

A Comprehensive View of History and Historical Geography of Mannae

Hejebri Nobari A.R. ^{*1}, Mollazadeh K. ²

Abstract

Mannae is the most important state, which was established before Median kingdom and ruled on vast part of northwestern Iran for several centuries. Mannaeans were from Hurrian race and language and probably entered the region about 1500 B.C. In their political life although they suffered many invasions from Assyria and Urartu, they kept their political and cultural independence and expended their power and realm in next period. In spite of this historical fact and available archaeological data, up to the present time no notable study about Mannae has been conducted and therefore basic aspects of Mannae culture have remained unknown. The present study undertakes to accomplish this.

Keywords: Archaeology, Manna, Northwest Iran, Historical Geography.

Introduction

The name Mannae appears for the first time in Assyrian records in 843 B.C. From this time, we have a relatively large amount of data about Mannae among these records and less in Urartu records. On the other hand, relics from archaeological excavations and occasional discoveries in this region seem to be related to Mannae.

Mannae was the biggest and most important government, established prior to the kingdom of Media in the northwest of Iran. During several centuries of political life, it interacted insignificant competition with two powerful governments, Assyria and Urartu. Despite potential capabilities for emerging as a great power, Mannae found it impossible because of the retitive invasion

* Corresponding Author: E-mail: hejebri@modares.ac.ir

1. Assistant Professor in Archaeology, Tarbiat Modarres University, Tehran, Iran

2. Ph.D. Student of Archaeology, Tarbiat Modarres University, Tehran, Iran

of Assur and Urartu. Yet, this incapability paved the way for the union of the tribes and the organization of the Medes and eventual victory against Assyria and Urartu.

We can say that the government of the Medes is indebted to the historical experiences of Mannea. For this reason, the political history of the region should be predated by several centuries before the government of Medea and into the period of Mannean government in terms of the history of Iran. The record of the establishment of local governments in the northwest of Iran date back to the middle centuries of the second millennium B.C. on the basis of archaeological data. The discovered remains of architecture from Hasanlu V (1450-1200 B.C.), its evolution and continuation in Hasanlu IV (1200-800 B.C.) outline the organization of a class that controlled the economic, political and religious institutions of the society.

The architecture and objects unearthed, present a clear image of the power and wealth of this class. Its riches and a wide variety of relics indicate the sway of this people covered more than a plain and it had extensive regional intercourse (Dyson, 1989, pp. 107-130). The architecture from Hasanlu V and IV (1450-800 B.C.) illustrate the agenda of ceaseless social change and evolution of this government or social class. One of the most important questions stems from the relation of Hasanlu with the government of Mannea. Is Mannea the natural continuation of Hasanlu government, which had been established over several centuries? An exact answer can not be given, but there is a relationship between relics obtained from Hasanlu and those from sites related to Mannea such as Ziwiyeh, Qalaychi, etc. (Porada, 1963, p.114).

Political History of Mannea

Referring to the historical and written texts is one of the relatively easy and certain methods of studying history and historical geography of nations as well as different

geographical areas in ancient times. Such information greatly smooth the progress of certain studies and field-researches. There are not any considerable inscriptions from Mannea government except those of Qalaychi, determining the history of Mannea to some extent. Assyrian records and less Urartian ones have provided precious information regarding their history. Despite its value, the evidence of political rivalry and ambiguity abound in these records, great care is needed to apply these materials for deciphering the history and historical geography of Mannea. The Assyrian government and Urartu were present in the region during the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. because of the interplay of aggressive politics and consistently intense competition they all shared in the struggle for possession of natural resources of the region and extending their domination on the trade routes. Thus, plenty of documents proliferate from them including official letters, annals, reports of campaigns, etc. There is also a bit of information from Mannea in Babylonian and Hebraic records. In this article, we will make an endeavor to reconstruct the history and historical geography of Mannea by taking the advantage of historical texts and archaeological data.

On the basis of Assyrian records, local governments were established in the early centuries of the first millennium BC in northwestern Iran ruling on small regions. These states were established on the basis of ethnic centrality and governed by an individual who had for himself an imposing and fortified residence.

