

How Did the Persian King of Kings Get his Wine?

The upper Tigris in antiquity
(c.700 BCE to 636 CE)

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Cover photo: the old bridge at Hasankeyf in May 2006 (photo: Anthony Comfort).

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Introduction

The historian Procopius tells us (*Buildings* 2.4.3) that in the sixth century CE, towards the end of the period discussed here, there was a road from west to east linking Nisibis with the Tigris that continued to be used by Romans, but that the land on either side then belonged to the Persians. He also says that on the plain below the fortress of Rhabdion – just inside the southern escarpment of the Tur Abdin (see below and Comfort 2017: 215-217) – there were also arable fields cultivated by the Romans even though they were surrounded by Persian territory. He explains that this ground had been exchanged for vineyards at a village near Martyropolis (Mayafarqin, Silvan) at the request of the Persian king of kings. We do not know when this exchange originated but it is evident that the royal court in Ctesiphon consumed large quantities of wine, as Herodotus tells us was already true of the Achaemenid empire (I, 133) and of the late Assyrians. The wine must have been imported from areas outside the plains of Mesopotamia; it is likely to have come partly from the Zagros but also in large part from vineyards to the north of the great cities of Seleuceia and Ctesiphon. Assyrian records indicate that the Tur Abdin – then ‘Izalla’ – was already for them an important source of wine (Radner 2006: 294) and even today the region of the Tur Abdin still produces grapes. Vines are common also in the provinces east of the upper Euphrates and around Diyarbakir (*Sophene* in the ancient world).

The Tigris valley was the obvious route for the transport of the wine, timber and – perhaps – copper from the region of Sophene. One of the major cities of this region was Martyropolis, where the Persian king of kings possessed the vineyard, and the rivers of the upper Tigris basin had provided a crucially important means of communication and transport long before the Romans gained partial control. This area is however still largely unknown to scholarship, despite the excavation of many prehistoric sites in recent years. In the historic period but before Alexander’s conquests the region was controlled by the Assyrians and then by the Achaemenid Persians – in theory; in practice, much

of it may have been considered too difficult for permanent occupation. Most of the routes proposed for the Persian royal road from Susa to Sardis passed through or near Amida, but little is known about the area of the upper Tigris before the Greek mercenaries made their famous retreat from Mesopotamia through Armenia to the Black Sea near Trebizond in 401 BCE, as described by Xenophon. This article reviews the written and physical evidence for the upper Tigris from the late Assyrian period through to the Arab conquest and the battles of the Yarmuk and Qadissiyah in 636 CE. It thus covers a span of over thirteen centuries. Necessarily the presentation is general, but it also seeks to show where the major sites occupied during this long period were located and to put them in a historical and geographical context.

For almost all its history the occupants of the upper Tigris valley have not been independent. Powerful neighbours, whether Assyria, Urartu, Armenia, Persia or Rome, have dominated the area which has often been situated on the fringes of empires and sometimes a bone of contention between them. Its natural and cultural resources were important to the civilisations to the south in particular but, when northern Mesopotamia became a battleground in the conflict between Rome and Persia, the area also had great strategic significance.

The data obtained for this article were obtained from existing written sources, from satellite imagery and from seven visits to the upper Tigris (five to south-east Turkey (in 2005-2008 (AC) and 2014 (MM)) and two to Iraqi Kurdistan (2016; AC and MM).

Historical review

The late Assyrian period

The area of the upper Tigris inside Anatolia, i.e. north-west of the gorges from which it debouches onto the Mesopotamian plain, has come to be known as the 'upper Mesopotamian piedmont' in recent articles concerning the archaeology of the area. Its links with the Mesopotamian plain have varied in intensity at different periods but the connections go back far beyond classical antiquity. The evidence for such links in the second millennium BCE is discussed by Bonatz (2014). This section of the book begins its analysis of the area's historical importance in the later Iron Age with Esarhadon and Asurbanipal, in whose reigns Assyrian power and control reached a peak, only to subside dramatically following the latter's death in 627 BCE; it then offers a survey of the historical geography of the region through to the transformation associated with the Arab invasions of the seventh century CE.

The principal city of south-east Anatolia today is Diyarbakır, formerly Amid or Amida. It is located on the upper Tigris at a point where the river changes direction, heading no longer south but east. It continues to flow in an easterly direction for about 130kms before turning south again at the village of Çattepe, formerly Tilli. Thereafter it passes through gorges emerging onto the Mesopotamian plain near Bezabde and modern Cizre and descends to Niniveh, which lies on the left bank opposite modern Mosul. The walls of Amida were constructed by Constantius II in the 350s and are still standing, doubtless much repaired. Before this city became the central point of late Roman Mesopotamia it had already been occupied by the Assyrians and probably also during the Hellenistic period (see catalogue) although little is known about the city in these times. Seventeen kilometres to the south-east lies a large mound today known as Üctepe but previously as Charcha or Kurkh. It was here that Consul Taylor found in 1860 the Kurkh monoliths, now in the British Museum (the two stelae were set up respectively by Ashurnasirpal II and by his son Shalmaneser III in 879 and 852 BCE.) Excavations in this region of Assyrian sites have taken place in recent years, especially here at Üctepe (Köröğlu 1998); at Ziyaret Tepe, 36km to the east; and at Hirbemerdon Tepe (Guarducci 2011). Ziyaret Tepe – thought by most scholars to have been Tushan, an important city in both Middle and Late Assyrian periods (for example, Kessler 1980: 118-121; but, contra, Köröğlu (1998) and Lipinski 2000: 142, who claimed this to have been at Kurkh). Tushan was abandoned after 612 CE when Nineveh was sacked by the Medes but later re-occupied (Parker 1996; Matney - <http://www3.uakron.edu/ziyaret/index.html>; the ‘overview’ section of this website contains a complete bibliography). The site includes late antique levels discussed in Pappalardo 2015-2016. Other fortified sites which may be Assyrian have been located at Çattepe and in the Tigris gorges north of the Parthian town at Phaenica/Fenik. These are reviewed below in the catalogue of sites in the valley.

Few details are known of how Assyria maintained its control of the region. In the late Assyrian period the region was not independent and lost its formerly distinctive local culture (Bartl 2014). The route from Nineveh to Amida is thought not to have followed the Tigris valley in this period, but rather to have crossed the Tur Abdin, the hilly area which lies to the south and is separated from the plains of Mesopotamia by a long east-west escarpment rising to about 1000m in places (Radner 2006; Comfort 2017: 181). The major places about which we know from Assyrian archives are Tushan and Amida, but Kulimmeri and Fum (possibly corresponding to Chlomarion and Aphoum in the classical sources) are known north of the Tigris and early levels have recently been identified at Tell Fafan/Tilli/Çattepe, located at the confluence of the Tigris and the Bohtan. This was known to have been a river port in the late Roman and medieval periods (Sağlamtimur 2012a, Sağlamtimur and Türker 2014). There are also important reliefs in the caves

of Birkleyn, about 100km north of Diyarbakır, from which emerge the waters of a tributary of the Tigris. This site – also known as the ‘Tigris tunnel’ – has three Assyrian reliefs, representing in particular Tiglath-Pileser I and Shalmaneser III, and there are also five inscriptions (Kreppner 2002, Schachner 2009). It is evident that the resurgence at this point of the river had great importance in the Assyrian appreciation of the landscape of the upper Tigris.

Ashurbanipal’s empire stretched from Egypt to the Caucasus and from the Mediterranean to Central Iran. In the north, the Scythians had been driven back from Assyrian territory by his father, Esarhadon, who also campaigned in Shubria in 674 (Kuhrt 1995, 509-10); this region, possibly equivalent to Subartu, lay south-west of Lake Van and may have corresponded to the areas north of the Tigris later known as Sophene, Arzanene and possibly Gordyene. It has been linked to the origins of Armenian history but at this period it was known especially as a refuge for those escaping from Assyria and Urartu. The Assyrian provinces concerned were Tushan and Sinabu/Amidu, both brought within the neo-Assyrian empire in 879 BCE, but already before a part of the Middle Assyrian Empire. To the north of the Tigris two more provinces, Kulimmeri and Pumu (or Fum), were both apparently conquered only in 674 BCE (Parpola 2004, Appendix 2, quoting Borger 1956, Postgate 1995). The area of Gordyene, the next region to the east, is of particular interest for this paper: this territory is said to have been confirmed as part of the Assyrian Empire by Sennacherib, presumably following the campaigns in Anatolia carried out for him in 696 and 695 BCE.

The regional capital during the middle and later Assyrian periods was at Tushan (now Tepe, south-east of Bismil). In the first year of his reign (883 BCE) the king Ashurnasipal II had begun work on a palace at Tushan (Annals, ii 3-5). This must have been the palace of the governors re-discovered in 2008 by the excavators (see above). One of the governors is known to have protested to the king of Shubria concerning Assyrian deserters on his territory (SAA 5 35); a letter from a different governor (Duri-Assur) is also known (Parker 1997). A revealing discussion of relations between Assyria and Urartu is included in Dubovsky 2006.

In the south-east of the region stretching between Niniveh and Tushan, it is known that at Eski Mosul there was a substantial settlement formerly known as Balad or Shahrabad (see catalogue, also for the dam). Ruins are visible on Google Earth which were investigated by Iraqi archaeologists in the 1990s, but the excavation reports are not final and are only available in Arabic (see catalogue). The reservoir behind the large dam to the north covered many remains which were surveyed in part by the British School in Iraq during the 1980s. The archaeologists found it difficult to identify material remains following the collapse of the Assyrian Empire in 612 BCE and their report passes

over entirely the Achaemenid period. Balad appears to have been an important stopping place on the road from Niniveh to the north-east and Nisibis. It may have also been a major crossing point of the Tigris in its own right, although Mosul/Niniveh seems likely to have been the most important crossing; the latter was endowed with a bridge, partly on pontoons, at least as early as the first visit of a European traveller to the region (Benjamin of Tudela in around 1175, 1983: 94) and possibly long before.

