

On the location of NA Parsua — Parsua (^{kur}*Par/Pár-su-a*, ^{uru}*Pár-su-a*, ^{kur}*Pa-ar-su-aš*) was on the way from Laruete (in Allab/pria) to Missi according to the itinerary of Sargon II's eighth campaign (TCL 3, 37ff.). Tiglath-Pileser III annexed the two provinces of Parsua and Bīt-Hamban to Assyria in 744 BC (see H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994 [henceforth Tadmor 1994], 166 *ad* Summ. 7, 37 and 98 : St. I B, 9'f.). Qal'eh Paswē not far from Solduz may be a survival of the name Parsua according to V. Minorsky, BSOAS 19 (1957), 78f. (cf. A.H. Sayce, *JRAS* 1882, 389 ; J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 24, 1969, 111f.). Qal'eh Paswē is far enough from the southern shore of Lake Urmia. This location is still compatible with the conclusion of L. D. Levine (*Iran* 12, 1974, 112) that Parsua was raided, but not conquered by Urartu. His localization of Parsua northwest of the Mahidašt, including the northern end of the Mahidašt itself (near Ravansar, Levine, *Iran* 12, 106ff. ; *idem* in T.C. Young and L. D. Levine, eds., *Mountains and lowlands : Essays in archaeology of greater Mesopotamia*, Malibu 1977, 138f. ; followed by G.W. Vera Chamaza, *AMI* 27, 1994, 97ff.), does not necessarily rule out its extension to the north, as far as Qal'eh Paswē. Levine does not define the eastern border of Parsua, but states that Mannea lay to the north. This statement can be relativized seeing that there are hardly any fixed points of delimitation of Mannea in the west-southwest (at least before Ashurbanipal's time). Qal'eh Paswē is on Hubuškian territory as implied by J.E. Reade (*Iran* 16, 1978, 140, fig. 2) and M. Liebig (*ZA* 81, 1991, 33f.). Levine (in J. Deshayes, ed., *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique*. Colloques internationaux de CNRS 567, Paris 1977 [henceforth : Levine 1977], 181) is of the opinion that the Mahidašt was the critical area in the competition between Assyria and Urartu on the hegemony in Media and points out (Levine, *Iran* 12, 110f.) that Parsua is recorded together with Niqqu and Tugliaš (= Tupliaš) in Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor 1994, cf. presently). However, this does not bear on its location and does not support a southerly extension of Parsua (see *ad* Parsuaš below). In fact, in these summary inscriptions Parsua precedes Bīt-Kapsi (Tadmor 1994, 124 : Summ. 1, 18 ; 132 : Summ. 3, 6') and Bīt-Zatti, Bīt-Abdadani, Bīt-Kapsi (Tadmor 1994,

164f. : Summ. 7, 29, 35). All these regions are to be sought north of the Great Khorasan Road. The general geographical order of these summary inscriptions is discussed by A.R. George (*BiOr* 53, 1996, 369, n. 14). The following table presents the sections where the Iranian regions are listed.