Shalmaneser III, the king of Assure, in 855 B.C., campaigned into the Shore of Urumiyeh Lake and defeated two local governors named Nikdima and Nikdiara. He claimed that they were defeated on the lake (Luckenbill, 1926, p.202, n.561). The residence of Nikdiara was moved to Ida and their hailing from Mannea went unmentioned. It is probable that these two persons were related to the Hasanlu government. It is pretty clear that the mentioned governors were residing

at the shore of Lake Urumiyeh and Ushnu-Solduz plain would have provided a secure place for their habitations.

Shalmaneser, in 843 B.C., crossed the Kullar Mountains, the altitudes between Iran and Iraq and came into the territory of the interior Zamua, and dominated over a city whose name has been erased in the Inscription. Zamua was described as being on the southern shore of Urumiyeh Lake, situated parallelly. It was divided into a number of independent political units including Harruna, Mannea, Missi, etc. During a later period, this area became the central area of Mannea (Diakonov, 1371, p.86). Shalmaneser left for Assyria via Mannea, Allabria, Parsua and Namri (Luckenbill, 1926, p.235, n.637). This is the first time Mannea's name appears in Assyrian records but it is not clear whether the Mannea were present in the area prior to this date or not. The Assyrian king did not refer to the name of Mannea government. The mentioned campaign didn't entail the occupation of Mannea since Shalmaneser didn't consider Mannea as his own possession, in his subsequent records (Luckenbill, 1926, p. 236, n. 641 and p. 247, n. 685-86).

Shalmaneser III, in 835/34 B.C., attacked the Missi district and from there, he moved into the Median territory through south and via Namri State (valley of the Dialeh River) and Parsua (the area of Kermanshah and above there) (Luckenbill, 1926, p.206, n.581). Missi State is mentioned independently in this record and in the previous, but during the upcoming years, it would be considered as the southern area of Mannea.

The king of Assure, in the thirtieth year of his reign (828 BC), dispatched an army to the region under the command of one of his senior officers-Daian-Assur (Luckenbill, 1926, p. 206, n. 587). This time, the army entered, from the north and Hubushkia region (southwestern nowadays Turkey), the Malhisite State was governed by a person named Magdubi and from

where, the army came in the territory of Ualki, the Mannean. According to the record, Ualki deserted his royal city, Zirtu, and took refuge in the mountains. Zirta also recorded as Zirtu, Izirtu and Zatr was considered the capital of Mannea until the end of its political life. Most researchers considered the region of Sakkez in Kordestan Province as the location of Izirtu nearby the site of Qalaychi near Boukan (Yaghmai, 1364, p.9) and by reading the inscription (Lemaire,1998, pp. 18-27). The architectural remains, especially the extreme riches of its enameled bricks confirm this idea. However, there are some ambiguities that make a decisive conclusion difficult.

The Assyrian army after the plunder of Mannea (in the record, instead of expression "the territory of Mannean people" we see expression "Manash" that means the country of the Mannean people", Showing the evolution of Mannea government) entered Harrana district where a person called Shulusunu ruled and his residence was in Masashuru. Shulusunu, by paying tribute, saved his life and his government. Then, the Assyrians left for the Shurdira district governed by Artasari and after receiving the tribute, left for Parsua and from there to Assur (Diakonov, 1371, pp. 156-57). Harrana and Shurdira are mentioned independently in this campaign, but it seems that they would be annexed to Mannea in the following years losing their independence. The state of Malhisite may also have fallen to such a fate.

Daian-Assur marched in the following year via Hubushkia, Musasir, the territory of Urartu and Gilzanu (western shore of Lake Urumiyeh) into Mannea and from there into the western Iran. When returning to Assyria, he attacked the state of Namri and via Assyrian State of Zamua (the region of Soleimanieh in Iraq), went to Assyria.

During the reign of Shamshi-Adad V and between 821-820 B.C., the Assyrian army also attacked the

northwest of Iran (Luckenbill, 1926, pp. 255-57). The campaign which took place in 821 B.C., commanded by Mutarris-Assur (Assyrian commander), was undertaken against Urartu. At this time, Sharsina son of Mektiaira (perhaps, the same Nikdiara of Shalmaneser's reign), vassal to Urartu, was the governor of a region along Lake Urumiyeh. Mutarris-Assur captured 11 fortresses and 200 small residential areas and then plundered them. Upon returning, he attacked the inhabitants of Sunbai. Sunbai was one of the districts of the Mannea and according to Sargon inscription, the area was famous for horse breeding.

