²² Sabir, et al., 2013: 252-253; Saber, et. al, 2015: 208f.

²³²³ Sabir, et al., 2013: 253. Radner studied the tablet. Her study will be published in a forthcoming article: 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”. Prof. Dr. Radner in an email message about these toponyms, told me that “*there is one broken toponym on the fragment from Sitak but it is used to qualify a person. It is highly unlikely to refer to Sitak’s ancient name.*” I would like to thank her for this information.

²³²⁴ Sabir, et al. 2013: 254-255.

²³²⁵ Sabir, et al. 2013: 255. For further details about the uncovered metals see Chapter III, 3.8.

²³²⁶ Saber, S. A., et al., 2013: 248-265, esp.251.

²³²⁷ Saber, et. al, 2015: 227.

In the Zagros the Urartians also built several fortifications. The earliest **Urartian fortresses** were built in the Urmia region in the late 9th century BCE.²³²⁸ One of them is the fortress at Livar, identified with ancient **Uishdish**,²³²⁹ destroyed by Sargon II during the eighth campaign in 714 BCE; “*From Uishdish I went and came to Ushqajia, the huge fortress at the farthest border of Urartu, which like a gate block the entrance to the territory of Zaranda.*”²³³⁰ Also we have the fortress of **Qalatagh**, identified with Uishe (or Uajiais), and well-recorded in the Assyrian records.²³³¹ Sargon II refers to “*the city of Ushkaia, the fortress at the pass to the province of ʿZarandaʾ strongly built in Mount Mallâu....*”²³³²

The Urartian fortress Shardurihurda was built in Sangibutu. Scholars assume that it was located in the area of the Urmia basin or to the south west of Lake Urmia.²³³³ Some details about the Urartian fortifications at Hasanlu III were given above. The small guardpost at Agrab Tepe, 3km from Hasanlu is considered contemporary with Hasanlu. It is fortified. Inside the fortification there is a series of rooms. The rooms were probably had different functions, including storage and living space. The site was occupied by the Urartians. Later, during the 7th/6th century BCE, it was destroyed.²³³⁴ Haftevan Tepe (to the west of Lake Urmia) and Kale Siah were other Urartian fortress. These fortresses probably controlled the main farming areas and the trade routes, and also halted the Assyrian advances against the commercial routes along the west shore of Lake Urmia.²³³⁵ These fortresses and fortified cities were sacked during the 7th century BCE by unexpected invasions from an unexpected direction, from the north. The Cimmeric-Scythians invaded the eastern part of Urartu and the Northern Zagros as far as the north-eastern and eastern frontiers of Assyria.²³³⁶ The Urartians like the Assyrians used deportees for building the fortresses and other construction work. The Urartian king named them peoples from “enemy lands”. In some cases they settled the deportees in these forts in the fertile valleys, including deportees from Assyria.²³³⁷ It has been suggested that some Urartian architectural elements were transmitted to the Achaemenids. Probably the Northern Zagros had a role in this transition.²³³⁸ But Zimansky does not agree with all the suggestions about the transmission of Urartian architectural styles to Achaemenid Persia and the role of the Zagros/Media. According to him “*the idea that Urartian styles and conventions might have been transmitted through it to the Persians is also falling out of fashion.*”²³³⁹

²³²⁸Kroll 2010b: 156; for further details about the list of the names, measurements, locations and the publications about the Urartian fortress in the Northern Zagros/Iran, see Biscione 2012 :77-88.

²³²⁹Barnett 1982: 354; Zimansky 1990: 7ff; Kroll 2010b: 161; Muscarella 1986: 465-475.

²³³⁰ARAB II 158; Lie 1929: II, 13: lines, 137-138, p.25

²³³¹Kroll 2010b: 159; ARAB II 20.

²³³²ARAB II 20; Lie 1929: II, 13: lines, 137-138, p.25.

²³³³For further details see Muscarella 2013: 384, note.19; Zimansky 1990: 7.

²³³⁴Forbes 1983: 38; Biscione 2012: 77-88.

²³³⁵Burney 1977:3ff; Bonzano 2014: 131-150.

²³³⁶Forbes 1983: 39.

²³³⁷Cilingiroğlu 2011: 347.

²³³⁸For further details see for instance, Roaf, M., 2012d: 359f; Stronach 2012b: 314; Biscione 2012: 76-88; Kroll 2013b: 319-326.

²³³⁹Zimansky 2011: 119.

In the Urmia basin there were many fortified cities and forts. Some of them are mentioned in Assyrian records, and others are depicted on Assyrian reliefs, such as the well-fortified city of **Pazashi** (see above). Archaeological excavations and surveys in that area discovered several fortified cities and fortifications which date back to the Iron Age. They are called Mannean fortresses, based on ceramic and architectural features, such as the fortress **Ziwiye**.²³⁴⁰ A recent survey at Ziwiye shows an Iron Age columned hall within the fortress. Motamedi called it a Mannean-Median fortress.²³⁴¹

The Assyrians built several fortifications in the Zagros, and Zagrosians were doing similar things. For instance the Medes, after the fall of Nineveh, were building a small fort at **Tell Gubba** on the trade road to Media (Khorasan Road) in the Hamrin plain in the east of the Assyrian heartland, at the western foothills of the Zagros.²³⁴² The fort was built with rectangular mud bricks. Roaf sees in the design and construction parallels with the Fort at Nush-i Jan.²³⁴³

Several of these cities and strongholds depicted on Assyrian reliefs had a ditch as a defensive line around them. **Arbail** is depicted on a relief at Nineveh from the reign of Ashurbanipal with such a ditch. The ditch around the citadel seems to have survived until the middle of the 19th century AD, for a Western traveler there on 27 October 1820 traced a ditch and said, Arbail surrounded with *“an ancient wall and ditch. ‘The town was once very large, probably about size of modern Baghdad’.*²³⁴⁴

On the Assyrian reliefs we also see several Zagrosian cities and fortresses surrounded with ditches or moats or canals for defence and to provide a water supply. Sargon II says that **Fort Bubzi** at the city Hundur in Media had two walls, each with a moat.²³⁴⁵

We conclude that we cannot identify any unique style of fortress in the Zagros. Usually they are ruined and further excavation is needed to draw plans and find material evidence. The roofs and upper walls and towers have not remained. Probably the upper part of the walls was built with mud bricks and small stones, and easily collapsed during a military attack and was destroyed by heavy rain and snow. That is why we know almost nothing about the fortresses.

From iconography we see that there were towers with merlons and arrow-slots. Most gates were arched like those at Arbail in the Assyrian heartland. The upper walls between the towers were often decorated with triangles. This feature is seen on most of the Zagrosian walls at Mannea, Media, and **Musasir**, on the fortress depicted on the bronze plaque of Hasanlu, and on the one depicted on the bronze bucket at the Iron Age graveyard of Camzi Mummam in the Central Zagros in Luristan.²³⁴⁶

Zagrosians, Assyrians and Urartians all built fortresses and fortified cities in the Northern Zagros during the Iron Age. The Zagrosians built fortresses, fortified cities, strongholds and fortified passes in the mountains mainly because of the Assyrian threat. They wanted to

²³⁴⁰Motamedi 1997: 320-357.

²³⁴¹Motamedi 1997: 320-357.

²³⁴²Stronach 2012a: 668, 670f, fig.1.

²³⁴³Roaf 1995a: 65, fig.29; also see Fujii 1981: 141-163.

²³⁴⁴Winstone 1986: 37.

²³⁴⁵ARAB II 165.

²³⁴⁶Muller 2002: Pl. LXIII A.2.

protect themselves from the Assyrian attacks and campaigns, for the Assyrian pressure on the Zagros was fierce. Almost all the Neo-Assyrian kings campaigned against the Zagros, occupied, destroyed and burned cities and fortresses there. The fortresses would also control the trade routes, and supervise the agricultural production and taxation of the local rulers. The Assyrians built their forts, fortified cities, and camps in the Zagros first of all to secure their stay in the occupied provinces and also to control taxation. They functioned as administrative posts for the Assyrian deputy or local pro-Assyrian rulers, as well as a base for the next stage of their campaigns in the Zagros. The Urartians built fortress and fortified cities in the southwest and west of the Urmia basin to control the agriculture of the plains and the valleys as well as the trade routes to the north to Caucasia.²³⁴⁷ The main reason was to keep that area under their control and not to let the Assyrian army occupy it. It seems to be that most of the fortresses had an economic, administrative and military purpose.

²³⁴⁷ Marro 2004: 91-120; Kroll 1992: 62-72; Kroll 2012a: 277-284.

4.5. Temporary and permanent Assyrian camps in the Zagros

Many camps (*ušmannu*) are mentioned in the Assyrian annals. From the annals of Ashurnasirpal II we read that the Assyrian king camped at the foot of the Mount Nišba, and raided the cities and strongholds of Zamua for several days.²³⁴⁸ In the evening he went back to his camp, and at dawn he went to raid and destroy the Zamuan cities. The records give no detail about architectural features of Assyrian camps, but on Assyrian reliefs we see that the camp of the king was well fortified with towers. It was depicted from above showing the king's bedroom (with a single bed), a cooking area, and priests killing an animal and inspecting its liver to foretell the destiny of the army (see fig. 2.2.b; fig. 4.9.a-c).²³⁴⁹

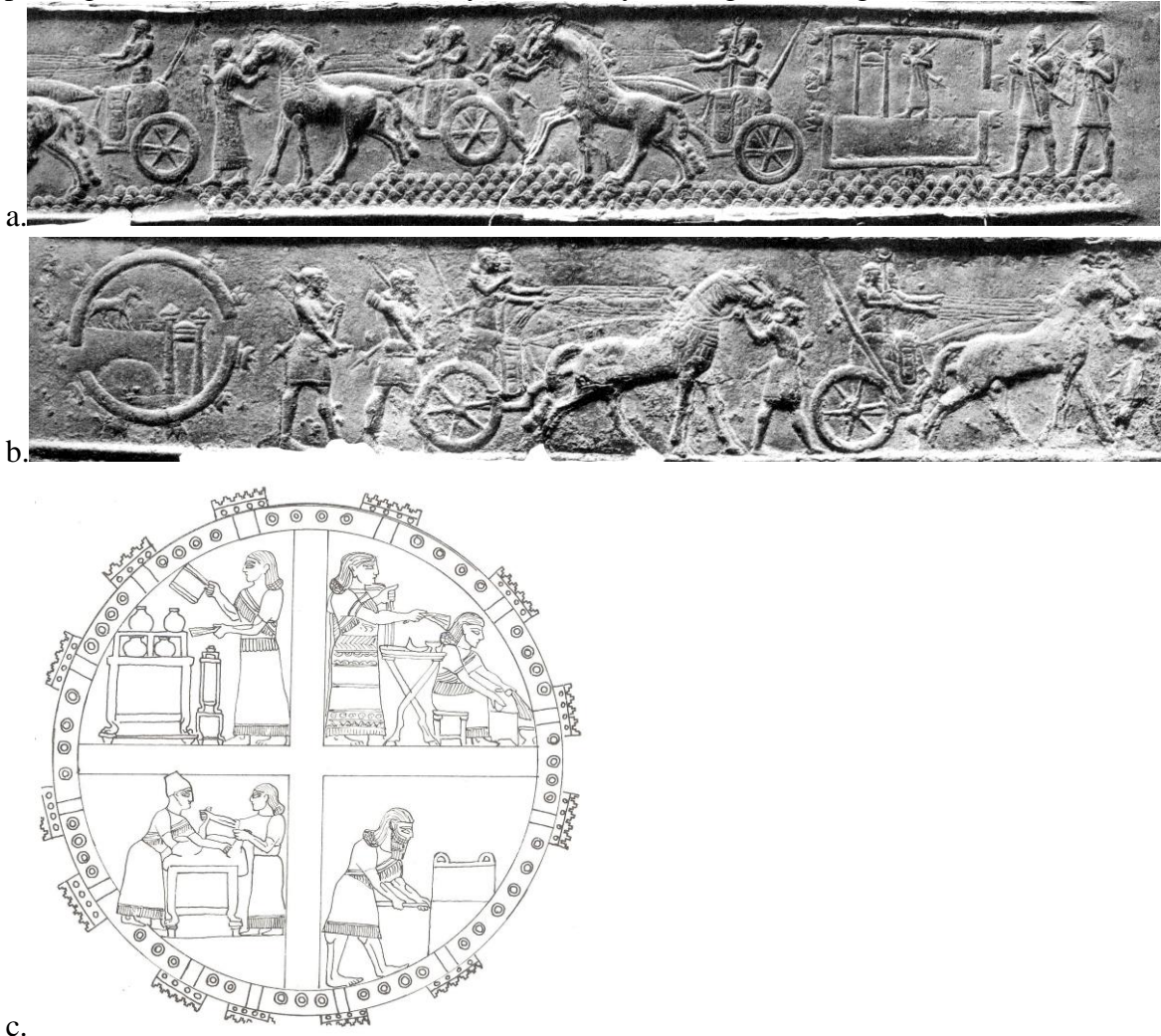


Fig.4.9. a-b. Two scenes on the Bronze Gate of Balawat, depicting two different designs of Assyrian camp in the area of Arzashkun and Gilzānu (after King 1915: Pl.XLII, Band VII.6; pl.I, Band I.1).

c. The camp of Ashurnasirpal II depicted on a relief from Nimrud (after Madhloom 1970: pl. LII 3).

In another depiction of an Assyrian camp, one in the Zagros during the reign of Sargon II, Zagrosian captives are chained in front. It was called Taklak-ana-Bel, the name of the *limmu-*

²³⁴⁸ RIMA II A.0. 101.1: ii 75.

²³⁴⁹ For further details concerning the Assyrian permanent and temporary camps see al-Fahdawi 1977: 161-164; Dezső 2012: 85f.

official at the time of the Assyrian campaign against Kisheshlu/Kishesim.²³⁵⁰ It had 18 towers, and was divided into two parts, one for the military, and the other for rituals and offerings. There we see an Assyrian tank, and a statue of a deity (or a person) standing with raised hands, and two standards on small tables. There is also an offering table and an altar, in front of which two priests perform rituals. In the other part of the camp there are two tents where servants make preparations, and a horse on the other side of the tents. In front of the camp are two scribes. One is a eunuch with a clay tablet and the other is bearded scribe writing out on a long scroll a list of Zagrosian prisoners. It is hesitantly dated to 715 BCE (fig. 4.9.d).²³⁵¹



Fig. 4.9.d. Assyrian fortified camp in the Zagros, from the reign of Sargon II. (after Botta & Flandin, 1972: Vol. II, pl. 146, no.10-11, Room XIV).

It seems that the camp made by Sargon in Musasir was very big, for it accommodated very many people, animals and plundered treasure:²³⁵²

“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.”I entered in might; in the palace, the abode of Urzana, I took up my lordly abode. The treasure –(house), overflowing with heaped-up stores, -I broke open the seals of their treasure.” long list of gold, silver, copper, bronze, ivory, lapis lazuli, garments, etc... objects plundered.

The follows a long list of plundered items: gold, silver, copper, bronze, ivory, lapis lazuli, clothing, etc.

An Assyrian administrative letter reports the destruction of an Assyrian military camp at the Mannean border by a storm during the night. This may indicate that the temporary camps were mainly built with foldable material. Assyrian troops of Sargon II encamped on the

²³⁵⁰Albenda 1986:111, Pl.137, Room 14, slabs 10-11; Pl.146, Room XIV, no.10-11.

²³⁵¹Botta & Flandin, 1972: vol.II, pl. 146; SAA 1: fig.6.

²³⁵²ARAB II 172.

border of Hubuškia used leather in in their military camp (BÂD *ma-dak-tu*).²³⁵³ A letter (the sender's name is missing) to Sargon complains that their temporary camp faced “*extremely strong wind,*” and “*the sto[rm] was so (strong) it tore off] all the tents.*”²³⁵⁴

Esarhaddon was told about an Assyrian camp near the Mannean city Gumusanu: “*Now the Mannians have heard of the army of Assyria that went to the city of Gumusanu and have gathered a camp. One side of the camp faces Gumusanu, the other side faces towards here.*”²³⁵⁵

4.6. The Iron Age villages of the Northern Zagros

I have to mention that we can estimate from the Assyrian annals that in the territory of many Zagrosian cities, there were dozens of villages. These villages were sometimes recorded as numbers not by their names. For instance, the fortified city of **Zaparia** in the land of Musasir during the 9th century was surrounded by 46 cities (villages) according to the annals of Shalmaneser III. As well, in Zamua Ashurnasirpal II in his annals claims that he occupied three fortified Zamuan cities mentioned by their names “Uzê, Berutu, (and) Lagalaga,²³⁵⁶ their fortified cities,” and then he adds “together with 100 cities in their environs.”²³⁵⁷ In my opinion these unnamed 100 cities were very probably villages in the territories of these fortified cities.²³⁵⁸ The people during the Iron Age were also living in the hinterland, outside the cities/towns. As well there were villages and houses in the fields/farms. The letter (SAA 05: 210) to the Assyrian king speaks about the forts of Allabria taking care of people returning to the fields to start agriculture which had a benefit for the Assyrians from taxes collected and tribute received. Sometimes the Akkadian term *kapru* is used for village.²³⁵⁹

Nergal-uballit wrote to Sargon II about occupying a village in the territory of Arzuhina by Bel-apla-iddin. In the letter there is a description of the border of Arzuhina where rivers and roads mark borders. The villagers swore to the Assyrian king that Bel-apla-iddina occupied their village as “*the elders of the land, natives of the region,*”²³⁶⁰

²³⁵³SAA V 160. Also see SAA 217: r.11-13.

²³⁵⁴SAA V 249.

²³⁵⁵SAA XVIII 4.

²³⁵⁶RIMA II/I: A.0. 101.1 ii 28b-29a.

²³⁵⁷RIMA II/I: A.0. 101.1 ii 28b-29a.

²³⁵⁸For further details see De Odorico 1995: 53 with n.38.

²³⁵⁹SAA V 210. In *CAD*, *kapru* described as “*village (situated in the open country), farm,*” “*suburban settlement around a city*” “*region outside a town.*” *CAD*, vol.8 k, 1971: p.189-190. Perhaps, “*kepir*” in the modern Kurdish language meaning “*wooden tents*” was derived from the Akkadian term *kapru* “*village*”.

Also see above.

²³⁶⁰Saggs 1958: 188-189.

4.7. Private houses of the Northern Zagros

There is not so much textual evidence concerning the Iron Age private houses of the Northern Zagros. Only an indirect hint recorded in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II. He claims that he killed 800 of the fighting men of the city, and “*with their blood I dyed their houses.*”²³⁶¹ This indirect mention of the houses of the city, which is more or less Assyrian propaganda although probably based on reality, does not tell us anything about the architecture of the Zagrosian private houses. Sargon II in 714 BCE entered the city gate of Musasir and describes how the people of the city were terrified and stood on the roofs of their houses.²³⁶² Even today people of these villages which are built on mountain slopes go to the roofs to watching an event. In the nearby village of Rust, to the east of the village of Mdjeser, in 1972 during Newroz, the Kurdish New Year, on the eve of the first day of spring all the people went to the roofs to look at the festival (Fig.4.10.a-c).

Some of the Assyrian reliefs from the reign of Sargon II depicted Assyrians campaign against the cities and fortifications in Mannea, Media and elsewhere in the Zagros.²³⁶³ The visual records from the Assyrian reliefs do not give much detail. But the hint of visual evidence concerning the houses of some of the Northern Zagros cities is useful. The Assyrian reliefs, which depicted the cities in the Zagros, show that most of the private houses of the cities in the Zagros were usually located inside the main external walls of the cities. These Assyrian reliefs depicting some of the Zagrosian cities do not show any specific details of the private houses, simply because they were beyond the city walls. One exception is on the Khorsabad relief where we see the private houses of the city of Musasir/Ardini.

The relief of Khorsabad depicts the main parts of the city of Musasir, and its architectural plan. The city appears completely different from the other depicted cities on the Assyrian reliefs, such as Arbail, Harhar, Panziash and Kišessim in the midst or at the foothills of the Northern Zagros ranges.²³⁶⁴ The relief shows the city of Musasir, which includes three main separate ‘districts’: the set of private houses, the palace/tower, and the temple in between. The tower/palace and the temple have been built separately from the houses; the private houses were built together further away, on a slope mount, inside the main wall. It is partly joined to the mountain.²³⁶⁵ The private houses of the people were built beyond on a mountain slope. The wall which partly surrounded the private houses has triangular crenellations. Each house is depicted with a rectangular door, in the centre of the lower façade of the main external wall of the house, and three square windows. The roof of each house is flat with square crenellations.²³⁶⁶ This is like the Northern Zagros buildings as depicted on the Assyrian reliefs, all with flat roofs.

²³⁶¹ARAB I: 452.

²³⁶²ARAB II 171. See above in this Chapter, 4.3.

²³⁶³Albenda 1986: 68-69, Pl.29, Room 10, slab 6; Pl.30, Room 10, slab 8.

²³⁶⁴There is only one exception, which is the depiction of the Elamite city Madaktu on the relief of Ashurbanipal from Nineveh. The houses of the city are depicted among the palm trees inside the city walls. There is a fort at the river. From the side of the river there is no strong, high wall around the houses of the city. For further details see the relief of Nineveh, which depicts the city of Madaktu; Russell 1999: figs. 63, 69, and 70, Nineveh, the palace of Ashurbanipal, Room XXXIII, slab 6.

²³⁶⁵Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.141, Room XIII, slab 4.

²³⁶⁶Albenda 1986: pl.126; pl.133; pl.136, pl.141; Livingstone 1989: fig.6, p.11.

Sometimes, these private houses of the city are incorrectly identified as a fortress on a mountain, or by Albenda as “*a four-storied building*,”²³⁶⁷ and by Oppenheim as “*multistoried buildings*.”²³⁶⁸ Some textual evidence and similar styles of modern village buildings in the mountainous areas of the Northern Zagros dismiss the idea that the structures are flats, or a storage area. They are the private houses of the city built on a mountain slope. They were built together further away on a slope inside the main wall that partly joined the mountain.²³⁶⁹ The houses were built on slopes, on the bedrock like ravens’ nests. The city of Arinu (i.e. later Ardini/Musasir)²³⁷⁰ was described by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 BC) as a city founded on bedrock: “*The city Arinu, the holy city founded in bedrock....*”²³⁷¹ Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC) also refers to the city Arinu located “... *at the foot of Mount Aisa.*”²³⁷² Also, Sargon II (721-705 BC) refers to Urzana the ruler of Musasir/Ardini as “*LÚ.šad-da-a-'u-ú.*” i.e. a ‘*mountain dweller*’.²³⁷³ Also, the ruler of the city Urzana, in the inscription on his seal, called himself the king of the raven city of Musasir.²³⁷⁴

From a distance the houses of these villages and towns look like blocks. Today, a similar building tradition persists for houses in some of the modern Villages in the mountainous area of the Northern Zagros. One example is **Rust**, a village several miles to the SE of Mdjeser. Others are Hawraman-i-Tekht in Hawraman, Akre to the west of the Upper Zab, and the village of Berzêwa in the Handren (ancient Andaruttu) pass.²³⁷⁵ Like the private houses of ancient Musasir, the houses of these modern villages are built on a mountain slope, going up one behind the other. All the houses together from a distance look like one unit, like multi-storey flats. These houses have no courtyard. However, the higher house uses the roof of the neighbour below as a courtyard. The windows and the doors are usually at the front of the house. Bertram Dickson during his travel in the Zagros in 1910 described this type of house in modern villages of the Zagros:²³⁷⁶

“*As one might expect in a mountainous country, the scenery is sometimes superb, - snow-capped summits and jagged rocky crags with deep gorges and canyons below, while, on the Persian frontier ranges [i.e. the Iranian part of the Northern Zagros], forest belts intervene between the snows and the canyons; the villages, placed picturesquely like swallows' nests against the hillsides, with their narrow terraces of cultivation, their vineyards and fruit trees, and the ever-present poplar grove to supply timber for house-building, bridges, and every other need.*”

In ancient **Musasir**, as in the villages of the modern Zagros, the houses of the city were built on a mountain slope. That could be for security or because of the limited amount of land

²³⁶⁷ Albenda 1986:91, abb.18, pl.133.

²³⁶⁸ Oppenheim 1977: 141.

²³⁶⁹ Botta & Flandin 1972: Pl.141, Room XIII, slab 4.

²³⁷⁰ The city Arinu in the Middle Assyrian inscriptions considered by K. Radner is the same as later Ardini in the land of Musasir. See Radner 2012b: 246.

²³⁷¹ RIMA I: A. o.77.1. 47-48.

²³⁷² RIMA II: A.0.87.1 v 77.

²³⁷³ TCL III 310; Radner 2012b: 251.

²³⁷⁴ Collon 1994: 37; Radner 2012b: 247.

²³⁷⁵ The Mountain Andaruta separated Musasir from Hiptunu town. The Andaruta Mountain is identified by author with *Handerên* Mountain. Further details, see Marf 2015: 127-140.

²³⁷⁶ Dickson 1910: 369.

available for cultivation, which in these mountainous areas was to be found in the narrow, deep valleys. This dense building also protected the houses from floods in the spring, when the storms come and the snow of the mountains melt bringing big floods in the valleys.

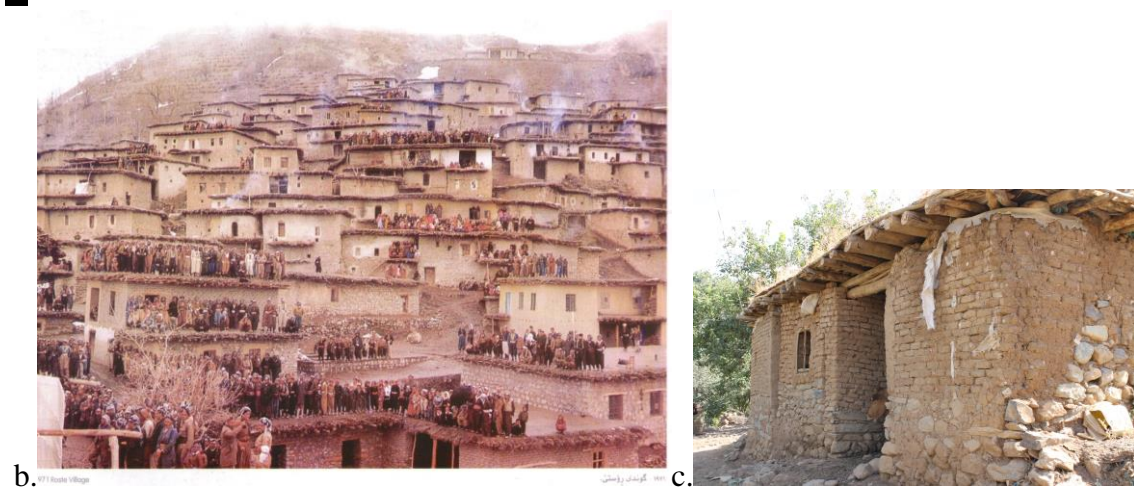
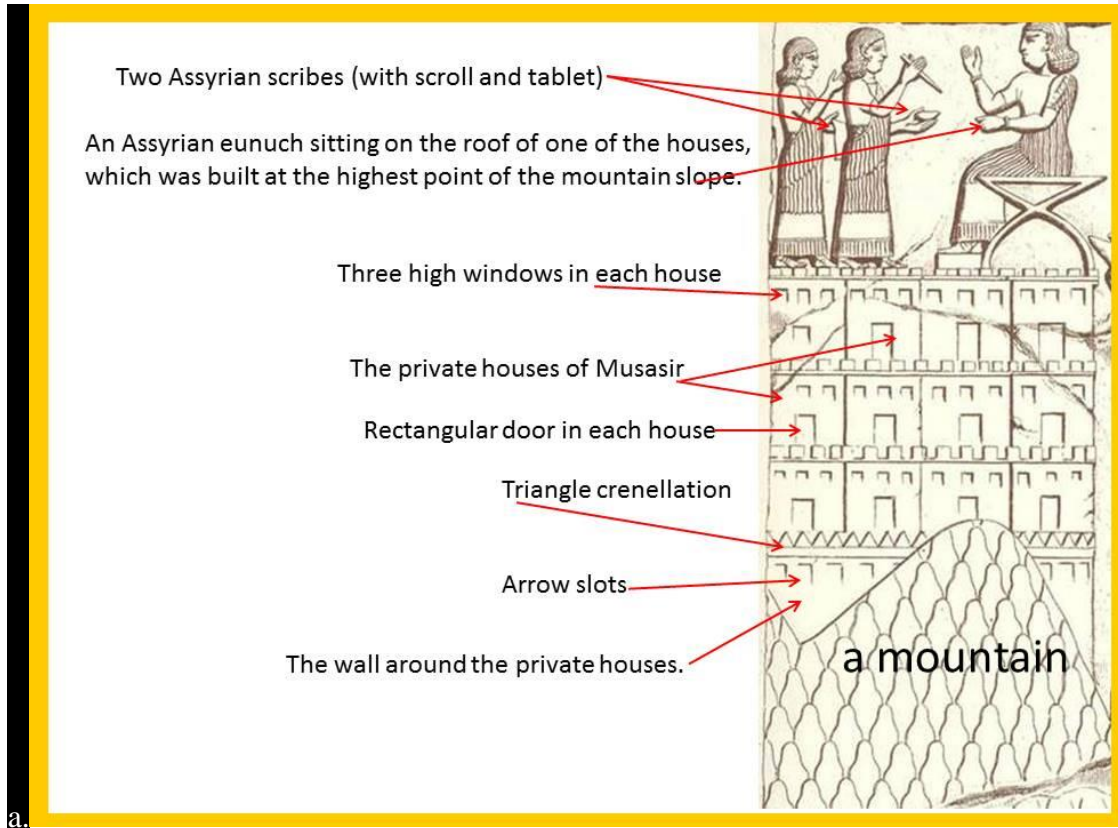


Fig. 4.10.a. Details of the relief of Khorsabad, the private houses of the city of Musasir/Ardini which are depicted beyond a mound and a main wall (after Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.141, Room XII, slab 4).

b. A view of the Rust village in 1971. The houses are terraced on the mountain. There is no courtyard, but the roofs of lower houses are used as courtyards by the people of the houses above) (Photo by Jala Majeed).

c. A mud brick house with flat roof in Sidekan. The roof is built from reeds and wooden spars overlaid with leaves and soil. (Photo by the author).