To the north various archaeological surveys are ongoing on the east bank of the Tigris in Iraqi Kurdistan but final reports have not yet been prepared. In regard to the Silopi plain, which was investigated by Algaze in the 1980s in connection with the Ilisu and Cizre dams (construction of the latter project has not yet started while the completion date for the former is unclear – see section on dams below), a final report is however now available (Algaze, Hammer et al. 2012). 41 sites were identified as occupied in the Late Assyrian period, of which 20 were new foundations and at least 4 were towns rather than villages (Basorin, Takyan, Nervan and Silopi). The area of the Silopi plain is likely to have been known as Ullubi in the Late Assyrian period, according to the information provided on the stele and inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III discovered at Mila Mergi (ibid: 35); the kingdom of Katlihu was also located in this region but its relationship with Ullubi is unclear. The region was conquered by Tiglath-Pileser in 739 BCE and turned into an Assyrian province whose capital of Ashur-Iqisa was probably at Takyan, the largest neo-Assyrian site on the plain. Basorin, however, was also a large and important site and an identification with Shabireshu was proposed by Kessler (1980: 122-44), supported by Algaze (2012: 36-7), although Reade places this at Derabun (2015: 197 - see below in section on the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods). Algaze (ibid: 37-8) speculates that Ullubi (the Silopi plain) was an important source of food for the large Assyrian cities to the south. This view is supported also by Wilkinson et al (2005 : 159).

Above the point at which the river valley narrows near Cizre lies the important Parthian and possibly Roman city of Fenik/Phaenica, opposite Bezabde. These places are discussed below. No occupation during the Late Assyrian period is known but there are two fortified sites north of Fenik which may indeed be Assyrian. The valley was narrow and therefore the important route up the Tigris could be easily controlled. On the occasion of a visit in 2007 (AC) a tourist signpost indicated ‘Asurkalesi’ west of the village of Damlarca (Fenik), but on what evidence is not known to the writer.

Çattepe, to the north at the confluence of the Tigris and the Bohtan, was of great importance for river traffic in the Middle Ages and probably also during antiquity (see below), but so far very little is known of the site’s importance

during earlier periods. Parker considers on the basis of surface pottery that it was an Assyrian fortress surrounded by the semi-independent territory of Habhu and that it was designed to control river traffic (2001: 16, see below). A large bastion has been identified by the excavator as being earlier than the period of the Roman fortress but no further details are available (Sağlamtimur 2012a; Sağlamtimur and Türker 2014). In fact, the whole valley from Ziyaret Tepe to Basorin (about 200km) would be almost a complete blank in regard to our knowledge of the Assyrian period were it not for Bradley Parker.

In his book 'Mechanics of Empire' (2001), Parker addresses the question of occupation during the Assyrian period in the Garzan and Bohtan valleys, as well as the better known area of the Batman Su/Tigris confluence. He speculates in chapter 4 on the nature of the local societies and the differences between chiefdoms and states and concludes that the Garzan valley was probably known to the Assyrians as 'Dirru' and the Bohtan valley as 'Habhu' (pp.152-3), that is, semi-independent chiefdoms. They were never completely occupied and formed a buffer zone between Assyria and Urartu. Çattepe, however, at the confluence of the Bohtan with the Tigris, did have Assyrian potsherds on the surface. Even though these areas were apparently never incorporated into the Assyrian empire in toto they were important because of the need to control river traffic down the Tigris from Amedi to Sabiresu and Nineveh. It is likely that Çattepe was fortified by the Assyrians for this reason. The main product of the area transported down the Tigris in this period seems to have been logs of wood (pp.227-8).

Between Çattepe and Ziyaret tepe (Tushan) lies Hasankeyf. Assyrian occupation is also likely here but no information is yet available on its nature.

The Achaemenid period

Although little is known about the provincial administration, it is likely that the Achaemenid Persians maintained some features inherited from the Neo-Assyrian Empire (Dandamayev 1994). But the names and borders of the provinces/satrapies seem to have changed. Thus Assyria itself, the land below the Tigris gorges in northern Mesopotamia, became known as 'Atura', but it included – for at least some of the time – Syria, known from Akkadian times as 'the Land beyond the river' (i.e. west of the Euphrates) and even, from 535 BCE, Babylonia i.e. southern Mesopotamia (Dandamayev 2011). The upper Tigris to the north of the gorges was a part of the province of 'Armina' (Chaumont 1986, 2011). The satrapies listed by Herodotus do not correspond to those in Achaemenid inscriptions (Roaf 1990: 208-9, Dandamayev 2012) and there is uncertainty about provincial boundaries.

The archaeological survey of the northern Jazira (west of the Tigris) is the object of a major study published in the series of British Archaeological Reports (Wilkinson 1995) which draws attention to the absence of any large centres of occupation in this area after the destruction of the Assyrian Empire (Chapter 8: 'After the Assyrians: stability and decline'). Curtis (2003, published 2005) reviewed the evidence from the Achaemenid period in northern Iraq and concluded that, while the Assyrian cities had for the most part been destroyed after 612 BCE, the countryside remained prosperous; unfortunately, he has nothing to say about the upper Tigris north of the gorges and no fortifications positively identified as Achaemenid in northern Mesopotamia have yet been excavated or studied. The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia indicates a continuity of ceramic forms long after the end of the neo-Assyrian empire (Steadman and McMahon 2011: 455). It is possible that Achaemenid levels are those often identified as 'Iron Age' by archaeologists. Thus, at the village of Çiçekyurdu where the 'Ten Thousand' are likely to have crossed the Bohtan into Armenia (see below), there is a large settlement of the Iron Age on the banks of the river called Türbe Höyük (Sağlamtimur 2012b).

In the Silopi plain Algaze's team noted few sites in the Achaemenid period and a substantial decline from the Neo-Assyrian period when it was 'an intensively exploited core area'. They conclude that it had lost its importance in Achaemenid times and had become 'relatively marginal' (Algaze, Hammer and Parker 2012: 39).

The Persian Royal Road as described by Herodotus passed through Armenia (*Histories* 5.52) for 46 parasangs (9 days journey) with 15 post-stations. Chaumont presents the various options for its route heading from west to east (1986). There appears to be a broad consensus, confirmed by French (1998), that it passed from Malatya to Lake Hazar and across the Taurus near Ergani down to Amida (pace Calder, who believed that the Euphrates was crossed at Zeugma (1925)). Thereafter opinions differ: although Dillemann favoured a passage across the Tur Abdin from Amida (1962: 153 et seq), a majority of scholars believe that it followed the north bank of the river Tigris, crossing the Bohtan tributary and then continuing through the gorges north of Cizre out onto the north Mesopotamian plain (Chaumont 1986: 296, with a multitude of references to past studies). Chaumont herself indicates that the road from the west divided at Amida with one branch heading south-east to Cizre via Nisibis and a second continuing due east along the Tigris.

There are however practical problems with a route along the Tigris, whether it followed the north or the south bank, because of the mountainous nature of the terrain. The Tigris tributary, now the Batman Su but known in antiquity as the *Nymphius*, was later renowned as the border between Rome and Persia; it was

crossed in antiquity by the Harap bridge, some 30kms north of the confluence with the Tigris (Comfort 2009: 64-7) and later, in the Middle Ages, by the extant Malabadi bridge, a further 19kms north. A little to the east, the Garzan Su, another important tributary of the Tigris - probably the *Nicephorius* in antiquity - flows south-east from the Taurus. Tacitus mentions (Annales 15,4) a river of this name which partly protected the walls of Tigranokerta. If the latter is identified with Arzen (or Arzan - see below), then this must be the ancient name of the river Garzan, also known today as the Yanar Su. It is likely that there was a fork in the road north of the modern city of Batman with one branch continuing to the Bitlis pass and Armenia while the other (the 'Royal Road') followed this valley of the Garzan or Yanar Su down to, the place near which the Tigris begins to flow south through gorges. Both these valleys are discussed in detail below, but it is surprising that no sources from antiquity indicate the use of the 'Garzan corridor'. In particular, it does not seem to have been an invasion route used by the Persians to attack Amida during Late Antiquity.

If the Royal Road crossed the Tur Abdin rather than following the Tigris down from Çattepe, then it would probably have passed by the presumed Persian palace of Apadna near Kızıltepe (Perez 2016) and Nisibis and then continued south-east to the Tigris at Mosul. There is no evidence for the course of the route to the Tigris, but, as discussed below in the section on the road network, the crossing of the empty area currently in the extreme north-east of modern Syria may have involved danger and hardship at many times in its history. An alternative route would have crossed the river at or near Cizre.

The main contemporary source of use for a study of the topography of the upper Tigris in the Achaemenid period is Xenophon. His references to the Persian Empire are discussed by Tuplin (2004), but all he really tells us about the administration of the region discussed here is that Tiribazus was satrap of Western Armenia and Orontes satrap of (Eastern) Armenia. Several palaces are mentioned and a system of taxation through tribute in the form of agricultural produce or horses is also revealed. But in regard to the territory through which the Ten Thousand passed little is said; they advanced up the Tigris valley in 401 BCE (in the direction opposite to that of the description of the Royal Road above - which Xenophon surprisingly fails to mention). The section of their route through Babylonia and Assyria is analysed by Reade (2015); Xenophon describes the ruined city of Mespila, thought to be Nineveh (*Anabasis* 3.4.6), whose ruins lie opposite Mosul. The Greeks continued north and probably crossed the Eastern Habur at Zakho (Ainsworth 1844: 144, Layard 1853: 61). Before they reached the Habur, however, Reade suggests that they passed near the important crossing of the Tigris at Feshkhabur and went through Derabun, a settlement with important springs and early mills (recently investigated by

the ‘Eastern Habur Archaeological Survey’). Partly for this reason he identifies Derabun with the neo-Assyrian Šabirešu (2007 – see above for an alternative view). As Reade indicates (*ibid* 197), Derabun was occupied in the Late Assyrian, Seleucid and early Islamic periods, as well as being the site of a monastery and village in late antiquity (Fiey 1965: II, 748 et seq).