Shamshi-Adad, in 820 B.C., by crossing the Kullar Mountains, marched into the territory of Sharsina, Sunbai, Mannea, Parsua, Taurlai, Missi, Gizilbunda and the territory of the Medes. The states of Missi, and Taurlai, mentioned here as independent countries, later formed the district of Mannea. The empire of Assure weakened in the following years and no longer was there a powerful government in the region.

The kingdom of Urartu, which was organized by the union of small states at the shores of Lake Van, in the middle of ninth century B.C., quickly developed its territory in the neighboring regions such as the northwest of Iran. Finally, it dominated over the west shore and the southern plains of Lake Urumiyeh under the command of Ishpuini and Menua, in the last quarter of the ninth century. Inscriptions from Tash-Tepe, Kalishin and Qalatgah are left from these campaigns.

Most researchers believe that the ruins of Hasanlu IVB were created during these campaigns in 814 B.C. and the possession of Mashta, registered in the Tash-Tepe records, refer to this event (Dyson and Muscarella, 1989, p.19). Of course another hypothesis says Hasanlu is the residence of Sharsina son of Mektiaira who was the local governor who was probably forced to accept the yoke of Urartu. Was it ruined during the campaign of Assure in 820 and 821 B.C. and did Urartu utilize it

for constructing a strong fort couple of years later?

By settling Urartians in the area, bloody wars broke out between Urartu and Mannea for many years. Considering the records of Urartu and Assyria, Mannea suffered grave defeats and it was sometimes occupied completely by Urartu. Therefore, it was possible for Urartu to send an army to Namri, in the south of Mannea (it was sure that it wouldn't be attacked from rear). According to what is idiomatically called the "Xorxor Annal" of Argishti I, the king of Urartu, in the south of Mannea (the area of Arsita and the cities of Bushtu and Baruata, with one of them, placed in Mannea and the two others out of it), three times, in 775, 774 and 772 B.C., fought against the army of Assur and even more entered the valley of Diyala and Namri which was called Babylon by Urartu sources. This war is mentioned in Assyrian records (Eponym lists), under the events of 774 B.C. (Diakonov, 1371, pp. 162-65). Bushtu was an important fortress, which was competing with Izirtu for prominence. It was placed at the frontier between Mannea and Parsua and it was for Mannea in the 8th and 7th century B.C., Urartu occupied it in 775 B.C. (Diakonov, 1371, p. 494).

The occupation of Mannea by Urartu didn't last very long, because Argishti I had attacked strongly against Mannea in the tenth and eleventh years of his reign. Urartu also occupied several regions in the east of Lake Urumiyeh in 771 B.C. and in 768 B.C. occupied the "royal city" Shimri-khadiri (perhaps, the same Shurdira of Assyrian records) (Diakonov, 1371, p. 164). The expression the "royal City" in the Assyrian records was given to all of administrative centers and apparently the Urartians borrowed it from them (Diakonov, 1371, p.496).

In 750 B.C., Sarduri II, King of Urartu, occupied Mannea and marched to Namri via Mannea. Sarduri had to march against Mannea in 744 B.C. and this means that Mannea was saved from the yoke of Urartu. In this

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campaign, after the occupation of the Darbo fortress (on the east shore of Lake Urumiyeh), Sarduri annexed it to his own domain (Diakonov, 1371, p.164).

The empire of Assyria revived when Tiglath-Pileser III ascended the throne. He sent an army to the eastern states of Iran and the domain of the Medes in 744 B.C. and in 743 B.C. He barely defeated Sarduri, (Luckenbill, 1926, p. 281, n. 785), therefore, Urartu couldn't be considered as a serious danger for Mannea. The kings of Mannea, taking the opportunity and using their good relations with the Assyrians, developed their domain, power and authority. The interesting point is that there is no reference, in the records of the powerful Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pileser III, of the campaign against Mannea and taking tribute, while so many armies were sent to the west of Iran without aggressing against territory of Mannea. Apparently, in this period, Mannea was a respected power and it had probably had good relations with Assure.