British intelligence officers who visited the Zagros observed similar things. They concluded their observations by describing the style of villages and houses of the Zagros thus:²³⁷⁷

“In the mountains, because of the scarcity of land, villages are usually built on the side of a steep hill of no agricultural value. Hill-top positions are apparently not in favour, villages usually being just above the plough-land; for security against attack, they are frequently in positions guarded by deep ravines on either side. The hill villages, which are usually quite small, may be either a huddle of houses, forming what is almost a solid block, or a group of isolated clusters. Houses are usually built one above the other, so that the roof of one house forms the terrace in front of the house above,”

The mud-brick houses in the modern villages and cities of the Zagros have flat roofs, which are supported by wooden beams. Also the beams are covered with reeds or grasses, then with 10-20 cm of soil, ash, and rubble, all mixed with chaff, to help to protect the roofs from the rain. A big stone or wooden ca. 50 cm wide with a diameter of ca. 25cm is used to roll it down to protect the roof timbers from water.

In reality, in ancient times probably not everyone built their private house inside the Zagrosian citadels and cities. In the Zagros probably the majorities were farmers, who worked in the vineyards, they mainly lived in villages. In modern villages in the Zagros we can see that in small villages lives less than ten families and in the biggest villages about 120 families. Of course there were also nomads in ancient times as also today in the Zagros. They moved to the pastures to breed their cattle according to the changing seasons. Today there are two main moves for the nomads, from the colder highlands to the warmer plains and vice versa, every year; in early spring they go to the highlands, and in early autumn return to the lowlands, traditionally called *Garmiyān* and *Kuêstan* (Hot Land and Cold or Mountain Land).²³⁷⁸ The Assyrian kings in their annals mentioned the names of several cities and towns to which another 50 villages in the surrounding area were linked. The Assyrian kings did not mention them by name as they did for the cities and main towns and strongholds. Many examples are in the Northern Zagros. When the Assyrian field marshal Daian-Ashur, in the 31st regnal year of Shalmaneser III, campaigned against the Northern Zagros, the royal inscription of Shalmaneser III tells us, *“He marched to Zapparia, the fortified city of the land of Musasir. He captured Zapparia together with 46 cities (towns) belonging to the people of (the land of) Musasiraties.”*²³⁷⁹ There is no doubt that these 46 cities are simply big or normal villages. They were not recorded by name in this royal inscription. We have taken into consideration that not every determinative (URU) in the Assyrian annals means that the determined toponym is a city. Probably it means it was a town or a large settlement or village. At least this was the case for the Zagros, and probably also for other areas of Near East.

Recent archaeological activities in 2014 by the RAP (Rowanduz Archaeological Project) project survey and excavations in the area of Musasir, concluded this season of their work in the tell **Gird-i-Dasht** (Gird-e-Desht). According to Danti the fieldwork and excavation concludes that the site was first settled *“from at least 2000 BC to the early modern era.”*

²³⁷⁷The above description is quoted from a handbook used by British intelligence officers for “Official Use” during after of the occupation of Iraq and the Zagros, see Mason 1944: 348

²³⁷⁸For the details about the pastoral movements in the Zagros during the Assyrian period see Greco 2003: 65-78.

²³⁷⁹*RIMA III*: A.O.102.14. 177-180; Reade 1995a: 34-35, fig.2-3.

Furthermore, “*the site served as a fortress controlling the plain and access to one of the main outlets to the Rowanduz Gorge.*”²³⁸⁰ At the lower mound of the site they uncovered Middle Bronze ceramic of painted Khabur Ware, i.e. Middle Bronze Age.²³⁸¹

Unfortunately, it seems that as yet no dateable Iron Age material has been found at Grid-e-Desht and its lower mound. In summer 2014 the RAP expedition project uncovered masonry buildings in Gund-i Topzawa (the heartland of Musasasir). The storage area and kitchens of the masonry buildings are well preserved, dating back to the early Iron Age, in style it is “*...terraced into the hillside,*”²³⁸² i.e. similar to the style of the private houses of Musasir according to the private houses of Musasir depicted on the relief of Khorsabad.²³⁸³ They based this conclusion in the season of 2014 on the uncovered architectural remains, materials and as well as radiocarbon dates. Danti assumes that what they discovered were “*multiple storages of well-preserved masonry buildings terraced into a hillside overlooking the Topzawa valley and river below.*”²³⁸⁴ These uncovered constructions and masonry buildings in Topzawa date back to “*the early 1st millennium BC.*” Based on the uncovered ceramics from the site he proposes that “*it was intentionally destroyed in the Iron III period, a date consistent with Sargon’s conquest of Musasir,*”²³⁸⁵ Danti adds that “*Our surveys show other sites along the Topzawa River were similarly destroyed at this time, compelling circumstantial evidence of Sargon’s campaign.*”²³⁸⁶ What we understood from the conclusion of Danti is that the destroyed architectural remains date back to Iron Age III, and according to him this destruction was made by Sargon II during his eighth campaign in 714 BCE. But, if we intensively look at the annals of Sargon and the details of his eighth campaign, we can understand that there is no mention of destruction at Musasir.

In Assyrian art and texts the destruction of public or private buildings in Musasir does not occur. Plundering the city is mentioned in the annals of Sargon II and depicted on a relief at Khorsabad, but even there is no mention of clashes. Only about 6000 people of the city were deported to Assyria. So we have to look for another answer about who destroyed the Iron Age III buildings of Musasir. Of course as we explained the Assyrians had nothing to do with that, otherwise they would have proudly mentioned that in their annals and depicted the destruction on their reliefs. For instance, in the same eighth campaign Sargon, before he arrived Musasir in his way in Media and Mannea, had already destroyed and burned several Zagrosian cities and he gave details of that. He supported his annals with the reliefs of Khorsabad which depict the destruction of the Median and Mannean cities. As well it is impossible to consider the Urartians as destroyers of Musasir their holy city and the centre of their patron deity of Haldi. The Urartian royal inscriptions from the 9th-7th centuries very well record the Urartian kings construction activities at the temple of Haldi in Musasir. Also they referred to festivals

²³⁸⁰Danti 2014 b: 31. Also, for further details concerning the strategic location of the site see Marf 2015: 127-140.

²³⁸¹Danti 2014b: 32.

²³⁸²Danti 2014b: 27-33.

²³⁸³See Botta 1972: vol.2. pl.141, also for further details about the proposed style of the houses of Musasir see my published papers Marf 2009c: 60-74; Marf 2014: 13-29.

²³⁸⁴Danti 2014 b: 32.

²³⁸⁵Danti 2014 b: 32.

²³⁸⁶Danti 2014 b: 33.

in the city.²³⁸⁷ The temple was the place for crowning some Urartian kings such as Rusa, and in the annals of Sargon II he claims that when Rusa heard about plundering the temple of Haldi he killed himself with his dagger.²³⁸⁸ Although, that is Sargon's propaganda, it indicates the important of the temple and the city for the Urartians.

The three bilingual steles of Rusa, the Topzawa, Merge-Karvan and Movana steles all refer to the temple of Musasir, and the arrival of Rusa to the city of Musasir and its temple. We hear from Rusa that the gate of the temple was closed by Urzana who flee to the Assyrian border. He captured him but did not punish him, allowing him to remain as ruler of the city.²³⁸⁹

So if they were not Urartian or Assyrians who destroyed the Iron Age III buildings in the heartland of Musasir, we have to look for other possibilities. After 714 BCE we know that the north-eastern border of Urartu and Musasir was threatened by the Scytho-Cimmerians. Assyrian inscriptions record the advance of the Scytho-Cimmerian into Urartu, the Northern Zagros and the frontier of Assyria north-east of Arbail. This penetration into Urartu is well recorded in letters from the reign of Sargon II (722-704 BCE), especially after 710 BCE.²³⁹⁰ The Scythians and Cimmerians also invaded Urartu and the Northern Zagros in the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. Esarhaddon consulted the Sun god regarding his worries about the Scythian penetration and their attack on the Northern Zagros kingdoms of Mannea and Media and on the eastern frontier of Assyria.²³⁹¹ Herodotus also referred to the Scythian invasion of Media.²³⁹² Moreover, the presence of Scythian material culture from the 7th century in the Northern Zagros has been noted by previous scholars.²³⁹³

There is also archaeological evidence about a fast destruction and abandoning of cities and fortresses along to the north-west, west, and southwest of Lake Urmia, For instance Bastam was more or less destroyed in Iron Age III, very probably by the Scythians, and the Urartian reconstruction of buildings at the citadel of Hasanlu was abandoned and never resumed due to this invasion. According to S. Kroll "*the Hasanlu IIIB saw lots of Urartian construction activities in the reign of Rusa II, but these activities were never finished, and were interrupted,*"²³⁹⁴ for unknown reasons, but probably due to the Scytho-Cimmerian penetration in the area of the Urmia Basin and the Northern Zagros. Also, Esarhaddon consulted the Sun god giving details of the Scytho-Cimmerian penetration into Mannea, Media and Assyria.²³⁹⁵ Moreover, the Scythian style of the funerary statues discovered in the heartland of Musasir

²³⁸⁷ Andre-Salvini & Salvini 2002: 20ff, the Assyrian version, *Face III: 49-57; CTU A 10-3; A 10-4; A 10-5; Roaf 2012a: 193ff.*

²³⁸⁸ ARAB II 22.

²³⁸⁹ CTU A 10-3; A 10-4; A 10-5; Roaf 2012a: 193ff; Marf 2014: 18f.

²³⁹⁰ SAA V: 92, 144, 145, 174.

²³⁹¹ Sulimirski 1954: 282-318; Szmerényi 1980:5ff; Starr, I., 1990: 23, 24, 36, 38; Macgregor, 2012: 69-70; ARAB II, 517; 533; Reade 1995a: 41; Postgate 1987-1990: 341.

²³⁹² Godley 1975: 89f; Szmerényi 1980:6ff;

²³⁹³ See for example, Ghirshman 1979:19ff.

²³⁹⁴ Kroll 2010b: 150-171.

²³⁹⁵ For further details about the Scytho-Cimmerian penetration see SAA IV 23, 24, 36, 38; Sulimirski 1954: 282-318; Szmerényi 1980:5ff; Macgregor 2012: 69-70; ARAB II 517; 533; Reade 1995a: 41; Postgate 1987-1990: 341; Kroll 1984: 151-170; SAA V: 92, 144, 145, 174 ; Muscarella 2012a: 276.

show that those who destroyed the recently discovered buildings in Topzawa valley were the Scythians.

An Assyrian administrative letter refers to a peaceful negotiation with people of **six forts in Allabria** to build houses in their fields. The letter was sent from Nabû-hamatu[a], to the Assyrian king Sargon:²³⁹⁶

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 king my lord's subjects have entered (the forts); the guard will be strong until the governor comes. I am doing everything, [my] I[ord], ordered him (to do)."

In the Assyrian inscriptions there is an interesting letter about pastoral nomads (perhaps in the plain of Arbail). Dādi sent a letter to Esarhaddon or Ashurnbanipal and complained in the letter that:²³⁹⁷

"Arbailāiu and Girittu, the shepherds responsible for the cultic meals, from Luddin-ilu refuse to come in for tax collection. Ten men run around with them, draped with weapons, saying: 'whoever comes against us we will cut down with (our) bows.'"

Probably the nomads of the Late Neo-Assyrian period moved to the highland mountain pastures during spring and summer. Also, we should bear in mind those herdsmen with cattle they could not live with their animals inside the cities, citadels, forts and strongholds because there was not so much space for them within the city walls. Even if there were space, usually it was used for small farming and vineyards, or for other public activities. Therefore, farmers and nomads stayed and lived outside cities and forts.

But it seems to be that during the enemy attacks most of the villagers and even nomads sometimes with their cattle hid behind the walls of the cities and the strongholds. Something similar may have happened in Hasanlu, as well as in some Urartian settlements.²³⁹⁸

Unfortunately, the Assyrian reliefs hardly ever depict Assyrian private houses. So we cannot make any suggestion about the similarity and interaction between the private houses in the Zagros and the contemporary private houses in Assyria. The only thing we can say is that the style of private houses of Assyria was affected by the weather of Assyria, which is drier and hotter than the colder and wetter weather of the Northern Zagros. Not only that but also the building materials are also different in low-lying Assyria from those in the buildings in the colder and wetter Northern Zagros highlands.

From Urartu we have the bronze model found in Toprakkale in Van representing a structure. The façade shows a main gate in the centre with a semi-circular arch, and eight 'blind' rectangular windows. There are merlons on the roof of the building in addition of some triangular decoration. Akurgal reconstructed the façade of the temple of Van based on

²³⁹⁶SAA V 210; for further details about the contents of the letter see above, "Fortifications and Fortress."

²³⁹⁷Dezső 2012: vol.1: 87, 52, 158; SAA I 155.

²³⁹⁸Stone 2012: 89 ff; Kroll, S., 2012 b: 277-284.

this model.²³⁹⁹ The depictions of private houses and even the tower of Musasri/Ardini on the relief of Khorsabad are similar in some points to the bronze model of Toprakkalem. They all have a gate/door in the middle of the base of the front façade of the structure, and they all have small windows. But the gates/doors of the buildings of Musasir/Ardini are rectangular, while the one of the model of Toprakkale has a semi-circular arch. The windows of Musasir are small and square and in one row in the upper part of the walls, but the windows which are called ‘blind windows’ are vertically rectangular in shape (see Fig. 4.11.a-c).

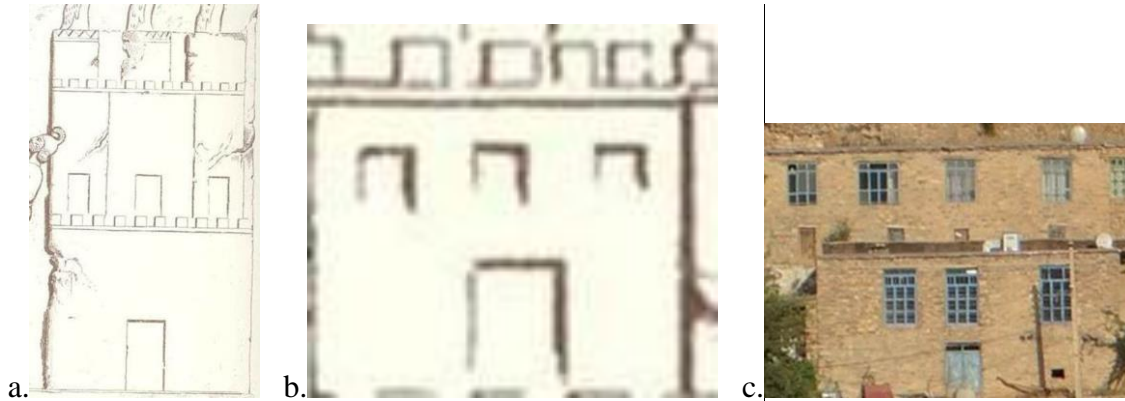


Fig. 4.11.a. The multi-storied tower/palace of Musasir, depicted on the relief of Khursabad (after Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.141).

c. Details of the depicted facade of a house in Musasir, on the Khursabad relief (after Botta & Flandin 1972: pl.141).

d. A modern house in the Northern Zagros, its front similar to the houses of Musasir, it has three windows and a door in below. (Photo by Shwan Hawrami)

The **Toprakkale** model is considered by Herzfeld as “an *Urartean house*.” He compares its battlements with these of the Dā u Dukhtar tomb which “run over the projecting entablature with its geometric decoration.”²⁴⁰⁰ It is compared to the Achaemenid architecture of Persepolis. This bronze fragment model which was found in the vicinity of the Van citadel represents a tower or a palace and not a house. The crenellations suggest this and if we assume the height of the door was the height of an adult man, then the building would have been about 6m high. This is too much for a private house. In my opinion the building may represent a palace. Although it is similar to the houses of Musasir. But it seems to be that the public buildings such as palaces in Urartu as in Musasir were very similar in their façade to the private houses. The only difference is the size and the crenellations on the roofs. Also, the windows on the external walls of the Van structure can be compared to the blind windows of the Achaemenid tombs, but in reality we cannot consider the depicted windows on a bronze model of cast metal as blind windows. Therefore, maybe they did not want to make open windows on this small 30cm bronze model.

There are not many contemporary Assyrian sites excavated in the Northern Zagros. Most are not completely excavated and, as usual, most of the light is shed from the public buildings, with only fragmentary ‘data’ for the plan, design and building material. For example, from two seasons of archaeological excavations at **Idu (Satu Qala)** as yet there is no clear evidence about private and public architecture. All we have are some main walls and several ash pits

²³⁹⁹See Forbes 1983: fig.48.

²⁴⁰⁰Herzfeld 1941: 214, fig.324; also see Stronach 2012b: 309-320.

and ovens. These probably relate to the daily activities of one of the public buildings.²⁴⁰¹ Also, upstream on the Lower Zab in the Rania plain, we see that there is no clear data concerning the private houses in **Tell Basmusian** and **Tell Shemshara**. The data of recorded private houses of nearby **Tell Kuran** dated to the seventh century BCE is similarly not very clear.²⁴⁰² Also there is no clear idea of the private houses and their designs at **Rabat Tepe**, **Tepe Qalaichi**, and **Tepe Hasanlu**.²⁴⁰³

On the other hand, many **ash pits**, ovens and fire places have been discovered during excavations in both Assyria and the Northern Zagros sites. But we cannot make any specific conclusions about any specific similarities in between, because usually specific details are not given, and the reports are not well recorded, especially in the Zagros. Interestingly, there is an indirect mention of private **ovens** and a **bakery** oven in Manaea, recorded on the Aramaic stele of Qalaichi. If any “king” destroys or changes the inscription, the stele curses his people to suffer famine: “...*may seven women bake in a single oven, but let them not fill it.*”²⁴⁰⁴ *And may the smoke of the fire of the bakery, and the sound of millstones be removed from his country.*”²⁴⁰⁵

From this curse it seems that in every house a woman had a private oven, but in times of famine women baked in a single oven. In normal economic conditions the women had separate ovens.

There is no doubt that in every, or in most of the major ancient cities, there were some artisan workshops. They may have been shops in the ‘bazaar’ or in a separate part of the palace/temple. Archaeological excavations in the Northern Zagros uncovered only ‘one’ example of an **artisan workshop** that is the so-called “*Artisan’s House*” at **Hasanlu**. This “*private house*” or “*small domestic structure*” was discovered in the area called the “Outer Town.” Unfortunately, as Muscarella explained, “*its locus does not appear on any published plan,*”²⁴⁰⁶ so we are restricted in making any comparison.

This limited and fragmentary data about the contemporary Assyrian private house in the Northern Zagros prohibit a good comparative study between Zagrosian private houses and Assyrian. But we can conclude that private houses were not like public buildings. Public buildings were usually built according to specific rules and specific designs and plans. There, when kings of Near East (for instance the Assyrian kings and Darius I (522-489 BCE) proudly mentioned that they brought in foreign labourers, masons, and artisans to build their palaces and even temples and city walls.

In conclusion, due to the limited archaeological excavations in the Zagros sites contemporary with Assyria, we know few details about private houses in the Zagros. From Assyrian inscriptions and reliefs we gain found a little information about the architecture of

²⁴⁰¹For further details about the uncovered architectural remains at Satu Qala see van Soldt, et al., 2013: 197-239; van Soldt, W. H., 2014: 155-166.

²⁴⁰²For Shemshara excavations see Abu al-Soof 1970: 65-82. For Basmusian and for Tell Kuran, see Abu al-Soof 1970: 65ff; al-Aseel, 1956: pp.141-142.

²⁴⁰³For example Hasanlu; for Rabat Tepe, see Kargar & Binandeh 2009:113-129, for Tepe Qalaichi see Kargar 2004: 229–245; for Tepe Nush-I Jan see Stronach 2008: 832-837.

²⁴⁰⁴Fales 2003: 134-137. Probably the text indicates that in a normal time, every house may had their own oven.

²⁴⁰⁵Fales 2003: 134-137; also see Lemaire 1998b: 15-30, line: 9.

²⁴⁰⁶Muscarella 2006: 80.

private houses, but this is insufficient for any comparative study. We have to bear in mind that the weather and available building material in the Zagros is different from Assyria, so this will have affected the style and structure.

4.8. Some architectural features

Burning **altars** usually indicate rituals and offerings. In Assyrian and Zagrosian art some altars are depicted. Also, some Neo-Assyrian reliefs depict Assyrian columned facades of columned porticos. These columned porticos usually represent images probably from the hilly area north east of Nineveh, where these porticos were probably built on the mountains or on river banks. They probably show scenes from the Zagros Mountains east of Nineveh/Khorsabad, such as the Hinis where one of the hydraulic projects and the canal of Sennacherib started. I shall briefly discuss some of these images.

A relief from Nineveh from the reign of Ashurbanipal depicts the city of **Arbail**. An altar is set on the right in front of the second gate of the city behind the first wall. A ramp leads to the second gate of the city (see Fig. 4.7.a).²⁴⁰⁷

On an Assyrian relief from Khorsabad from the reign of Sargon II an altar is depicted on a hill with pine trees and birds. The hill is called by Albenda a ‘sacred place’.²⁴⁰⁸ Down the hill there is a ‘small lake’.²⁴⁰⁹ On the other side of the water, there is an Assyrian columned portico, and beyond the portico fruit trees (Fig. 4.11.d). The porticos had a decorated roof with triangular edges, and at the centre of its façade are two columns. The columns have a cylindrical body, circulated bases and decorated capitals. The capitals are Aeolic in style.²⁴¹⁰ However, the Assyrian example of the decorated capitals appeared more than a century earlier. These columned porticos perhaps belonged to a summer palace, while the altar indicated the “*sacred atmosphere*” of semi-open air shrines, Albenda concludes:²⁴¹¹

“Apart from the sacred atmosphere generated by the altar on the high hill, its appearance may be a marker directed to the mountainous regions east and north-east of Assyria, through which Sargon II campaigned.”

The altar is compared by Albenda with Assyrian battlement towers attached to a ‘temple’, similar features were depicted on a Middle Assyrian seal from the 13th century BCE.²⁴¹² An Urartian bronze battlement tower found in fragments at Toprak-kala is dated to ca. 8th century BCE.²⁴¹³ A similar altar was found when excavating the entrance of the Kidmuri temple in Nimrud. This altar was also positioned in front of the stele of the Assyrian king, Ashurnasripal.²⁴¹⁴

²⁴⁰⁷Reade 2002: 151.

²⁴⁰⁸Botta and Flandin 1972: pl.114, Room VII 12. 13; Albenda 1986: pl. 105; Albenda 2010: 12-14; Albenda 1976: 55; Loud and Altman 1938: 72, fig.83.

²⁴⁰⁹Albenda 2010: 12f.

²⁴¹⁰Albenda 2010: 13f.

²⁴¹¹Albenda 2010: 13f.

²⁴¹²Albenda 2010: 12-14.

²⁴¹³Albenda 2010: 12ff. Also, see Reade 1998b: 84, fig. 3.

²⁴¹⁴Albenda 2010: 13f.

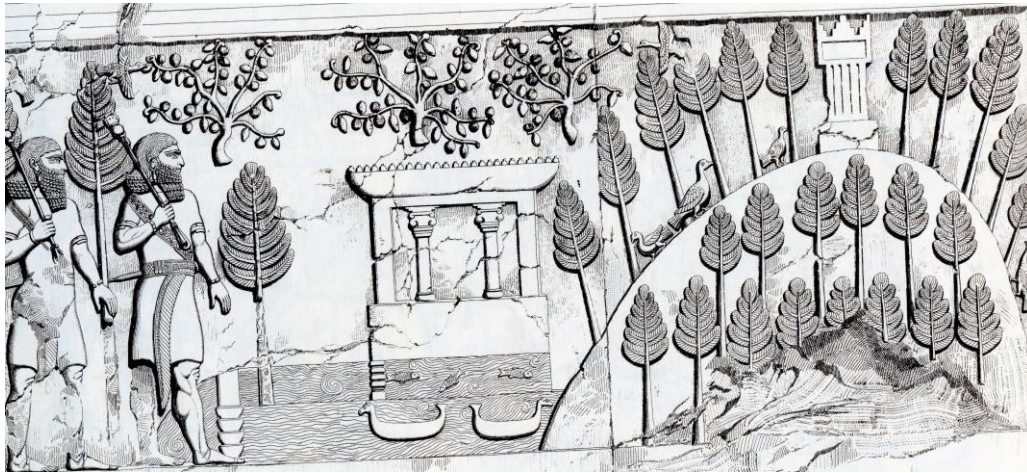


Fig. 4.11.d. A scene depicted on an Assyrian relief from Nineveh. There is an altar on a hill, a building with a columned portico on the bank of a river (after Botta and Flandin 1972: II, pl. 114).

A relief from Nineveh from the palace of Ashurbanipal (the relief was found in the palace of Ashurbanipal but the king represented will be Sennacherib) depicts an altar below a stela. The stela is carved at a gate beside a columned iwan/portico. An aqueduct (similar to the aqueduct of Jerwan) is depicted, bringing water below the portico to the orchard around the hall. What can be seen is probably the Hinis park, where Sennacherib embarked on his hydraulic project, making aqueducts and canals, and carved the reliefs.²⁴¹⁵ Reade sees it as a ‘summer-house’ of Sennacherib. He compares it to a “*similar arrangement at Bahandawaya at the head of Sennacherib’s Wadi al-Milh canal,*” where the rock relief of Sennacherib in a niche is carved above the tunnel at the top of the mound.²⁴¹⁶ It is probably the view from Jerwan with the waterfall and orchard of Hinis (see below). The author concludes that both examples in no. 3. and no. 4, show Assyrian royal safari parks (*paradises*) for hunting during summer, and movable altars to celebrate rituals after or before the hunt.

The **rock-cut-tomb** of **Qizqapan** located on the west bank of the Chami Rezan river, to the east of the Lower Zab about 40 km east of Dukan/Dokan. At a height of 8m we see a portico/iwan and three rooms/tombs carved in the rocky face of Sir-Sird mountain. A rock relief in the portico/iwan of the rock-cut-tomb is depicted. There is an altar between two warrior/archers who raise their right hands towards a half circle image on the altar. The two warriors are wearing Median dress, and there are three symbols of deity above the scene. On the left is a four winged bearded male holding a cup. In the middle is a crescent symbol, with a bearded male supported on his right knee holding a cup. The winged disk originates from the Egyptian *uraei*.²⁴¹⁷ It appeared in the art of Mesopotamia for the first time on the seal of the Mitannian king Saushatatar and other Mittanian seals.²⁴¹⁸ Then it was borrowed by the Assyrians as a symbol of Shamash and Ashur. A bearded male appears in the circle of the winged disk on the seals of Hasanlu, under Assyrian influence.²⁴¹⁹ Later the winged disc was

²⁴¹⁵Reade 1998b: 85, 88, fig.5.

²⁴¹⁶Reade 1998b: 87-88, fig.7-8.

²⁴¹⁷For further details see Collon, with Sax and Walker, 2001: p.80ff, pl.XL, fig.163.

²⁴¹⁸Collon 1987: figs. 548, 274.