Table : Iranian Regions in Tiglat-pileser III's Summary Inscriptions

21	Šibar	+	+	
22	Uremzan	+	+ (-nz-)	
23	Ra'usan	+		
24	Upariya	+	+	
25	B/Pustus	+	+	
26	Ariarmi	+	+	
27	Mûi-Talugallê	+	+ ([Mûi])	
28	Saksukni	+		
29	Araquttu	+		
30	Kâr-Zibra	+		
31	Gukinanna	+		
32	Bit-Sagbat	+		
33	Silhazi	+ (of 34)		
34	Dannatu ša Bâbilayu	+	+	
35	Til-Aššuri		+	
36	Mi Ron	+ (up to 37)	+	
37	Salt Land	+ (of 38, 39)	+	
38	Utqaqîn	+	+	
39	Šikrakki	+	+	
40	(Land) of gold	+		
41	Lands of the mighty Medes	+		+
Total		40	25	19
Table : Iranian Regions in Tiglat-pileser III's Summary Inscriptions				
<i>number</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
1	Nami	+		+
2	Bit-Sangibuti	+		+
3	Bit-Hamban	+	+	+
4	Suhurzu	+	+	+
5	Bit-Barrûa	+ (Barrûa)	+	+
6	Bit-Zualtaš	+	+	+
7	Bit-Matti	+	+	+ ([Bûi])
8	Niquq	+ (of 9)	+ ([Niquq of])	+
9	Tupliaš	+	+	+
10	Bit-Taramzâyu	+	+	+
11	Parsua	+	+	+
12	Bit-Zanti	+		+
13	Bit-Abdadani	+		+
14	Bit-Kapsi	+	+ ([up to 18])	+
15	Bit-Sangi	+		+
16	Bit-Urzakki	+		+
17	Bit-Ištar	+	+ ([Ištar])	+
18	Zaqrûti	+	+ (before 17)	+
19	Gizinkissi	+	+ (after 20)	
20	Ništâ	+		

Regarding geographical arrangement, there are at least three groups of regions, namely a southern (Nos. 1-9, 32-35), northern (Nos. 12-17, 19-21) and an eastern one (Nos. 18, 24-26, 36-41). Most of the remaining regions are mentioned only once. The longest list (A) seems to form an almost full circle, namely from the southwest (notably Namri, Tupliaš and Bīt-Barrūa) to the north (notably Bīt-Abdadani, Bīt-Kapsi and Šibur), then to the southeast (Uparya and B/Pustus) and southwest (Til-Aššuri). In this case 36-41, which are to be sought further east, form an appendix. It is clear therefore that Parsua is associated with the northern group, i.e. the regions which are generally situated north of the Great Khorasan Road. This is in agreement with E. Forrer (*Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1921, 90), who locates Parsua more to the north, roughly east of Sanandaj. He is followed by Reade (*Iran* 16, 139) and P. Zimansky (*JNES* 49, 1990, 14). The latter criticizes Levine's southern location of Parsua and points out that it was an extensive territory. The inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (basically describing the campaign of 843 or 842 BC) contain a constant geographical sequence from north to south, viz. ^{kur}Mu-un-na, ^{kur}Al-lab/p-ri-a, ^{kur/uru}Pár-su-a, ^{uru}Ab-da-da-a-ni/^{kur}Ab-da-da-a-nu, ^{uru/kur}Ha-ban, ^{kur}ZÁLAG/^{kur}Na-mumur and ^{kur}Tug*-li-ia-ášš (A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian rulers of the early first millennium B.C. II* [858-745 B.C.], Toronto 1996 [henceforth : Grayson 1996], 40ff. : A.0.102.6, iii, 61ff. ; A.0.102.10, iii, 34ff., cf. A.0.102.13, 2'ff.). The sequence ^{kur}Mu-un-na, ^{uru}Pár-su-a, ^{uru}Al-la-ab/p-ri-a, ^{kur}Ab-da-da-ni, ^{kur}ZÁLAG, ^{kur}Ha-ban and ^{kur}Tug*-li-ia-ášš (Grayson 1996, 60 : A.0.102.12, 19f.) is secondary (a shorter version is contained in the fragment Grayson 1996, 114f. : A.0.102.37, 10'f.). 27 kings of ^{kur}Pár-su-a delivered tribute in 835 BC after Shalmaneser III had completed his campaign against Namri (Grayson 1996, 68 : A.0.102.14, 120, see Levine 1977, 178 ; M. Salvini in H. Hirsch and H. Hunger, eds., *AfO Beih.* 19, Vienna 1982, 391 ; Vera Chamaza, *AMI* 27, 99 ; no specific kingdoms and rulers are recorded). This is not a stereotypic ("typological") number and hence credible. In 829 BC Shalmaneser III received tribute from an unspecified number of Parsuan kings, but he had to conquer the cities of other rulers of Parsua who did not submit to him (Grayson 1996, 68 : A.0.102.14, 172f. ; in the following year he had to repeat his activities). It is evident that Parsua was not a consolidated political unit, but rather a cover name for many small entities governed