Unfortunately, Xenophon’s description lacks detail enough to be certain; a palace is mentioned but its position is unclear. The section concerned is as follows:

‘In this fashion [*i.e. in the new formation of a column with movable flanks*] the Greeks proceeded four stages. In the course of the fifth stage they caught sight of a palace of some sort, with many villages round about it, and they observed that the road to this place passed over high hills, which stretched down from the mountain at whose foot the villages were situated... In these villages they remained for three days, not only for the sake of the wounded, but likewise because they had provisions in abundance flour, wine, and great stores of barley that had been collected for horses, all these supplies having been gathered together by the acting satrap of the district.’ *Xenophon, Anabasis, 3.4 (trad. Brownson, Loeb, 1998)*

He mentions the army’s decision to form columns instead of squares in order to pass through narrow defiles in this section of the march; this would be more appropriate for the pass through the chain of mountains before Zakho, now known as the Jebel Bikhayr, than for a road leading round the western end of this chain. It is particularly unfortunate that Xenophon does not even mention the Eastern Habur river which the army must have crossed soon after (although he does say that one of the reasons for the new marching formation was the need to cross bridges as well as to march through narrow mountain passes – *Anabasis* 3.4). Most regrettably the fortress of Zakho, photographed by Gertrude Bell in 1909, which seems to have contained early construction levels, no longer exists but, in any case, Xenophon makes no reference to the place nor to the river crossing.

A site which might have been such a palace was seen on Google Earth and investigated on top of the Jebel Bikhayr near Derabun in September 2016; it turned out to be a temporary fortification dating from the time of Saddam Hussein. No other suitable site has yet been identified. After the stay at the palace, the army crossed a plain – probably the Silopi plain – to a point where the road was hemmed in by the river and by mountains to the east. This must have been opposite Cizre. The generals decided that it was not feasible to cross the Tigris (*Anabasis* 3.5) because of Persian cavalry on the west bank and continued the march north to Armenia. The obvious route would have been

along the river Tigris past the later Parthian fortress at Fenik/Phaenica, but it is not evident that they did this. It is possible that they left the Silopi plain by a difficult mountain route, passing over the Cudi Dağı and presumably close to the Assyrian reliefs at Shak, or else that they continued a little further along the Tigris before turning east and up the tributary river now known as the Kızıl Su through the Kasrik gorge (Sağlamtimur and Schachner 2005). Nevertheless, the route past Phaenica seems the most probable and is discussed below. The Cudi Dağı and the area beyond the Kasrik gorge are largely unexplored by archaeologists, although the former was visited by Gertrude Bell in 1909 (1924: 289-295). The site of Shakh is also discussed in the catalogue.

Xenophon's account of this section of the march (*Anabasis* 4.1-2) indicates frequent skirmishes with the 'Karduchoi' in an apparently mountainous area some way east of the Tigris (see Marciak 2017b: 163-168, 204-206). Although using Google Earth it is possible to identify, as did Sağlamtimur and Schachner, several possible routes, including the one followed by the modern road to north to Eruh which begins near the modern district capital of Şırnak, soon after the Kasrik gorge, the possibility must also be considered that the Ten Thousand did in fact take the obvious way up the Tigris. This was necessarily shorter, easier and therefore a more likely route, even though Xenophon does not mention the river in this section of the march. No remains of the Achaemenid period have yet been found in this area (ibid: 94), but see 'Fenik/Phaenica below.

Following the valley itself and at a point where the gorges become so narrow as to be impassable (37°26'00"N, 41°56'42"E), the modern road - which shows every sign of being also ancient - rises steeply to the plateau at Güçlükönak, 400m above the Tigris, before descending once more into the Tigris valley some 15kms to the north-west. This climb to the plateau could correspond to several of the incidents described by Xenophon and is described in the catalogue.

Although the account given by Xenophon makes no further mention of the Tigris after the entry of the Ten Thousand into the territory of the 'Karduchoi', the conditions under which the *Anabasis* was composed may not have been conducive to him remembering all the details of the march (Cawkwell 2004). The next identifiable point in his account is the crossing of the river *Kentrites*, now the Bohtan, which he states to have been the boundary separating the 'Karduchoi' from Armenia. The precipitous slopes of the Bohtan valley below Siirt seem to indicate that the crossing must have taken place in the 10km between the Tigris/Bohtan and the Bohtan/Bitlis Çay confluences, upstream from Çattepe, a site discussed below in relation to the history of the upper Tigris in Late Antiquity. Sağlamtimur and Schachner indicate the village of Çiçekyurdu as the crossing place (ibid: 96). There are remains of two ancient bridges nearby, of which the first versions may

have been constructed in antiquity – but presumably not by the Achaemenid Persians (Comfort 2009, 2011 : 73-76 and 332). Most tellingly, there is a helmet in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford which was found in 1854 in the river close to the confluence of the Tigris and Bohtan. This helmet has been identified as of the Boeotian type and is probably from the period 450-350 BCE (museum reference: AN1977.256). It therefore seems likely that it was dropped in the river by one of the Ten Thousand and not by a cavalryman from Alexander's army as the current museum explanatory note declares. This possibility is discussed by Schachner and Sağlamtimur (2008). The Iron Age site of 'Türbe Höyük', mentioned above, is adjacent to this site but no Achaemenid levels have been identified as such (Sağlamtimur 2012b) nor does Xenophon mention a settlement at this point.

After crossing the river Kentrites Xenophon tells us (*Anabasis* 4.1) that the army continued for 5 parasangs (about a day's journey) through Armenia over country that was entirely flat and that there were no villages near the river. They then did reach a large village with a palace belonging to the satrap where most of the houses were built like fortresses and where there were plenty of provisions. Chaumont believes that after their entry into the territory of the Karduchoi the Ten Thousand would have gone up the Tigris gorges to the crossing of the Bohtan (near Çattepe) and then, after crossing the river, to the palace of the satrap at either Redwan or else Siirt (1986: 298). But Siirt is located at 900m, 440m above the Tigris at its confluence with the Bohtan. Even at a distance of over 20kms this implies a big climb and cannot be reconciled with Xenophon's statement that the country was flat. The route due north following the valley of the Bitlis Chai, would also have involved a substantial climb to avoid the gorges of the river valley. The road west to Redwan is however fairly flat. The palace has not been located but could have been on the Garzan river (*Nicephorius* in antiquity) at the ruined village of Şeyhosel, 16km west of Çattepe, where there are also remains of a bridge, apparently for a road along the ridge above the Tigris to a point opposite Hasankeyf. (The bridge is located at 37°44'54", 41°35'37"E and is discussed in Comfort 2009: 69 and Comfort 2011: 331.) There are a substantial number of ruined buildings, but nothing was seen here resembling a satrapal palace of the Achaemenid period. It is likely therefore that the palace lay a little further to the north at Redwan. This place was visited by Layard when it was a town of the Yezidis (1853: 44-7); it was situated on the east bank of the Garzan River at a site now called Başari (see 'Ridvan' in the online catalogue managed by TAY of archaeological sites in the Siirt region - <http://www.tayproject.org/>). Layard's description of the church may indicate that this building incorporated parts of the Achaemenid palace:

'The church stands on the slope of a mound, on the summit of which are the ruins of a castle belonging to the former chiefs of Redwan. It was built

expressly for the Christians of the Armenian sect by Mirza Agha, the last semi-independent Yezidi chief.... The building is peculiar and primitive in its construction; one side of the courtyard is occupied by stables for the cattle of the priests; above them is a low room with a dead wall on three sides and a row of arches on the fourth. On the opposite side of the court is an iwan, or large vaulted chamber, completely open on one side to the air; in its centre, supported on four columns, is a gaudily painted box containing a picture of the Virgin; a few miserable daubs of paint are paste on the walls. This is the church, when in summer the heat prevents the use of a closed room....' *Nineveh and Babylon, 1853, p.45*

Layard continued in the opposite direction to that which may have been followed by the Ten Thousand and forded the Bohtan below Çattepe, then known as Tilli or Tilleh. All this area, which is likely to have been a part of the kingdom of Shubria in Assyrian times, was in the Achaemenid satrapy of Western Armenia, governed by Tiribazus. The route of the journey north of the Ten Thousand is uncertain: Xenophon says that the army marched for two days and passed the sources of the river Tigris (perhaps the resurgence at Birkleyin, although this is over 100km to the north-west of Redwan). A further three days' march brought them to the *Teleboas*, '...a beautiful river but not a large one'. Although many have assumed that the army would have gone up the valley of the Bitlis Çay towards Lake Van and then rounded the mountains to go to Muş, before they reached the lake (which Xenophon does not mention despite the fact that this is the largest single geographical feature of the entire journey), Lehmann-Haupt believed that they crossed a difficult pass of the Taurus between Lice and Muş (1910 (Vol 1) and 1926 (Vol 2): map at end); it seems more probable to this writer that they would have taken the pass through the Taurus north of Amida/Diyarbakır and north-west of Lice and that Xenophon was confused in the time taken to reach each stage. The *Teleboas* in this case could have been reached before the Tigris source at Birkleyin and could have been one of the upper tributaries of the Batman Su (*Nymphius* in antiquity).

The Hellenistic period

The Achaemenid Empire fell to the Macedonian-Greek forces led by Alexander the Great in three consecutive battles – at Granicus in 334 BC, at Issus in 333 BC, and finally near Gaugamela in 331 BC (Marsden, E.W. 1964; Hammond 1981; Nawotka 2010). After the death of Alexander (323 BC), his generals fought for control of his vast territorial heritage between 323 and 281 BC (Shipley 2000; Anson and Troncoso 2013). In the end, the Seleucids (descendants and successors of Seleucus I) became heirs to Alexander the Great and the Achaemenids in much of the ancient Near East – at its greatest territorial extent the power of

the Seleucids was recognised all the way from Asia Minor to the Indus River Valley (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993). However, the Seleucid kingdom was never a strongly centralised state and in fact included many different regions and peoples with their local elites (Engels 2011). It is widely assumed that the Seleucids adopted the main principles of the territorial administration from Alexander and the Achaemenids (Tarn 1984; Bickerman 1966; Briant 1994). As a result, the kingdom included many separate administrative provinces (satrapies), as well as other areas under different forms of obligation to the Seleucid suzerain (Bickerman 1938; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993; Capdetrey 2007; Musti 1966). Many of these satrapies became emancipated in the third and second century in the context of the disintegration of the Seleucid kingdom, which is attributed by scholars to various factors ranging from inherent weakness to external military defeats (with the advent of the Parthians and the Romans in the region), to dynastic instability and to the rise of centrifugal tendencies in the satrapies (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 217-229; Erickson and Ramsey 2011: 13-18).