²⁴¹⁹Marcus 1996: 84, no.61.

also depicted on many Achaemenid seals.²⁴²⁰ That one was adopted by the Achaemenids. After the Assyrians we see it first on the rock relief of Bihistun, which commemorates the victories of Darius I in 522 BCE.²⁴²¹ There it is depicted above the center of the relief. Darius mentions only Ahuramazda in his inscriptions and some scholars took it to represent Ahuramazda, but now all agree it represents Shamash or Ashur who were borrowed by the Achaemenids.²⁴²² Perhaps Darius borrowed the winged beared male symbol from the Assyrian rock reliefs and steles in the Zagros, such as the rock reliefs and the Najafabad stele.²⁴²³ Since the depiction of Darius at **Behistun** (Bêstun) was influenced by the iconography of the Anubanini on the **Sarpol-e Zahab** rock relief it may be that other details and symbols were influenced by Assyrian rock reliefs in the Zagros. To the right is a symbolised star with eleven points opposite cups, like symbols of Ishtar in Assyrian art (Fig. 4.11.e).²⁴²⁴ In the iwan/portico are two semi-circular columns and a carved ceiling.²⁴²⁵ From the iwan/portico a small square gate leads to three interconnected rooms all with small square gates. In each room is a basin or a sarcophagus. The covers were removed in antiquity. The one in the room on the right probably had two covers, as can be seen from the carved remains on its edges.

There are several things that show that the rock-cut-tomb of **Qizqapan** probably borrowed artistic elements from Assyrian art and architecture. The altars on the relief of Nineveh and the one of Qizqapan are both depicted with columned porticos. The Assyrian one depicts a royal stele above the altar and the figures of Qizqapan may also represent two kings or rulers. Probably the iconography of the scenes and some elements of the Qizqapan relief were influenced by scenes on some Late Assyrian seals. Some late Neo-Assyrian seals depict altars and individuals worshipping, elements reminiscent of the rock-cut-tomb of Qizqapan. One Assyrian seal, which is hesitantly considered to be a seal of Ahi-edi, and dated by *limmu* Upaqa-ana-Arbaili to 631 BC, shows a worshiper raising his hand in front of an altar towards a symbolic crescent and star above the altar (Fig.4.11.f).²⁴²⁶

Another seal impression depicts a fire altar with flames. A warrior deity (probably Ishtar of Arbail) carries on her back a bow and in her hand an axe. Her right hand is raised. On the other side of the altar there is a worshiper raising his hand towards the altar. The sealing is dated to 706 BCE (Fig.4.11.g).²⁴²⁷ Another seal show one or two persons worshipping the winged disk symbol of Ashur/Shamash, with a sacred tree in between, and a star in the far right corner. On the relief of Qizqapan there is also a depiction of a star on the upper right corner. The seal is dated to 626 BCE (Fig.4.11.h).²⁴²⁸ The scene is generally similar to the Qizqapan relief. On both we see two men, with raised hands standing in front of each other,

²⁴²⁰See Merrillees 2005:80f.

²⁴²¹Von Voigtlander 1978.

²⁴²²Herzfeld 1941:360; Shahbazi 1980: 119-148; Shahbazi 1974: 135ff; Henkelman 2008: 214ff, 363.

²⁴²³Levine 1972: 12, 26f. For further details see Chapter III, 3.1.

²⁴²⁴Curtis, et al. (eds.), 2008: Pl.II.d. For further details concerning see Marf. D. A., (in preparation) Analytic studies of artistic and architectural elements and motifs on the rock-cut tomb of Qizqapan .”

²⁴²⁵Interestingly, it is similar to traditional ceilings in modern mud brick houses in nearby villages.

²⁴²⁶Mallowan 1966: pl.134, fig. 20.

²⁴²⁷Mallowan 1966: pl. 134, fig. 2.

²⁴²⁸Mallowan1966: pl. 134, fig. 24.

and symbols above. The only difference is that instead of the Assyrian sacred tree there is an altar on the relief of Qizqapan.²⁴²⁹

A fragment of a relief from the reign of Sennacherib from the North Palace of Kuyunjik shows the façade of a building (Fig. 4.11.i). It is decorated with columns, the bases carved in the shape of lions and *lamassu* figures. The building was called by Rawlinson an Assyrian temple..²⁴³⁰ Others take it to be considered as a palace façade.²⁴³¹

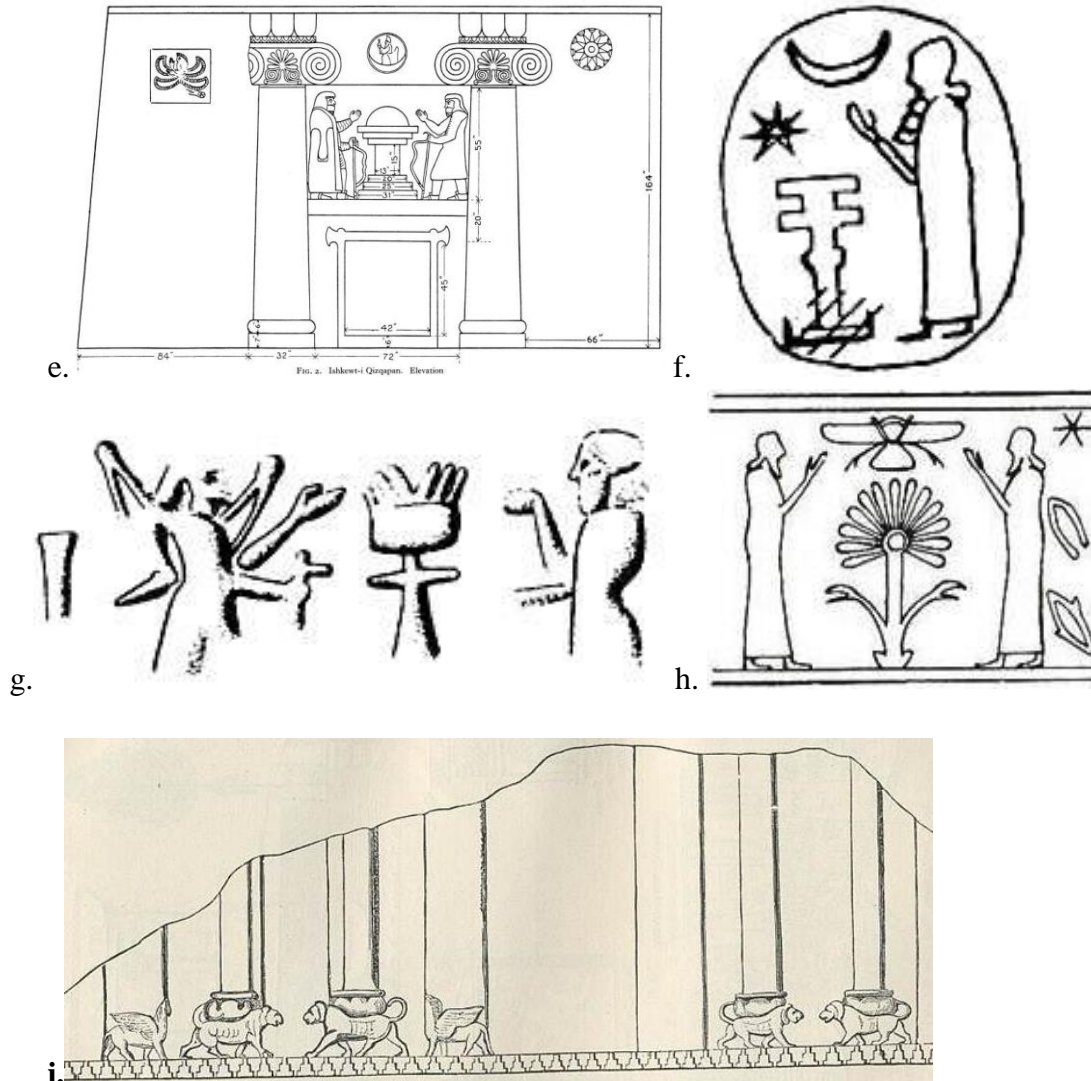


Fig. 4.11.e. The carved relief on the façade of the portico of the Qizqapan rock-cut tomb (after Edmonds 1934: fig. 2).

f. A drawing of a stamp seal impression, from Nimrud (ND 3433), dated to 631 BCE (after Mallowan 1966: pl.134, fig.20).

g. Seal of Hashini (706 BCE), a warrior deity being worshipped by a bare head but bearded figure; they are separated by a censer or fire altar (after Mallowan 1966: pl.134, fig.2).

²⁴²⁹Herzfeld 1941:360; Shahbazi 1980: 119-148; Shahbazi 1974: 135-141.

²⁴³⁰Rawlinson 1876: vol.I., Pl. L., fig.vi.

²⁴³¹Reade 1998b: 84, fig.4.

- h. Seal of Mati-ilaa (626 BCE). Worshipping a sacred tree, with a winged disk and other symbols (after also Mallowan 1966: pl.134, fig. 24).
- i. A fragment of a relief from the North Palace of Kuyunjik, from the reign Sennacherib (after Rawlinson 1876: vol. I., Pl. L., fig. vi).

The **columned halls** of **Hasanlu** were the first examples discovered in the Zagros. Scholars have tried to find some Hasanlu influence, for example, on the columned halls of Pasargada and Persepolis. They also look for the origin of the columned halls of Hasanlu. The columned bases of Hasanlu are similar in style to most Urartian columned bases. Both are rectangular in structure. In the Urartian columned halls and in the Zagros ones there is no uniform columned hall style. Some had two rows of pillars, and others three. Most of the columned halls of Urartu are considered to be secular buildings, but not all of them, there are some exceptions as the columned halls of Altintepe, Bastam, and Kef Kalesi.²⁴³²

After the columned halls of Hasanlu were discovered in the Zagros, which are considered the first examples there of columned hall, later examples were discovered at sites identified as historically and geographically bridging Hasanlu and Persepolis. Razmjou supposes that the columned halls of Persepolis were imported from the Zagros, and he assumes that it has an Iranian, or more precisely a Median origin.²⁴³³ Porada also assumes that the architecture of the Achaemenid palaces of Pasargadae and Persepolis probably had Median prototypes.²⁴³⁴ We have to bear in mind that Porada said that before the columned halls of Tepe Nush-i Jan and Godden Tepe were not discovered yet. If we accept the assumption of Porada and Ramzjou that the columns originated from Media, then we have to consider influence from Urartu and other parts of the Zagros on Media. Media both historically and geographically was an intermediary for transmitting the columned hall style to the Achaemenid architecture of Persepolis and Pasargade. In the Northern Zagros there are other examples of columned halls and porticos, such as has been proposed for **Qalaichi (Izirtu)**²⁴³⁵ and **Zewiye**. In considering the transition between Media and Persia, we have to take into account for example the columned halls in **Godin Tepe** and **Tepe Nush-i Jan** representing Median architecture of the 7th century BCE. Later we have the 6th century Achaemenid bell-shape column in **Kala-Mdjeser** (Mdjeser castle),²⁴³⁶ and the columned courtyard of Tell ed-Dem in the Rania plain.²⁴³⁷ These probably represent local activities of rulers under the control and cultural influence of the Achaemenids. They show that the columned hall architecture was imported from the Northern Zagros, from Hasanlu, Zamua, Musasir and Media, to the Achaemenid Persepolis and Pasargade (*apadanas*) columned halls.

There are examples of simple columns. In **Khorsabad** two huge simple column bases were discovered. These are unique in size (Fig. 4.11.j).²⁴³⁸ In Ashur recently another simple column

²⁴³²Forbes 1983: 49.

²⁴³³Razmjou 2005b: 293-294.

²⁴³⁴Porada 1965: 138ff. Also, for further details about the role of the Medes in the Architecture of the Achaemenids, see Roaf 2010: 247-254.

²⁴³⁵Further details will be in the next part of this chapter, Qalaichi (Izirtu), 4.2.

²⁴³⁶Boehmer 1993-1997: 446-450; Boehmer 1973: 31-40.

²⁴³⁷Al-Tikrity 1960: 93-110.

²⁴³⁸Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 38.

base was discovered.²⁴³⁹ This Assyrian column base is similar in size and shape to the column bases of the iwan or porch of the rock cut tomb of Qizqapan (Fig. 4.11.k). The column base of Ashur was not found in a known level, but according to Miglus lying in the debris on the north-western slope of the central mound.²⁴⁴⁰

There are two column bases from the Burnt Palace of **Tell ed-Dem**.²⁴⁴¹ Although the palace and its material date back to the Achaemenid period of the 6th century BCE, al-Tikrity compared the columns of Tell ed-Dem with the simple column bases of the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad, and also with the column bases of Persepolis.²⁴⁴² Unfortunately, drawings and photos of these columns were never published. It seems that the columns were left on the site, which is now submerged by Lake Dukan, after the salvage excavations at these sites. So we are not able to reach any conclusion about these two columns.

The rock-cut tombs of **Qizqapan** and **Kur-u-Kich** which are located at the east of the Lower Zab area, southeast of Tell ed-Dem, their columns also have simple bases. The carved columns of the porticos or iwans of the rock-cut-tombs and of the palace of Tell ed-Dem all date to the 6th century BCE, to the Achaemenid period.

The stone column bases of Tell ed-Dem probably supported wooden columns, although only the stone bases were found. The columned halls at Hasanlu, Tepe Nush-I Jan, Godin Tepe (Godin II) and Tepe Qalaichi, Hasanlu, Baba Jan IA, II in Luristan, and Hamadan were all probably wooden, and most of them did not even have stone column bases. At Hasanlu the columns were sunk into the ground. Wooden columns with stone bases were used in several discovered Iron Age sites in the northern and central Zagros as Godin Tepe II, Tepe Qalaichi.²⁴⁴³



j.

²⁴³⁹Miglus 2013: Pl.XXVII, b.

²⁴⁴⁰Miglus 2013: 41-52. Pl.XXVII, a.

²⁴⁴¹The site called by the local people as Gird-e-Dem

²⁴⁴²Al-Tikrity 1960: 98.

²⁴⁴³For further details see Dyson 1989: 114ff, fig.9; Marf 2014: 13-29; Nejada et al., 2012; Mollazade 2013.



Fig. 4.11.j. Two simple huge basalt column bases at Khorsabad (after Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 38).

Fig. 4.11.k. Broken circular column base, from the portico of the rock-cut-tomb of Kur-u-Kich (after Edmonds 1934: fig. 5-6).

Sargon II brought back building material from the Zagros for his palace, including great blocks of stone from the mountains and great slabs of limestone taken as booty from the captured cities in the Zagros. “... *I cunningly constructed out of great blocks of mountain stone and set them up by their entrances, Great slabs of limestone, ... the (enemy) towns which my hands had captured, I sculptured thereon and had them set up around their (interior) walls; I made them objects of astonishment.*”²⁴⁴⁴ Also, Sargon took wooden beams from the roof of the palace of Ursa/Rusa from Ulhu near Urmia to Assyria.²⁴⁴⁵ But Sargon II apparently burnt the pine beams of the palaces of Mannea and Nairi, and in several places in his annals he refers to burning the wooden beams of the roofs of private and public buildings of the Northern Zagros cities.²⁴⁴⁶

In conclusion, as mentioned above, our information about public buildings and especially the palaces in the Iron Age Zagros is fragmentary, for many reasons. There has been only limited excavation of Iron Age sites, and even some we consider as excavated are not completely excavated. For some the reports have never been published, as is the case for Tepe Giyan²⁴⁴⁷ and Tell Basmusian. Sometimes the published data is confused, as is the case of Hasanlu. Some sites have been extensively destroyed, such as Tell Sitek, and there was only limited excavation at Satu Qala and Rabat Tepe etc. All these points lead to an unclear view about the architecture of the palaces of the Iron Age in the Zagros.

In different cultures different social aspects can be reflected in their architecture. Weather, landscape and the availability of building materials also affects architectural style and plans. Lowland Assyria was a different landscape from the highland Zagros, and this affected their architecture. Furthermore Assyria represented the style of an empire while in the Zagros there were only disparate kingdoms.

²⁴⁴⁴ ARAB II 84.

²⁴⁴⁵ ARAB II 161

²⁴⁴⁶ ARAB II 164.

²⁴⁴⁷ Potts, 2014: 76, footnote 15.

4.9. Assyrian and Zagrosian tombs, graves and burials

In the Assyrian heartland, there are many examples of vault tombs, such as the vault tombs of Nimrud and Arbil.

Some Iron Age vault tombs with similar Iron Age bronze basins (sarcophaguses) were discovered in Ashur. In some of the tombs stone sarcophaguses are found.²⁴⁴⁸ Most of the skeletons had been re-buried in the tombs of Nimrud. Most of them were females, aged 18-20, 30-35 and 50-55. There are skeletons of babies and children as well, and a skeleton of the Assyrian marshal *turtanu*, Shamshi-ilu. A test on the skeleton of the queen Yaba showed that the corpse had been boiled at 150-250 degrees. Damerji assumes that probably the queen died somewhere far away from the capital, so that, they boiled her corpse to preserve it for a long time until the burial prepared in Nimrud.²⁴⁴⁹

There were inscriptions and inscribed objects in the tombs of **Nimrud**, in the North-West palace, found under the pavement of a room in 1989 by an Iraqi team. The tombs are dedicated to three Assyrian queens; *Yabâ* the queen of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BCE), *Bāanītu* queen of Shalmaneser V (726-722 BCE), and, *Atalia*, the queen of Sargon II (721-705 BCE). The tombs are some of the most important treasures discovered in Assyria and Mesopotamia. Another tomb was discovered near these tombs, which is considered to be the tomb of Mullisu-kalishbat-Ninua, the queen of Ashurnasirpal II. In the tombs ca. 70-kilograms of golden and silver jewelry was discovered, as well as inscribed sarcophaguses, bronze and ceramic bases, jars etc.²⁴⁵⁰

Recently, two vault tombs were discovered in the **city centre of Arbil**, ca. 500m to the west of the citadel. The vault tomb of the “**Arab district**” a few hundred metres north of the citadel of Arbil was excavated by a joint Kurdish-German team. The vault tomb burials are like the other Assyrian vault tombs of Ashur and Nimrud built with mud bricks. They date back to the 8th -6th centuries BCE, the Late Assyrian period and Median period.²⁴⁵¹ The tomb was looted in the post-Assyrian period. It is interesting that the same area was used as a ‘graveyard’ after the Late Neo-Assyrian period until the Early Islamic period.²⁴⁵² One can observe that this area is higher than the other areas surrounding the citadel of Erbil. That was probably the reason it was used as a graveyard in ancient times. Two polychrome glazed small jars and a large amount of other jars, potsherds, and dozens of ceramic vessels found would have been used for rituals. They date back to the 8th-6th centuries BCE.²⁴⁵³ In addition, the vault tomb was reused during the Post-Assyrian (Median) period in the 6th century BCE. These dates are based on the discovered material culture and the C14 tests.²⁴⁵⁴

Another important vault tomb was discovered in 2011 at **Tell Kilik-Mishik**, ca.5 km to the southwest of the citadel of Erbil, and dated to the Assyrian period (Fig. 4.12.a-c).²⁴⁵⁵

²⁴⁴⁸Damerji, (with contribution of) Kamil 1999: 1-3; Hussein & Sulayman 2001.

²⁴⁴⁹Damerji (with contribution of) Kamil 1999: 12.

²⁴⁵⁰For further details about the inscriptions and names of the queens, see Kamil 1999:13ff.

²⁴⁵¹Van Ess, et al., 2012: 104-165.

²⁴⁵²For further details of the burials around the vault tomb, see Van Ess, et al., 2012: 109, Table.1.

²⁴⁵³Van Ess, et al., 2012:125-127, fig.22.

²⁴⁵⁴For further details see van Ess, et al., 2012: 104-165.

²⁴⁵⁵Ibrahim 2014a: 93-132.



Fig. 4.12. a. Several ceramic jars, placed at the gate of the vault tomb of Tell Kilik-Mishik (courtesy of the Kilik-Mishik project, photo by Ziyad A. Muhammed).

b-c. The vault tomb of Kilik-Mishik viewed from outside and inside (courtesy of the Kilik-Mishik project, photos by Ziyad A. Muhammed).

In the Zagros, the only known vault tomb similar (in function) to these Assyrian vault tombs of the Assyrian heartland is except the vault tomb of **Tell Bakrawa** (Bakr-awa), dated to the Middle Bronze Age (Old Babylonian period). The excavators compared it to the vault tombs from Ur. The vault tomb of Tell Bakrawa is considered to be the earliest and only discovered vault tomb from the Northern Zagros, with a radial vault, and to be compared to the Old Babylonian radial vaults of Khafajah, Larsa and Uruk.²⁴⁵⁶

There is an interesting similarity between Assyrian ceramic basins (sarcophaguses), found in Assyrian vault tombs for burials, and some from the Zagros, basins or sarcophaguses were found in graveyards outside the cities. Two graveyards have been found accidentally in Erbil, one 1km east of the citadel of Erbil, and the other to the west of **Tell Kilik-Mishik**. Ceramic funerary basins were found at the one, but in the vault tomb at Kilik-Mishik, built inside the settlement, no ceramic sarcophaguses were found, but the corpses lay on the ground.²⁴⁵⁷ In the Assyrian heartland basin burials occur in different designs and shapes for funerals for the

²⁴⁵⁶Miglus, et al., 2011: Abb.19-21; Miglus, *et al.*, 2013: 43-88.

²⁴⁵⁷The vault tomb was discovered by a team from the Department of Archaeology at Salahaddin University in Erbil in 2010. The gate of the vault tomb was blocked with bricks and several offering jars had been laid outside and inside the gate. (see fig.4.a); for further details about the report of excavations and the tomb see Ibrahim, 2014a: 93-132; Ibrahim 2014b: 117-156. I would like to thank Numan Ibrahim, Ahmed Mirza and Zidan Bradosty who gave me permission to use some of the photos of the courtesy of the Kilik-Mishik project.

elite, many of them in Ashur.²⁴⁵⁸ In the vault tombs of the Assyrian queens at Nimrud the queens were buried in bronze or stone sarcophaguses. Although in Assyria there is no other known example, this one is compared to the bronze bathtub sarcophagus of Arjan in the southwestern Iran.²⁴⁵⁹ Also in the Northern Zagros a bronze bathtub coffin is said to have been discovered in Ziwiye.

The ‘Assyrian’ **bronze coffin** of ‘**Ziwiye**’ is a bathtub which is assumed to have been discovered in Ziwiye in 1946-7. The fragments of its rim show decorated bands with royal scenes of tribute bearers being received in a court. The dress of the people of that court is mainly similar to the Assyrian dress, while the tribute bearers are wearing Zagrosian dresses.²⁴⁶⁰ The shape of the bronze bathtub coffin of Ziwiye is compared to similar earthenware bathtub coffins from Ashur.²⁴⁶¹ The depicted foreigners were tribute bearers in their local native dress, and the tribute receivers were wearing Assyrian dress typical of Assyrian iconography.²⁴⁶² The eminent person and those surrounding him are considered to be Assyrians. He is not considered to be an Assyrian king, because, his dress is not a royal Assyrian dress. Rather he is a governor or a viceroy, or even an Assyrian deputy.²⁴⁶³

Wilkinson concludes that the bronze coffin of **Ziwiye** is “*unquestionably Assyrian.*” According to him it was very probably made in the early 7th century. He considered that the high ranking person receiving the tribute bearers was probably Sennacherib, when he was a prince of Assyria during the reign of his father Sargon II.²⁴⁶⁴ If the suggestion of Wilkinson is correct, then Assyrian administrative letters, especially the correspondence of Sennacherib as the prince of Assyria to his father Sargon II, gives further support. For instance when Sargon II was in Babylon, Sennacherib was taking care of the issues of the north and north-eastern part of the Assyrian empire. In a letter which he sent to Sargon he tells Sargon that he received the delegation of Mannea who brought horses and tribute of the people of Mannea, and Sennacherib dressed them in purple:²⁴⁶⁵

“... 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 purple) and put a silver bracelet on his arm....”

In his paper Wilkinson fails to explain how this ‘Assyrian tomb’ reached Ziwiye. Did the person for whom this coffin made die in Assyria or in Mannea, in Ziwiye? Was the deceased an Assyrian official or a Mannean local leader? Was the coffin looted from Assyria? All these questions are given no clear answer. We should also think about a royal marriage or a valuable political relationship if this ‘Assyrian’ person died in Ziwiye.

²⁴⁵⁸ Hauser 2012: Abb. C-3, C-4, pp. 116-117; Abb. C-15-17, pp. 132-133..

²⁴⁵⁹ For further details concerning the comparative study between the bronze coffin of the Arjan tomb and the bronze coffin of Nimrud tombs, see for instance Álvarez-Mon 2010; Wicks 2015.

²⁴⁶⁰ Wilkinson 1960: 213-220.

²⁴⁶¹ Wilkinson 1960: 213; for further details about the 8th-6th century bronze bathtubs in Assyria, Zagros, Babylonia and Elam see Wicks 2015.

²⁴⁶² Further details in the Chapter III, 3.1., and 3.8.

²⁴⁶³ Wilkinson 1960: 214-215, fig.3.

²⁴⁶⁴ Wilkinson 1960: 219-220.

²⁴⁶⁵ SAA I 29: 1; 24-35; r.18-22.

Ghirshman published other details about the hoard of Ziwiye. According to him the hoard came from a royal Scythian tomb at Ziwiye. His main argument was a comparative study of the artistic styles of the items.²⁴⁶⁶

Last and not least, I have to mention that there are doubts about the provenance of the treasure of Ziwiye. It came to the museums from antiquity dealers or from “commercial excavation,” by ‘scholars’ who claimed that they had found metal objects from Ziwiye.²⁴⁶⁷ There are suspicions about many objects said come from Ziwiye held by scholars. Only those objects recorded from recent excavations and surveys are recognised as reliable. Muscarella in a very critical paragraph cautions scholars to be careful when using objects claimed to have been found at Ziwiye as objects actually from Ziwiye, and from a specific historical context:²⁴⁶⁸

“The only caveat that should be ever present, indeed that should underlie any inclusion of the ‘Ziwiye’ objects into discussions of ancient art and culture, is that they are to be considered as individual pieces, with no known provenience, and without any firm evidence that they were found juxtaposed to any other objects. They can tell us nothing about a hoard/burial deposited at a particular place by a particular people; they surely can tell us nothing historical about the site Ziwiye.”

In the Northern Zagros we have similarly shaped basin burials in Post-Assyrian Zagros. For instance, carvings in the Zagrosian and the Assyrian coffin style inside the rock-cut-tombs. In the rock-cut tombs of **Qizqapan** and **Kur-u-Kich**,²⁴⁶⁹ which probably date back to the 6th century BCE, this tradition of basin burials was probably influenced by the Assyrian ceramic basin burials. This survived into the Median period, the 6th century BCE, in the Assyrian heartland, as discussed above in the vault tomb of Erbil.

The rock-cut-tombs of Kur-u-Kich and Qizqapan are both mainly dated to the Achaemenid period. Qizqapan is cut into a rock face about 7.5 m above ground level. It is 7.13m wide and 2.78 m deep. The portico is decorated with two semi-sculptured ionic columns, and the roof has spars.²⁴⁷⁰ The multi-room rock-cut tomb of Qizqapan and the single-room rock-cut tomb of Kur-u-Kich are similar to the Urartian tradition of rock-cut tombs. For instance within the

²⁴⁶⁶For further details see Ghirshman 1979.

²⁴⁶⁷Moorey 1982: 308-311.

²⁴⁶⁸This is quoted from Moorey, who quoted from Muscarella, see Moorey 1982: 308. For further details concerning the attribution of the tomb to the Medes or the Scythians see Barnett 1962: 77-95.

²⁴⁶⁹Both tombs are located to the east of the Lower Zab ca. 45 km north of Sulaimania; the rock cut tomb of Qizqapan was cut into the mountain of Ser-Sird (Sar-Sird) on the west bank of Chami-Rezan river, and the rock-cut tomb of Kur-u-Kich was cut into the mountain of Bazgiran in front of Mount Pir-e-Megrun. It was not completed and abandoned and then they chose the better, higher site of Qizqapan to make a new one. Because the column base of the tomb of Kur-u-Kich was not completed and there are no rock reliefs, and other details also not carved, people can easily reach the rock cut tomb of Kur-u-Kich, while the one of Qizqapan is 12m from the ground. Also the rock face around it is smooth, so that climbing to the tomb without ladders is impossible. The rock cut tomb of Kur-u-Kich includes one carved basin (sarcophagus), while the one at Qizqapan includes three burial basins in three different rooms. The one in the centre leads to the rooms on the right and the left. For the details about the rock reliefs see in Chapter III, 3.1.; for the columns see below in the present chapter, 4.8.e. For further details see Edmonds 1934:183-192.

²⁴⁷⁰Haerinck 1997: 33.

citadel of the Urartian royal capital of Tushpa, the Urartians carved a multi-roomed rock-cut-tomb.²⁴⁷¹

In the tomb of Qizqapan a small door led to the chambers. Each chamber includes a carved sarcophagus. The coffins are small, not large enough for an adult corpse, so it has been suggested that probably they were used for burying bones. If that is correct, then probably they were buried in a kind of a ritual similar to Zoastrian burial rituals. Also, the rock-cut-tomb faces east, so that the first light of the sunrise comes from the sacred Piremegrun Mountain to lighten the tomb. (Fig.4.13.a-c).

