

THE HARBOUR(S) OF NAGITU: MESOPOTAMIAN MOORING PLACES, ELAMITE GARRISONS AND ARAMEAN SETTLEMENTS

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Abstract: This article investigates the toponym(s) Nagitu. In the Neo-Assyrian sources, the Elamite coastal town is often attested with various postpositions: Nagitu-raqqi, Nagitu-di'bina or Nagitu-of-Elam (*ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI). After an examination of the etymology of the various Nagitu attestations, geographical indications are sought to help determine the locations of the different Nagitu toponyms. These indications are then compared with the landscape descriptions of the Classical authors and the early Arab geographers in order to draw a picture of the historical geography of the Nagitu triad.

Keywords: Nagitu, Elamite harbours, northern Persian coastline, historical geography

Introduction

The ancient maritime network of the Persian Gulf speaks to the imagination. Each of the numerous elements enabling this network – the maritime itineraries, the harbours and mooring places, the types of seafaring ships, the variety of transported goods, the commercial and political interests of the kingdoms along the Gulf coast – warrants a historical study. But some are more amenable to scholarly research than others, depending on the available source material (cuneiform texts, archaeological remains, iconography and paleogeography).

One poorly investigated aspect of the Persian Gulf history is the historical geography of the Elamite coastal region. In particular, the Neo-Elamite participation in the Gulf network during the first half of the 1st millennium

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BC has received little attention by the scholarly community. Currently our knowledge on Neo-Elamite involvement in the Gulf network does not reach further than the hypothesis that Elam's 2nd millennium BC international port, Liyan (modern Bushehr), was still active in the early 1st millennium BC. This southern Elamite harbour was probably a transshipment port for goods such as cotton (Álvarez-Mon 2015) coming from Eastern Arabia.

Despite the c. 200 km long coastline of Elam², scholars have not directed their efforts towards finding evidence for more northern Elamite harbours connecting the Elamite lowlands of Susiana with the Gulf network (Salaris & Basello 2019: 81 n. 5). The numerous attestations of Southern Mesopotamian and Elamite mooring places in the description of naval campaigns in the Neo-Assyrian Royal Annals provide sufficient evidence for the hypothesis that ships had navigated a maritime route between Sealand in Southern Mesopotamia and the Elamite Susiana region during the first half of the 1st millennium BC. However, identifying the precise location of these place names within the historical landscape of the southern Elamite-Mesopotamian border region remains a challenge. The coastline at the head of the Persian Gulf was gradually modified by geomorphological processes throughout the centuries (Heyvaert, Verkinderen & Walstra 2013; Cole & Gasche 2007), and these geological changes impacted both the position of the river outlets (Karun, Karkheh, Tigris, Euphrates) into the Gulf and the position of the harbours. From the 3rd millennium BC onwards, the ports of the Sealand and the Susiana region were often subject to relocation and the names of the harbour towns also changed over time. The earliest references to Susian ports can be found in Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform texts, in Elamite and Aramaic toponyms and later on in the books of the early Arab and Persian geographers.

This article focuses on the mooring places along the north shore of the Elamite coast that were used by Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian officials when crossing the head of the Persian Gulf on their maritime journeys from Sealand to the Susiana region. More particularly, it will examine a group of three toponyms, i.e. the Nagitu triad of Nagitu-raqqi, Nagitu-di'bina and Nagitu-of-Elam, to ascertain their role in the larger Gulf network.

² For further information and references on the inland extent of the Persian Gulf and consequently the length of the Iranian coastline, see Blaschke 2018: 69.

Attestations of the Nagitu triad

Nagitu, Nagitu-raqqi and/or Nagitu-di'bina are attested in documents from the reigns of the Neo-Assyrian kings Tukulti-Ninurta II, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Assurbanipal and the Neo-Babylonian king Nabopolassar. However, the Nagitu triad are not listed as separate toponym entries in reference works for the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian period (Dietrich 1970; Zadok 1985; Frame 1998: 80) and Cole & Gasche (2007: 29) also assumed that Nagitu-raqqi and Nagitu-di'bina were onomastic variations on Nagitu. In the tables below, all attestations of the Nagitu triad are summarised in their context:

Table 1. Text references of Nagitu and Nagitu-di'bina³

	Reference	Description
1.1	RIMA 2 A.O.100.5 84	N. occurs in an account of a campaign of Tukulti-Ninurta II in Laqaean territory (Lower Ḥabur region). After Ḥindanu, situated on the west bank of the Euphrates, the Assyrians crossed a rocky region at a distance of the river to reach N. , an area that did not belong to the Laqaens.
1.2	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 279K	According to Sargon II, the land N. (<i>kur-na-gi-a-te</i>) was one of the districts of the Gambulu province ⁴ . Between the land of Nagiāte and the Tubliaš River were 7 fortified settlements.
1.3	RINAP 3 1, 42 = 213, 42	The city N. is listed among 39 fortified cities of Bit-Amukani.
1.4	RINAP 3 20, i'1 = 46, 56	Sennacherib ordered to march against the followers of Merodach-Baladan II in the land N.
1.5	RINAP 3 22, iv 37 = 23, iv 31-32	During Sennacherib's 6 th campaign, Sennacherib crossed with boats to conquer the cities of N. , N. di'bina , as far as the lands of Ḥilmu, Pillatu and Ḥupapanu, all districts of the land of Elam.

³ RINAP 3 22, iv 38 = 23, iv 32; RINAP 3 34, 20 = 143, i 6'; RINAP 3 44, 29; RINAP 3 46, 42; RINAP 3 46, 83; RINAP 3 46, 95; RINAP 3 230, 17.