Unfortunately, concerning the governors that reigned over Mannea, after Ualki (828 B.C.), there isn't any information even in the records of Tiglath-Pileser. In the records of Sargon II (724-725 B.C.), three kings of Mannea-Iranzu, Aza and Ullusunu are mentioned. Among them, it seems that Iranzu passed a part of his reign during Tiglath-Pileser's time and appearances at least that Mannea enjoyed great authority and progress during his reign. In this period, in addition to the states of the southern basin of Lake Urumiyeh (before mentioned independently), they became part of the domain of Mannea, and the states of Andia, Zikirtu and the Medes living in the Qezel-uzan Valley.

About 719 B.C., two strong Mannean castles known as Shuandahul and Durdukka rebelled against Iranzu, with the help and under the instigation of Metatti, the governor of Zikirtu who was also dependent on Mannea and probably under the guidance of Urartu. According to Assyrian inscription (Luckenbill, 1927, p.3, n.6),

Iranzu sought help from Sargon and then dispatched an army to the region, and as a consequence of such measures, he accepted his requirement. Sargon occupied and ruined these two castles, and he also ruined and exiled the inhabitants of three other areas that had united with Rusa, the king of Urartu.

In 716 B.C. or before that, Iranzu died and his son Aza ascended the throne. In this year, Metatti of Zikirtu, Telusina, the governor of Andia and Bagdattu, the governor of Mannea district called Uishdish, probably under the instigation of Urartu, turned against Aza and killed him. Sargon at the head of an army, suppressed this rebellion and killed Bagdattu (Diakonov, 1371, p.196). He chose Ullusunu, Aza's brother as the king of Mannea (from the other record of Sargon, it is understood that rebels made Ullusunu king and reinstated him after surrendering (Luckenbill, 1927, p.28, n.56). Following inclination of Ullusunu for Urartu, immediately after departure of Sargon, Ullusunu inclined toward Urartu and raised several regions at the frontier of Assyria to rebellion against Assure. Sargon returned at once and occupied the capital of Mannea and two of its important nearby castles (Armaid and Zibia).

Ullusunu repented and Sargon reinstated him to the governorship of Mannea. In 715/716 B.C., Rusa, the king of Urartu, took possession of 22 Mannean castles and instigated the Median governor of the dependent state of Mannea, against Mannea. Sargon, in his campaign, while taking possession of 22 mentioned castles, exiled Daiaku, the Median governor, to Syria (Luckenbill, 1927, p.6, n.12). In this campaign, he inscribed his royal image and set it up in Izirtu. In spite of this campaign, the incitements of Urartu and the insurrections of Andia and Zikirtu continued.

In the next year (in 714 B.C.) Sargon sought the restoration of lost Mannean territories and on the appeal of Ullusunu, marched to the region. A detailed and precious report has remained from this campaign

(Luckenbill, 1927, p.73-99). Based on the information of this report, many researchers have attempted to reconstruct the expedition's itinerary, informed by the actual map of the region. However there are glaring differences in the results (Zimansky, 1990, pp. 4-5).

Sargon, passing through today's Iran-Iraq border mountains, in the Baneh or Marivan regions, entered the Surikash district of Mannea. He was met by Ullusunu and Mannean nobles, who had come to welcome him, in the Sinihinu Castle. Apparently, during the visit, they exchanged views on the subject of coming attack. Sargon crossed through the realms of Allaberia and Parsua realms, west-east, and received tribute from different States. Then he proceeded to the Missi district in the southeast of Mannea and again visited Ullusunu and other Mannean nobles who sought him out in Sirdakku Castle. Manneans had prepared the foodstore for feeding the Assyrian in this castle. Ullusunu, delivered to Sargon his oldest son, together with a peace-offering, and to secure his son's succession to rulership, he provided for this stele inscription. Sargon, in this part of his report, writes: "Before Ullusunu I spread a heavy banquet table, and exalted his throne high above that of Iranzu, the father who begot him. Then I seated with the people of Assyria" (Luckenbill, 1927, p.77, n.149). After departure from Sirdakku, he discovered the mountainous areas and the Medes regions in 60 hours and arrived at the fortress Panzish, which had been built in front of Andia and Zikirtu states. He strengthened the fortification at Panzish and stored food, oil, and war equipment. Then, crossing the Isharura river, he approached Aukane, a district of Zikirtu. Metatti had vacated his cities and sought refuge in the mountains while dispatching his soldiers to the king of Urartu who was in the area. Sargon effectually ruined the important towns of Zikirtu and proceeded to the state of Uishdish. Assyrian armies and Urartu and their allied armies, confronted, at the foot of a very high