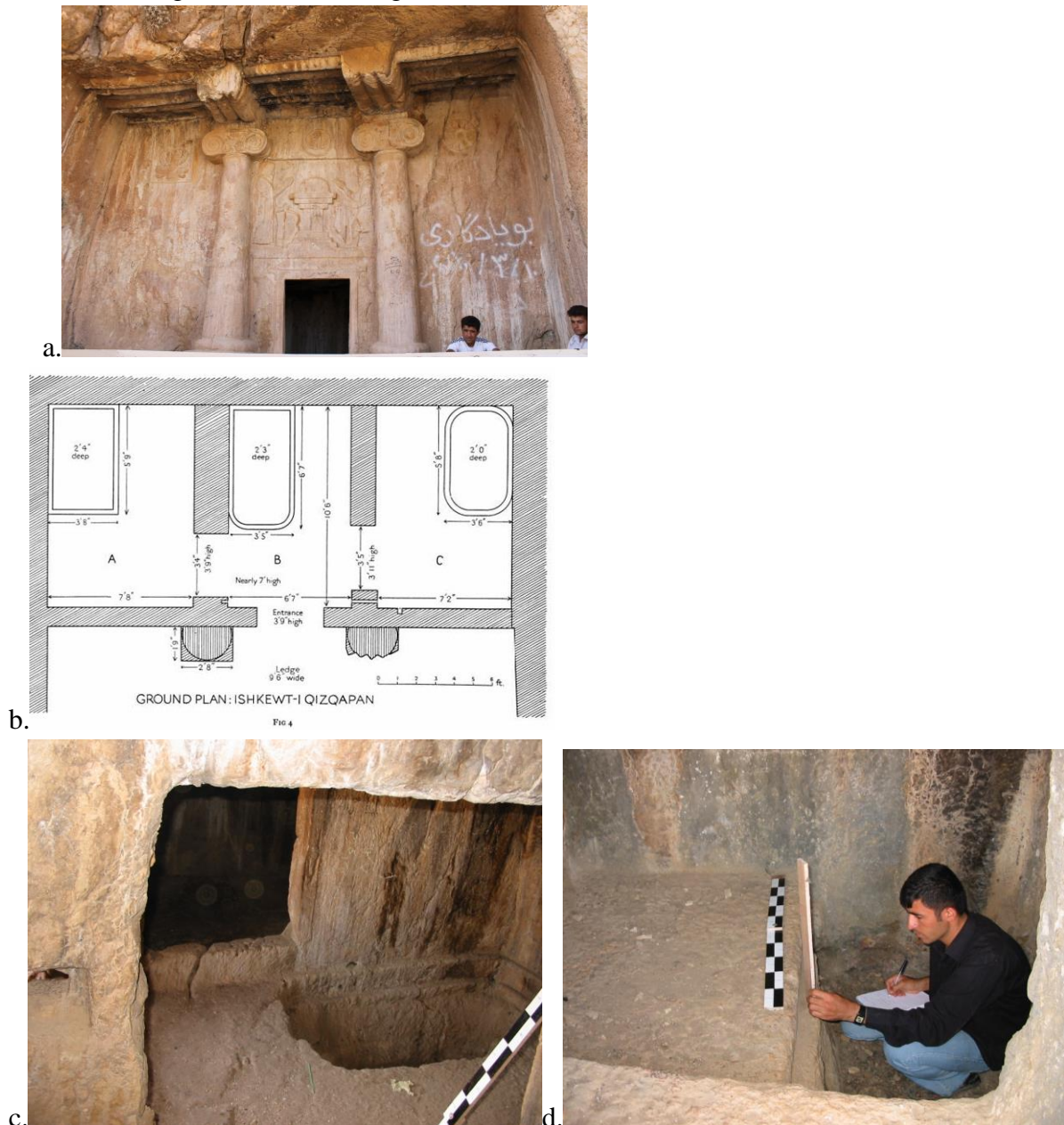


Fig. 4.13.a. The façade of the rock-cut tomb of Ashkawti-Qizqapan (Photo by the author).

b. Ground plan of the rock-cut tomb of Qizqapan rock-cut tomb (after Edmonds 1934: fig.4).

²⁴⁷¹Köroğlu 2011: 37, 40.

c. A view inside the rock-cut tomb of Qizqapan, it shows the linked rooms and the carved sarcophaguses. (Photo by Awat Marf).

d. The carved sarcophaguses in the rock-cut tomb of Kuru-Kich. (Photo by Awat Marf).

The symbols for deities are particularly interesting in the tomb of Qizqapan. One in the left is of a winged disk with a bearded man holding a cup, the one in the centre is the crescent moon (*mah*) with a bearded man holding a cup. A third symbols on the right shows a star with eleven wings. The wings are like cups. Cups are held also by the Scythian funerary statues of Mdjeser. So, one of the funerary rituals during the 7th-6th century BCE in the Northern Zagros involved holding a cup. Probably this occurred under Scythian influence, and was also performed by the 'Medes' as well as in Qizqapan.

The two archers both hold a bow in their left hand. The end of the bow rests on the tip of their left foot. They are both wearing Median dress and a "*bashlyk* on their head." The one on the left is "clad in the typical Median *kandys* (a characteristic dress with long sleeves, closed at the ends).²⁴⁷²

Although, these rock-carved sarcophaguses had stone covers, unfortunately all of them were looted in the past and their skeletons removed. The tradition of rock cut tombs was probably transmitted from Urartu to the Northern Zagros.²⁴⁷³ The rock-cut tomb of Qizqapan is also similar to the Urartian monumental rock-cut tombs with multiple rooms. Usually the main room is connected with the other rooms.²⁴⁷⁴

One two-chambered tomb is considered to belong to the Urartian king Ishpuini and his son and co-regent Menua. The chamber of **Ishpuini** at the front has a "*barrel-vaulted ceiling*."²⁴⁷⁵ It has been suggested that some of the Urartian kings were buried in rock-cut-tombs in the fortress at Van. There some tombs are inscribed with Urartian royal inscriptions. The Horhor Tomb has on its façade an inscription of Argishti I, and the Tunceli Mazgirt Tomb has at its entrance an inscription of Rusa II.²⁴⁷⁶ The Dogubayazit rock-cut-tomb has a façade with a rock relief of a deity and a goat.²⁴⁷⁷ The roof of the portico of Qizqapan is similar to the "*semi-circular round notch recesses*" of Mazgirt-Kalekoy.²⁴⁷⁸ The Assyrian style of vault probably influenced the Urartian rock vault tomb of Sarduri I in Tushpa.²⁴⁷⁹

The rock-cut-tomb of Qizqapan carved in the rock face of the mountain of **Ser-Serd**, near the bank of River Chami-Rezan, is located in an area rich in fruit trees and orchards. It reminds us of a scene on an Assyrian relief from the palace of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh. That relief probably depicted a scene from the reign of Sennacherib of one of his orchards at Nineveh, perhaps from Hinis where the hydraulic project of Hinis on the Bavian river was

²⁴⁷²Haerinck 1997: 33-34.

²⁴⁷³For further details about the Urartian monumental rock-cut tombs, see for instance Konyar 2011: 207ff.

²⁴⁷⁴Further details about comparing the artistic elements of Qizqapan and Kur-u-Kich rock cut tombs with the Assyrian elements see below.

²⁴⁷⁵Tarhan 2011: 311.

²⁴⁷⁶Tarhan 2011: 314, fig.14; Konyar 2011: 211.

²⁴⁷⁷Konyar 2011: 217ff.

²⁴⁷⁸Konyar 2011: 215.

²⁴⁷⁹Tarhan 2011: 310.

started. We can see a columned portico and a stele carved from the rocky face of the mountain showing an image of Sennacherib praying, and an image of an altar depicted below the image. The portico has a façade with four columns. An artificial waterfall from an “*aqueduct with pointed arches*” flows down to the orchard below the portico, the stele and the altar. This structure was called by Reade as the summer palace of Sennacherib.²⁴⁸⁰

From the above we have noticed that there is no clear transition from the Assyrian traditional style of funeral architecture to the funeral rituals in the Zagros.²⁴⁸¹ Very strong evidence of Assyrian influence was uncovered in Arbail from recent excavations inside the city and from accidental discoveries during the recent fast expansion of the city. But this Assyrian influence stopped at Arbail, the eastern city of the Assyrian heartland at the foot of the Zagros. At present we have no evidence that it reached further into the Zagros.

From the 7th? and 6th centuries BCE onwards in the Zagros, especially in Musasir, another style of burial appeared. It looks like the traditional well known **Scythian ‘Mount Burials,’** which are usually accompanied by erected stone statues of persons. As before recently new burials have been discovered as well as accidental finds. The deep valleys and mountain slopes of the topography affected the style of the burials. I have called these local styles ‘Mountain-Slope burials.’ They include a chamber, sometimes with a skeleton, and some metal and ceramic funeral offerings, and funeral statue of a bearded man.²⁴⁸²

The penetration of the Cimmerio-Scythians during the late 8th and 7th centuries is well recorded in the Assyrian records. The funeral statues mainly in a Scythian style and iconography and these burials in that area confirm what is mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions. Esarhaddon in a letter enquires of the sun god Shamash about where and when the Scythians would invade Mannea, Media and the Assyrian border west of Hubuškia.²⁴⁸³ It seems to be that this ‘Scythian style’ of tomb remained into the Achaemenid period in the area of Musasir. The recent rescue excavation in Topzawa valley revealed “a stone-built tomb” built on the mountain slope dated to the Achaemenid period.²⁴⁸⁴

The published data about the burials of **Hasanlu** is rather confusing. Mainly there are no chronological data, and sometimes there is no photo of the burials and the graves. According to Muscarella, many uncovered burials of Hasanlu were not recorded.²⁴⁸⁵ There are some published photos of burials with typical funerary gift jars.²⁴⁸⁶ Although, the excavators claim that they found hundreds of graves, as far as I know there is no mention of any interaction in

²⁴⁸⁰ Reade 1983: fig.48.

²⁴⁸¹ For further details about the ways and rituals of the Assyrian burials see for instance, (Hauser 2012). For further details about the rituals, offerings, gifts of the royal Assyrian funerary and burials see the recorded details in an Assyrian preserved text, which also mentions that even non-Assyrian Urartian, Elamite objects were offered to the burial of the king, see MacGinnis 1987: 1-13; also see Lundström 2012: 271-281.

²⁴⁸² For further details, for the burials see Marf, 2014: 13-29; Danti 2014a: 50-72; Marf, D. A. (forthcoming), 2016 “Back to the Land of Musasir/Ardini: preliminary report on fieldwork (2005-2012),” in: Kopanias, K, and J. MacGinnis, (eds.) Forthcoming. *The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. Conference Proceedings, Athens, November 1st-3rd 2013*, Oxford : Archaeopress. And for the funeral statues and their styles and its datings see Marf 2009c: 60-74; Boehmer 1979: 50-51; Al-Amin 1955: 224.

²⁴⁸³ For further details see Starr 1990: 23, 24, 36, 38; Szmereányi 1980: esp. 5ff; SAA V: 92, 144, 145, 174; Sulimirski 1954: 282-318.

²⁴⁸⁴ Danti 2014b: 32.

²⁴⁸⁵ Muscarella 2006: 72.

²⁴⁸⁶ Dyson 1989: 109, fig.3

the style and ritual between the burials of Hasanlu and Assyria.²⁴⁸⁷ This is probably simply because most of the uncovered skeletons in the buildings were of people. As well, there were skeletons of the ‘Urartian’ invaders who were killed or burned when the city was destroyed and the buildings were burned and collapsed.²⁴⁸⁸

At the **Dinkhe Tepe III**, which is dated to Iron Age I, thirty-three burials were uncovered mainly on the mound, where no architectural remains were uncovered.²⁴⁸⁹ The excavation in that area revealed that “*the dead were buried in individual graves with no markers; the brick tombs generally opened to the east. Men, women, and children were buried in the same area and apparently given the same burial rites.*”²⁴⁹⁰ All the burials “*were placed within pits,*”²⁴⁹¹ there is no specific orientation. Ten of the burials were in ‘brick tombs,’²⁴⁹² with dozens of jars and vessels, mainly in local styles and similar to the Iron Age jars found at the Hasanlu burials.²⁴⁹³ There were also, bronze weapons, bracelets, and a cylinder seal. These objects and burial styles compare with similar styles at contemporary Iron Age sites in the surrounding area such as Hasanlu, Haftevan Tepe, Geoy Tepe etc.²⁴⁹⁴

In 2008 during road construction in the southwest of the city of **Sanandaj** in Kurdistan of Iran an Iron Age graveyard was accidentally discovered. A rescue excavation conducted by the Cultural Heritage Department of Sanandaj, part of the graveyard was left for future excavation.²⁴⁹⁵ The excavation revealed 20 graves, dating back to the 8th -7th centuries BCE. No settlement was identified near to the graveyard. The graves were arranged in a random way, with no specific orientation. Some were covered with irregular stones. There are some graves of warriors with their weapons, and also graves with beads and jewellery etc.²⁴⁹⁶ The uncovered objects include ceramic, bronze, silver, gold and iron items and beads. The objects are compared with uncovered objects in burials and sites in the central Zagros, the Iranian plateau, the Urmia basin and also at Marlik etc. The cylinder seals are mainly in Assyrian style with different types, such as the so called “Central Assyrian,” “provincial Assyrian,” and or “Syrian and Assyrian linear” styles.²⁴⁹⁷

Recently, in 2001 and in 2003, the cemetery of 10 graves was uncovered in **Kul Tarike**, in the Urmia basin, not far from Ziwiye. “*The tomb pits have been cut through the loose bedrock, and capped by large slabs.*” In the graves were ceramic and metal (bronze, iron and silver) objects. Based on ceramic dating the cemetery belongs to the Mannean period.²⁴⁹⁸

²⁴⁸⁷Dyson 1965b: 209; Dyson 1989: 107–127. For further details about the critical review concerning the Hasanlu publications, see Muscarella 2006: 342: 82. Also,

²⁴⁸⁸Muscarella 1989: 24-36. Also for instance the three skeletons around the uncovered golden bowl of Hasanlu considered as skeletons of the invaders who wanted to loot this golden bowl when the building collapsed, see Danti, 2014b: 27-33; Danti, 2014a: 50-72. Also, for further details about the uncovered warrior burials at Hasanlu IV, see Danti and Cifarelli 2015: 61-156.

²⁴⁸⁹Muscarella, 1974: 36; Muscarella 1968: 187-196.

²⁴⁹⁰Muscarella 2013: 163f.

²⁴⁹¹Muscarella 1968: 187-196; Muscarella 2013: 163.

²⁴⁹²Muscarella 2013: 163f., fig.2.

²⁴⁹³Muscarella 2013: 162-165; Muscarella 1986: fig.26.

²⁴⁹⁴For the details about the burials and the uncovered objects in them, see Muscarella 2012: fig.31-46.

²⁴⁹⁵Haerinck, et al., 2011: 41.

²⁴⁹⁶Haerinck, E., et al., 2011: 41-99.

²⁴⁹⁷Haerinck, et al., 2011: 55-56.

²⁴⁹⁸Rezvani & Roustaei 2007: 139-184; Kargar & Binandeh 2009: 114.

Also, there are some Assyrian glazed small jars found in grave 7 decorated with flower petals.²⁴⁹⁹ This typical seventh century BCE Assyrian style shows that Assyrian influence reached this area of Mannea. This type of small glazed jar was also found in the Neo-Assyrian-Median vault tomb of Erbil, and in other tombs/graves in the Assyrian heartland. Also from grave no. 10 in the neighbouring area of Kul Tarike in Ziwiye, we have a ritual bowl with deeply incised decorations, similar to the frames of the cylinder seal of Qalaichi depicted. Also there is a glazed spindle decorated with a flower with eight petals.²⁵⁰⁰

Some objects from the burials of Kul Tarike are compared with Urartian objects. An Urartian fibula might have belonged to “*an Urartian merchant or envoy buried here, or were the fibulae gifted to the descendant?*” Without other evidence the second possibility is more probable.²⁵⁰¹ “*The tomb pits have been cut through the loose bedrock, and were capped by large slabs. In each grave there were usually one or two burials with various funerary gifts....*”²⁵⁰² Also, in the Central Zagros several Iron Age graveyards were uncovered, including the **Chamahzi Mumah** graveyard in Luristan, dated to Iron Age III (8th -7th centuries BCE). In Chamahzi Mumah there were many graves with rich gifts including jars, ceramic and bronze and iron jewelry, ornaments and weapons. In this graveyard, many weapons were uncovered made of iron.²⁵⁰³

In the area of **Mdjeser-Sidekan-Topzawa** valley (the area which was the heartland of Musasir), there were accidental discoveries of several human-sized statues. In the 1950s Mahmood Al-Amin for the first time published two stone statues which had been found by villagers in the vicinity of Mdjêser. He also carried out a number of soundings at the location, recovering some potsherds. Al-Amin dated one of the statues, which represents a bearded male figure, to the Late Assyrian period.²⁵⁰⁴ In the 1970s, in two very short visits to Sidekan-Mdjêser, Boehmer recorded another four statues which had been discovered by the villagers.²⁵⁰⁵ Boehmer considered two of these statues (which are now in Slemani museum) as a local style dating to the time of Ashurnasirpal II (883 - 859 BCE) and Shalmaneser III (859 - 824 BCE).²⁵⁰⁶

Later, scholars commented that “*the very weathered and apparently crude statues at Mdjêser, a site identified by Boehmer with Musasir/Ardini, are not reliably dated and it is a matter of conjecture whether they are contemporary with the Bianili kingdom or not.*”²⁵⁰⁷ After the 1970s, in the north-north-eastern areas of the modern Erbil governorate, in Harir, the Diyana plains and the Sidekan-Bradost valleys (the locations of ancient Kurruri, Hiptun, and Musasir), seven more male life-size stone statues/steles have been uncovered by local inhabitants, mostly in the course of cultivation and road construction.²⁵⁰⁸ Some of these statues were later sent to the museums of Erbil and Slemani, while one of them was sent to the

²⁴⁹⁹Rezvani & Roustaei 2007:12, pl.26, fig.13.

²⁵⁰⁰Rezvani & Roustaei 2007:178, pl.20, fig.d.

²⁵⁰¹Roaf 2012b: 7.

²⁵⁰²Roaf 2012b:1f.

²⁵⁰³Haerincx and Overlaet 1998: figs. 24, 25, 28,49, 53.

²⁵⁰⁴Al-Amin 1955: 224.

²⁵⁰⁵Boehmer 1973: Taf. 11-14; Boehmer 1979: Taf. 26.b; 27.

²⁵⁰⁶Boehmer 1973: Taf.11-14; Boehmer 1993-1997: 446ff.

²⁵⁰⁷Kroll, et al., 2012: 34.

²⁵⁰⁸Marf 2009c: 60-74.

Archaeology Department of Salahaddin University in Erbil. During my fieldwork I have studied all the statues which were sent to the museums. Moreover, we can add to this collection another two statues which were uncovered and reused by the local villagers.²⁵⁰⁹

The statues are life-size human images 150-230 cm tall. They are made of limestone, basalt or sandstone, and some are now partly broken. In some cases the end tapers to a point, and in most cases the feet are not carved. Because these monuments were fixed into the ground, they must be interpreted as funerary statues erected on graves or tombs. There are two statues where the knees and legs are clearly carved.

On one of them the feet are depicted in relief. The heads are clearly though abstractly depicted and sometimes the ears are also carved. The backs are on the other hand mainly superficially worked. They are carved but without any specific features of the back of the head or body. Some of these statues, with only the front of a male figure is depicted in relief, can be called steles. In others the sculpture is a combination of relief and three-dimensional carving. All show bearded males, some holding a cup in their right hand,²⁵¹⁰ with their left hand resting on their belly. This is identical to the iconography of the Scythian funeral statues uncovered in Ukraine and Caucasia.²⁵¹¹

One of the statues of Mdjêser holds a hand axe.²⁵¹² In this context it should be noted that hand axes were one of the main weapons of the Scythians and they are depicted in the Iron Age art of the Zagros, Iran and Caucasia.²⁵¹³ A torso from the burial at Mdjêser wears a dagger. This too is something seen on Scythian statues uncovered in Ukraine and the daggers depicted there look like the dagger on the torso of Mdjêser. It is a representation of the well-known kind of long dagger/short sword called *acinaces/akinaka* which was mainly used by the Medes and the Scythians, as seen in art from the Zagros and Persepolis, and later used by the Greeks.²⁵¹⁴

Another point which supports the suggestion that the torso of Mdjêser can date back to the 6th century BCE is that it is wearing a short tunic/skirt above the knees, reminiscent of the tunics/skirts worn by some of the defeated leaders depicted on the Behistun relief of Darius I. Among those, incidentally, is the Sagartian leader Shitrantekhma, the ruler of Arbail who revolted against Darius I in 522 BCE.²⁵¹⁵ Another statue represents a bearded nude male. Two of these statues are, however, carved in the similar abstract style of the rest of the above mentioned statues but they differ in some details. One of these represents a bearded male who holds what could be a circle (perhaps a necklace or the round mouth of a cup) with his right

²⁵⁰⁹One of the statues was discovered in a burial chamber by a farmer in the village of Bewas. The other was uncovered with a burial in Mdjêser village and reused by a villager as a column base for his house. They were retrieved and studied by the present author, with the support of the local Directorate of Antiquities of Soran, in the course of fieldwork, and were later sent to the Directorate of Antiquities of Soran and to the Erbil Museum. The total number of statues/steles uncovered in the area from 1980 until now is seven, in addition to a stele uncovered in **Makirdan** in Harir plain in the first decade of this century.

²⁵¹⁰Also, one of the statues published by al-Amin in 1955 is holding a cup in his right hand, see Al-Amin 1955: 224.

²⁵¹¹See *CHI 2: Fig.1 a-c*; Rice 1965: 66, fig.54-55.

²⁵¹²Boehmer 1973: Taf.13.

²⁵¹³For example, the Scythian delegation at Persepolis, see Potts 2012: fig.5.

²⁵¹⁴See Godard 1950: 16, fig.7; Yates 2005: 6; Porada 1965: fig.87; Potts 2012: Fig.5.

²⁵¹⁵Wieschöfer 1978: Abb.22.

hand; his face, ears and legs are clearly carved. For clothing he only wears a ‘jockstrap’, an identical detail to one of the steles uncovered in the chamber burial below the citadel of Hakkari. Hakkari is located to the north-west of Musasir (ca. 230km to the north west of it) and has recently been identified with the ancient neighbouring Iron Age kingdom of Ukku.²⁵¹⁶

Another statue, in fact a bust, was discovered by chance, apparently at **Dêlizian** in the Diyana plain near the Balakian River. The iconography of this statue is different from the rest of the other statues, the only similarities being that this one is carved in sandstone and that, like the rest of the statues, its back is not carved. The face is depicted and the shoulders are carved in a very abstract style. As far as I know, there is no parallel to the iconography of this bust in the art of Mesopotamia and the Zagros.

However, a small bust uncovered by Sağlamtimur and Ozan in Siirt-Türbe Höyük, to the south west of Lake Van, which they refer to as a “*Spirit Stone*,” in both shape and style is similar to the one of the Diyana plain. The issue here is that the bust from Siirt-Türbe Höyük was found in a level dating to the Middle Bronze Age.²⁵¹⁷ This does not however mean that the bust of the Diyana plain necessarily dates to the same time. The iconography of the Siirt-Türbe Höyük bust may be similar but it is smaller than the bust of the Diyana plain. Furthermore, we do not know the cultural context of the latter.

Why these statues were carved has not been discussed by scholars so far. As a result of weathering and human interference most of these statues have been moved from their original context. Villagers from **Mdjêser** and **Bewas** informed me that the statue of Bewas was discovered in or on a chamber tomb, and that the torso of Mdjêser was uncovered on or beside a burial mound.²⁵¹⁸ As mentioned above, the statues uncovered in this area are identical in iconography with the Scythian statues, including the thirteen steles found in a **burial chamber** in **Hakkari**.²⁵¹⁹ So there is no doubt that the statues of Musasir and the surrounding

²⁵¹⁶Radner 2012b: 257ff. The Hakkari statue dates to the Iron Age I, so we can expect that the same or a similar tradition of making funerary statues existed in the neighbouring kingdoms of Ukku (Hakkari) and Musasir (Sidekan-Bradost). Recently in 2012 what might be a ‘Scythian graveyard’ was uncovered **Shandukha** in the city of Duhok north of the Nineveh plain (Al-Barwary 2015: 18-37). In this graveyard, in addition to several funeral human sized statues which have similar iconography to some of the statues of Musasir, ceramic material and seals were among the objects from the graves. Unfortunately, the results of this excavated site are not yet published. In a personal communication the field director of the excavation Hussein Hamza al-Amri informed me that the site and the uncovered objects from the site can be provisionally dated to the Iron Age I-III, and some objects come from the Islamic period. The directorate of antiquities of Duhok has opened the site for visitors as an open air museum. On a tour with Kovan Ehsan from the directorate he showed me the excavated statues and the graves. This important discovery shows us that ‘Scythian’ funerary statues were also erected on graves this far south west in Duhok, near the plain of Nineveh.

²⁵¹⁷ Sağlamtimur & Ozan 2007: 22, fig.7.

²⁵¹⁸The torso of Mdjêser was also found at a burial on a mountain slope. The burial was partly damaged and villagers told me that it was looted and some metal objects taken. It seems that the burial was of an important person, especially because the torso is different from other statues of the area in dress and that it wears a short sword. We therefore decided with the Directorate of Antiquities of Soran to excavate the burial in near future. Another mountain slope burial was discovered in 2012 when its burial chamber was cut by a mechanical excavator in the course of construction work being carried out by the local authorities on the road from Sidekan to Kel-e-Shin pass. Due to the fact that the burial needed an immediate salvage excavation, the team of Boston University was asked to document the burial. They excavated the chamber and for the results of this salvage excavation see Danti 2014a: 50-72.

²⁵¹⁹Sevin 2005b:163-165; Sevin 2005a.

area were mainly made as funeral statues to be erected over burial mounds. The statues must relate to funerary rituals, and those holding a cup indeed look rather unhappy. Similar statues are found in Central Asia, Caucasia and Eastern Europe.²⁵²⁰ They are characteristic of the representational art and the funerary rituals of nomads and pastoralists, especially the Scythians who buried their warrior leaders in graves covered by a mound with a statue erected on the top. Archaeologists call these statues "Mountain burial statues/steles". Although the statues all differ from each other in detail, giving each one its own 'character', the statues do not represent the buried persons or any specific person in reality. They represent human figures in an abstract style in the sad mourning in a funeral ritual. I assume that the majority of the statues uncovered in the area of Musasir date back to the Iron Age III. This dating is supported by the nearly identical style and iconography of the Scythian statues, which can be dated to the 7th-6th centuries BCE. A fragment of 'Urartian?' red polished ware which I found with the burial of the torso of Mdjêser also supports this dating. Moreover, Assyrian inscriptions record the advance of the Cimmerio-Scythians into Urartu, the Northern Zagros and the frontier of Assyria north-east of Arbail. This penetration into Urartu is well recorded in letters from the reign of Sargon II (722-704 BCE), especially after 710 BCE.²⁵²¹

The Scythians and Cimmerians also invaded Urartu and the Northern Zagros in the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. In Esarhaddon's queries to the Sun god, the king's worries regarding the Scythian penetration and their attack on the Northern Zagros kingdoms of Mannea and Media and on the eastern frontier of Assyria are clear.²⁵²² Herodotus also referred to the Scythian invasion of Media.²⁵²³ Moreover, the presence of Scythian material culture during the 7th century in the Northern Zagros has been noted by previous scholars.²⁵²⁴

These can be divided into three main groups. First of all, the bust from the Diyana plain statue, which can so far only be dated to the Middle Bronze Age-Iron Age III (to give an exact dating we would need additional evidence). Secondly, the naked statue in a "jockstrap" which is similar in iconography and other details to the stele of Hakkari and can thus be dated to Iron Age I.²⁵²⁵ Finally a third group comprising all other remaining statues, which are mainly Scythian in iconography and style, can be dated to Iron Age III (Late 8th- 6th centuries BCE) and were used as funeral statues on or beside the "Mountain slope burials" in the valleys of the land of Musasir. These form material evidence for the Scythian penetration into the Northern Zagros recorded in Assyrian inscriptions of the late 8th century and 7th century BCE. The Scythians brought with them their tradition of mountain burial statues to that area. The assemblage of ceramics recovered in the area shows important evidence concerning the contact with Urmia Basin, and especially the contact between Hasanlu and Dinkhe and the Land of Musasir. This can also be explained as a link in the interaction between Assyria and

²⁵²⁰Sulimirski 1985: 72: 158-161, fig.1 a-c.

²⁵²¹SAA V: 92, 144, 145, 174.

²⁵²²Sulimirski 1954: 282-318; Szmerényi 1980:5ff; Starr, I., 1990: 23, 24, 36, 38; Macgregor, 2012: 69-70; ARAB II, 517; 533; Reade 1995a: 41; Postgate 1987-1990: 341.

²⁵²³Godley 1975: 89f; Szmerényi 1980:6ff;

²⁵²⁴See for example, Ghirshman 1979:19ff.