by city rulers, whose foreign policy was not necessarily coordinated. A detailed list of “all the kings of Nairi”, who delivered tribute as a result of the third campaign (end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 BC), is preserved in Grayson 1996, 186 : Šamši-Adad v, A.O.103.1, iii, 45ff. This list enumerates at least 27 rulers (or 28, see E.A. Grantovskiy, *Rannyya istoriya iranskikh plemen peredney Azii*, Moscow 1970, 192f., 209). Although there is no evidence that they ruled over regions of Parsua (I.M. Diakonoff, *Media*, chapter 3 in : G. Gershevitch, ed., *The Cambridge history of Iran 2 : The Median and Achaemenian periods*, London 1985 [henceforth : Diakonoff 1985], 56, n. 2 defines their territory in very general terms : “mountainous regions of the Zagros and west of them” [the end of his statement is less defensible ; for “Greater” Nairi, cf. M. Liverani, *Studies on the annals of Ashurnasirpal II. 2 : Topographical analysis*, Rome 1992, 107]), it is remarkable that their number is almost identical with that of the Parsuan kings, who are mentioned about twenty years earlier, i.e. virtually in the same generation. In addition, it stands to reason that the arena of Šamši-Adad V’s campaign included Parsua. It can be argued that Nairi here refers to northwestern Media (including Parsua) as well. It is stated that Šamši-Adad V went to Nairi in his second campaign, in the course of which he defeated S/ŠAR-ši-na of Zamua, Ušpina (Išpuini of Urartu) and the people of Sumbi, and received tribute from the kings of Nairi. In the course of his third campaign to Nairi Šamši-Adad V received tribute from Hubuškia, S/ŠAR-ši-na of Zamua, the Sumbeans, Manneans, Parsuans and Taurleans, and he marched against Missi, Gizilb/punda and the Medes (Grayson 1996, 184f. : A.O.103.1, ii, 16ff.). Nairi in Adad-narārī III’s time is just a geographical term (see Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)atri. Contributo alla storia della formazione del regno di Urartu*, Rome 1967, 23). This applies to Šamši-Adad v’s time as well.

It should be remembered that ^{kur}*Par-su-aš*, which is juxtaposed with Anšan in the account of Sennacherib’s eighth campaign (691 BC), is the earliest mention of Persis (see Diakonoff 1985, 88) and has nothing to do with Parsua in the Zagros. The restoration [... *Pa*]r-sa-maš (from P. to Bīt-B/Punaki), which is suggested by G. Frame apud Grayson 1996, 193 : Šamši-Adad v, A.O.103.4, 32’ (cf. 25’ ; presumably 812 BC), is geographically and historically implausible. The existence of a southern Parsuaš as early as the beginning of the

seventh century BC strengthens the case for an Old Iranian derivation of Neo-Elam. *Ku-ud-da-qa-qa* (see R. Zadok, *BNF* NF 18, 1983, 117f. ; idem, *BNF* NF 19, 1984, 388 *ad* *Ú-nu-qa-qa*, *pace* W. Hinz and H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1987, 552, 1239, see Zadok, *SEL* 8, 1991, 236f.). *Ku-ud-da-qa-qa* is based on OIran. **Kauta-*, cf. NA *Ku-ta-ki* (724 BC, H. Hunger in H.D. Baker, S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting, eds., *The prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian empire*, 2, Helsinki 2000, 644b) < **Kauta-ka-* “young, small”, cf. MPers. *kôdag* “child, infant”, NPers. *kôdak* “child” (cf. H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, Strassburg 1895, 89 :871).

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