mountain named Uaush (present Sahand). The ruling engagement resulted in an Assyrians' victory. Sargon, after pursuing runaway soldiers, went to Uishdish and after its conquest, restored it to Mannea.

He, then seized the opportunity of the Urartian king's flight and marched to the original realm of Urartu. After overwhelming the frontier fortress at Ushkaia (it may be modern Oskou), Sargon continued his campaign in five-districts of Urartu. Zimansky presents a relatively precise reconstruction of this campaign in the Urartu realm. According to that, Sargon attacked Musasir through the plains of Tabriz, Marand, Khoei, Salmas, Urumiyeh, Oshnaviyeh and Soldouz, and from there returned to Assyria (Zimansky, 1990, pp. 11-14). In the attack on Musasir, only one thousand elite soldiers accompanied Sargon.

At Musasir, Sargon plundered Haldi's Temple which was much esteemed for Urartian kings, the news of this plunder prompted the suicide of Rusa, king of Urartu. Sargon writes in his report that Rusa fell, tore his beard, stripped and disheveled his hair and beat his breast until his heart stopped (Luckenbill, 1927, p.98, n.175). He offers a different version in his Annals: "Rusa of Urartu, the splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him and with his own iron dagger, he stabbed himself through the heart, like a pig and ended his life" (Luckenbill, 1927, p.9, n.22).

The heavy defeat which Urartu sustained and Assyrian debility after Sargon, stabilized and fortified the situation of Mannea, so that Mannea extended its realm and opposed Assyria and Urartu, in these years. In the Sennacherib and Asarhaddon, the two Assyrian kings (669-680 B.C.), mention campaigns to Mannea, however according to the contents of the inscriptions, the assailants didn't achieve any real success (Luckenbill, 1927, p.161, n.364 and p.166, n.383 and p.207, n.517). Even, the inscriptions of the next Assyrian king (Assurbanipal) indicate that Mannea, in

the reign of these two kings, expropriated a number of Assyrian castles (Luckenbill, 1927, pp. 298-99 and pp. 326-28). According to the same sources, the tribes of Scythian entered the region and unite with the Mannans and Medes in opposition to Assyria.

It seems that, in this period, Mannea had expropriated the southwest side of Lake Urumiyeh and the Musasir region, and stood at the frontiers of Hubushkia which also had a good relationship with Medean (673 B.C.). According to a letter which belongs to this period, Mannans had confiscated the offerings which had been sent to Assyria" (Diakonov, 1371, p. 250). The governor's name that had control over Mannea in this period isn't known. Perhaps he is the same Mannan man known as "Bel-Habu" and his name is mentioned in one of the Assyrian letters. In any case, in this period, the king of Mannea, was a powerful person (Diakonov, 1371, p. 238).

The situation of Mannea, resulting from Ishpaka's murder (the Scythian's leader in 673-674 B.C.) and the union of his successor (Partatua) with Assyria, was shattered and after some years (659-660 B.C.), with the powerful Assurbanipal's throne, the power equation changed in favor of Assur. Assur took its revenge against Mannea, and organized a big campaign in the time of a Mannan king Ahsheri. The reports of this campaign, although they do differ, indicated similar results in two inscriptions concerning Assurbanipal (Luckenbill, 1927, pp. 298, n.786 and pp. 326-28, n.851-54). Ahsheri who had a confidence in his force, attacked Assyrian armies at night, but the Mannean were badly defeated. During this campaign, eight fortified Mannan castles plus many smaller areas were vanquished and ruined by the Assyrians. Ahsheri abandoned his capital Izirtu and took refuge in the military castle of Ishtatti (in another inscription, Atrana). Assurbanipal expropriated a number of Assyrian castles and regions which had been previously