In particular, several local kingdoms arose in the upper Tigris region (Marciak, 2017b). The Hellenistic kingdom of Sophene came into being as a result of the partition of the territories of the Orontid dynasty (which ruled in Armenia) into two separate parts around the middle of the third century BC – one ruling in Sophene (including the territory of Commagene) and another in Greater Armenia (Facella 2006; Marciak 2017b: 113-123). The first period of independence of Sophene (under the kings Samos, Arsames and Xerxes) from Greater Armenia came to an end with the reign of the powerful Seleucid king Antiochus III in ca. 212 BCE, who consolidated his kingdom through a series of reconquests, but, after his defeat at the hands of the Romans at Magnesia in 190 BCE and the peace treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE, centrifugal tendencies again revived and gained momentum under new local dynasties akin to the Orontids (the Zariadres dynasty in Sophene and the Artaxias dynasty in Greater Armenia). The Hellenistic kingdom of Sophene under Zariadres stretched a long way from Arsamosata across the Taurus along the upper Tigris river. An attempt by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 165 BCE to regain control in Mesopotamia and Armenia failed, despite his victory over Artaxias at Apadno, frequently identified with Apadna/Tell Harzem near Kızıltepe and Mardin (Chaumont 1993; Assenat and Perez 2013b; Perez 2016).

In turn, the first kings of Adiabene and Gordyene are attested in ca. 164 BCE and 71/70 BCE respectively, which also suggests the rise of their independence in the context of a political vacuum, when the Seleucids started to lose influence and territory in Mesopotamia, but before the advent of another powerful player in the region – the Parthians (Marciak 2017b: 344-348, 243-244, 419-425).

It should also be noted that in later sources (see below) we learn of the existence of several other countries in the upper Tigris region (especially Anzitene, centred on the Kharpūt plain; Ingilene, around Eḡil; Sophanene, between Amida and Martyropolis; Arzanene, east of the Batman River; Zabdicene, around Bezabde. Further to the south and west, countries became established in Osrhoene, approximately around Edessa; and Mygdonia, around Nisibis). These countries were usually geographically distinctive, and consequently we may suspect that their existence as geopolitical entities with own local elites was much older. However, their appearance in ancient sources is usually a result of greater political emancipation. This was subject to changeable geopolitical conditions, being affected not only by the conflict of great powers (the Seleucids versus the Parthians, and later the Romans versus the Parthians and the Sassanians), but also of the mutual competition with smaller local kingdoms.

In regard to the archaeological evidence for the Tigris valley, especially from the North Jazīra and Eski Mosul dam areas, Ball states that the Hellenistic occupation of the region differs little from the Assyrian with a rural economy that apparently continued to flourish, although without major urban centres (2003: 17-18). The very large mound of Tell al-Hawa, 36kms north west of the Eski Mosul dam (36°48'10"N, 42°28'05"E), was abandoned in this period even though various other smaller settlements continued (Ball, Tucker et al. 1989: 18). North of the Tigris gorges there is little evidence of Hellenistic occupation discovered so far, although excavations at Ziyaret Tepe (Tushan) did reveal some occupation from this period (see catalogue). Furthermore, brief excavations at Haraba (identified as Arsamosata – the capital of Sophene), as well as on-site examination of Eḡil (ancient Arkathiokerta) and Arzen (Arzan) shows signs (mainly masonry) of Hellenistic occupation.

Parthian period

With the dissolution of the Seleucid kingdom, the role of the main hegemon in the ancient Near East fell to the Parthians. The era of great Parthian conquests started with King Mithradates I (170–138 BCE), who conquered Bactria in ca. 160–155 BCE, Greater Media (with Media Atropatene) in ca. 148–141 BCE, parts of northern Mesopotamia (especially Nimrud) in ca. 145–141 BCE, and finally Babylonia in 141 BCE (Olbrycht 2010a: 166; Olbrycht 2010b; Dąbrowa 2012: 169). After a period of renewed fighting and instability with Seleucid counterattacks in 140–138 and 130–128 BCE and resistance in the satrapies of Elymais, Charakene, Bactria and Persis, a renaissance of Parthian power came with the reign of Mithradates II (122–91 BCE) who regained and consolidated Parthian territorial gains in the East (Bactria, Media, Babylonia), as well as acquiring new territories – Greater Armenia and Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates River

(Olbrycht 2010a, 171-175; Dabrowa 2012, 170-172). It was the Parthian kingdom of Mithradates II which for the first time in its history stretched all the way from the Indus River Valley in the east to the Euphrates in the west.

In this way, geopolitical entities in the upper Tigris region became part of the *Parthian Commonwealth*, a political and cultural cluster of many countries with their local elites (some still of royal status) under the suzerainty of the Parthian king (Chaumont 1975; Jong de 2013; Fowler 2010; Jacobs 2010b ; Hauser 2013; Marciak 2017b, 425-426). In the Parthian kingdom, some areas were directly subjected to the central royal administration, but most territory belonged to various geopolitical entities - kingdoms, principedoms, and cities, which acknowledged the authority of the Parthian King of Kings but also enjoyed partial autonomy (Hauser 2013; Marciak 2017b, 425-426). It should, however, be stressed that local autonomy was granted by the Parthian suzerain and was always subject to his decision. As a result, the relationship between the Parthian King of Kings and his subjects (including other 'lesser' kings) could also involve a change in status and privileges, including titles, territory, and other honorary and ritual prerogatives (Marciak 2017b, 425-426). Of course, this kind of power relation had to be constantly shaped, constructed, and negotiated (Fowler 2010; Marciak 2017b: 425-426) and this could lead to various tensions well-known from Parthian history (especially struggles between contenders to the Parthian throne and tensions between kings and their noble subjects). Furthermore, local rivalries between various regions also could become an issue; these included the rise in importance of Adiabene in the first century CE.

With the gradual development of the Romans' engagement in the Near East (which gained importance in the first century BCE), the areas of Mesopotamia and Armenia became the scene of fierce competition between the Roman Empire and the Parthian kingdom. The first major encounter between the two superpowers was connected with the Mithridatic Wars (88-63 BCE) fought between Rome and the Kingdom of Pontus under Mithridates VI and their allies (Holmes 1923: 176-212; Magie 1930: 344-358; McGing 1984; Sherwin-White 1984: 159-206; Olbrycht 2009: 163-190; Olbrycht 2011: 275-281). In the course of the three wars, Mithridates VI was allied especially with the Armenian king Tigranes II (95-55 BCE) and the Parthian kings Mithradates II (124/123-87 BCE) and Phraates II (71/70-57 BCE). It was especially the Armenian king Tigranes who played a major role in the Third Mithridatic War, lasting from 74 or 73 until 63 BCE.

Although Tigranes II started his reign as a Parthian vassal, taken as a hostage by the Parthians while a young man, he bought his freedom by agreeing to surrender 70 valleys of south-east Armenia directly to the Parthian kingdom;

he then grew in strength during his reign and escaped Parthian suzerainty. Tigranes II's rise in importance was certainly possible due to the death of the powerful Parthian king, Mithradates II in 87 BCE and the beginning of domestic struggles for the Parthian throne between the latter's successors: Gotarzes I (90-78/77 BCE), Orodes I (the 80s BCE), Sinatrukes I (78/77-70/69), and Phraates III (71/70-57 BCE).

After gaining the throne in 95 BCE, Tigranes II started to expand his power beyond the borders of Greater Armenia at the cost of other local rulers whom he either removed from their positions (Sophene) or subjugated (Gordyene, Adiabene). In this way, he succeeded in gaining control of northern Mesopotamia for over 20 years (between 95 and 69 BCE). What is more, at the peak of his success, Tigranes II's authority was recognized in a vast territory from the Pontic Mountains to northern Mesopotamia, and from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean (including Cilicia and Syria). In this context, Tigranes II decided to establish a new capital whose location and splendor was to match the new geopolitical constellation better than the old Armenian capital of Artaxata. The city was named Tigranokerta after Tigranes himself. Although there has been an extremely long controversy over the site of the city Tigranokerta (major suggestions being Silvan, Tell Ermen, Arzen/Arzan) it has now been convincingly identified with Arzen (Sinclair 1995, 1996-1997). Arzen is situated on the Garzan Su some 100km east of Amida/Diyarbakır and apparently on an important route leading east to Lake Van and Armenia via the Bitlis pass.

It was during the Third Mithridatic War when Roman legions intervened beyond the Euphrates in Sophene and Gordyene (Marciak 2017b: 128-133). A treaty of 95 CE created an alliance between Pontus and Armenia which Tigranes later had cause to regret. Roman soldiers were sent from Cilicia, whose praetor was then Sulla, to regain control of Cappadocia and in the final III Mithridatic War (74 or 73 to 63 BCE) Tigranes, who had not returned his fugitive father-in-law to the Romans, was also defeated in the battle at Tigranokerta in 69 BC and lost his capital as well as much of his kingdom. The subsequent history of the area is not entirely clear, but we may assume that that it returned to the geopolitical constellation of Parthian supremacy. At the same time, given the Roman influence over Cappadocia and the testimony of Appian's *Mithridates* 105, it has been speculated that informal Roman influence may also have been felt in Sophene, including the possession of the border fortress Tomisa on the eastern bank of the Euphrates (Marciak 2017b: 131-133).

To the south of the Tigris gorges lies Bezabde and on the east bank its twin city of Fenik. Parthian pottery has been identified at Finik (Algabe, Hammer and Parker 2012), where there was a large fortress (see below in catalogue); there

are also relief rock sculptures of the Parthian period (see section on rock reliefs below). The sculptures seem to indicate the presence of an important route up the Tigris during the Parthian period, even if the Armenians gained control of the area under Tigranes. But the historical context of the sculptures after the battle of Tigranokerta is unknown. Many small sites classified as 'Parthian' have been located recently by the 'Eastern Habur Archaeological Survey' and the 'Land of Niniveh Survey'. These seem to indicate continued occupation and use of the agricultural potential of the area but little more.