²⁵²⁵With the steles in the chamber some fragments of ceramic considered as "Habur Ware" were discovered - if this evidence can be used for dating the steles then they date back to the Late Bronze Age. See Sevin 2005b:163-165.

the Urmia Basin, and Hasanlu in particular. There is furthermore a hint at the presence of Urartian ceramics, though on the base of the assemblage studied Assyrian ceramics are rare. However, these cannot be considered as principal arguments due to the fact that there is still no excavated Iron Age site in the land of Musasir which could serve as a type site for establishing the chronology and ceramic, artistic, architectural and metallurgical traditions of the region.

In conclusion, there was no common way for burying the dead in Assyria and the Northern Zagros. Even in some excavated graveyards and cemeteries there is no specific orientation for contemporary burials. In both Assyria and the Zagros the dead received funerary gifts and some were buried with objects, such as the warriors buried with weapons (spear, quiver, sword, scabbard, etc.). Women were usually buried with jewelry. In the both Assyria, and the Zagros many funeral metal bowls and jars were buried with the dead. Similar small glazed jars with monochrome colours, usually decorated with a flower with its petals covering main upper part of the body of the jar, have been uncovered in some tombs in the Assyrian capitals: in the vault tomb of Arbail; also in the Zagros in the Mannean cemetery of Kul Tarike; and in Ziwiye.

The bathtub coffins/sarcophaguses in Assyria were made of bronze, stone and especially ceramic, which is rarely seen in the Zagros. The remains of a bathtub sarcophagus was claimed to have been uncovered in 'Ziwiye' in 1946-7. It had scenes similar to the 7th century scenes depicted on some Assyrian reliefs, although, there are doubts about its origin. There is no ceramic sarcophagus in the Zagros, but it seems the post Assyrian Medes borrowed the idea of the bathtub shapes for their graves inside the rock-cut-tombs.

The Mesopotamian and later Assyrian tradition of building vault tombs for the elite can be seen in several Assyrian vault tombs uncovered at Ashur, Nimrud, and recently two vault tombs at Erbil. The one near Erbil citadel was reused during the Median period in the 6th century BCE. As yet in the Zagros there is no contemporary vault tomb. The one at Bakrawa which is contemporary with Old Babylonian vault tombs is to be compared to the Old Babylonian tradition of vault tombs. Therefore the one at Bakrawa is the only known vault tomb in the Northern Zagros.

In Musasir, it seems that another type of chamber was made. It is a chamber usually built on a mountain slope in stone and used for burying the dead of the elite. At these graves a funerary statue was usually erected. This seems to be the influence of the Scythians who invaded the Northern Zagros in the 7th century BCE.

I have to mention also that in the burials there are some objects offered to the dead in the Zagros. These objects were made under Assyrian influence, such as the cylinder seals from the Iron Age graveyard of Sinnadaj, which are mainly of an Assyrian type. As well there are the glazed and decorated small jars typical of Assyrian style from elite burials in the Assyrian heartland, and also from elite burials in the Northern Zagros.

4.10. Hydraulic projects

In ancient times, especially during the Iron Age in Assyria, Urartu and the Northern Zagros, several hydraulic projects were undertaken in the form of canals, aqueducts, weirs (*qanat*), and dams (*karêz/Kahrez*), etc. These projects differed in size and styles, but they all aimed to supply the cities, towns and fortresses with fresh water, and to irrigate fields and orchards. Some of these hydraulic projects are recorded in the Assyrian and Urartian cuneiform inscriptions, and much archaeological evidence supports what is recorded in those inscriptions. It is interesting to note that some of the hydraulic projects have inscriptions on them in situ, similar to the rock reliefs, which were made at the start of the project (for further details about the Assyrian hydraulic projects see, Table 4.1).

Zagros was an important economic area for the Assyrians. They used the Zagros as sources for food, metal, and human and animal labour, as well as for its water sources. Therefore, by controlling the nearby mountainous ranges of the Zagros north of the Assyrian capitals they could take fresh water from the Zagros Mountains by large scale hydraulic projects to the major cities in the Assyrian heartland, such as Nimrud, Imgur-Enlil, Nineveh and Arbail. It was used in the palaces and gardens, the temples, and for irrigation and domestic consumption.

In the Iron Age, hydraulic projects in the Northern Zagros were started by both Assyrians and Urartians, including a number of small local projects. The Urartian projects focused on the mountainous areas under the control of Urartu, usually for the benefit of the local strongholds and fortified cities in the kingdom of Urartu. This included the Northern Zagros, and land by the western shores of Lake Urmia. Some of the small local hydraulic projects in the Northern Zagros date to the Iron Age.

Some of the Old Assyrian and Middle Assyrian records deal with hydraulic projects. A record from the Kingdom of Shamshi-Adad I in the Old Assyrian period says that the son and successor of Shamshi-Adad I, Ishme-Dagan, used men from the Zagrosian army, from Turruku 2,000 and from Qabra 2,000 and 1000 from Iahruru (Iahrureans) to dig the canal of Ishme-Dagan.²⁵²⁶ That canal probably drew water from the Lower Zab.²⁵²⁷

In the Middle Assyrian period, several kings mentioned canals in their inscriptions. One of the famous ones is the *Pattu-mēšari* “*Canal of Justice*” which was a big Middle Assyrian project. Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207 BCE), wanted to rehabilitate and irrigate the fields east of the Tigris, to build there his new capital Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta. There are the remains of two canals in the area, “*one [was] running along the Tigris from the north,*” and the other “*diverted from the Lower Zab.*” He claims that he “*cut a wide path for a stream which supports life in the land.*”²⁵²⁸ From these two examples it appears that the Assyrians in the Old and Middle period gave priority to the lower part of their heartland. The canals irrigated the fertile soil between the Lower Zab and the Tigris.

These irrigation projects and the names of the canals are recorded in Assyrian inscriptions. There is also archaeological evidence to support these records from the Assyrian heartland and the mountains of the Zagros further east. It was there that the projects started and from

²⁵²⁶MacGinnis 2013: 4.

²⁵²⁷MacGinnis 2013:4; Ismail 2003: 129-156.

²⁵²⁸Harmanşah 2012: 65; Bagg 2000: 311; *RIMA* I: A.0.78.10, 85-87.

there fresh water was taken by canal to the Assyrian heartland. The Assyrian kings, especially Sennacherib, recorded what they had accomplished in their inscriptions and commemorative rock reliefs.

The first Neo-Assyrian record comes from the annals of Ashurnasirpal II, who claims that he dug *Patti-ḫegalli* (“The Canal of Abundance”) and the Negūb Tunnel to his unique garden in his new capital Kalhu.²⁵²⁹ His garden was planted with different kind of fruits and plants, which he brought back from conquered lands. He also deported people from many lands to the east and west of Assyria, including from Zamua in the Zagros.²⁵³⁰

The ancient city Calah which Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, had built — this city had become dilapidated; it lay dormant (and) had turned into ruin hills. I rebuilt this city. I took people which I had conquered from the lands over which I had gained dominion, from the land Suhu, (from) the entire land Laqû, (from) the city Sirqu which is at the crossing of the Euphrates, (from) the entire land of Zamua, from Bît-Adini and the Hatti, and from Lubarna (Liburna), the Patinu. I settled (them) therein. I dug out a canal from the Upper Zab (and) called it Patti-ḫegalli. I planted orchards in its environs. I offered fruit (and) wine to Aššur, my lord, and the temples of my land. I cleared away the old ruin hill (and) dug down to water level; I sank (the foundation pit) down to a depth of 120 layers of brick. I built its wall. I built (and) completed it from top to bottom.

On his stele, Ashurnasirpal II recorded other details about this project.²⁵³¹

“(36)...I dug a canal from the Upper Zab, (37) cutting through the mountain to its summit, and called its name Pati-ḫegalli. (38) the meadow-land by the Tigris I irrigated abundantly and planted gardens in its area. (39) All kinds of fruits and vines I planted and the best of them I offered to Ashur my lord and to the temples (40) of my land. The city (Kalhu) I presented to Ashur my lord. From the lands in which I had travelled (41) and the mountains which I had passed, trees and seeds which I saw: cedar, cypress, (42-46) bitter almonds, oak, pistachio...pine...pear, fig, plum,”

This project, in addition to irrigating the orchards and gardens of the king, extended to the city surroundings and also supplied the capital Nimrud with water.²⁵³²

The archaeological remains of *Patti-ḫegalli* canal can be traced in an area ca. 14 km. east of Kalhu, along the Upper Zab southwestwards. The canal seems to have passed the Negūb Tunnel, a “rock-cut tunnel” to the west of Gwêr (Al Kuwayr/Quwair).²⁵³³ Layard found a stone slab here with an inscription of Esarhaddon, who claims to have restored the tunnel.²⁵³⁴ The inscription of Esarhaddon states that Ashurnasirpal built the canal:²⁵³⁵

“A canal and tunnel which Asur-nasir-pal, a prince who lived before my time, had caused to be dug from the bed of the Zab to the reservoir of Kalbi.....”

²⁵²⁹Oates 1968:46.4

²⁵³⁰RIMA II A.O. 101.1: iii 132b–136.

²⁵³¹Wiseman 1952: 33.

²⁵³²Hramanshah 2012: 66, fig.4, see also Oates 1968: fig.3.

²⁵³³Bagg 2000: 7, 96, 243.

²⁵³⁴Bagg 2000:312; Oates 1968: fig.3; Harmanshah 2012: 68.

²⁵³⁵Winkler 1887: 53; Bagg 2000:235; also, for further details about the inscription of Esarhaddon see ARAB II 726-728; Winckler 1887: 53.

The Assyrian king Sennacherib is well-known for his military activities to occupy and destroy cities in the Near East. He destroyed Babylon, and dug canals to wash away the rubble.²⁵³⁶

“I dug canals through the midst of that city, I overwhelmed it with water, I made its very foundations disappear, and I destroyed it more completely than a devastating flood. So that it might be impossible in future days to recognize the site of that city and (its) temples, I utterly dissolved it with water (and made it) like inundated land.”

In his reign by contrast the Assyrian heartland flourished with several hydraulic projects to revitalise Nineveh and Arbail, as well as the agricultural land around them. He inscribed rock reliefs to mark several of his projects. He describes them in detail. Below mention some of these hydraulic projects, starting in the Zagros Mountains and supplying the Assyrian heartland with fresh water.

A number of canals dug at the east of the Tigris north of Nineveh is called as the ‘Northern System’ by scholars, or the ‘Third Stage’.²⁵³⁷ It is thought to start near the village of Faida to the southwest of the city of Duhok. There are debates about including another canal from Maltai in this system. The canal of Maltai is supposed to be located in the city of Duhok below the Maltai rock reliefs of Sennacherib at the mount of Zawa, where the rock relief is also associated with the canal.²⁵³⁸ If so, as Ur assumes, the water of Rubari Duhok was probably diverted into the canal.²⁵³⁹

Sennacherib started several hydraulic projects to supply fresh water to Nineveh and the public buildings in the citadel (modern Kuyunjik). Moreover, it has been suggested that probably some of the water of the canals was used for irrigating his garden,²⁵⁴⁰ the irrigation of the dry-farming areas.²⁵⁴¹ Sennacherib dug 16 canals during his reign.²⁵⁴² He describes one of his projects in the rock inscription at Bavian, the place where his project starts in Hinis (ca.35 km) north-east of Nineveh. In the inscription Sennacherib says:²⁵⁴³

“For a long distance, adding to it the waters of the twain Hazur River—(namely) the waters of the river Pulpullia—(and) the waters of the town of Hanusa, the waters of the town of Gammara, (and) the waters of the springs of the mountains to the right and left at its sides, I caused a canal to be dug to the meadows of Nineveh.”

Also Sennacherib mentions that he (i.e., his engineers) made the aqueduct (of Jerwan) to convey the water to Nineveh.²⁵⁴⁴

“Over deep-cut ravines I spanned (lit. caused to step) a ‘bridge’ [aqueduct] of white stone blocks. Those waters I caused to pass over on it.”

The Akkadian term *titurru* means ‘bridge’, but ‘aqueduct,’ is more acceptable in this sentence.²⁵⁴⁵ There are other canals dug during the reign of Sennachrib such as Hinis/Bavian,

²⁵³⁶ Brinkman, 1973: 94.

²⁵³⁷ Ur 2005: 325.

²⁵³⁸ Ur 2005: 326; Börker-Klähn 1982: 186a-186b.

²⁵³⁹ Ur 2005: 327.

²⁵⁴⁰ Altaweel, et al., 2005: 28-30.

²⁵⁴¹ Harmanshah 2012: 68; Ur 2005: 317ff.

²⁵⁴² RINAP 3/1: p.20.

²⁵⁴³ Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935: 20ff.

²⁵⁴⁴ Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935: 23. Also see pp.2, 6ff.

²⁵⁴⁵ Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935:20. Clearly *gi-iš-ru* means bridge in the letter SAA I 47: r.10.

Jerwan, Bastora-Erbil, Maltai, Shiru-mltaka/Malkta. Some of these are located between the Tigris and the Upper Zab and are called Sennacherib's northern system.²⁵⁴⁶

Reade agrees with Oates that these canals were 'luxuries', made only for irrigating the luxurious gardens and parks of the citadel of Nineveh.²⁵⁴⁷ Bagg has recently suggested that the later canals were constructed for irrigation and also as a sort of training project to develop civil engineering expertise in hydraulics.²⁵⁴⁸ Bagg assumes that the 'later stages' of the canals of Sennacherib functioned "*as a sort of field school to train Assyrian engineers.*"²⁵⁴⁹

Another opinion suggests that Sennacherib probably rebuilt Nineveh as his new capital and the canals emulated the urban landscape of Babylon/Chaldea.²⁵⁵⁰ The royal inscription of Sennacherib tells us that the hydraulic projects of Sennacherib had economic aspects. The Assyrian king wanted to irrigate the fields of Nineveh plain.²⁵⁵¹ The Assyrian capitals also needed a supply of fresh water from the Zagros mountains for the public buildings and for domestic consumption. During the Neo-Assyrian period, we can see that Ashurnasirpal supplied Kalhu, Sargon supplied Dur-Sharrukin and Sennacherib supplied Nineveh with fresh water.²⁵⁵²

Jason Ur assumes that not all the deportees settled in the Nineveh, the capital, but some settled in the hinterland of the city, working in agriculture. According to him it was a major plan to reshape the demography of the Assyrian heartland.²⁵⁵³ He assumes that there were other reasons for Sennacherib to supply Nineveh and its surroundings with water by these canals. It was needed for the deportees who had settled in the area around Nineveh, meaning that urbanism was one of the reasons constructing these canals.²⁵⁵⁴

Near the city of Kisiri to the north-east of Nineveh was a canal described in an inscription of Sennacherib. He then claims that he dug the canals of Kisiri and Husur to irrigate the orchards in the plain of Nineveh,

*"to increase the vegetation, from the border of the town of Kisiri to the plain about Nineveh, through mountain and lowland, with iron pickaxes I cut and directed a canal."*²⁵⁵⁵

*"...the waters of the Husur (Khosr river), which from of old sought too low a level (lit., place), I made to flow through those orchards in irrigation ditches."*²⁵⁵⁶

It is assumed that Sennacherib linked together several springs on Mount Muşri (mod. Jebel Bashiqa/Maqlub?), and let them flow into the Muşri canal system.²⁵⁵⁷ He says "*I mounted an expedition to search for water at the foot of Mount Muşri,....*"²⁵⁵⁸

²⁵⁴⁶Ur 2005: 317-345.

²⁵⁴⁷Oates 1968: 47ff; Ur 2005: 317-345.

²⁵⁴⁸Bagg 2000: 223f.

²⁵⁴⁹Bagg 2000: 223ff; Ur 2005: 317f.

²⁵⁵⁰Ur 2005: 317.

²⁵⁵¹Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935: 36 and fn. 27; Ur 2005: 317f.

²⁵⁵²Ur 2005: 320.

²⁵⁵³Ur 2005: 317-345; Ur 2013: 28-36..

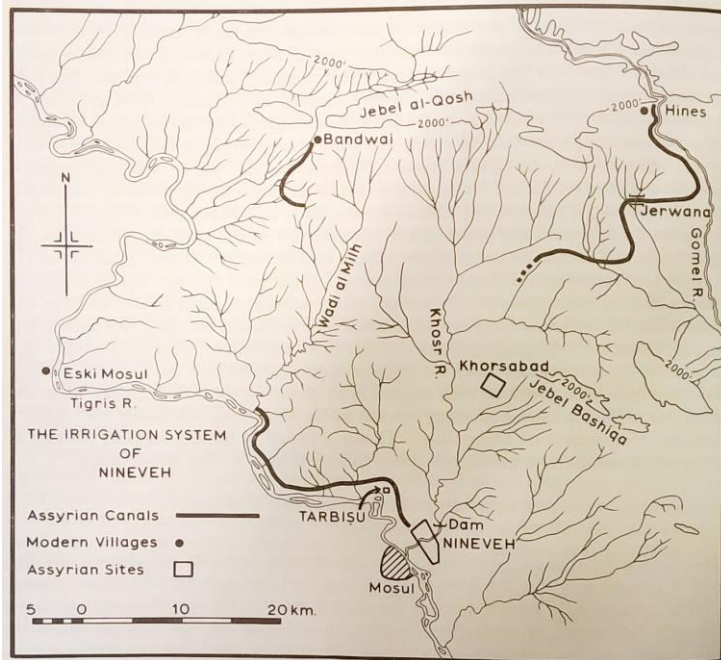
²⁵⁵⁴Ur 2005: 317f; Ur 2013: 28-36.

²⁵⁵⁵ARAB II 369.

²⁵⁵⁶ARAB II 369.

²⁵⁵⁷ARAB II: 401; Ur 2005: 317f. and p. 323f.

The **Khinis project** of Sennacherib is well recorded on inscriptions in situ at Bavian. There are also rock reliefs made at the same time near the dam and the canal. In the same area carved *apkallu* and *lamassu* statues were found. In the same area carved *apkallu* and *lamassu* statues were found (see fig.4.14. a-g). Sennacherib in his inscription says that he collected the waters of the rivers Pulpulliya (mod. Gomel). Gammara (a tributary from mod. Sheykh ‘Adi), and Khanusa (mod. Bavian), and joined the streams to let them flow into the Jerwan canal (See, map.4.1).²⁵⁵⁹



Map.4.1. Map of water sources, rivers and their tributaries, and seasonal rivers north-east of Nineveh and Khorsabad (after Oates 1968: fig. 3).

²⁵⁵⁸ SAATU II: 144, 17, viii.31-32.

²⁵⁵⁹ Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935: 20f.; Ur 2005: 339; Oates 1968:51f, fig.4..

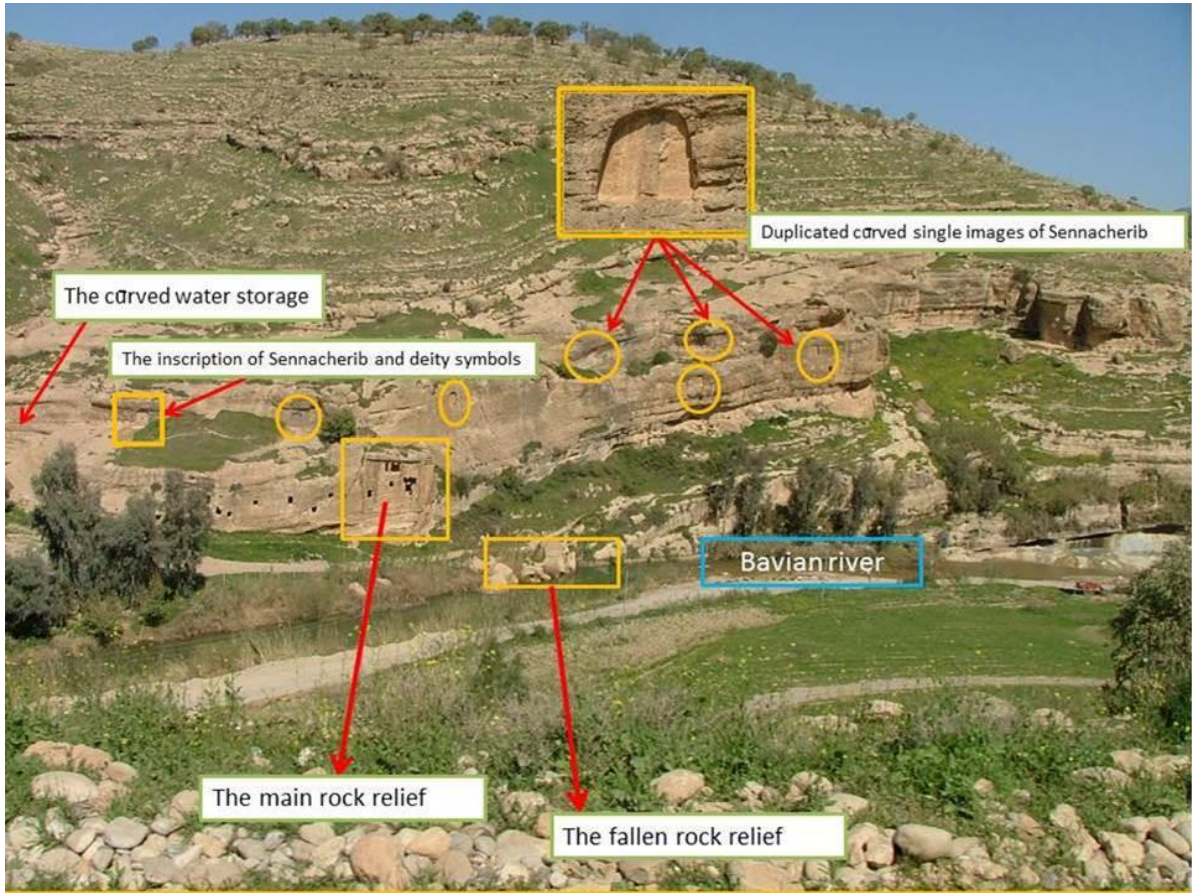
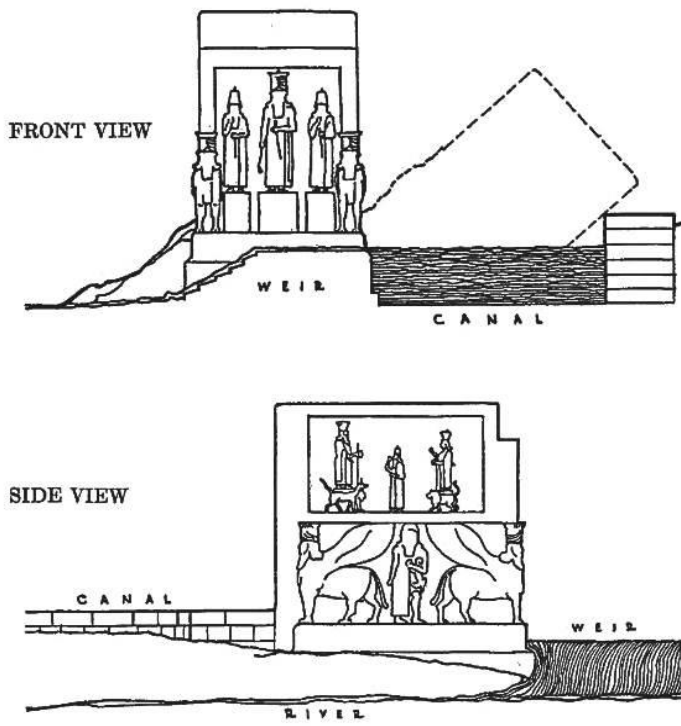
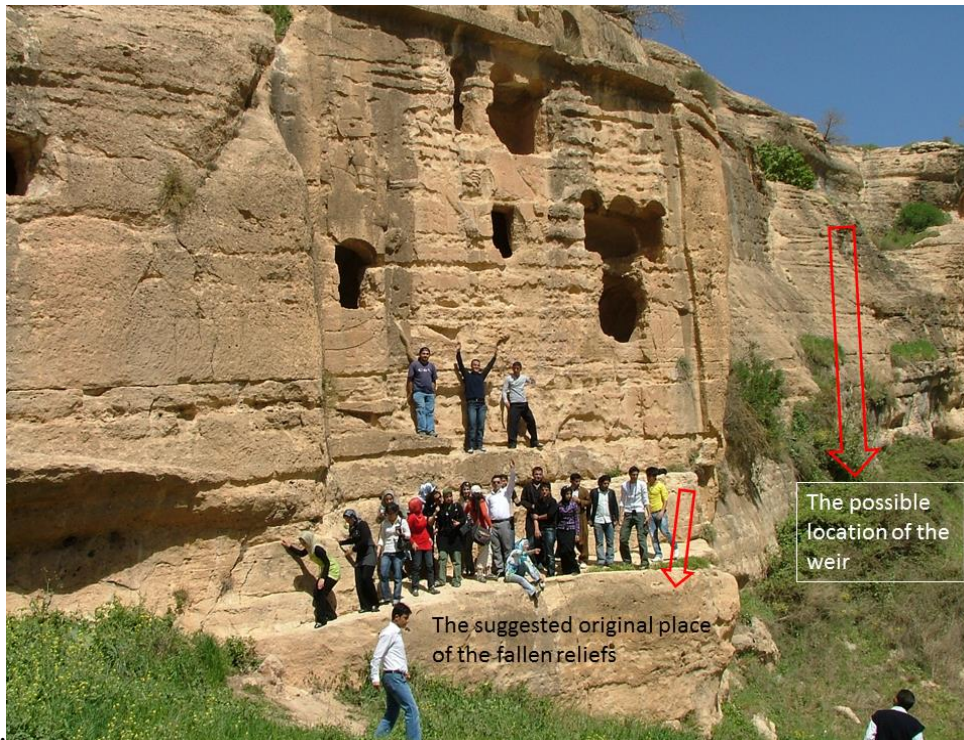


Fig. 4.14. a. General view of the Hinis hydraulic project of Sennacherib at the point where it begins. (Photo by the author).



b.

Fig.4.14.b. Tentative restoration of the head of the canal Hinis at Bavian (after Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935: fig.12).



c.

Fig.4.14. c. The main rock relief of Sennacherib in Hinis on the western bank of Bavian river. (Photo by the author).



d.



e.

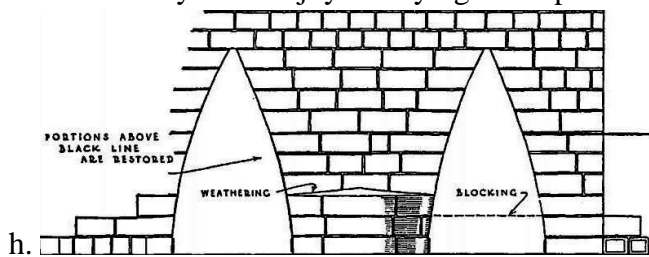
Fig. 4.14. d-e. The fallen rock reliefs of Sennacherib in the Bavian river, the reliefs were originally carved on the rocky face, below the main rock relief. They show Sennacherib in front of Ashur, standing on an animal. Below are two *lamassu* (fig. 1. d) and one fish-garbed sculture (*apkallū*)²⁵⁶⁰ (fig. 1. e) figures, semi-sculpted from the rock. (Photo by the author).

²⁵⁶⁰ For further details concerning the ‘fish-garbed figure’ see Black and Green: 1992: 18, 65, 82f.



f. g.
 Fig. 4.14.f. The beginning of the canal. This canal flows through a tunnel carved from the rock of the mountain, to supply Nineveh with fresh water from Bavian. (Photo by the author).
 g. The tunnel, at the beginning of the Hinis canal. (Photo by the author).

Sennacherib made a summer residence at Hinis, on the west bank of the river Bavian, , and the preparations for a waterfall can be seen. A similar view is depicted on a relief from Nineveh, which shows a façade of a columned portico built on a mountain slope. On this relief of Sennacherib an altar can be seen below, and to the right, there are aqueducts and a waterfall flowing down the slope. The area is one of mountain orchards. This view of Hinis and Jerwan is probably seen on an Assyrian relief, the columned porticos on the Assyrian reliefs).²⁵⁶¹ It is a general scene of the Hinis park.²⁵⁶² The columned aiwan called by Reade a ‘summer-house’ of Sennacherib, is compared by Reade to a “*similar arrangement at Bahandawaya at the head of Sennacherib’s Wadi al-Milh canal,*” where there is a rock relief of Sennacherib carved in a niche above the tunnel at the top of the mountain.²⁵⁶³ But it is probably a view from Hinis and Jerwan (Fig. 4.14. h-i). In the spring or summer seasons Sennacherib may have enjoyed staying at his park at Bavian.



h.
 Fig. 4.14. h. A drawing of the Jerwan aqueduct (after Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935: fig.4).

²⁵⁶¹Reade 1998b: 85, 88, fig.5.

²⁵⁶²Reade 1998b: 85, 88, fig.5.

²⁵⁶³Reade 1998b: 87-88, fig.7-8.



Fig.4.14.i. Carved pits and small channels on the rock for the waterfall at Sennacherib's summer residence in Hiniš. (Photo by the author).