taken by Mannea, during the former Assyrian kings' era, and annexed them to the realm of Assyria. Assyrian armies besieged the capital of Mannea and its important castles (Izirtu, Armaid and Uzbia), but they could not occupy them and only laid waste to the surrounding lands. Apparently, when the Assyrians left, Ahsheri's subordinates and the people of Mannea murdered him and threw his body in the street. In this rebellion, Ahsheri's entire family, except for his son Ualli, were slaughtered. Assurbanipal's Inscription doesn't explicate the reasons of this rebellion, but Ahsheri's defeat by Assyria stands out as the likely cause.

Ualli accepted the yoke of Assyria and ascended the throne. He sent his son (Erisinni), as a hostage, to Nineveh and his daughter was Assurbanipal's harem. He also paid the former annual tributes. Assurbanipal's assistance to Ualli isn't clear, however supporting him against rebellion and strengthening his authority are very likely to be true. On the other hand, the participation of Ualli partisans in the rebellion against Ahsheri, with Assyrian support and their instigation, is also probable.

After this event Mannea united with Assyria. According to Babylonian records, Nabupileser, the king of Babylon, defeated the army of Assyria and that of Mannea (who had come to help the Assyrians), in 616 B.C. (Luckenbill, p. 417, n. 1168). After this setback, with the enfeebling of Assyrian and Mannan power, the Medes annexed Mannea to its realm. Apparently this action involved no tribal massacre and the annexation of Mannea to Media probably took place.

The Mannan Kingdom (beside that of Scythia and Urartu), for the last time, is mentioned in Hebraic records, in 598 B.C., as a semi-independent state of Medea, after sometime, however it lost this independence completely (Diakonov, 1371, p. 291). Achaemenian inscriptions don't mention the Mannans. They had apparently dissolved into Medean society in

this period.

The Realm of Mannea and its Historical Geography

According to the limited researches in this field and also the reality that the realm of Mannea changed several times during its political life, a precise expression of its geography isn't possible. Diakonov (pp. 139-214) and Levine (1973, pp. 3-14) have tried to define the realm of Mannea. Their conclusions are neither precise nor accurate. Swiny, by depending on archaeological data and the distribution of specific ceramics types, has attempted to demarcate the actual realm of Mannea (Swiny, 1973, pp. 77-96).

Mannea had relatively long common frontier with Assyria and Urartu, therefore efforts for demarcating the realm of these kingdoms in the northwestern Iran can be very helpful in deciphering the Mannean realm. Leving engaged himself with the Assyrian realm and other researchers such as Zimansky (1985, pp. 9-16) and Alvini (1982, pp. 3-21) have tried to define the realm of Urartu in the northwest of Iran. In the rest of this article we will try to explain, to the extent possible, the historical geography of Mannea. According to the variable realm of Mannea we have analyzed, in this section, there are useful data about the situation of Mannea at the last years of eighth century B.C., among the inscriptions of Sargon II.