In the Silopi plain and Cizre dam area Algaze found nineteen sites with Hellenistic pottery but few of these continued into the Parthian period. Apart from Fenik, only Basorin showed signs of being more than a village and this site needs further investigation. He concludes that the landscape was largely rural and 'undifferentiated' (Algaze, Hammer and Parker 2012: 40) ; this seems surprising in view of the road mentioned above. His survey did not consider Shakh in the foothills above the Silopi plain, which may have been 'Siraka', one of the three cities of Gordyene mentioned by Strabo (Sinclair 1989: 368).

Early Roman Period

The main sources for the eastern campaigns of the early Roman period are Plutarch (*Lucullus*. 21-36, *Pompey* 30-36) and Cassius Dio (36-37). Lucullus was initially sent by the dictator Sulla in 88 BCE to take charge of the war against Mithridates VI from Greece. After returning to Rome and gaining the consulship he was appointed governor of Cilicia in 77 and placed in command of the Roman forces during the third Mithridatic war. He defeated Mithridates VI at the battle of Cabira in 72 or 71 BCE. The latter fled to Armenia to seek the protection of Tigranes, who then refused to surrender him to the Romans. In 69 BCE Lucullus crossed the Euphrates and defeated Tigranes II at the battle of Tigranokerta, as discussed above. Afterwards he moved on to Gordyene where he held funeral rites for its king Zarbienenus who had wished to become a Roman ally and been killed by Tigranes II. It is unclear where in Gordyene the army wintered, but in 68 BCE Lucullus attacked Tigranes II in central Armenia near Artaxata. A possible location for the Roman camp during the winter of 69/68 BCE is near Shakh (37°22'11"N, 42°20'42"E), where two large adjacent camps are visible on Google Earth (see below in catalogue). Although victorious, Lucullus was obliged by his army to withdraw because of the onset of winter the next year in 68 BCE. He moved south to Nisibis and took control of this city from Tigranes II's brother Gauras.

Lucullus did not succeed in finishing off either Tigranes II or Mithridates VI, but he gained control of Syria from the Armenians and placed a Seleucid

prince on the throne. Mithridates VI had returned to Pontus and won various victories there over the Romans, which forced Lucullus to abandon Nisibis and move north in 67 BCE. He had become unpopular with his troops and political manoeuvring in Rome resulted in his replacement by Pompey as the general in charge of the war in Anatolia. Pompey had recently succeeded in suppressing piracy in the Mediterranean in a campaign for which he was granted by the Senate 500 ships and 120 000 men. He is said to have cleared the western Mediterranean of pirates in 40 days and the eastern Mediterranean in less than three months. Some of the pirates were resettled at Soli in Cilicia, which had recently been devastated by Tigranes II.

Despite the very great concentration of military power which resulted, the Senate granted Pompey control also of the army of Lucullus in 67 BC and of the war against Mithridates VI. Having defeated the latter, he persuaded the Parthian king Phraates III to invade southern Armenia and himself marched against Tigranes II at his then capital of Artaxata. Tigranes II surrendered in exchange for promises that he should regain control of various provinces, Sophene in particular the claim for which was apparently connected with Sophene's Orontid past and the presence of vast royal resources there (Marciak 2017b: 133-123). His son, known as Tigranes the Younger, was to be the prince of Sophene but refused to accept the deal and became Pompey's prisoner following a complex series of events involving also the Parthians.

In 65 BCE Pompey went on to conquer Iberia and Colchis, the territory now known as Georgia. He also defeated an Albanian army on the territory south-east of the Caucasus now known as Azerbaijan, but he did not succeed in reaching the Caspian. He withdrew his army to Armenia and his general Afranius was sent to regain control of Gordyene from the Parthians under Phraates III. Afranius drove out the Parthians and pursued them as far as Arbela (see especially Plutarch, *Pompey*, 33-36.2).

Gordyene was returned to the Armenian king Tigranes and the demands of the Parthians were ignored. In 64 BCE Phraates IV again attacked Armenia, accompanied by Tigranes the Younger; the latter was not supported by the Romans as he had hoped. There followed a reconciliation because both Tigranes II and Phraates III wished to keep out Pompey. Since the latter was absorbed in finishing off Mithridates in northern Anatolia and in creating a Roman province in Syria, they succeeded in largely eliminating Roman influence in the affairs of the upper Tigris (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 37.5.2-5,6). In his triumph in Rome in 61 BCE Pompey's procession is said to have included as captives Tigranes the Younger with his wife and daughter, a wife of Tigranes, a sister and five children of Mithridates VI, Aristobulus II, the king of Commagene and

Albanian and Iberian hostages (Plutarch, *Pompey*, 45), but in fact Rome seems to have overreached itself and its effective control stopped approximately at the Euphrates River.

In 53 BCE Crassus, who had been appointed governor of the new province of Syria, crossed the Euphrates with seven legions in the apparent hope of rivalling the military success of Pompey and Julius Caesar. He refused the support of the new king of Armenia, Tigranes' son Artavasdes II, who offered to provide 10 000 'cataphracts' (armoured cavalry) and 30 000 infantry. The course of events is disputed but the traditional version holds that Crassus wrongly trusted the advice of his false ally, Abgar, ruler of Osroene; that his army was destroyed by the heavy cavalry of Surena, despite outnumbering the latter's army four-to-one; and that, in consequence, the Armenian king Artavasdes was obliged to come to terms with the Parthians and even to marry his sister to the son of Orodes, the Parthian king. The consequences for the region of the upper Tigris are not known.

In 36 BC Mark Antony returned with a Roman army to Armenia (Debevoise 1938: 121–135, 146; Frye 1984: 234–235; Olbrycht 2010a: 181–182). Artavasdes switched sides but when Antony left for the conquest of the north Iranian region of Atropatene, he reverted to supporting the Parthians. Antony returned to Artaxata in 34 and captured Artavasdes who was imprisoned in Alexandria and then executed by Cleopatra after the battle of Actium. His son Artaxias II was elected as the new king of Armenia but had to flee to the Parthians. He later returned with their support to Armenia where he massacred a Roman garrison and killed the Roman traders there. In consequence, when he requested Augustus to release his family then in Roman custody this request was refused. Augustus sent his step-son and successor Tiberius to depose Artaxias II at the request of the Armenians themselves; Artaxias was murdered and replaced with Roman support by his brother Tigranes III, who had lived in Rome for ten years and been educated there. He reigned for ten years in Armenia, but little further is known about the upper Tigris area at this time.

Two major geopolitical entities which appear in ancient sources for this period in northern Mesopotamia are Adiabene (Luther 2015; Marciak 2017b: 257–418) and Osroene (Luther 1999; Ross 2001; Sommer 2005: 225–269). Adiabene (primarily located between the two Zab rivers) started to rise to prominence from the late first century BCE; its western expansion included the territories of Nineveh and Gordyene and reached as far as Nisibis in the first half of the first century CE. In turn, Osroene, the importance of which resulted from its location as a well-watered stopping point (especially in Edessa) on ancient overland routes through the region (with its autonomy going back to the 130s

BCE), also grew in importance during the first century BCE and first century CE as a key regional player in Roman-Parthian struggles (especially those involving Crassus in 53 BCE and Meherdates' campaign in 49 CE). It achieved a high level of prosperity, with its main urban center in Edessa becoming one of the greatest cities in Northern Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity (Segal 1970).

However, from the first century CE on, it was Armenia which had become the key buffer state between Rome and Parthia. Neither 'great power' was willing to see the other in control of Armenia; although a succession of Armenian kings was placed on the throne with the support of one or the other power, large-scale warfare was avoided until the reigns of the Parthian king Vologases I and the Roman emperor Nero (Debevoise 1938:179–202; Ziegler 1964: 67–78; Dąbrowa 1983: 131–161; Heil 1997: 86–141; Olbrycht 2010a: 188–191). In 52 CE the Parthian king Vologases I installed his brother, Tiridates as the king of Armenia. In response, emperor Nero ordered his general to attack Armenia. In 58 CE his general Corbulo succeeded in replacing Tiridates, king of Armenia with a candidate who had been educated in Rome, Tigranes VI. The latter invaded Adiabene in 61 CE and thereby provoked a crisis involving the return of Tiridates and direct conflict between Roman and Parthian armies. While part of the Parthian army (with troops mainly from Adiabene) besieged Tigranokerta, the main Parthian force under Vologases I moved to Nisibis and in this way threatened to outmaneuver the Romans. The siege of the Roman-garrisoned Tigranokerta failed, but a winter truce was established – Corbulo's troops evacuated Armenia to winter in Cappadocia. Hostilities were resumed next year – a new Roman army under Paetus invaded through Sophene, while Corbulo with his troops protected the Euphrates crossing at Zeugma. In an advance towards Tigranokerta, Paetus' army was taken by surprise at Rhandaia (in Sophene on the Arsianias River) by the main Parthian forces under Vologases, besieged and forced to capitulate, before Corbulo managed to come to their rescue. This in turn led to a stalemate and finally to a compromise peace agreement: a Parthian prince was supposed to become king of Armenia, but always after having received confirmation and insignia from the Roman emperor. The agreement was sealed at Rhandaia in 63 CE and confirmed in 66 CE when Tiridates indeed went to Rome to receive his royal insignia from Nero. Peaceful relations were established for 50 years as a result.

In the second century CE the Romans regained the upper hand; in 113 Trajan attempted to resolve the rivalry with Parthia by a full invasion (Guey 1937; Lepper 1948; Lightfoot 1990; Hartmann 2010; Marciak 2017b: 366–379). Armenia was annexed as a Roman province in 114 and northern Mesopotamia was overrun in 115. Ctesiphon was captured and Trajan even went to visit the coast of the Persian Gulf. But revolts in north Africa, Judaea and Mesopotamia eventually

forced Trajan to retrench. His apparent attempt to create a province in 'Assyria' appears not to have reached fruition. He failed to capture Hatra and withdrew to Syria, but leaving in place garrisons and the new province of (northern) Mesopotamia. Immediately after his death in 117, his successor Hadrian withdrew Roman forces to the Euphrates, apparently because he considered it impossible to maintain Roman control over northern Mesopotamia. However, it seems that Hadrian did keep indirect control at least of Edessa and the kingdom of Osrhoene. He also made the historian Arrian governor of Cappadocia. The client king of Parthia, Parthaspates, placed on the throne by Trajan, continued to rule as client king of Osrhoene under Hadrian until 123, even though his father Osroes quickly regained the throne in Parthia itself. Thereafter peace was maintained following a treaty negotiated by Hadrian with the Parthians.