An important canal supplied Arbail with water from the river **Bastora**. The Bastora canal had probably been a simple local hydraulic project before Sennacherib's involvement. Sennacherib renovated and extended it.²⁵⁶⁴ A commemorative stone inscription was inserted at the gate of the canal on the bank of the river Bastora at Qalamortka/Qalamuchka. Sennacherib states clearly that he dug this canal to supply the city of Arbail with fresh water. It was probably used for normal domestic consumption in Arbail, not for agriculture.²⁵⁶⁵ The inscription of Sennacherib found in situ at the gate of the canal (see fig.4.15. a-c), it has been translated by Safar:²⁵⁶⁶

"¹Sennacherib king of the world, king of Assyria (says). ²Three rivers which from the mountain Khani-Shade. ³That from above Arbail-the waters of Kunipi. ⁴Those to the right and left at the sides of the rivers Shatidu. ⁵I dug. And I gathered it together. ⁶I dug a canal to the midst of the city Arbil. ⁷The dwelling place of the goddess Ishtar, the great (?) lady. ⁸And I caused its courses to be straight."

'The mountain Khani-Shade' KUR *Ḫa-a-ni-šad-e* is probably mod. Mt. Khanzad,²⁵⁶⁷ from which three rivers flowed southwestward and were linked by Sennacherib.²⁵⁶⁸

²⁵⁶⁴Oates 1968:47.

²⁵⁶⁵ During recent excavations and a construction project in the citadel of Erbil (ancient Arbail) the well in the centre of the city was cleaned to a depth of 52m. The well was used until the 1950s. I heard from the elders who lived during their childhood in the citadel that one or two donkeys used to pull the bucket of water from the well. Also, according to the people of Arbail, in the last century two tunnels were uncovered at the foot of the citadel, one from the southeast and the other from the southwest of Arbail. These tunnels were probably used as secret passages during sieges and enemy campaigns. Also, there was a 'seasonal' river flowing east-southeast of the citadel of Erbil until the 1970s. This seasonal river came down from the springs, Karêzs, and water-sources on the eastern hills near the city, and it flowed into the valley of the Jewish district of Ta'jeel, then downstream near the minaret of Erbil (Mudafariya). (Personal communication with Mr. Sangar Abdullah, the member of the consul of *High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalization (=HCECR)*). Probably the water of this river was used for the moat around the citadel, depicted on the relief of Nineveh from the reign of Ashurbanipal. (See Gadd 1936: pl.28).

²⁵⁶⁶General Directorate of Antiquities 1946: 50-52.

²⁵⁶⁷Through the Volksetymologie *Hanishadi* changed to mod. Hanzad, in a discussion about this identification which I suggest, Kozad Ahmed suggested that probably even during the Assyrian period the mountain was locally called *Hanizhadi*, according to him the letter /zh/ is a Hurrian letter, the language of the local people, which is probably pronounced or recorded by the Assyrians as /sh/ and by the mod. Kurds as /z/.



Fig. 4.15.a. The inscription of Sennachrib at the gate of the canal at Qalamuchka, on the Khanzad-river (after General Directorate of Antiquities 1946: 50-52).



b.



c.

²⁵⁶⁸General Directorate of Antiquities 1946: 51.

Fig.4.15. b. The gate of the Bastora/Qalamuchka canal of Sennacherib on the western bank of the river Bastora/Khanzad. (Photo by the author).

c. The gate of Bastora canal built with huge carved stones. (Photo by Maulud Ibrahim).

Table 4.1. The Assyrian hydraulic projects, (include the four stages of Sennacherib’s canal system; dates based on Bagg 2000: Table 5 and *RINAP* 3/1; Ur 2005: 340).

Name of the canal	Period/reign	destination (km)	Modern name
Ishme-dagan canal	18 th century BCE	-	Assyrian heartland west of the Lower Zab
Middle Assyrian (Tukulti-Ninurta I) <i>Pattu-mēšari</i> “Canal of Justice”	1243-1207 BCE	-	Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta
Ashurnasirpal (<i>Patti-hegalli</i> (“The Canal of Abundance”) irrigation canal. The Negüb Tunnel	882-858 BCE	-	Nimrud and its surrounding
Sargon II	ca.706?	-	Khorsabad canals
Kisiri Canal by Senacherib	702-700	13.4.	0.95(al-Shallalat-fork)
Muşri System by Senacherib	700-694	-	-
The Northern System: by Senacherib	Ca. 690	46.4 (total)	-
Maltai by Senacherib	-	4.2	4.0
Faida by Senacherib	-	9.7	1.6
Bandwai (Bahnadawaya) by Senacherib	-	5.0	0.8-1.0 (earthwork)
Uskof by Senacherib	-	4.4	1.2 (earthwork)
Tarbisu by Sennacherib	-	23.1	0.6
Khinis Canal by Sennacherib	ca. 690-688	55.0	0.9 (Gomel-Jerwan)
Bastora-Erbil by Sennacherib	-	ca. 40	Qala-muchka /Bastora on Khanzad river

The Assyrians during the reign of Sargon were amazed by the irrigation canal of Ulhu in the Urmia basin, at the palace of the Urartian king Rusa in Ulhu.²⁵⁶⁹ Although we cannot prove Urartian influence, we do know that the Urartians undertook many grand hydraulic projects (see below). But the Assyrians even before Sargon and Sennacherib were also similarly involved projects, which lessens the possibility of Urartian influence.

A canal in Kawr Gosk village, near the Upper Zab, called by Ur ‘Canal B’. ‘Canal A’ continues to the west of Qasir-Shmamok (ancient Kilizi), which is linked by Ur to the *Patti-hegalli* canal, dug during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II from the Upper Zab to the neighbourhood of Kalhu.²⁵⁷⁰

²⁵⁶⁹ ARAB II 161; Oates 1968:47; Çifci and Greaves 2013: 191-214.

²⁵⁷⁰ RIMA II A.0.101.1: iii 133-136; Ur, et al., 2013: 106; Ur 2005:325ff; Oates 1968:45-48.

Tiglath-pileser III in 740/739 BCE, who had served in the Assyrian army (probably as an auxiliary army), made an outlet canal.²⁵⁷¹ In the area of Kilizi deportees from the Zagros, the Ullubeans, worked on digging it out.²⁵⁷²

“.... I have asked what my lord ordered me to do concerning the Ullubeans in the service of Inurta-ila'i: the equipment has been [pi]led up, his shortage is all [rig]ht.... ..., he will be [in] Kilizi (and) [may] command my troops. I will have marching drills [wi]th him, and he will then (go). I have made an outlet canal (and) the fl[ood] has passed by.”

After the fall of Nineveh some canals will have continued in use as in the past, or local people and local rulers will have used them for irrigation and domestic water for the nearby settlements. Sennacherib's canal of Bastora supplied Erbil with water until the 1950s.²⁵⁷³

Locally in the Zagros another hydraulic method is sometimes now used, called *Karêz* in Kurdish-Perisan and *Qanat* in Arabic. It involves “a subterranean channel, excavated and maintained by means of horizontal shafts that taps the water table and guides water to the homes and fields of villages across the plain.”²⁵⁷⁴ In Erbil the *Karêz-i Kasnazan* starts in the foothills ca. 10km east of the city center, east of the citadel. It still works, and was probably also used in antiquity. In the city of Sulaimania during 1784-1950s the main source for public and private water was from several *Karêzes* constructed within the city. Water flowed under the houses and mosques of the city, and people used this water daily.²⁵⁷⁵ The technique of *Karêz* is not new, “the technology (of *Karêz*) may have been introduced by the Medes or Achaemenids.”²⁵⁷⁶ Probably the *Karêz* system was used for local projects in the Zagros at the time of the Assyrian empire.

The Assyrians and the Urartians developed similar hydraulic projects, such as subterranean channels, rock cut tunnels, *qanats*, dams, barrages and cisterns. The Urartian king in the 9th century BCE, built the “Menua canal,” to supply the Urartian capital Tushpa with water.²⁵⁷⁷ That canal still supplies the plain east of Van with water.²⁵⁷⁸ The Urartian king Rusa son of Erimena was conducted extensive irrigation works, in this way he was like Sennacherib of Assyria in providing the Urartian capital Tushpa and the hill fort Rusahinili (Toprakkale) with water.”²⁵⁷⁹ Argishti also built a dam for irrigation.²⁵⁸⁰

Sargon II during his eighth campaign arrived in the area of Urmia basin. In addition to destroying cities and towns during this campaign, he also describes in a literary way the

²⁵⁷¹For further details about the campaign of Tiglath-pileser III on Ulluba see *RINAP* 1: 37, 1-54, p.89

²⁵⁷²SAA XIX 65.

²⁵⁷³Personal communication with the older people at the citadel.

²⁵⁷⁴Ur, et al., 2013:107f.

²⁵⁷⁵Recently the municipality re-used all of them for supplying some districts of the city with water, and the rest of the city was supplied by the rivers of Serchinar to the west of the city, and also the Lower Zab.

²⁵⁷⁶Ur, et al., 2013: 107f.

²⁵⁷⁷Kleiss 2012: 61f., 76; Burney 1977: 4; Burney 2012.

²⁵⁷⁸Tarhan 2011: 290ff. For further details about the Urartian hydraulic projects see Belli 1994: 9-30; Dalley 2005: 39-43; Çifci and Greaves 2013: 191-214.

²⁵⁷⁹Kroll, et al., 2012:17; Kroll 2012b:183-186; Roaf 2012a: 187-216. The Kešiš Göl Stele describing commemorates the irrigation works constructed by Rusa Erimena (=Rusa III) for Rusahinili (Toprakkale), for further details, see *CTU* A 14-1, *CTU* A 14-2.

²⁵⁸⁰For further details see Greppin 2008: 80.

irrigation works, gardens and fields in the vicinity of the city of Ulḫu, and the fortress of Shardurihurda in Sangibutu province. Sargon described the moat and the canal at the city. “The canal which protects it, its flow (?) I blocked (dammed) and the waters.....I turned into a morass.”²⁵⁸¹

Sargon also describes in detail how he destroyed the orchards and fruit growing at Ulḫu, and he gives other details about the palace and storage places in the city.²⁵⁸² Roaf comments: “it is surprising that the Assyrian king should have devoted so much space in his inscription to the building activities of his Urartian enemy”. Roaf agrees with Zaccagnini, Zaccagnini suggests that this passage of Sargon was probably based on a recorded Urartian royal inscription. If so, probably the Urartian royal inscription (probably by Rusa) was erected on a stele seen by the Assyrians in situ.²⁵⁸³ Although this is possible, it seems that Ulhu was one of the luxurious cities in Urmia basin at that time. It was the ‘royal dwelling’ and stronghold of the Urartian king Ursa/Rusa. It is described as having a canal, orchards, abundant crops of fruit, vast stores of grain and wine. It was the second luxurious city Sargon had plundered in his campaigns after Musasir. In the area of Urmia basin several canals had been dug in antiquity, including the rock-cut canal above Barda-kunte in Sauj-Bulagh (Mahabad),²⁵⁸⁴ and the Sangar Water Storage Pond, etc.²⁵⁸⁵

The **Gawri canal** in the district Garmiyan is built on the Sirwan/Diyala river. It is a long canal built with stones in antiquity. It has been assumed that it may be date to the Sassanian period, but it could be older than that (Fig. 4.16).



Fig. 4.16. A view of the Gawri canal, on the river Sirwan/Upper Diyala. (Photo by Muhamad Ali).

²⁵⁸¹ ARAB II 161.

²⁵⁸² For further details see ARAB II 161.

²⁵⁸³ Roaf 2012a: p.191, note.14. p.200, note.39; Zaccagnini 1981: 259-295.

²⁵⁸⁴ Stein 1940: 410ff., fig.112.

²⁵⁸⁵ Ashayeri 2012: 129.

It can be seen that hydraulic projects were always considered crucial undertakings for kings, and the kings of the ancient Near East proudly mentioned them in commemorative inscriptions, including rock reliefs. The engineers and the skilled workers who designed these projects were treated well by their kings, who presented them with luxurious gifts. Sennacherib awarded some men who had dug a canal with splendid gifts: “*Those men who dug that canal I clothed with linen (and) brightly colored (woolen) garments. Golden rings, daggers of gold, I put upon them.*”²⁵⁸⁶

The Urartian kings also documented their hydraulic projects with royal inscriptions. They were inscribed on steles usually in situ or near the work itself. The Urartian inscription of Kešiš Göl deals with collecting water and building a dam in a mountain range east of Van.²⁵⁸⁷ The inscription mentions sacrifices to several deities. It starts with Haldi and later in the list Ashur is also mentioned. These deities received sacrifices and were worshipped once the dam was finished.²⁵⁸⁸ Scholars are curious to know why the name of Ashur is mentioned in the Urartian heartland, especially “*in this rural area,*” among a list of “*minor deities*” of Urartu. Zimansky related it to Assyrian deportees.²⁵⁸⁹

Zimansky assumes that it may be connected to some Assyrian deportees living in that area, probably used as corvée workers in that project. This reflected the Assyrian political and military interactions resulting from the conflicts between Assyria and Urartu. The Assyrians were also known to link foreign deities to their own pantheon, especially Babylonian deities. But we find no mention of Urartian and Zagrosian deities in Assyria in dedicatory inscriptions.

Archaeological evidence from Hinis shows that the Assyrians made **weirs** in front of the mouth of the canals. The main purpose of these weirs was to divert river water into the canals. Several Assyrian weirs and dams are known to scholars, including *Khinis* (mod. Bavian) and *Kisiri* (mod. al-Shallalat), and at Tell Uskof. It has been assumed that there may be one at Maltai and one at Bandawi. At Bandawi there is a rock-cut relief of Sennacherib with a tunnel below it. As well as weirs it is assumed that Ashurnasirpal dammed the Khazir.²⁵⁹⁰

At Bavian a ‘little dam’ is carved from the rocky side of the west bank of the river, which diverted the flow into the gate of the canal of Sennacherib below the ‘dam’. Above the dam is a commemorative inscription of Sennacherib, and remains of rock reliefs on the mountain face. There are eleven images of Sennacherib randomly carved into the rock at several places, each with a separate frame. The main rock relief depicts the Assyrian king accompanied by deities, probably Ashur and his partner, and semi-round sculptures of *apkallu* and *lammasu* which have now fallen into the river. The remains of two small lions are in situ, and a life-sized lion is at the top of the main rock relief (Fig.4.14. d-e).

During field work around the gate of the Bastora canal north-east of Erbil, made by Sennacherib to supply Arbail with fresh water from the river Khanzad. I found archaeological evidence indicating that at Bastora Sennacherib had erected furnished stones in front of the gate of the canal over a hundred metres wide and several hundred metres long. The furnished

²⁵⁸⁶ARAB II 337.

²⁵⁸⁷CTU A 14-1; A 14-2; Roaf 2012a:187-216.

²⁵⁸⁸Zimansky 2011: 111-112.

²⁵⁸⁹Zimansky 2011: 112; Grekyan 2014: 57-94. For further details see Chapter II, 2.5.16.

²⁵⁹⁰Ur 2005: 339; Reade 1998b: 87, fig.7.

stones were used by the Assyrians when they constructed the canal. Probably there was a dam-like barrier beside the canal, and these stones protected the bed of the river to maintain its level and direction. Otherwise water flowing in the canal would fill up, but these stones would keep it fresh and stop the water of the dam escaping too soon. The waters of the river Khanzad river and other tributaries were diverted into the canal and then to Arbail. The stones raised the level of the water to double its regular height, which helped it to flow to the canal, which is above the level of the river (Fig.4. 17.a). Similarly, in the Jerwana project of Sennacherib there is a long and wide area with regular carved stones. Here this was probably not used as a dam, but only to let the water flow over the ground and not soak away into the dry soil. There are parapets on the right side, probably to prevent the waters flowing away to the parched stone (Fig.4. 17.b).²⁵⁹¹



a.



b.

Fig.4. 17.a. A view from the river of Bastora, in front of the gate of the canal. The river bed is overlaid with stones. This photo was taken during a very late summer, when the river had dried. (Photo by the author)

b. A view of the Gerwan canal. In the foreground are remains of paved stones. In the background is an underlying layer of concrete (after Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935: fig. 7. b).

²⁵⁹¹ Also recently a field work at Gerwan updated some information, for further details see Fales & del Fabbro 2013. 225-282.

Weirs and dams probably needed a regular schedule of repairs and cleaning, especially after the heavy rains of the early and mid spring in the Zagros which still cause unexpected extensive floods. Even modern small dams are washed away. The floods may not always have destroyed the dams, but they would need the mud cleaned away.²⁵⁹² The Assyrians and the Urartians constructed cisterns or ‘small dams’ as well as artificial lakes.²⁵⁹³

In the Zagros the remains of what were probably ancient dams and artificial lakes have been noted. Most of the modern villages in the valleys of the Zagros are located on the banks of rivers or tributaries. One or two have found ways of storing river water for irrigation. One method is with a *hawz* “spring-pool,” built at a spring and used only for drinking and domestic consumption. The other method is called *binawan*, built in the rivers where it flows naturally into a deep ‘gom’ pond. There farmers build a dam-like barrier with stones, branches and reeds, and where necessary sand, soil and mud. The water collected rises and flows into canals, and then into irrigation channels over the fields. They build these dams usually in early summer, and use them until the middle of the autumn. If the heavy rains of winter and spring wash away the dam, or part of it, they have to build a new *binawan* in the following summer. These local projects still employ traditional techniques, but now some villages are using motorised pumps to take the water from the dam to the cultivated slopes. Probably in antiquity similar techniques were used for summer irrigation, especially in the Zagros, where the rivers always flowing in deep valleys and usually the farmland is much higher than the rivers. Probably what is called the fortifications in the **Simaquly valley** was a local dam. Recently in the same place the Directorate of Dams and Water sources of Erbil have started to build a dam exactly there.²⁵⁹⁴

Dam-like barriers were probably also built to protect land on the river banks, city walls, and palaces from floods. In Ashur Adad-nārārī I built an embankment or a quay wall for his city of Ashur to protect it from the Tigris floods.²⁵⁹⁵ In the Zagros, the local kings of Idu (mod. Satu Qala) built embankments for the same purpose against the floods of the Lower Zab.²⁵⁹⁶

In antiquity, cities, forts, and strongholds needed secure sources for water sources. Failure to do this led to them falling while others survived. It was as important for the cities, fortress, and strongholds at the frontiers of the kingdoms and empires, as well as for the capital and major cities. These water sources were usually hidden, and not very many people in a city knew the ultimate source of their water. Examples in Assyria and the Zagros include the city of Arbail. Fresh water came there from the river Khanzad via the canal of Sennacherib. The canal flowed directly through the residential mound beneath the centre of the citadel. There was a well, from which the water was raised for daily use, especially for drinking. In the Zagros, excavators at Tepe Nush-i Jan found a shaft beneath the Columned Hall, dug to a depth of 18m (fig. 4.c.). It was probably a well “to secure water.”²⁵⁹⁷ In the Harir castle in the

²⁵⁹²Jacobsen & Lloyd 1935: 33, 42, 49; Ur 2005: 340f.

²⁵⁹³For further details see Belli 1994:9-30; Kroll, S., et al., 2012: 17.

²⁵⁹⁴For further details about the archaeological remains which were considered by Abdul-Raqeeb Yusif as fortifications see Yusif 2010: 319ff.

²⁵⁹⁵For further details see *RIMA I* A.0.76.11; A.0.76.1 A.0.76.8: 23-31; van Soldt, et al., 2013:210, note.20.

²⁵⁹⁶van Soldt et al., 2013: 210. For further details see this chapter, 4.1.1.

²⁵⁹⁷Yamauchi 1990: 44; Stronach 1968; Stronach & Roaf 1973.

mountain range of Bani-Harir, a well was carved into the mountain, and several little channels were carved along the rocks to drain rain water from the well. The water was used for drinking. An Assyrian relief shows an Assyrian soldier finding a tunnel in one of the cities under siege during an Assyrian attack. He cuts the rope used to raise the bucket from this secure well.²⁵⁹⁸ It is a symbolic action for in the time of the Assyrians cutting off the water sources from a besieged city means it will soon have to surrender. Further resistance is sure to fail, especially in summer.

In conclusion, the Assyrians undertook several large hydraulic projects, most of them starting in the Zagros Mountains, where there was abundant fresh water from springs and rivers. Assyrian kings recorded their projects in commemorative inscriptions and rock carvings at the site of the start of the project in the Zagros mountain ranges, to the north and north-east of the Assyrian heartland and the Assyrian capitals.

The Assyrians took the fresh water of the Zagros through canals, and used the people of the Zagros to dig the canals and do other work involved in the hydraulic projects. This happened during the Old Assyrian period when the soldiers of Turruku and Qabra joined the labour force for a canal east of the Tigris in the Assyrian heartland. Also, during the Neo-Assyrian period with Ullubian deportees who dug the canal at Kilizi, and

During my fieldwork for this dissertation, I found that along the river in Bastora Sennacherib had lined about 100 square metres of the river bed with large roughly shaped stones. It is similar to the platform on the Jerwana, making the muddy water from the spring clear and fresh. There may have been a kind of dam with soil or sand upstream to raise the water level to the entrance of the tunnel. In field observations the author has discussed the styles of local Zagros water projects and other details about Hini's project.

The Assyrian Hydraulic projects on the Zagros and beyond will have been influenced. We are sure that both Assyrians and Urtians developed hydraulic projects in the Zagros. The Assyrian projects were mostly designed to supply the Assyrian capitals and the major cities of the Assyrian heartland with freshwater from the Zagros. The Urtian projects that we know about supplied the royal Urtian residence cities such as in Ulhu. The Urtians also built several settlements and fortresses which were supplied with water through canals. Both the Assyrians and the Urtians used Zagrosian deportees and native Zagrosians to work on hydraulic projects. It is assumed that the Urtians used Assyrian deportees similarly.

Floods from the Zagros Mountains after heavy rain and melting snow caused major disasters for these hydraulic projects. As a safeguard Assyrians, Urtians and local residents built dams, barriers, cisterns and weirs, to protect the projects and the settlements and to retain water for the dry season. We have given an overview of these projects.

²⁵⁹⁸Bagg 2000: pl.18.

4.11. Roads and passes from Assyria to the Zagros

*Gilgamesh the tall, magnificent and terrible,
Who opened passes in the mountains*²⁵⁹⁹
(*The Epic of Gilgamesh I 40-43*)

There are some hints in the Assyrian inscriptions about the roads and passages and I will briefly discuss them, especially those related to the Zagros. In the Zagros there were some crossroads which gave the traveller a choice of destinations. When Sennacherib was in Media at one of these crossroads he decided to go to Elippi, “*The front of my yoke I turned (i.e., I turned about) and took the road to the land of the Elippi.*”²⁶⁰⁰

The Assyrians sometimes during military campaigns followed a route through a pass, rather than traversing the impossible mountain terrain. Tukultī-Ninurta II (890-884 BC) in his campaign against the Arameans and the Lullubu at the bank of the Lower Zab describes the mountainous area.²⁶⁰¹

“in the hills of Mount Išrun one could cross neither with my chariots nor with cavalry [...], I ascended after them on foot up the hills of Mount Isrun, a rough area wherein even the winged eagle of the heavens [cannot go].”

Sometimes they opened up new routes to inaccessible places. Some Assyrian kings in their annals refer to their soldiers cutting trees and smashing rocks and stones to make new roads in untracked territory. Ashurnasirpal in Zamua claimed that the road was unsuitable for chariots, so he made a new route.²⁶⁰²

“Moving on from the city Zamru to Mount Lāra, a rugged mountain which was unsuitable for chariotry (and) troops, I cut through with iron axes (and) I smashed (a way) with copper picks. (Thus) was I able to move forward the chariotry (and) troops. I went down to the city TukuItī-Aššur-asbat which the Lullu call Arrakdu.”

The *harran šarri* “royal road” to Zamua is mentioned in two administrative letters. One was sent to Tiglath-pileser III by the governor of Urzuhuina, Nergal-uballit, mentioning a royal road from Arzuhina to Azari in the direction of Zamua.²⁶⁰³

The ‘royal road’ to **Mazamua** is mentioned in an Assyrian administrative letter sent to Sargon II. The beginning of the letter is destroyed, so we do not know the earlier stages of the road Parpola gave a title to that letter “*Cleaning up the Royal Road to Mazamua.*”²⁶⁰⁴

[I gave him] the follo[wing] ord[er]: “[.....] (Break) [He said]: “[.....]; where [...], they are sending [...] to the ri[ght] and left on various errands. I remove [...] from Sarê to Dur-Atanate, the Arraphaeans remove [...] from Dur-Atanate to Dur-Taliti, [I] remove [the...] again from Dur-Taliti to Azari (Rest Destroyed).

Sargon II, in his annals against the eastern districts of Mannea describes the roads and passes and how he opened roads in the mountainous area.²⁶⁰⁵

²⁵⁹⁹George 1993:p.2, I 40-43.

²⁶⁰⁰ARAB II 237.

²⁶⁰¹ARAM II: A.0.100.15: 37-39.

²⁶⁰²RIMA II: A.0. 101.1: ii 76b-77b.

²⁶⁰³Saggs 1958: 188f.

²⁶⁰⁴SAA V 229.

²⁶⁰⁵ARAB II 142.

“Against the lands of Zikirtu and Andia I guided the yoke (i.e., the chariot) of Nergal and Adad, (whose) emblems go before me. Between Mount Nikippa and Mount Upâ, high mountains, covered with all kinds of trees, whose surface was a jungle, whose passes were frightful, over whose area shadows stretch as in a cedar forest, the traveler of whose paths never sees the light of the sun, I marched. The Bûa River, which (flows) between them, I crossed as many twenty-six times, my army being unafraid of the high waters of its flood. Mount Simirria, a large mountain peak, which stands out like the blade of a lance, raising its head above the mountains where the goddess Bêlit-ilâni 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 Bêlit-ilâni 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 high mountain as (one does in breaking) blocks of building stone, making a good road. I kept at the head of my army and made my chariots, cavalry and infantry fly over that (peak) like fierce (brace) eagles. I had the laborers (camp-followers) and sappers follow behind them. The camels and baggage asses scrambled to the summit of the peak like wild goats, natives of the mountain-(side). I brought the dense masses of Ashur’s hosts up the steep ascent in safety, and set my camp in order on top of that mountain.”

Sargon II in his eighth campaign turned from Urmia westward and took an unexpected road to Musasir. He went from the east of Musasir to the west and then he crossed the Upper Zab. He approached Musasir from the west, but even so it was a difficult route. Sargon describes it in detail.²⁶⁰⁶

“I set out and took the road to Musasir, a difficult road and brought my army up Mount Arsiu, a might mountain, whose ascent, like the climbing of a peak(?), is without ascent. The Upper Zab, which the people of Nairi and Kirhi called the Elamunia, 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,; where no king had ever passed, whose trail no prince who went before me had ever seen; their great wild tree trunks I rore down and cut through their steep peaks (?) with bronze axes. A narrow road, a strait passage, where the foot soldiers passed side-away, I prepared (“made good”) for the passage of my army between them. My (battle-)chariot came up with ropes, while I, with (several) mounts of horses, took the lead of my army. My warriors and (their) horses, who go at my side, narrowed down to single file and made their wearisome way.”

²⁶⁰⁶ARAB II 170.

If the Assyrian army could not find a pass or an access road, they sometimes walked through rivers upstream or downstream. Sennacherib's army came to a point where they could not find any accessible road so they waded up the Upper Zab to Ukku.²⁶⁰⁷

Royal chariots are depicted on one of the panels on the Bronze Gate of Balawat which shows very rugged mountains (see Fig. 4.18). A royal chariot and the Assyrian cavalry in a rugged mountainous area, depicted on a panel of glazed brick below the façade of the temple of Ashur at Ashur (Fig. 3.9.a).²⁶⁰⁸



Fig. 4.18. An Assyrian royal chariot of Shalmaneser III in a mountainous area of the Northern Zagros in Urartu near Sugunia, depicted on the Bronze Gate of Balawat (after King 1915: pl. III, Band I.3).

Archaeological evidence is sparse. In 1989, Dyson assumed that they had found a “triple road system” in **Hasanlu**.²⁶⁰⁹ Kroll assumes that the structure is ‘nether road, nor triple’.²⁶¹⁰ Kroll found that the structure was originally part of a double building, according to the plan published by Dyson himself earlier. Kroll also noticed that the field plans and photographs of the structure in the Hasanlu archive show that the published plan by Dyson in 1989 “is a mere invention.”²⁶¹¹ He noticed that “*the crude stone bases and a door socket in the aisle between the pavements were removed from the plan as they were not in accord with the idea of a triple road.*”²⁶¹² Therefore, Kroll rejected this assumption, and re-identified the structures as long, narrow halls, paved with stones, with small side channels. According to Kroll they are actually horse stables.²⁶¹³ He explains his arguments and compared them with examples from Atlintepe and Bastam. Also the “*southern citadel*” of Ayanis he considered to be “*lodgings for the garrison and a horse-stable for about sixty horses; a mill, a bakery and small magazines were also found.*”²⁶¹⁴ He concludes that the so called “*Triple Road System*” is actually stabling for horses. Kroll is probably correct. He explained that the roads would go nowhere.²⁶¹⁵

Kroll who accepts or rather suggests that “Hasanlu is to be identified as Gilzanu in Neo-Assyrian sources.” and supports identifying what was found as horse stables. He connects it with Assyrian inscriptions which mention Gilzanu as a major source of horses, usually given

²⁶⁰⁷ SAA XIX, fig.21.