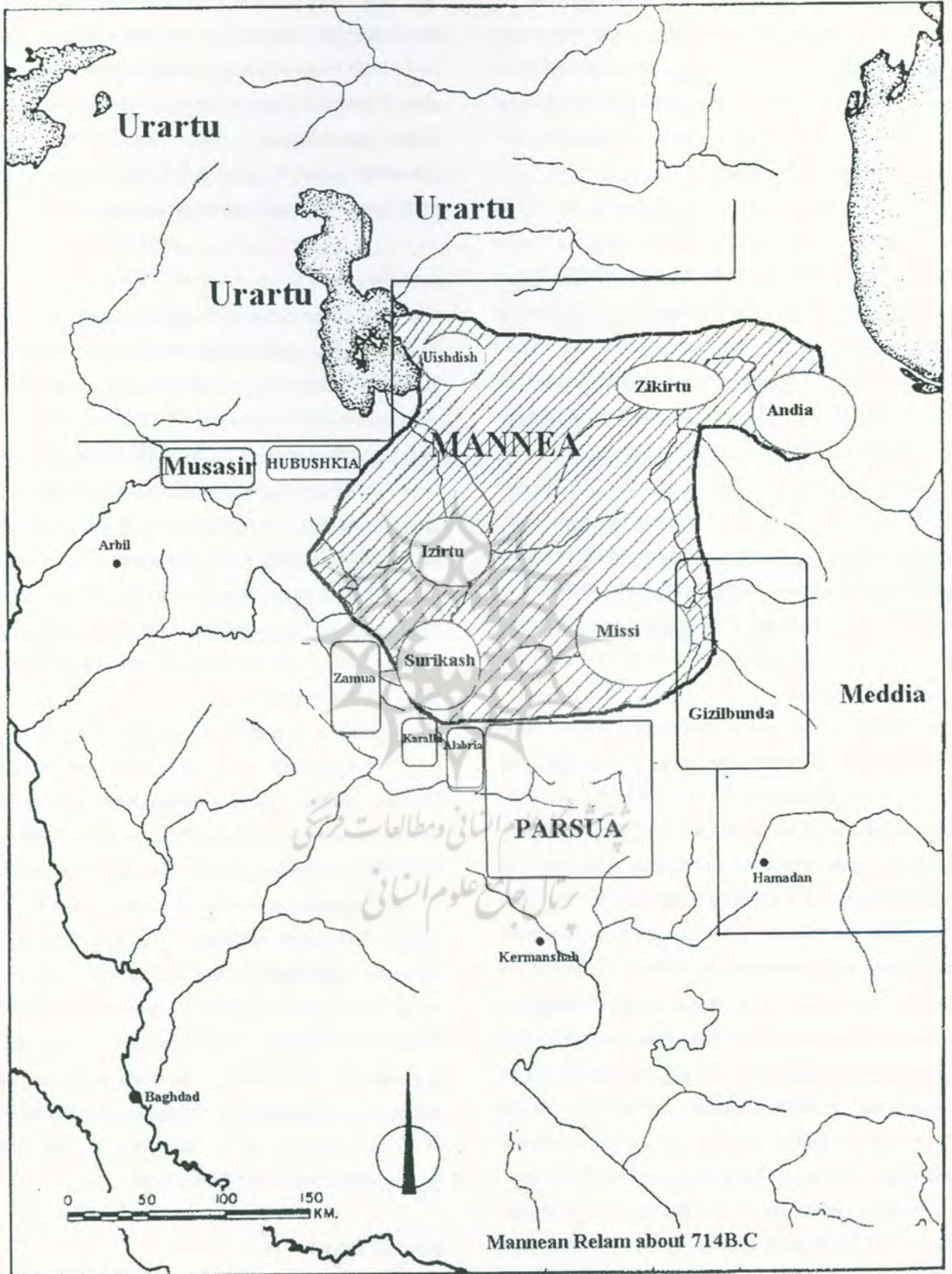
Based on the archaeological data and historical records of the period, Urartu had authority over the west coast of Lake Urumiyeh and its southern plains of Oshnaviyeh, Soldouz and Miyandoab. Of course, the records, which affirm the presence of Urartu in Miyandoab plain, are less than those confirming the other areas. This situation is also true for the north coast of this Urumiyeh Lake towards east up to the Sarab region. In this area, Sahand and Bozghooshdagh heights were the natural frontier of Urartu and Mannea. In

seventh century B.C., this frontier changed against Urartu and witnessed a negative change in this frontier. Mannea had authority over the East coast of Lake Urumiyeh and according to Sargon's reports, the frontier of Urartu situated in this part in the Ushkaia region or modern Oskou.

The border mountains of present Iran and Iraq formed the western frontier of Mannea and this was apparently the most invariable frontier of Mannea. The neighboring regions of Mannea were, to the south the state of Parsua, Karalla, Allabria and to the southeast Medes. According to Levine's investigation, Parsua had been located in the Mahidasht region of Kermanshan (Levine, 1974, pp. 108-9) but it seems that this State extended as far as the Sanandaj Region. I suggest, in a total consideration, the line, which passes along Marivan Region, Dehgalan and Cham-kechi-kord Valley (one of the principal branches of Qezel-uzan river), and terminates in the Qezel-uzan Valley, as the southern frontier of Mannea, and from Qezeluzan Valley till the Mianeh Region, as its eastern frontier. In the last years of eighth century B.C., Qezel-uzan valley was apparently occupied by the Medes.