After a long period of peace, the Roman-Parthian wars began again in 161 CE (Magie 1930: 660-662, 1529-1532; Birley 1987: 160-195; Olbrycht 2010a, 197-198). Lucius Verus was sent by the emperor Marcus Aurelius to regain control of the frontier (after a Parthian attack reaching both Armenia and Cappadocia) and a series of campaigns followed in which the Romans were victorious. A Parthian nominee was evicted from Osrhoene Nisibis was re-captured and the Parthian army dispersed to the Tigris with its general even having to swim to safety. A major battle was fought at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates which sealed Roman control of northern Mesopotamia, including Osrhoene. Nisibis became the fulcrum for Roman control even though vassal rulers were maintained until the end of the century. Armenia was reconstructed on Roman terms with a new capital replacing Artaxata. A Roman senator, C. Iulius Sohaemus, was placed on the throne in 164. In 165, Ctesiphon was captured and Seleucia, the great Greek city of southern Mesopotamia, was sacked despite having opened its gates to the Romans. As a result of Lucius Verus' war, Roman influence considerably grew over Osrhoene, and Roman legions were garrisoned in several Mesopotamian cities (Edessa, Nisibis, Dura Europos). However, the regions of southern Mesopotamia, Adiabene, and Hatra remained Parthian.

Civil wars and instability resulted at the end of the century in the rise to power of Septimius Severus (Platnauer 1918: 74-98; Magie 1950: 671-673, 1538-1542; Ziegler 1964: 129-132; Birley 1971: 108-120). He mounted two campaigns in the east of the empire; the first took place in 194-195 CE when Severus eliminated his rival to the Roman throne, Pescennius Niger through his victory at Issus in 194 CE and suppressed Parthian vassals who had supported Niger by attacking Nisibis (a campaign which involved the conquest of Osrhoene and a victorious engagement with Adiabene in 195 CE). The second campaign was directed against the Parthians themselves in 197-199 CE: Severus sacked Ctesiphon, but did not occupy the city, and on his way back he failed twice to take Hatra. As a result

of Severus' engagement in the East, two new Roman provinces were created in Osrhoene and Mesopotamia. The chief city of the latter was then Nisibis.

Another Roman campaign in the East was conducted in 214-217 CE by Caracalla (Halfmann 1986: 224-225; Kettenhofen 1990: 790; Kienast 1996: 162-163). In the course of the campaign the emperor's army plundered Adiabene (including the capture of Arbela) in 216 CE, but no permanent occupation of Parthian territory seems to have been envisaged. Caracalla's successor Macrinus fought an indecisive and bloody battle at Nisibis in 217 CE but then sued for peace which was accepted by the Parthians after they had received a very large sum in reparations. In 224 CE the Parthian kingdom came to an end; Vologases IV was defeated in a rebellion led by Ardashir, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty.

The remains of the early Roman period in the area are very few. Seh Qubba (situated on the west bank of the Tigris at the northern end of the Mosul dam reservoir; see catalogue below) has been identified by Ball as 'Castra Maurorum', a fortress whose occupation in the Roman period he dates to the campaigns of Septimius Severus (see below and Ball 1989: 11; Ball and Gill 2003). This fortress must have had an important influence also on the east bank of the Tigris, but so far little has come to light in terms of material remains which are evidently Roman east of the river, apart from the bridges discussed below in the catalogue and the twin Roman/Parthian fortresses to the north of Cizre at Bezabde/Finik (Phaenica), whose remains are described in Algaze, Hammer and Parker 2012 and also discussed in Comfort 2017.

Arzen/Tigranokerta has not been excavated nor even surveyed, while the surviving walls of Amida date from the reign of Constantius II (see catalogue). Algaze's survey of the Silopi plain did not find early Roman buildings or pottery. His period 13 (Late Roman) begins in the fourth century.

Various remains of bridges which seem to have originated in the Roman period may be from after 224 (see Comfort 2009, 2011: especially Karaköprü (Devegeçidi), Öngöz (Tigris), Köprükoy (Tigris), Harap (Nymphius/Batman Su, Şeyhosel (Nicephorius/Garzan Su), Bürüçek (Kızılsu)). To these should be added four bridges in northern Iraq: the Pir Delal in Zakho and the three found by Stein (Eski Mosul, Faydeh and Kuzaf). These are discussed in the catalogue below; Faydeh and Kuzaf have been destroyed and they may have dated from late antiquity.

Late Antiquity and the Sassanian period

In 224 CE Ardashir defeated the last Parthian ruler, Artabanus IV, on the plain of Hormizdagan in Media and founded the Sassanian dynasty which ruled

Mesopotamia until its defeat by Arab armies at Qadisiyah in 636 CE. For more than 400 years the lower Tigris was firmly in Sassanian hands, but the northern course of the river was disputed between Rome and Persia. In 298 CE the Romans achieved considerable territorial gains in the upper Tigris region (including the *Transtigritani* or *Transtigritanae regiones* [*gentes*]), only to lose much of this territory in 363 CE after Julian's death while campaigning on the Tigris near Ctesiphon. After 363 CE the frontier followed a north-south line from the Black Sea to Circesium on the Euphrates at its confluence with the Chabur.

At the beginning of the Sassanian period the Romans controlled considerable territory in northern Mesopotamia - directly the Roman provinces of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia (since Septimius Severus) and probably indirectly Sophene (understood as the territory between the Euphrates and the Tauros). One of the chief aims of the new Sassanian kings of Persia was the recovery of northern Mesopotamia. A long series of wars ensued which lasted much of the third and fourth centuries. The complex history of relations between Rome and Persia during this period (and later) is dealt with by Lightfoot 1982; Dodgeon 1991; Greatrex 2002; Dignas and Winter 2007.

The Persian struggle with the Romans under command of powerful Sassanian kings, Ardashir I (224-242 CE) and Shapur I (240-272 CE) was marked by both splendid victories (the capture of both Antioch and Nisibis) and serious defeats (the sack of Ctesiphon). However, the period which led to more-lasting territorial and political consequences took place under the rule of their weaker successors, especially Wahram I (273-276 CE), Wahram II (276-293 CE), and Narseh (293-302). In particular, in 297 CE (or 298), the Romans won an overwhelming victory near Satala in the upper Euphrates valley - the Persian army suffered great losses, and important members of Narses' family (wives, sisters, children) were captured. As a result, the Persians accepted far-reaching Roman conditions - in particular, the territories of Sophene, Anzitene, Ingilene, and Sophanene (referred to as the *Transtigritani* or *Transtigritanae regiones* (*gentes*) in ancient sources) were ceded by the Sassanians and became officially part of the Roman sphere of influence (Petros Patrikios, FGrHist IV, Fr. 14). The *Transtigritanae regiones* functioned as Roman principalities (also labeled by scholars as '*cliental/friendly states*', '*civitates foederatae/civitates stipendiariae*', or '*satrapies*' in the condition of *foedus iniquum*) until the sixth century CE, when they were gradually incorporated into the provincial structure of the Byzantine state (partially in 527 CE, and completely in 536 CE - Marciak, M 2017b: 136-147).

The territorial arrangements in northern Mesopotamia created by the peace of Diocletian in 298 CE were partially reversed only in the reign of the powerful Sassanian king Shapur II (309-379 CE). After a series of not always decisive

campaigns (three unsuccessful Persian sieges of Nisibis in 338, 342, and 350 CE; Persian captures of Bezabde and Amida in 359 CE), the breakthrough came with the failure of the ambitious Roman expedition against Ctesiphon in 361 CE. The Roman failure to capture Ctesiphon and Emperor Julian's death during the withdrawal along the Tigris led to the Sassanians making considerable territorial gains – they received back five *Transtigritane regiones*: Arzanene, Moxoene, Zabdikene from the hands of Julian's successor, Jovian. Thus, after 363 CE the frontier between Rome and Persia followed roughly a north-south line from the Black Sea to the confluence of the Euphrates and Khabur rivers at *Circesium*, as stated above. But there was a substantial exception around Nisibis and Cephas. The former city is located south of the mountainous region north of the Mesopotamian plain known as the Tur Abdin, at a point where an important river emerges from the escarpment (the Jaghjagh, *Mygdonius* in antiquity). This river continues south and joins the Khabur (*Chaboras* in antiquity), which in turn flows south into the Euphrates. Cepha is a fortress situated due north of Nisibis on the south bank of the Tigris in the middle of the 100km section of this river which flows east from Diyarbakir until it veers south towards Nineveh at the river port of Tel Fafan/Tilli/Cattepe. Between these two points the frontier bulged towards the east and probably followed the course of the river Tigris until it reaches the former fortified town of Bezabde, when it heads back west to a point just north of Nisibis. For a map and discussion see Comfort 2017: 185-6.

The question also remains open of the extent of Roman control in late antiquity on the west bank of the Tigris in northern Mesopotamia, i.e. south of the gorges and Bezabde. Nisibis, Castra Maurorum, Singara and, perhaps, Bezabde were surrendered to the Persians by Jovian in 363 (thus abandoning much of the territory gained by Diocletian in 298), but the nature of the border in this region is still debated (Comfort 2017: 185-7 and 194-6). Nevertheless, the border between Rome and Persia remained fairly stable for two centuries after 363 CE. The main source for the Sassanian-Roman war under Shapur II is Ammianus Marcellinus but his references to the Tigris are unclear and in some respects conflicting (see below). After the peace of 363 CE the line of the frontier from the north is agreed to have lain along the Batman river known as the Nymphius in antiquity, thus dividing Arzanene (under Persian control) from Sophanene; it then probably followed the Tigris from the confluence as far as a point not far from the present town of Cizre. But the question of how far to the south Roman control extended before 363 remains to be elucidated.