²⁶⁰⁸ Andrea 1925: pl. 6.

²⁶⁰⁹ For further details see for instance, Dyson 1989: 110-111, fig.4.

²⁶¹⁰ Kroll 2011: 150-171, 153ff, fig.4.

²⁶¹¹ Kroll 2013a: 179. Also for further details and discussion see Dyson 1989:110, fig.4; Kroll 1992: 65-72.

²⁶¹² Kroll 2013a: 179-180, fig.4; Kroll 2012a: 277-284.

²⁶¹³ Kroll 2011:154.

²⁶¹⁴ Kroll 2011:166.

²⁶¹⁵ Kroll 2011:154-5; Roaf 2012b:5.

to the Assyrians as tribute, especially during the 9th century BCE.²⁶¹⁶ Kroll concludes that “*it makes sense to call these and many more long paved structures at Hasanlu as horse stables and not road systems.*”²⁶¹⁷ On the other hand Dyson also recognised that Hasanlu and the Urmia basin was the main source of horses for Assyria in the 9th century BCE. He recalls that Ashurnasirpal II was the first to add cavalry to the Assyrian army, “*perhaps inspired by military practices in north-west Iran*”.²⁶¹⁸ Although Kroll rejected Dyson’s assumption of the triple buildings of Hasanlu as ‘a road system’ that Dyson suggested the Assyrians adopted the idea of using cavalry in their army from the Northern Zagros is interesting. The Zagros could well have been the main source of horses for the Assyrians, but it is not easy to prove it.

At the gate of most cities and castles there were roads for chariots, cavalry, and pedestrians. Some of the roads were depicted on Assyrian reliefs, and others were found in archaeological excavations. Roads and tracks outside the city walls are rarely found in the Zagros. The path with a high terrace made with dry stones was identified by Akram Shukry in 1950s. Akram Shukry in 1950s and Postgate calls it a mule-track, and Jamaladdin a chariot road, which went up to the Zagrosian fortified city of the land of Ulluba, occupied by Tiglath-pileser III.²⁶¹⁹ The Assyrian king recorded his triumph on the city, on a rock relief near this roadway.²⁶²⁰ URU.*birtu* of Ulluba in Assyrian records can be translated as “*the citadel of Ulluba,*” not a place-name Birtu in Ulluba, and probably there was a citadel at Birtu.²⁶²¹ The rock inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III list several Ullubian cities annexed by Assyria. The first is Bitirru, probably because it was closest to the relief and the most important city. The recently discovered ramp in the adjacent rock relief of Tiglath-pileser III leading to the top of the mound may well be the remains of Bitirru.

About 30km to the south of Ulluba, in Semil, to the west of Duhok, 50 km north of Nineveh, at the mound of Semil, an Assyrian palace from the reign of Shalmaneser III was discovered. The remains of the wheels of chariots were identified on the rocky ground there.²⁶²²

In the Assyrian annals, several roads are mentioned as used by the Assyrian kings in their campaigns against the Zagros. There was a road from Arbail directly to the north-eastern mountains, to Kurruri and beyond. Another went to the mountains in the east, crossing the Lower Zab to Zamua and beyond. Another started at Kilizi going to the Lower Zab, to Arrapha or to Arzukhina, then to Zamua and beyond. Other roads to the Zagros directly from

²⁶¹⁶RIMA II A.0.101.17: 80a; RIMA III: A.0.102.2: 38-40.

²⁶¹⁷Kroll 2010a: 26.

²⁶¹⁸Dyson 1989: 111.

²⁶¹⁹Postgate 1973b: 58f.; Shukri 1954: 89f. Ulluba is located ca. 170km to the north of Nineveh. It was a place where the Ullubians were defeated by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III, in his 7th *palû* ca.739 BCE. He commemorated his victory on a rock relief, showing himself with an inscription on a rock face below the fortress of the city of Ulluba, in the area near the village of Mila-Mergi east of Zakho. For further details see *RINAP* I: 37. I am indebted to Mr. Bekas Jamalludin who generously shared with me his thought about his discovery, and also led me to publish the photos of the “chariot road.” Also, see Shukri 1954: 86-93; Postgate 1973b: 47-60.fig.7.

²⁶²⁰For further details about the rock relief of Tiglath-pileser III, see chapter III, 3.1.1.

²⁶²¹For further details see *SAAS* II: p. 59; Parpola *AOAT* 6 /1970: 74; Finkel & Reade 1998: 248-253.

²⁶²²I would like to thank Hasan Qasim, who invited me to the site and explained for me this important discovery of the Directorate of Antiquities of Duhok. At that time he was the director of the project and the excavation.

the Assyrian capitals to the north-east go between the east bank of the Tigris and the west bank of the Upper Zab. These go directly to the provinces and lands of the Zagros near the Assyrian heartland. This road also led to the ‘buffer zone’, the territories between Assyria, and then to Urartu.²⁶²³

There was a road to Balawat, but apart from that there are no remains of paved roads outside the cities. According to D. Oates:²⁶²⁴

“We cannot prove the existence of an Assyrian road by physical evidence, for it was rarely if ever paved outside the immediate environs of cities and usually followed a route that had been traditional for many thousands of years. But at Balawat we may be certain both of the existence of the road and of its alignment.”

Military routes were probably different from trade routes, especially when the Assyrian army approached close to their targets. Then they might have used unusual roads or inaccessible passes. Itineraries of military campaigns did not follow direct roads, so that mentioning a sequence of occupying and destroying cities and provinces does not mean they are necessarily adjacent. An Assyrian king could camp somewhere for several days to attack cities and towns close by, but at night he came back to his base-camp.²⁶²⁵

In the Northern Zagros, there was a limited amount of river transport, especially where the Upper Zab, Lower Zab, Sirwan/Diyala and their tributaries leave the rugged mountains. After Dukan dam, the Lower Zab river during the Bronze and the Iron Ages was possibly used for river transport.²⁶²⁶ Recently at Kani-Shaie Tell in the Bazian plain east of the Lower Zab a cylinder seal impression was found showing several wild goats carried by boat to southern Mesopotamian settlements. A legal document from Nimrud dealing with supplying corn downstream on the Upper Zab by *kalak*, from H̄ib/ptunu to Kalḫu.²⁶²⁷ Hiptunu (Tell Haudian) was located in the mountainous area east of the Upper Zab in the modern Diyan plain below Musasir.²⁶²⁸ Shalmaneser III claims that he fought the army of Idu in the ‘sea’ of Zamua.²⁶²⁹

“The remnant of their army boarded boats of papyrus and went down (the river) to the sea. The king (Shalmaneser), without waiting for the rear guard, took after them aboard swift boats in hot pursuit. He cut down their soldiers (and) covered the surface of the sea with their corpses. He brought up their booty from the sea.”

²⁶²³Oates 1974: 173-178.174; *RIMA II*: A.0. 101.1: ii 49b-53; *RIMA III/II*, A.0.102.2 ii 75b-78a, A.0.102.28; 42b—44a, A.0.102.8, iii 58 - iv 6; 8'b-11 'a.

²⁶²⁴Oates 1974: 173-4, pl.XXV.

²⁶²⁵*RIMA II* A.0. 101.1: ii 33-43.

²⁶²⁶For instance see Cuénod, et al., 2015: 38.

²⁶²⁷Zadok, 1978, 170; Postgate, 1976, No.29, Rev.12; 29 B, Rev.11, p.137; *SAA V*: 137.

²⁶²⁸For further details see Marf 2015: 127-140.

²⁶²⁹*RIMA III* A.0.102.28; 42b—44a. For further details see Chapter I, 1.2.3.

Conclusions

In conclusion, as mentioned in the introduction comparing the rich knowledge we have about the architecture of Assyria and the limited knowledge we have about the architecture of the Northern Zagros shows great imbalance. There are several reasons for that. First most of the Assyrian capitals and major cities have been excavated mainly or partly, except the city of Arbail. But there are not so many excavated Iron Age sites in the Northern Zagros. Even the Iron Age sites where archaeological excavations have started have only been excavated for a few seasons, and many details or partly excavated buildings are still to be discovered. Furthermore, for one of the most intensively excavated Iron Age cities of Hasanlu it appears that the published results and architectural details leads to confusion, and even the republished and edited results for Hasanlu is rather misleading. All this means that we have to be careful in using the published archaeological data of Hasanlu to establish architectural norms and a chronological framework for other Iron Age sites where data is yet to be discovered in the Northern Zagros.

I have tried as much as possible to discuss the architecture and architectural element not only based on excavated material but also on an analysis of the visual and epigraphic evidence, to bring about a clear view of the architectural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros.

It seems that the weather, landscape and availability of building material in the Zagros affected the architecture there. Therefore, the Columned Halls at the Iron Age sites in the Northern Zagros were built to withstand the weather. These public buildings with main halls needed columns to support the roofs and prevent them from collapsing, especially during the winter season when heavy snow in the mountainous areas usually reaches a depth of one metre.

The Assyrians built several fortresses, fortifications, forts, and city walls in the Northern Zagros, and similarly the peoples of the Zagros built many forts, strongholds, city walls, moats, and blocked the passes with walls to protect their land, provinces, and cities from Assyrian aggression. The Assyrian campaigns recorded details of these fortifications in the Northern Zagros. The author has found several Iron Age fortresses in the mountainous area of the Iraqi Zagros, some dated to the first millennium BCE. It appears that these fortresses were built to resist the campaigns from Mesopotamia and Assyria, so that we see them facing the western approaches of the passes.

In the Assyrian records there is also some general information about the palaces in the Northern Zagros, but without many details to aid the imagination of the plans and architecture.

There are not many excavated public buildings in the Northern Zagros assumed to be temples or used for religious ceremonies and very little material was excavated from those buildings to help us to reconstruct the functions and rituals performed in them. The Temple of Nush-I Jan has been well excavated. But there were probably other temples or tower temples in Zagrosian cities. They are depicted on Assyrian reliefs and include the tower temple of Kishesim, the Tower Temples on the platform above Harhar, and the temple of Musasir. The author, in fieldwork in the area of the modern village of Sidekan-Mdejser found several Urartian column bases by accident being used by the villagers of Mdjeser. These column bases probably came from the ruins of the public buildings of Iron Age Musasir. That public

building would then be the temple of Haldi of Musasir. The author proposes a probable location for the temple of Haldi of Musasir somewhere under the houses and orchards of the village of Mdjeser.

We have only limited information about Iron Age private houses in the Northern Zagros, so at the moment to identify similarities and interaction between those of Assyria and of the Northern Zagros is hard.

Comparing graves and tombs from Assyria, and the Northern Zagros shows generally similarities for burial practices but with some variation. In both areas there are three types: simple burials; corpses buried in ceramic basins and tombs; vault tombs were common, in Assyria especially for royal and elite persons. These types have recently been discovered in Erbil. But in the Zagros there is no contemporary Assyrian vault tomb, except for that of Bakr-Awa dated to the early second millennium BCE and to be compared with examples from Babylonia and southern Mesopotamia. In the Zagros especially from the 7th-6th century BCE rock-cut-tombs were used for royal or elite tombs. We have found only a few Assyrian ceramic style graves in the Northern Zagros burial grounds. The small Assyrian style glazed ceramic vessel is found in some burials from the Northern Zagros. Some Assyrian style cylinder seals have also been found in Northern Zagros graves. There is no standard orientation for corpses.

The Assyrians and their Urartian contemporaries undertook large hydraulic projects. The main purpose of the Assyrian projects was to supply the Assyrian capitals and main cities in the Assyrian heartland with fresh water from springs and water courses of the nearby north and north-eastern mountains of the Zagros. The Assyrians made people from the Northern Zagros dig these canals in the Assyrian heartland.

The Northern Zagros Mountains afforded no easy access, and the Assyrians tried hard to overcome this obstacle. The Assyrian annals refer to roads, passes and the detailed landscape of the Northern Zagros. Assyrian kings in their campaigns in the Zagros referred claimed to have opened up routes in inaccessible passes. The passes and roads linking the Northern Zagros with Assyria were used as routes for military campaigns, trade and migration. These passes enabled the Assyrian army to invade the provinces of the Northern Zagros, and later the warriors of the Scytho-Cimmerians, the Medes and other Zagrosian peoples to invade Assyria and see Nineveh fall in 612 BCE.

General Conclusions

After discussing cultural interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros in the light of the available material and immaterial culture it has become clear that there was intensive cultural interaction between them. From the available records we learn that there was a broad cultural interaction in immaterial culture. However, comparatively few texts come from the Northern Zagros. There the people spoke different local languages and dialects, almost none of them Semitic, but they used Akkadian (Assyrian in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian period) and cuneiform script for their records. There are a few bilingual records from Urartians, and Aramaic script and language was used on the Mannean stele of Bukan (see, 2.1., 2.2., 2.3., and 3.1).

Many Assyrian records concern the Zagros: annals, administrative and legal documents, and ritual and literary texts, so for the moment these can fill the gap in local Zagrosian records. **Personal names** and **toponyms** are the only elements of local spoken languages in the Zagros to have survived. Otherwise we know only of Hurrian and Urartian, at least for the moment. Among Zagrosian personal names we find Semitic elements, including Akkadian and Aramaic, and in the Assyrian heartland we find Zagrosian, Urartian and Iranian names. Whether these names mark ethnicity or reflect cultural interaction is unclear, some recorded local personal names it may have been pronounced differently (see, 1.1.3, 1.2.3, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3).

Several Zagrosian **cities were renamed** with Assyrian names prefixed with Akkadian Bīt, Dūr or Kār and incorporate the names of Assyrian deities or kings. In Assyrian records many **toponyms** are **Assyrianized** by transcribing a local name as if it were pronounced like an Assyrian one, perhaps adding an Assyrian suffix or phonetic modification (see, 2.3).

From a **religious** prospective we note that the Assyrians erected images of Assur in some Median cities, and **deported** many **divine statues** to Assyria. According to their political agenda, any revolt against Assyria is a revolt against Assur. Defeating an enemy people meant their deities had been defeated by Assur (and the other Assyrian gods), to be symbolised by deporting their divine statues with the people. Zagrosian statues of deities were distributed among Assyrian temples in Ashur, Nineveh, Kilizi and Nimrud. Some were returned, such as the statues of Haldi and his wife Bagbartu to Musasir. Urzana the ruler of Musasir supplied the Assyrian king with reports on the Urartian, Cimmerian, and Scythian movements to gain compensation (see, 2.5).

Assyrian **priests** accompanied the Assyrian army in the Northern Zagros and Zagrosian priests served in the temple of Ishtar of Arbail. The second generation of the Hundurean family, after being deported from Media to Ashur, held office in the temple of Assur in Ashur. Zagrosians participated in rituals in the Assyrian heartland, and Assyrian kings performed rituals and made sacrifices in the Northern Zagros (see, 2.5.12 – 2.5.15).

Mesopotamian **literature** and **mythology** were known widely among the peoples of the Near East during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. *Gilgamesh*, the *Creation Epic*, *Anzu*, and *Etana* epics were transferred textually and iconographically. Some elements are linked in Assyrian records with the landscape and the peoples of the Zagros. Assyrian kings in their annals sometimes allude to ancient literary and mythological motifs to portray themselves as gods punishing the peoples of the Zagros with evil and destruction. The Northern Zagros was

General Conclusions

an important location in Assyrian mythology and literature, for it was on a mountain there that the Ark had landed. It is identified in *Gilgamesh* as Mount *Niṣir/Nimuš* in the land of Lullubi/Guti. Many events in *Anzu* and *Imdugud* relate to the Northern Zagros, and several Assyrian and Mesopotamian deities dwelled in the Zagros mountains, where their roots reached down to the Netherworld. Shalmaneser III considers himself as the god *Erra*, and the Urartians as Qutu/Guti and storm and cloud (see 2.4.).

There is significant cultural interaction in **material culture**, **Assyrian rock reliefs** and **steles** in the Zagros with accompanying texts, confirm that the Assyrians reached these areas as stated in royal inscriptions. The inscriptions on those rock reliefs and steles commemorate Assyrian victories there and or Assyrian irrigation projects in the Zagros. They function as propaganda, symbolising their occupation of the territory. They never wrote in a Zagrosian language, but ensured their message was read in Akkadian. The images of Assyrian kings drove the local rulers to submit. Several Urartian steles in the Northern Zagros between the Urmia basin and Musasir have bilingual inscriptions, in Akkadian and Urartian. Assyrians would have needed local interpreters in the Zagros, and one of them is identified as a “*master of language*.” (see, 2.1., 3.1., and 4.10).

In Assyria, **palace reliefs** functioned as a formal means of communication, glorifying military success and the punishment of non-submissive enemies in Zagrosian landscapes, sieges of Zagrosian cities, and many architectural details. (see 3.2).

The interaction in material culture also involved styles and motifs on objects and ceramics acquired through commercial contact, military occupation, migration, deportation, travelling artisans, the exchange of gifts between elite persons. **Seals** and **ivory** objects could easily be transported from one place to another. Assyrian and Syrian influence on the ivories and seals of Hasanlu is clearly visible (see 3.1, 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6).

The only known seal from the Northern Zagros is of the ruler Urzana. It has an Akkadian inscription and the iconography is purely Assyrian. This local ruler using an Assyrian style of seal reflects political influence from Assyria. A local ruler whose territory was under Assyrian control, with him acting as the Assyrian governor happened at Musasir and Idu (Satu Qala). The Medes did not use their own seal to validate the vassal treaty with Esarhaddon, perhaps because the Assyrian king did not see them as equals. They were vassals, and Esarhaddon did not use his own seal but the seals of earlier Assyrian kings (see, 3.5).

There is very little Assyrian **ceramic** in the Northern Zagros, especially not in Iran. This may indicate that the Assyrian penetration into the Zagros was not a process of migration, but involved official personnel, the army, merchants, deputies and delegations. The small fine glazed decorated jars found in tombs in the Northern Zagros and in its foothills may have come directly from Assyria or may have been manufactured locally for elite persons (see 3.10).

Glazed bricks made for Assyrian palaces and temples were also works of art which influenced the glazed bricks made locally in the Zagros. The glazed bricks from Satu Qala and Hasanlu seem purely Assyrian. Assyrian records state that glazed bricks were made in Zamua and Media under the supervision of Sargon II and his governors. Those from Rabat Tepe and Tepe Qalaichi are local with some Assyrian elements borrowed (see 3.4).

From Assyrian texts and sculpture we know that there was much looting and enforced tributes of decorative objects in metal, ivory and stone. Although the Assyrians plundered

General Conclusions

much ivory from Musasir, none of this was discovered when Assyrian capital cities were excavated. The number of objects plundered from the Zagros or accepted as tribute may have been exaggerated as Assyrian propaganda. **Metal** objects may have been melted down and reused, or they may have been recaptured at the fall of Assyria in 614-612 BCE (see, 3.5, 3.6, 3.8, and 2.4.2).

The interaction in **architecture** is mainly seen in public architecture. In the Northern Zagros the Assyrians built and rebuilt several fortresses, fortifications, forts, cities, city walls. Similarly the Zagrosians themselves built forts, strongholds, city walls, moats, and blocked the passes with walls to protect their lands, their provinces, and their cities from Assyrian aggression. The Assyrian campaigns recorded details of these fortifications in the Northern Zagros. From a personal analysis of the visual and epigraphic evidence a clearer view of the architectural interaction emerges (see Chapter IV). The discovery of Assyrian or Assyrian style glazed bricks, reliefs and rock reliefs indicate that official Assyrian architects, artists and scribes followed the Assyrian king and commanders on their campaigns in the Zagros and made these artistic objects in the Zagros (see 3.1., 3.4., 3.5., and 3.6.).

My fieldwork in the area of the modern village of Sidekan-Mdjaser involved examining several Urartian column bases and statues. They were found by accident, having been re-used by villagers in Mdjeser. They probably came from a ruined public building of Iron Age Musasir, perhaps the temple of Haldi. They are comparable to the column bases of the Ayanis temple, Altintepe and other column bases at Urartu. This has enabled me to make a probable location for the temple of Haldi of Musasir somewhere under the houses and or orchards of the village of Mdjeser (see 4.2., 4.3., and 4.3.2).

From my study of the architecture and building techniques of modern houses in the villages of the Zagros a mistake in the description of houses on the relief of Khorsabad can be corrected. Those houses have previously been described as towers or structures with several stories. But in fact the sculptor depicted them as built on a mountain slope. This applies similarly to the houses of the city Ukku to the west of Musasir. Houses here had to be built on a mountain slope because there was not enough flat ground in the deep valleys. It gave protection from the flash floods of winter and spring and left the valley floor free for agriculture. Assyrian artists who accompanied the Assyrian campaigns observed architectural details, and depicted the cities of the Zagros on Assyrian palace reliefs accurately (see 4.1.2, 4.7).

One of the **reasons for cultural interaction** between Assyria and the Northern Zagros was economical. Assyrian campaigns against the Zagros were motivated by a desire to control the territories and to plunder their cities to obtain tribute of treasure, cattle, sheep, goats, horses and Bactrian camels (with two-humps). Assyria needed these goods in the interests of expanding its empire. Horses and metals (copper, tin, and iron) fuelled the engine of ancient wars, and both were available from the Northern Zagros (see 1.1., 1.2., and 2.8). Assyria could also benefit from Northern Zagrosian manpower deported to Assyria, to work in *corvées* in construction work in the Assyrian capital cities and in digging canals in Kalhu, Nineveh and Kilizi. Some needs were filled from beyond the Zagros (see 1.4, and 4.10).

The mountains were an obstacle to interaction between Assyria and the Northern Zagros. They afforded no easy access, so the Assyrians according to the annals, made **roads** through the **mountain passes and passages** in difficult terrain. Kings claim to have opened up routes

General Conclusions

in inaccessible places to link the Northern Zagros with Assyria. These routes enabled the Assyrian army to invade and encouraged trade and migration. **Rivers transport** was used for shipping: offerings to the temple of Assur in Ashur from Idu on the Lower Zab; grain on *kalaks* from Hiptunu to Kalhu, and wooden beams from Ukku and Kumme to Assyria on the Upper Zab (see 4.11).

As a result of **military conflict** and political tension cultural interaction developed. There were more travelers and commercial contacts affected material and immaterial culture. **Migration, immigration, deportation, and runaway prisoners** also played a part. The Assyrians adopted various policies against their enemies. After occupation there was annexation. A people could be punished by having the crown prince taken as hostage and or by deporting the royal family. Some peoples were deported with their king and their deities (see 1.4., 2.7). The Assyrians installed images of Assur in some Median cities, and built *kārums* in or near these Median cities. The goods traded by caravans encouraged cultural contact. Securing the Zagros with trade roads and *kārums* was important, to prevent the Zagros as an immediate neighbour becoming a threat. Continually campaigns made the Zagrosians submit, and enabled Assyria to benefit economically. **Military campaigning and trade** are the two main factors encouraging interaction in both immaterial and material culture (see 2.8).

That the Assyrians dominated the cultural interaction and had a deep influence on Zagrosian culture is perhaps related to the fact that **there was no central state in the Northern Zagros**. The deep valleys, narrow plains and high mountains separated population groups into small political units with their own languages and dialects. **This made the Zagros stay on the periphery of Mesopotamia and Assyria** (see 1.1, 1.2., 2.1, and 2.7).

Both Assyria and the Zagros were **intermediaries for cultural interaction**. Elements of **Syro-Palestinian** art on seals and ivories reached Hasanlu in the Northern Zagros through Assyria. Lapis lazuli, antimony, silver, gold, and precious stones in caravans from beyond the Zagros found their way to Assyria and beyond through the Zagros. There would have been a high level of state commerce and diplomatic exchanges, and private commerce enabled artists and craftsmen to make contacts and travel from one area to another. The Assyrians built several *kārums* at Median cities for **trade along the Khorasan Road**. Another *karum* in Kar-Sippar was in the territory of Musasir on the route through the passes to the Urmia basin, Urartu and Trans-Caucasia which facilitated geographic (horizontal) interaction (see 2.7, 2.8, and 4.11).

Assyria and the Northern Zagros took over some cultural elements from an outside source. We know that there were **Babylonian-Assyrian contacts** with Šušarra (Shemshara) in the Rania plain and Bakr-Awa (Bakrawa) in the Sharezur plain in the Northern Zagros during the Middle Bronze Age. In the Late Bronze Age, the Hurro-Mittani kingdoms of **Arrapha and Nuzi** maintained contact with the Northern Zagros and were intermediaries for Mesopotamian culture. From the east Arrapha (especially its immediate neighbor Nullu/Lullu) was in direct contact with the Northern Zagros through trade in goods and slaves, according to Nuzi records. Mittanni seals from Bakr-Awa and other material in Hasanlu and Marlik prove such contact. In Nuzi and Hanigalbat Hurrians and Mittanians adopted motifs from Mesopotamia which appear in literature, religion, and on their seals. Later the Kassites were in direct contact with the Northern Zagros, as we see from Kassite artistic elements in Hasanlu and the

stone bowl inscribed with the name of the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil. Some elements are best described as generally Mesopotamian. Epics and myths related to the Bronze Age were known before any Assyrian contact, so Akkadian elements in toponyms and personal names in the Zagros does not necessarily show Assyrian influence. 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. Also, the Lullubi families (merchants) from Zamua and Arzuhina travelled to Sippar (see 2.1., 2.2., 2.3., 2.4, and 2.8).

Esarhaddon may have relied on support from the peoples of the Zagros to ease the progress of his chosen successor. He made **vassal treaties** with the Medes, Zamua and the western provinces and kingdoms of the Assyrian empire indicating that his young son Ashurnasirpal was to be the crown prince. **Royal dynastic marriages** were made by most ancient Near Eastern potentates to confirm an alliance, and the Assyrians practised this in the Zagros, to preserve the peace and to discourage revolt or any threat from elsewhere. These were all factors in the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE, and Zagrosians, especially the Medes, were familiar with Assyria's weak points (see, 2.7).

The Assyrians deported thousands of people to different areas of the Near East, including **peoples from the Zagros**. Some of the deportees may have been craftsmen and artists, who worked in exile in Assyria. In the 7th century BCE, there were many artists and craftsmen working in the Assyrian court and in workshops in the Assyrian capitals. After the fall of Nineveh, perhaps some architects and artists from the Assyrian capitals went as prisoners to the Zagros. They had experience of building several Assyrian administrative palaces in the Northern Zagros during 9th-7th centuries BCE, and it would explain how Assyrian artistic and architectural elements and motifs reached the Zagros. Later they appear in the Achaemenid palaces in Persia, (see 1.3, 1.4, ,and 4.1.).

Dozens of important cities of the Northern Zagros are mentioned in Assyrian records (see tables 1.2.-1-4), but only a few of them have been excavated. This severely limits the information we need. The important Bronze Age city of Shemshara and the Iron Age cities at Tepe Qalaichi (Izirtu), Rabat Tepe (Arzizi) and Satu Qala (Idu) have only been excavated for a few seasons (see 4.1., and 4.2). Future excavations may fill the gaps, for in recent years the Northern Zagros has attracted several archaeological missions. They have moved their attention there following unrest elsewhere. From them we hope to learn more about cultural interaction between the Northern Zagros and Assyria, as well as between the Northern Zagros and Babylonia, Urartu, Trans-Caucasia, Elam, and with the Persia.