According to the suggested frontiers, the realm of Mannea encompassed the regions of Zarrine river, Simine river, Mahabad river, the Lower Zabe valley, Qezel-uzan, the eastern area of Lake Urumiyeh, and the region that had been extended from Maragheh to Mianeh. Of course, studies continue in this domain and the suggested dimensions will likely be subject to change.

The government of Mannea was formed from several states, some of them such as Zikirtu and Andia were semi-independent and there was no outstanding kinship between them and the Manneans. They, therefore resisted Mannean hegemony. The other states of Mannea consisted of Harranu, Subi, Uishdish, Missi, Surikash, Kumurdu and some other states, which are not recorded. In general, there has been no remarkable



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effort for demarcating the states of Mannea. In Diakonov's opinion, Harranu, Mannea and Missi were located in the Zarrine river, Simine river and Mahabad river Regions, Uishdish in Maragheh Region, Zikirtu in Mianeh Region, and Andia in Sefid river valley and Alborz mountains (Diakonov, 1371, p.115).

Levine's view is different. According to him, Missi was situated in the south of Mannea and the Parsua frontier, Surikash in the north of Missi and Uishdish in the north of Surikash, and Mahabad and Zikirtu in Zarrine river valley (in this case he isn't sure). About the other States of Mannea, Leving writes: "Andia State was located beside Zikirtu and its demarcating depends on the state of Zikirtu. The other State is Kumurdai, which is unknown" (Reade, 1978, pp. 137-143 and 1995, pp. 38-42). Diakonov's opinion about the limits of Mannean States, except the place of Andia, conforms to the records. Levine's reconstruction has limited, in an unreal manner, the realm of the Mannea. In other words, there are some contradictions between his reconstruction and historical records.

According to the several inscriptions extant, Missi was situated in the south of Mannea and its neighboring regions were, to the south Parsua, and to the southwest Medes tribes and Gizilbunda. About Surikash State, Sargon's report stipulates that Zamua (Solaymaniyeh region in Iraq) lied to the west of this state and the states of Karalla and Allabria lied to its south, and Surikash and Parsua were connected by Allberia. Therefore we can say that Surikash was situated in the southwest of Mannea and the west of the Missi. This area corresponds with Baneh or the region of Marivan. Mannea (it may be Saghez and Boukan regions), Sunbai (it may be Piranshahr or sardasht regions), Harranu and Kumurdai lied to the north part of the Surikash and Missi district.

The three other states of Mannea, i.e. Uishdish, Zikirtu and Andia were located between the east beach of Urmia Lake and Mianeh region. According to Assyrian records, Zikirtu and Andia, on the one hand,

had close relations with each other, and, on the other hand, they got in touch with Mannea, Uishdish, Urartu and Medes tribes who were living in Qezel-uzan valley. Also, Uishdish lied on the body of a seaside and a very heigh mountain and it was situated beside Urartu. Therefore, Uishdish is situated in the Maragheh region and Zikirtu and Andia in Mianeh region.

Conclusion

The local governments of the northwest of Iran appear in the historical records in the middle ages of 9th century B.C., whereas the archaeological records have registered their appearance, in the middle ages of the second millenium B.C. Mannea is one of the biggest and most important of those governments and it is mentioned in Assyrian records, for the first time, in 843 B.C. Later on, by joining smaller states, this government became a state and its frontier region reached to the east Qezel-uzan valley, to the west the frontier heights of today's Iran and Iraq, to the south the Sanandaj Region and to the north, Sahand Mountain.

According to historical records, which reveal, in a certain measure, 250 years of Mannean political life, Mannea suffered many invasions from Assyria and Urartu. These wars were creating the tribal union and government extension, but the massacre, the invasion and the extinction of sources of wealth caused barriers on the development of Mannea. The procedure of the economic development and the cultural evaluation, which had begun in Hasanlu V, and had continued in Hasanlu IV, because of the presence of aggressive governments, started slowly. The mentioned period and region, is very important in the culture and the history of Iran, therefore, it is necessary to lay more investigation and research in this field.

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