Already in 359 CE Constantius II had lost Bezabde to Shapur II. But Ammianus tells us that the fortress here formed part of a complex with its twin on the east bank at Fenik (Phaenica). The archaeological survey of Algaze conducted in the late 1980s before construction of the Ilisu dam had begun confirmed

the location of Bezabde at Hendek some 15km north-west of Cizre. It found both Roman and Parthian remains on the east bank (Sassanian pottery is not mentioned). Ammianus tells us that even after 359 CE and, presumably until the treaty of 363 CE, Gordyene (Corduena) remained a safe haven for Roman troops. The relevant passage reads as follows:

‘If the emperor, before letting these envoys go, had used this space of time to withdraw gradually from the enemy’s territories, he could surely have reached the protection of Corduena a rich region belonging to us (*uberis regionis et nostrae*), and distant only a hundred miles from the spot where all this took place’ (i.e. a long way north of Ctesiphon, since the distance between the Sassanian capital and Gordyene (Corduena) is over 500km or 337 Roman miles). *Roman History* 25,7.8

However, at 18,6.20, Ammianus seems to say the opposite:

‘There was at that time in Corduena, *which was subject to the Persian power (quae obtemperabat potestati Persarum)*, a satrap called Jovinianus on Roman soil, a youth who had secret sympathy with us for the reason that, having been detained in Syria as a hostage and allured by the charm of liberal studies, he felt a burning desire to return to our country.’

There appear to be two possible solutions to this contradiction. First, at 18,6.20 Ammianus may be admitting only a theoretical Persian takeover of Gordyene before 359 CE (when Ammianus’ scouting mission to Jovinianus took place); in practice Rome retained control. Second, if Gordyene (Corduena) included the Silopi plain, then the province may have been divided between Rome and Persia before 363 CE, with a frontier on the Kızilsu river opposite Cizre. In this case the Silopi plain would have been Persian and Fenik Roman, even though on the west bank Bezabde had fallen to the Persians in 359.

Further to the north-east, we are told that Hasankeyf was made the chief city of Arzanene by Constantius II following his fortification of Amida in the 350s (*Life of James the Hermit*). The second Parthian legion was stationed here according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* in the later fourth century. There are remains of a road along the ridge to the north-east of Hasankeyf leading to the Roman fortress at Çattepe (Comfort 2018). It is therefore assumed here that until 363 CE Roman control did indeed extend to the east bank of the Tigris, even if the territories of Arzanene and Gordyene (Corduena) were never turned into Roman provinces.

The implications are important also for relations with and the status of Armenia in this period. There are piers of a large bridge visible in the Batman river (Nymphius) 10km north of the modern city of Batman, near a mound now

called Gre Migro, which some people identify with Kullimeri, the former capital of Shubria, the buffer kingdom between Assyria and Urartu (Kessler 1995; Comfort 2009: 64-7). This bridge seems very possibly of Roman origin and may have carried the main artery of traffic between Amida and Artaxata (or Dvin) via the Bitlis pass and Lake Van (see section on the road network below and the Batman valley in the catalogue). The bridge (known to the Algaze survey of 1988 as 'Harap') can only have been built at a time when both banks were under control of the same power, that is before 363 CE – or possibly in a short period in the 590s when Khusro II surrendered the area to the emperor Maurice in return for assistance in regaining the throne of Sassanian Persia (see below). Other bridges located to the south-east on the Garzan river, near its confluence with the Tigris (10kms west of Çattepe) and on the Kizilsu, 8kms north of Cizre, also appear to be of Roman construction and therefore possibly date from one of these periods.

The extent of Sassanian control of the upper Tigris in late antiquity seems also therefore very doubtful. The excavator of Seh Qubba, Warwick Ball, believed this site to be 'Castrum Maurorum', one of the main places surrendered to the Persians by Jovian in 363 CE. He thought that the site was likely to have changed hands between Romans and Persians on several occasions before 363 CE, but the possibility must be considered that the whole region as far south as the current site of Mosul remained firmly in Roman hands from – at the latest – the victory of Galerius over Narses in 297 CE up to the conquest of Singara and Bezabde by Shapur II in 359 CE.

It seems apparent that the loss of Nisibis to the Persians resulted in a frontier to the south along the Djaghdjagh river as far as Hasseke and the confluence of this small river with the Chabur, which then flows south into the Euphrates at Circesium. The fortifications of Justinian described in Procopius' 'Buildings' seem to have been designed to protect the frontier both from nomadic raids and from the Persians. It is in this context that the road to the Tigris along the base of the Tur Abdin with which this article started can be placed. The status of Cizre in late antiquity is not known. It was apparently one of the sites on the Tigris mentioned in the Peutinger Table as 'Ad flumen Tigrim'. No archaeological work has been done in the town itself which could assist in defining its role in Late Antiquity. But it must have been either here or possibly 20kms to the south at Feshkhabur that the road crossed the Tigris.

During the 250 years from 363 CE Sassanian control of that part of northern Mesopotamia east of Nisibis and of the upper Tigris (at least of its left/east bank as far as the confluence with the Nymphius) was mostly uncontested; these years were nonetheless full of conflicts between Rome and Persia around the

region concerned here, which must have deeply affected also the upper Tigris. A detailed description of the complex historical events is beyond the limits of a paper such as this and readers are referred to Greatrex 2002. But, in general terms, for nearly one hundred and forty years after 363 CE the Tigris frontier zone was largely quiescent.

The next major conflicts took place during the reigns of the Sassanian kings Kavadh I (488-496 and 498-531 CE), Khusro I (531-579 CE) and Khusro II (591-628 CE). Kavadh I captured Theodosiopolis in 502 CE (in Armenia) and Amida in Mesopotamia 503 CE. Partly in response, an intensive militarisation of the area followed with the building of the great fortress of Dara (505 CE) and the construction and restoration of many other fortifications by Justinian. Despite these efforts to improve the defences of Roman Mesopotamia and Syria, Antioch was sacked in 540 CE by Khusro I.

The fortification of the frontier zone was carried out by Anastasius (491-518 CE) and then Justinian (527-565 CE); it was accompanied by the foundation of monasteries, both in the mountainous zone of the Tur Abdin, under Roman control, and in the Tigris valley which was largely under Persian control. The ecclesiastical hierarchy for the Christian church of north-western Persia was based in Nisibis.

The fortresses of the Tur Abdin have been recently discussed in Comfort (2017), but the monasteries await a detailed publication. Fiey has produced a very useful presentation, based largely on texts (Fiey 1977), but archaeological investigation has been severely handicapped by the security situation. The history of several monasteries of the region seems to go back to foundations in the fourth and fifth centuries, possibly in connection with an effort by late Roman emperors to establish control and settle the area. But in some cases monasteries with an early foundation date existed also on territory which must have been under Sassanian control from the beginning. Those in or near the Tigris valley are discussed below in the catalogue.

The Persians nursed ancestral memories of the control exercised by the Achaemenids over Asia Minor and the Syrian littoral, but they did not attempt to occupy and administer the Romanised areas of Syria nor even Edessa until the reign of Sassanian kings Khusro I (531-579 CE) and Khusro II (591-628 CE).

In the second part of his reign (after introducing many social and economic reforms in his kingdom in 532-539 CE) Khusro I turned to conquests. In 540 CE he invaded and devastated Roman Syria (capture of Antioch), but the balance swung to and fro in the ensuing series of campaigns. In 562 CE a peace treaty was

concluded at Dara that was supposed to be valid for fifty years; inter alia it settled the frontier in northern Mesopotamia with a non-aggression pact; it required merchants to pass through Nisibis/Dara; it prohibited further fortification of the frontier, while accepting that Dara would remain but without the presence of the Roman commander in the East; and it established a disputes procedure. It also reaffirmed the rights of Christians on Persian territory. However, the peace did not last partly because of disputes once again concerning Armenia.

Under Justinian's successors war broke out and from 577 CE northern Mesopotamia was again the scene of fighting. The emperor Tiberius' (565-574 CE) general Maurice, later emperor himself, responded to a Persian attack on Sophanene (the region between Amida and Martyropolis) by invading Arzanene, which had been in theory Persian territory since 363 CE. It is noteworthy that, when this campaign began, Khusro I is said by Agathias (IV.29.7-8) to have been moving towards Thamanon in the 'Carduchian mountains' to take up residence there for the summer because of the mildness of the climate. Thamanon is not far from the Tigris and may be another name for Shakh (see catalogue). After deporting many Christians from Arzanene to Roman territory, Maurice then laid waste the region between Nisibis and the Tigris. Following a change of king in Persia, Roman peace overtures were rejected and Maurice sent troops across the Tigris in 580 CE into 'Media'.

During the reign of Maurice (582-602 CE) Roman power in northern Mesopotamia and the upper Tigris basin reached its apogee, largely as a result of a rebellion against Khusro II by the general Bahram Chobin in 589 CE. In exchange for help in regaining his throne, Khusro II agreed to surrender to Maurice Martyropolis (capital of the region of Sophanene), which shortly before had fallen into Persian hands, as well as Nisibis and 'Aruastan', that is Beth Arabaye or the area between this city and the Tigris; but the main area of importance was Armenia – here Khusro II appears to have surrendered all of Persarmenia as far as Ararat and Dvin, as well as Iberia and the city of Tiflis (Sebeos, 76.8-18; see Greatrex and Lieu p.172). The extent to which the Romans were able to control and administer their new territories is uncertain; the emperor Maurice was occupied in resisting the Avars in the Balkans during the short period until his assassination in 602 CE. Roman control did not long survive the appearance of Phocas as Maurice's successor (602-610 CE). Khusro II had been adopted by Maurice as his son and used the murder of his 'father' as a pretext for a successful invasion of Asia Minor and then Syria (603-605 CE).

Between 604 and 610 CE all Roman territory east of the Euphrates was retaken by the Persians, including the fortresses of the Tur Abdin, such as Cepha and Mardin. The cities of Amida and Resaina (between Edessa and Nisibis) also fell and then, in 609/10 CE Edessa itself, Harran, Callinicum and Circesium. The

Roman presence in Mesopotamia seemed to have been eradicated, apparently in part because of the removal of Roman troops to counter the rebellion of Heraclius (Greatrex 2002: 187).