Appendix

(Appendix to Chapter I)

Table. 1.2. The peoples of the Zagros and their lands, their capitals, their main cities, and the general distributions during the Iron Age.

peoples	Lands	Capital city	Cities during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian period	General location and its neighbours	
New comers (Iranians)	<i>Medes</i>	<i>Medes</i>	<i>Hagmatana?</i>	Bît-Daiukki -Sisirtu and Kummahlu in the district Bît-Barrû. Elnzash (Kâr-Sennacherib), Harhar.	<i>From the west bordered with Namri, Ellipi, from the south with Elam, from the north with Parsua and Mannea, and from the east, the land of the Medes was stretched in a vast area to the Iranian plateau.</i>
	<i>Elitpeans</i>	<i>Ellipe</i>	Royal cities Maru'bishti and Akkuddu		Between Namri from the west, Media from the north-east and Elam from the south, the land of Râshi separating them from Elam.
	<i>Parsuans(Medes?)</i>	<i>Parsua</i>	<i>Parsua</i>	Puštu, Šalahamānu, also the cities of Ganu. Šurgadia one of the cities of Gizilbunda annexed to Parsua.	<i>Media from the south, Namri from the southwest, Zamua/Lullume from the west, Karalla and Allabria from the north.</i>
	<i>Allabrians</i>	<i>Allabria(its people perhaps were Mannean and or Medes)</i>	<i>Allabria, Paddirā</i>		<i>Parsua from the south, Karalla from the southwest, the Mannean district of Surikash from the north.</i>
	<i>Karalla (mixed Mannean and Medes?)</i>	Karalla	KUR/URU Karalla/Karallu4	Karalla annexed to KUR. Lullumê by Sargon II. (ARAB II 208).	<i>Allabria from the north-east, Mannea from the north-west, Lullume from the west, Parsua from the south.</i>
	<i>Cimmerians</i>	<i>Gammira (KUR.Ga-mir-ra)</i>			<i>Nomad cavalries Went down from Guriana north-east of Urartu in transcaucasia, they were moving and travelling on their way attacked the Urartian eastern frontiers and cities in Mannea and Media.</i>

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	<i>Scythians</i>	Askuzâ (<i>KUR as-ku-za</i>)			Nomad cavalries Went down from north-east of Urartu in transcaucasia, they penetrated in Mannea, attacked the Assyrian border, and with the Cimmerians attacked cities, Mannea, Media, as well perhaps Musasir and Arbail.
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Table 1.3. Table of the lands, cities and capitals and the general distributions in distributions during the Iron Age.

peoples	Lands	Capital city	Zagrosian cities during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian period	General location and their ancient neighbours
<i>Hurro-Urartians</i>	Ulluba of the Ullubeans (<i>KUR.ul-li-ba/ul-lu-ba</i>)		“Bitirru, Parīsu, Tašuḫa, Manṭun, Sardaurrianan, Diulla-ana-Nal, Sikibsa, Aššurdāya, Babutta, Luisa, (and) Tapsia.” (RINAP I 37: 24b-25a).	Buffer kingdom between Assyria and Urartu, it was enighbour of Ukku and Kumme.
	Qumānu (Qumēnu) <i>KUR.ú-qu-me-ni</i> and Uqumānu/ Kumme	Kipšuna	and the stronghold city Hunusu (<i>Hinis the place where Sennacheirb’s water project on Bavian river began</i>). (RIMA II A.0.87.1: v 82 - vi 21; A.0.87.2: vi 22-38).	Buffer kingdom between Urartu and Assyria, neighbour of Ulluba and Ukku.
	Ukku			Buffer kingdom between Urartu and Assyria, neighbour of Ulluba and Ukku.
	Kirruri province (geographical district) never formed a kingdom	Kirruri		Arbail from the west, Enzite from the east, Upper Zab from the west.
	Enzitu/Enzi	Enzitu		Kirruir from west, Daiēnu and Arzaškun from north, Hubuškia from east, Habhu from south.
	Nairi , Habhu		Ništun Habhu	To the east of Kirruri, southwest of Hubuškia, and west of Mannea. On the Urartian border, neighbours of Ulluba, Ukku.

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			Inner Habhu		<i>In the land Habhu, to the east of Kirruri.</i>	
					<i>to the far west of Habhu west of Lesser Habhu.</i>	
		<i>The land Daiēnu, its capital Arzaškun (Urartian capital)</i>	<i>Arzaškun, the Urartian capital.</i>			<i>to the north-east of Kirruri.</i>
		Hubuškia		City and land of Hubuškia		From east bordered with Mannea, from north-east bordered with Gilzānu, from the north with the land Daiēnu and the city Arzaškun.
		Gilzānu		Gilzānu		<i>From the west Hubuškia, from north-east Nairi sea from north-west bordered with Musasir.</i>
Gizilbunda		Gizilbunda?	Kinaki, Uraš, Sassiāšu and Karsibuta.	<i>Bordered with Mannea from the west, Karalla, Allabria and Parsua from the southwest.</i>		
Musasirians	Mušri/Musasir	Musasir/ Ardini(Ar inu)			<i>Bordered with Nairi from the north-east, Habhu and Gilzānu from southeast, Urartu from north, north-west.</i>	
Urartu /Biainili	The land of Urartu/Biainili	<i>Arzaškun located in the land Daiēnu.</i>			<i>Bordered with Enzite from the south, Musasir from the north-east, Kirruri from the west.</i>	
		<i>Tušpa/Tur ušpa in Van area.</i>			<i>Lake Van</i>	
		<i>Rusahinili north of Nairi sea.</i>				<i>North of Nairi (Urmia) lake</i>
		<i>Ulhu near Nairi sea.</i>				<i>West of Nairi (Urmia) lake</i>
Mannea	Mannean heartland	Zirt (Zirta)/Izirtu	Udaku, Izibia,		<i>From west bordered with Hubuškia and Habhu, from north bordered with Gilzānu and Nairi sea, from southwest bordered with Zamua, and from southeast bordered with Gizilbunda, Karalla and Allabria.</i>	

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	<i>Mannean districts</i>	<i>Andia</i>		<i>Eastern part of Mannea</i>
		<i>Zikirtu</i>		<i>Eastern part of Mannea, neighbour of Andia.</i>
		<i>Surikaš Missi</i>		<i>From north-east bordered with Gizilbunda, from south bordered with Karalla and Allabria</i>
<i>Arameans</i>	<p><i>The Aramean emigrants were the only Semitic and western group, who emigrated from the west to the Northern Zagros during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian period, their emigration reminds the Ammorite emigration to Mesopotamia through the Zagros foothills down to the plains of Mesopotamia.</i></p>		<p><i>-the Arameans tribes(houses) plundered Idu during the late 12th century BCE.</i></p> <p><i>-the Aramean emigrants were living with the Lullubeans in 30 cities of the land Ladānu on the western bank of the Lower Zab, they fought Tukulti-Ninurta II.</i></p>	<p><i>settled in the area of the western banks of the Lower Zab in western Lullubu.</i></p>

Table 1.4. a. *The Zagros kingdoms and districts, their contemporary local kings and rulers to the Assyrian rulers.*

<i>Assyria</i>	<i>The Zagros kingdoms and districts (the local kings and rulers)</i>							
<i>Assyrian kings</i>	<i>Media</i>	<i>Elippi</i>	<i>Cimmerians and Scythians</i>	<i>Ukku</i>	<i>Musasir</i>	<i>Nairi</i>	<i>Hubuškia</i>	<i>Gizilibundaeans</i>
<i>Shalmaneser III (859-824 BCE)</i>	<i>Ianzû, man of Bīt-Hanban</i>	<i>Barû</i>						
<i>Shamshi-Adad V (823-811 BCE)</i>								<p><i>Pirišāti</i> king of the cities Kinaki and Uraš.</p> <p><i>-Titamaška</i> king of the city Sassaiašu.</p> <p><i>-Kiara</i> king of the city Karsibuta.</p>
<i>Tiglath-pileser III(744-727 BCE)</i>	<p><i>Kakî</i> king of Bīt-Zatti and the city Ušari.</p> <p><i>-Battānu</i> son of the city/tribe Kapsi.</p> <p><i>-Mannu-kîma-sabê</i> son of the city Abdadani.</p>							

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	<p>-Ramateia of city Arazi. -Tunî ruler of Sumurzu was neighbour of Bît-Hamban. The city of Kizauti. -Uksatar, Durisi, Satarešu were chieftains of ‘the river (country)’. -Anzî of Halhubarra. -Paiaukka of Kilambate, -Uzî of Mâli, -Uakirtu of Nappi, -Makirtu of Bît-Sakbat, -Kitakki of Uriangi, -Mašdaiaukku of kingaraku, -Uzitar of Kantâu, -Pâukka of Bît-Kabsi, -Humbê of But-Zualzash, -Uzumanda of Kisilaha -Burburazu of Bît-Ishtar -Bagbararna of Zakrute, -Darî of Shaparda, -Usharâ of Kanzabakani, -Šarruti of Karzinû, -Mashdakku of Andirpatianu, -Akkussu of Usi, -Birtatu of Siburâ, Zardukku of Harzianu, Mashdakku of Aradpati, Satarpanu of Barikanu, Karakku of Urikaia.”(ARAB II 147).</p>			
<p>Sargon II (721-705 BCE)</p>	<p>Sikris (ARAB II 214).</p>	<p>Taltâ king of Ellipe, and his sons Nibê and Ispabâra.</p>	<p>Maniye</p>	<p>Urzana, Abalugunu (SAA V 84). Zizî governor of Appatar. Zalaia governors of Kitpatai. (see, ARAB II 149; Radner 2003b: 124).</p>
<p>Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE)</p>	<p>^mKaštaritu a Mede? Ruler of the city <i>Kâr-Kašši</i>. - Uppis, chieftain of the city <i>Partakka</i>.</p>	<p>P/Bartatua king of the Cimmerians. - Išpakāia king of the Scythians.</p>		

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	<p>-Zanasana chieftain of the city Partukka. -Ramateia, chieftain of the city. Urakazabarna. (RINAP 3/I 1: iv 32-45). -Land Patušarri in the land of the distant Medes, chieftains Šidir-parna and E-parna. (RINAP 4 1: iv 46-52).</p>	<p>- the Cimmerian king Teušpa killed by Esarhaddon in Hubušna/Hubuškia</p>				
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Table 1.4. b. *The Zagros kingdoms and districts their local kings and rulers contemporary to the Assyrian rulers.*

Assyria	the Zagros kingdoms and districts (the local kings and rulers)					
Assyrian kings	<i>Lullubean Kings and rulers of the cities in</i>		<i>Hubuškian kings</i>	Kumme/ Qumānu Qumenu/Uqumenu.	<i>Nairi lands</i>	<i>Gilzānu</i>
	<i>Lullubme, Zamua/Mazamua, Inner Zamua</i>	<i>Mazamua/Inner Zamua and Idu</i>				
Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207 BCE)		-Šara...ni -Abbi-zēri son of Šara...ni.		Abulê		
Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BCE)	[^m I/E-ri]-iš-ti-e-en-ni) king of the "Lullubaeen land." The text which mention that king date back to the Middle Assyrian period.	-Bā'ilānu son of Abbi-zēri. -KAM-ti-e-ni another son of Abbi-zēri (These kings of Idu ruled in the period between late Middle Assyrian period to beginning of the Neo-Assyrian period. (see van Soldt, et al., 2013: 212ff).			<i>Sēne king of the land Daiēne</i>	
Adad-narari II (911-891 BCE)				Iluia		
Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE)	<i>Nūr-Adad</i> (^m ZÁLAG- ^d IŠKUR) sheikh of Zamua. - Mušāšina ruler of the city Bunāsi. -Ameka ruler of Zamru (the capital	-Imzuyānu -Edima son of				

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	<p>of <i>Zamua</i>).</p> <p>-<i>Araštua</i> ruler of the city <i>Ammali</i>. (ARAB I 452).</p> <p>-<i>Kirtiara</i> ruler of the cities <i>Larbusa</i> and <i>Bāru</i>.</p> <p>-<i>Šabini</i> ruler of the city <i>Kiširtu</i>.</p> <p>-<i>Ata</i> ruler of <i>Arzizu</i> (<i>Rabat Tepe</i>).</p> <p>(see, <i>RIMA II A.0.101.1: ii 23b-86</i>; Reade and Finkel 2014: 593).</p>	<p><i>Imzuyānu</i>.</p> <p><i>Ba'auri</i> son of <i>Edima</i>.</p>				
<p>Shalmaneser III (Šulmānu-ašarēd) (858-824 BCE)</p>	<p>Anarē king of the land <i>Bunisu</i>.</p>	<p>Nikdēme and Nikdēra the <i>Idean</i> rulers of cities in <i>the Interior of the land Zamua</i> (<i>Zamua ša bitani</i>). (<i>RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 10-15; 75b-78a</i>). (<i>Edima</i> compared with <i>Nikdima</i>, see, <i>van Soldt et al., 2013: 212ff</i>).</p>	<p>-<i>Kakia</i> (<i>Kâki</i>) king of the city <i>Hubuškia</i> .</p> <p>-<i>Datana</i> king of the land of the city <i>Hubuškia</i></p> <p>-<i>Magdubu</i>, ruler of the <i>Madahusae</i>an in <i>Hubuškia</i> .</p>		<p><i>Kakia</i> king of the land <i>Nairi</i> (perhaps was the same <i>Kakia</i> of <i>Hubuškia</i> because <i>Hubuškia</i> was also mentioned as capital of <i>Nairi</i>).</p> <p>-<i>Asia</i> king of the land <i>Daiēnu</i>, which was belong to the land of <i>Nairi</i>.</p>	<p><i>Asū</i> (<i>Asua</i>)</p>
<p>Šamši-Adad V (823-811 BCE)</p>			<p>Dadī</p>		<p>- <i>Šaršina</i> son of <i>Mequara</i> ruler of 300 cities.</p> <p>-<i>Ušpina</i> ruler of 200 cities (its an exaguration perhaps both were chieftains of dozens of vellages and towns).</p>	
<p>Sargon II (721-705 BCE)</p>					<p><i>Ianzu</i> king of <i>Nairi</i>.</p> <p>-<i>Adâ</i> the ruler of the land <i>Šurda</i>,</p>	

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Assyria	<i>Rulers and kings of the kingdoms and districts in the Northern Zagros</i>						
Assyrian kings	Urartian kings	Habhu	Mannea		Karalla	Allabria	Namri
			Mannean heartland Kings in the capital Zirta/Izirtu	Mannean districts			
				Zikirti			
<i>Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE)</i>		Būbu son of Babua from Ništun					
<i>Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE)</i>	- <i>Aramu</i> from the capital Arzaškun (mentioned in 859, 856, and 844 BCE). - <i>Sarduri</i> son of <i>Lutipri</i> (ca.840-830 BCE) (from the capital Tušpa/Turušpa), mentioned in 830 BCE.		<i>Ualki</i>			Ianziburiaš	- Marduk-mudammiq - Ianzû king of Namri
<i>Šamšī-Adad V (823-811 BCE)</i>	<i>Ušpina/Išpuini</i> (ca. 830-820 BCE) and his son co-region <i>Minua</i> (820-810 BCE) - <i>Minua</i> son of <i>Išpuini</i> (ca. 810-780 BCE)						
<i>Shalmaneser IV (782-773 BCE)</i>	<i>Argišti I</i> , son of <i>Minua</i> (780-756 BCE) mentioned in 774.						
<i>Aššur-nērārī V (754-745 BCE)</i> .	<i>Sarduri II</i> (756- ca.730 BCE) son of <i>Argišti I</i> .						
<i>Tiglath-pileser III (Tukultī-apil-ešarra) (744-727 BCE)</i>	<i>Sarduri/Sardaurri</i> mentioned in (743, 735?).						

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Sargon II (Šarru-kīn) (721-705 BCE)	Ursā/Rusā I son of Sarduri (ca. 730-713 BCE) Argišta II son of Rusa I (709 BCE)	Anonimous queen of Habhu assassinated (SAAV 108).	- Aza - Ullusunu son of Aza	Baghdatti -Daiaukku -Mitatti	Ashur -li'u	Ittî	
Esarhaddon (Aššur-ahiddina) (681-669 BCE)	Ursā II (673/672 BCE) son of Argišti						
Ashurbanipal (Aššur-bāni-apli) (669-627 BCE)	Sarduri III (Ishtar-duri) son of Sarduri mentioned in 646/642 BCE. - Rusa III son of Erimena . - Sarduri IV son of Sarduri III (The list of the Urartian kings based on a combination of the recent proposed lists of (See <i>Salvini 2015: 393; Kroll, et al. (eds) 2012: 11; Roaf 2012a: table.14.01, p.188</i>)).		- Ahšeri - Ualli son of Ahšeri - Erisinni son of Ualli				

Abbreviations

- AASOR** = *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
- ADOG** = *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
- AEAD** = **Parpola, S., (ed.), 2007** *Assyrian-English-Assyrian Dictionary*, Helesinki.
- AfO** = *Archiv für Orientforschung.*
- AHw** = von Soden, W., 1965-1981 *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden.
- AJA** = *American Journal of Archaeology.*
- AMI** = *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.*
- AMIT** = *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan.*
- ANES** = *Ancient Near Eastern Studies.*
- ANET** = **Pritchard, J. B., 1969** *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton. New Jersey, Princeton University Press, third edition.
- AOAT** = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament.*
- APN** = **Tallqvist, K., L., 1966** *Assyrian Personal Names*, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung Hildesheim. Helsinki; Reinheim.
- ARAB I** = **Luckenbill, D. D., 1926** *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, I*, Chicago.
- ARAB II** = **Luckenbill, D. D., 1927** *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, II*, Chicago.
- ARRIM** = *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project.*
- BaM** = *Baghdader Mitteilungen.*
- BAR IS** = *British Archaeological Reports International Series.*
- BASOR** = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
- BCSMS** = *Bulletin Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies.*
- BES** = *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*, New York.
- BiblMes** = *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica.*
- CAD** = **Oppenheim, A. L., and E. Reiner (eds.), 1956** *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*, Chicago - Glückstadt.
- CANE** = *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East.*
- CHI** = *The Cambridge History of Iran.*
- CTN 1** = **Kinnier Wilson, J. V., 1972** *The Nimrud Wine Lists, a study of men and administration at the Assyrian capital in the eighth century BC*, London.
- CTN 2** = **Postgate, J. N., 1973** *The Governor's Palace Archive (Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 2)*, The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London.
- CTU** = **Salvini, M., 2008** *Corpus dei testi urartei*, vols. I-IV. Le iscrizioni su pietra e roccia, Documenta Asiana 8. Roma: Istituto di studi sulle civiltà dell' egeo e del vicino oriente.
- I.N.** = *Ivories from Nimrud.*
- IEJ** = *Israel Exploration Journal.*
- IFPO** = *Institut français du Proche-Orient.*
- IstMitt** = *Istanbuler Mitteilungen.*
- JAAS** = *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies.*
- JAm Sci** = *The Journal of American Science.*
- JAOS** = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- JCS** = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies.*
- JFA** = *Journal of Field Archaeology.*
- JNES** = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
- JNES** = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
- JOAS** = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- JQR** = *The Jewish Quarterly Review.*
- MDOG** = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
- MECCJ** = *Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan.*
- MMJ** = *Metropolitan Museum Journal.*
- MMJ Bulletin** = *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin.*

Abbreviations.....

N.A.B.U. = *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires, Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien*, Association, Paris.

NEAF Bulletin = *The Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation Bulletin*.

NINO = *The Netherlands Institute for the Near East*.

NPN = **Gelb, I. J., 1943** *Nuzi Personal Names*, The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute publications ; Vol. 57, Chicago, IL : University of Chicago Press.

OBO = *Orbit Biblicus et Orientalis*.

PNA = *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*.

PNA 1/I = **Radner, K. (ed.), 1998** *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 1/I: A, Helsinki.

PNA 1/II = **Radner, K. (ed.), 1999** *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 1/II: B-G, Helsinki.

PNA 2/I = **Baker, H. D., (ed.) 2000** *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 2/I: H-K, Helsinki.

PNA 2/II = **Baker, H. D., (ed.) 2001** *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 2/II: L-N, Helsinki.

PNA 3/II = **Baker, H. D., (ed.) 2011** *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 3/II: Š-Z, Helsinki.

RA = *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*.

RGTC5 = *Repertoire Geographique des Textes Cuneiformes*.

RIA = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, Berlin.

RIMA I = **Grayson, A. K., 1987** *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium B.C. (to 1115 BC)*, (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods I*), Toronto - Buffalo - London.

RIMA II = **Grayson, A. K., 1991** *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BCE)* (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods II/I*), Toronto - Buffalo - London.

RIMA III = **Grayson, A. K., 1996** *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC 2 (858-745 BCE)* (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods II/I*), Toronto - Buffalo - London.

RIME I = **Frayne, D., 2008** *Pre-Sargonic Period (2700-2350 BC)*, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*. Toronto - Buffalo - London.

RIME II = **Frayne, D., 1993** *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC)*, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*. Toronto - Buffalo - London.

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RIME III/2 = **Frayne, D., 1997** *Ur III period (2112-2004 BC): The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*, *RIME 3/2*, Toronto [etc.]: University of Toronto Press.

RIME IV = **Frayne, D., 1990** *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*. Toronto - Buffalo - London.

RINAP = *The Royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian period*

RINAP I = **Tadmor, H., et al., 2011** *The royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), kings of Assyria. The Royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian period I*. Winona Lake, IN : Eisenbrauns.

RINAP III/1 = **Grayson, K., and Novotny, J., 2012** *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 1, Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Winona Lake, Ind : Eisenbrauns.

RINAP III/2 = **Grayson, K., and Novotny, J., 2014** *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 2, Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Winona Lake, Ind : Eisenbrauns.

RINAP IV = **Leichty, E., 2011** *The royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (680-669 BC). The Royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian period IV*. Winona Lake, Ind : Eisenbrauns.

ROM = Royal Ontario Museum of Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper.

SAA I = **Parpola, S., 1987** *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West*. SAA I (SAA State Archives of Assyria), Helsinki University Press.

SAA II = **Parpola, S., and K. Watanabe, 1988** *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths, State Archives of Assyria II*. Helsinki.

SAA III = **Livingstone, A., 1989** *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea, State Archives of Assyria III*. Helsinki.

SAA IV = **Starr, I., 1990** *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, State Archives of Assyria IV. Helsinki.

SAA IX = **Parpola, S., 1997** *Assyrian Prophecies, State Archives of Assyria IX*. Helsinki.

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- SAA VI = Kwasman, T., and S. Parpola, 1991** *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon, State Archives of Assyria VI*. Helsinki.
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- SAA VIII = Hunger, H., 1992** *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings, State Archives of Assyria VIII*. Helsinki.
- SAA X = Parpola, S., 1993** *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars, State Archives of Assyria X*. Helsinki.
- SAA XI = Fales, F. M., and J. N. Postgate, 1995** *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration, State Archives of Assyria XI*. Helsinki.
- SAA XII = Kataja, L., and Whiting, R., 1995** *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period, State Archives of Assyria XII*. Helsinki.
- SAA XIII = Cole, S. W., and P. Machinist, 1998** *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Priests to Kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, State Archives of Assyria XIII*. Helsinki.
- SAA XIX = Mikko, L., 2012** *The correspondence of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud, Helsinki, State Archives of Assyria XIX*. Helsinki.
- SAA XV = Fuchs, A., and Parpola, S., 2001** *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III: Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces, State Archives of Assyria XV*. Helsinki.
- SAA XVI = Luukko, M., and Van Buylaere, G., 2002** *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon, State Archives of Assyria XVI*. Helsinki.
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- SAA XVIII = Reynolds, F. S., 2003** *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sin-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia, State Archives of Assyria XVIII*. Helsinki.
- SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin**, Helsinki.
- SAAS II = Millard, A., 1994** (with a contribution by Robert Whiting), *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612 BC, State Archives of Assyria Studies II*, Helsinki.
- SAAS IV = Steven W. Cole, 1996** *Nippur in Neo-Assyrian Times c. 755-612 BC, State Archives of Assyria Studies IV*, Helsinki University Press.
- SAAS XI = Mattila, R., 2000** *The King's Magnates A Study of the Highest Officials of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, State Archives of Assyria Studies XI*, Helsinki.
- SAAS XX = Adah, S. F., 2011** *The Scourge of God: The Umman-manda and Its Significance in the First Millennium BC, State Archives of Assyria Studies XX*, Helsinki & Indiana.
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- SAATU II = Novotny, J. R., 2001** *The Standard Babylonian Etana Epic, State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts vol.II. The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project*, University Helsinki.
- SAATU III = Annus, A., 2001** *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Anzu, State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts vol.III. The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project*, University Helsinki.
- SCCNH = Owen, D.I., and M.A. Morrison, 1981** *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians I*. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- SOE = Studia Orientalia Electronica.**
- Sumer = Journal deals with archaeology and heritage of Iraq and the Arabian countries**, General Directorate of Antiquities, Baghdad.
- TCL III = Thureau-Dangin, F., 1912** *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (Texts cuneiforms du Louvre III)*, Paris.
- TCAE = Postgate, J. N., 1974** *Taxation and Construction in the Assyrian Empire* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 3; Rome: Biblical Institute Press. Porses from Mesaa Mesu.12.

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UF 22 = *Ugarit – Forschungen In ternationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas, Herausgegeben von Kurt Bergerhof.*

UTN = Kessler, K., 1980 Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens : nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Wiesbaden : Reichert.

WVDOG = *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig ; Berlin 1900ff).

ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

ZOrA = *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie.*

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Samenvatting

Het landschap, de flora en fauna, de grondstoffen en het klimaat in het laagland van Assyrië waren zo anders dan die van het hoge Zagros-gebergte dat ze elkaar in economisch opzicht mooi aanvulden. Omdat het noordelijke deel van het Zagros-gebergte voor Assyrië de dichtstbijzijnde plaats was om aan grondstoffen, arbeiders en paarden te komen, waren de Assyriërs vaak in conflict met noordelijke volkeren, maar er waren ook commerciële en diplomatieke betrekkingen. Deze wisselende contacten leidden tot een wisselwerking in de materiële en immateriële cultuur.

In dit proefschrift worden hoofdzakelijk drie soorten bronnen gebruikt:

- de **materiële cultuur**, waaronder de architectuur en kunstvoorwerpen die in Assyrië en het noordelijke Zagros-gebergte ontdekt zijn;
- **visuele bronnen**, zoals Assyrische reliëfs, waarin de architectuur van de steden zo nauwkeurig is afgebeeld dat elke stad aan zijn bijzonderheden (zonder stereotypen) te herkennen is, en waarin torens, ommuringen, tempels en geplunderde voorwerpen tegen een juiste achtergrond worden getoond;
- en de **immateriële cultuur**, zoals verwoord in schriftelijke bronnen. De meeste teksten zijn Assyrisch, maar er zijn ook een paar lokale bronnen uit Satu Qala (het antieke Idu), Rabat Tepe en Medië (in het Akkadisch), en de tweektalige Urartiaanse steles (in het Urartisch en Assyrisch, in spijkerschrift), en de Aramese stele van Bukan. Bovendien worden Medië, Mannea, Scythië en de Cimmeriërs diverse malen kort in de Bijbel genoemd en komen daarin soms ook volkeren ter sprake die van de Levant naar de Zagros werden gedeporteerd. In klassieke bronnen, met name Herodotus, lezen we ook over volkeren uit het Zagros-gebergte, bijvoorbeeld de Meden en de Scythen.

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit vier hoofdstukken. In **hoofdstuk I** bespreek ik het landschap, het klimaat en de flora en fauna van zowel het Assyrische kerngebied, dat laagland is, als het noordelijke Zagros-gebergte, dat een hoogvlakte is, om de diversiteit tussen de twee gebieden aan te tonen. Ook introduceer ik de volkeren en groepen die in deze landschappen een rol speelden, met hun verschillende politieke staten, grondgebieden, de beperkingen van hun macht en hun verhuizingen als migranten, immigranten, deserteurs of gedeporteerden.

Hoofdstuk II gaat over de immateriële cultuur: talen en schriftsystemen, literatuur, mythologie, persoons- en plaatsnamen, religie en feesten in oorlogs- en vreedstijd, de sociale structuur, politieke en administratieve contacten, de post, dynastieke huwelijken, de economie en handel.

Hoofdstuk III bespreekt de materiële cultuur in de vorm van kunstvoorwerpen en keramiek, rotsreliëfs, steles, zegels en verzegeling, ivoorwerk, metaalwerk, mozaïeken, glas, vaatwerk, glazuurstenen, muurschilderingen, textiel en kleding.

Hoofdstuk IV onderzoekt de architectuur van paleizen, tempels, steden, vestingwerk, particuliere huizen, graven, wegen en paden, kanalen, dammen en dijken.

Ik heb zoveel mogelijk tekstuele, visuele en archeologische bronnen proberen te combineren om elementen van interactie tussen Assyrië en het noordelijke Zagros-gebergte te vinden. Elk hoofdstuk is voorzien van tabellen om deze aspecten van interactie te verhelderen.

Curriculum Vitae

Dlshad Aziz Marf was born in 1982, in Sulaimania, Iraqi-Kurdistan. In 2000-2004, he studied Archaeology and Assyriology at the Department of Archaeology, Salahaddin University-Erbil. In 2004, he received his B.A. (graded excellent and the first of the graduating students of the college of Arts). In 2007, he received his M.A. (research) for his thesis *Unpublished cylinder seals in Sulaimania museum*.

Since 2007, he has been a Lecturer in the same Department. In 2007-2008 he was guest lecturer at the Department of History in Koya University. From 2007-2011 he was editor-in-chief of the journal *Subartu*. From 2007-2010 he was head of the Department of Archaeological Research in the Syndicate of Kurdish Archaeologists.

From 2004-2014 he participated in archaeological excavations and fieldwork with local and foreign teams in several sites and areas, including Tell Qasra, Tell Greza, Satu Qala, the Assyrian tomb in Erbil, Kafran Cave, Qalatukan, Abubakra, Mdjeser, Amhad-brnda. He has published papers in academic journals including *Akkadica*, *NABU*, *Subartu*, *Hazarmerd*, *Meju*. In October 2011 he started research for his PhD at Leiden University, supported by an HCDP scholarship from the Ministry of Higher Education of KRG in Kurdistan-Iraq.