Yet, despite the loss of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and even most of Asia Minor to the Persians, the Romans recovered under Heraclius as emperor and the Tigris valley was once again the scene of conflicts involving the Roman army. From 624 CE Heraclius campaigned in the Transcaucasus with remarkable success. In 627 CE, his army crossed the Zagros from the Persian religious centre at Ganzak and reached the Great Zab (Theophanes, A.M. 6118). He defeated the Persian general Rāh-zād̄h near Niniveh; destroyed two palaces of Khusro and then went south where he captured Dastagerd, apparently the main residence of Khusro, near the capital at Ctesiphon. The Persian king fled but refused terms and was then overthrown by his subjects. (For the sources concerning Heraclius' last campaign see especially Greatrex 2002: 209-224; for the reconstruction of the itinerary, see also Howard-Johnston 1999a: 218-220; Howard-Johnston 1999b: esp. 25-29; Kaegi 2003: 159-188). As a result of his victories Heraclius regained control of the entire Near East, although it took time to recover Egypt. Heraclius must in particular have immediately regained control of Nisibis and northern Mesopotamia, despite one source who refers to the acceptance by Heraclius of a frontier based on the Euphrates. (See 'The peace treaty of 629' in Greatrex 2002: 226-7; as do the editor of Sebeos (Sebeos 1904) and Mango (1989: 109-112), Greatrex and Lieu consider the reference in Chronicon 724 to the Euphrates as the frontier to be a mistake.)

But, in any case, Roman re-occupation of northern Mesopotamia cannot have lasted for long. In 636 CE the Arabs defeated both the Roman army at the Yarmuk and the Persians at Qadissiyah. During the period 642 to 651 CE the Arab armies gained complete control of the Sassanian empire, including the upper Tigris.

Maps

The maps in this book were drawn by Anthony Comfort using the programme MapMaker Pro, version 4, and the US Tactical Pilotage Chart (TPC) G-4B as a base. The digitalised versions of the Tactical Pilotage Charts are provided with files for geo-localisation in degrees, minutes and seconds (raw latitude and longitude), i.e. without a map projection. This means that the real distance between points on the map at the same apparent distance on paper will vary according to their position and to whether the distance is measured north-south or east-west. As a result, the scale bars do not provide exact distances.

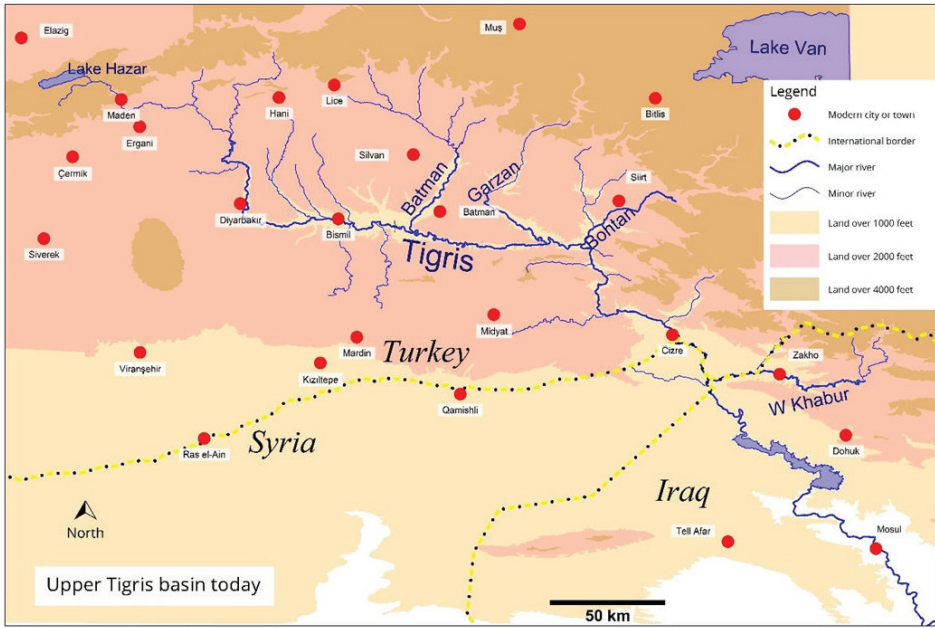
Heights are indicated in the TPCs in feet. This means that the contour lines followed for the colour coding shown on the maps are at 1000, 2000 and 4000

feet above sea level, not meters (1000ft=305m; 2000ft=610m; 4000ft=1219m). This TPC included information up to 1998; as a result the Eski Mosul dam reservoir is included but not more recent dams to the north in Turkey. In particular, the outline of the reservoir to be created by the Ilisu dam is not included on the maps shown here.

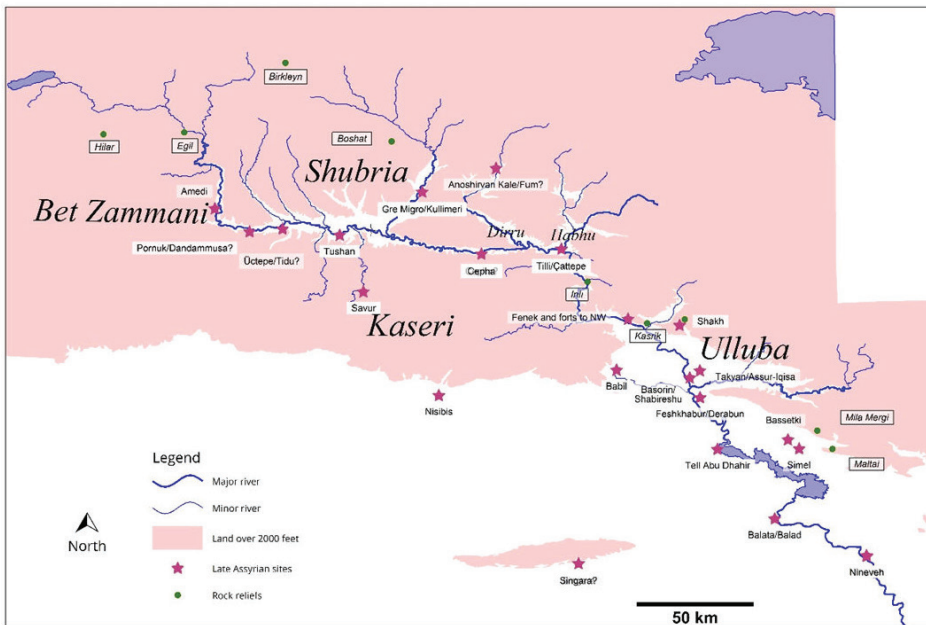
The data in regard to the course of roads in antiquity is taken, in regard to northern Mesopotamia, from the map created for Aurel Stein of which an extract is included at Figure 23; that in turn made use of Poidebard's map in 'La Trace de Rome dans le désert' (Poidebard 1934). These were also used by David Kennedy in the creation of the maps used to illustrate the publication of Aurel Stein's Limes report (Gregory 1985). The data concerning the course of the ancient road network remains to be verified on the ground. In antiquity and in this region, a hard ground surface required only the removal of obstacles for road building and the creation of bridges and fords where a watercourse had to be crossed. In the Tur Abdin and to the north the road network discussed in Comfort 2009 has been used; this relied substantially on the descriptions of Louis Dillemann (1962). The main ancient source is the Peutinger Table. (Other sources are described in Comfort 2009: 33-44.)

In many cases sites shown on the maps are multi-period, but for the sake of clarity an attempt has been made to separate the sites occupied in the Assyrian and Achaemenid periods (700-300 BCE) from the Hellenistic, Parthian/Sassanian and Roman periods (after 300 BCE). A separate map for the region in Late Antiquity was considered but there is frequently insufficient evidence to distinguish sites occupied before and after the arrival of the Sassanian dynasty in Persia in 224 CE. In particular Amida, a late Roman site once considered to have been founded by Constantius II in the 350s has now been revealed as having a much more ancient past (see catalogue). Sites which do seem to have been founded after 400 CE include Martyropolis and Zaferan.

A. Figure 1

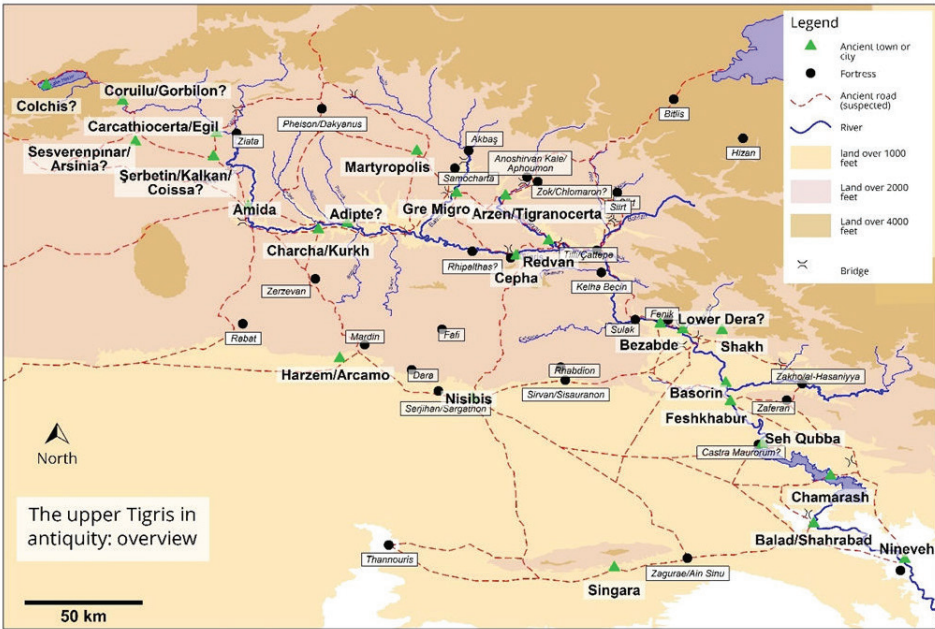


B. Figure 2



Upper Tigris in late Assyrian times

C. Figure 3



D. Figure 4