⁴ Zadok (2013: 296-297; also Fuchs 1994: 433) reconstructed, based on the Sargon II Annals, 9 districts of the Gambulu province: Ḥubaqānu, Tarbugātu, Timassunu, Pašur, Ḥirutu, Ḥilmu, [x], region between Nagiate and Tubliaš, and [x]. Two districts in the vicinity of Ḥilmu and Nagiate are missing in the reconstruction. Comparing these districts with the Annals of Sennacherib, the two gaps can probably be restored with the districts of Pillatu and Ḥupapanu.

	Reference	Description
1.6	RINAP 3 26, i 1'	Sennacherib conquered and destroyed N ⁵ .
1.7	RINAP 3 34, 6b	Merodach-Baladan II fled alone from Sennacherib to Sealand, where he collected his ancestors and people. He loaded them onto boats and crossed over to the city N. on the other side of the Sea (<i>ša e-ber-tan ÍD.mar-rat e-bir-ma</i>).
1.8	RINAP 3 34, 20 = 143, i 6' ⁶	The people of the land of Bit-Yakin had crossed the sea and taken residence in the cities N. (and) N.-di'bina, the lands ̕ilmu, Pillatu, (and) ̕upapanu, districts of the king of the land Elam (<i>na-ge-e</i> LUGAL KUR. ELAM.MA.KI) that are situated on the other side of the Sea. Sennacherib crossed the Sea, conquered and burned down the cities in these districts.
1.9	RINAP 3 44, 25b ⁷	The inhabitants of Chaldea crossed the Sea and set up their residences in the city N. (URU. <i>na-gi-a-ti</i>). Sennacherib crossed the Sea after them and conquered the cities of N., N. di'bina, ̕ilmu, Pillatu and ̕upapanu, districts on the other side of the Sea (<i>na-ge-e ša e-ber-tan ÍD.mar-ra-ti</i>).
1.10	RINAP 3 46, 48	On Sennacherib's 6 th campaign, he marched against the cities N. (and) N.-di'bina, cities of the king of the land Elam whose dwellings are situated on the other side of the Bitter Sea, (and) the people of Bit-Yakin, crossed the Sea.
1.11	RINAP 3 46, 76b-80	Sennacherib's boats reached the marshy area at the mouth of the Euphrates where it entered the Gulf. Sennacherib's fleet took a position on the Babylonian shore of the Gulf opposite them (the refugees of Bit-Yakin) and ordered his fleet to cross over to the land of the city of N. (KUR URU. <i>na-gi-i-ti</i>).
1.12	RINAP 3 46, 81b-90	At the shore of the Gulf (<i>tam-tim gal-la-ti</i>), which was unsuitable and very difficult (for ships) to dock and for men to set foot on, the people of Chaldea were living in the cities N. (and) N.-di'bina. The people of the lands ̕ilmu, Pillatu and ̕upapanu saw the Assyrian boats, prepared for battle and drew up the battle line at the banks of the Ulaya River. This river had good banks that enabled the Assyrian army to disembark.

⁵ This fragment contains lacunas. The geographical name Nagitu is restored based on the readability of the last two signs. Consequently the RINAP authors restored Nagitu with the preceding determinative [URU.*na*]-*gi-ti*. However, since there is no exact copy of the phraseology, the determinative could be KUR as well.

⁶ RINAP 3 34, 20 = 143, i 6' is a more extended version of RINAP 3 22, iv 37 = 23, iv 31-32.

⁷ RINAP 3 44, 25b is the shorter version of RINAP 3 22, iv 32 = 23, iv 30.

	Reference	Description
1.13	RINAP 3 46, 91	The Assyrian fleet reached the quay of the harbour (<i>a-na ka-a-ri ma-kal-le-e</i>) and disembarked. They attacked and defeated the Elamite/Chaldean/Aramean army. They conquered the cities N. , N.-di'bina , Ȝilmu, Pillatu, and Ȝupapanu, cities of the king of the land Elam, and brought the booty on their boats to the other side of the Sea to Bab-salimeti.
1.14	RINAP 3 230, 17	In the time of Ȝallušu-(Inšušinak), Sennacherib went down to his district and captured the cities N. , N.-di'bina , (and) the lands Ȝilmu, Pillatu, and Ȝupapanu, districts of his that are on the other side of Bitter Sea, and plundered (them), destroyed (them).
1.15	ABC 1, ii 37	In the 6 th year of Assur-nadin-šumi, Sennacherib went to Elam and raided the city N. (^{urru} na-gi-tu ₄), Ȝilmi, Pillatu and Ȝupapanu. In response, the Elamite king Hallutuš-Inšušinak marched to Akkad and plundered Sippar. He captured the Babylonian king Assur-nadin-šumi and transported him to Elam.
1.16	de Vaan 1995: 355-357 (= CT 54, 554: r.16')	In a fragmentary letter from general Bel-ibni and the Sealanders to Assurbanipal, Bel-ibni reports on the location and the army of Nabu-bel-šumati. Support is mentioned at the canal (ÍD <i>ȝar-ri</i>) and the Sea (ÍD <i>mar-rat</i>). Nabu-bel-šumati has taken refuge in the city N.
1.17	BRM 1 36 (= MLC n° 1228), Delaporte 1906: 386	In this loan of silver Bamâ owes Nabû-bêl-šumate 12.5 shekels of silver and will have to pay a monthly interest. The document is dated on 1.VI (Aug.-Sept.) of the 15 th regnal year of Šamaš-šum-ukin (653/2 BC) at N.
1.18	VS 6, 9: 1 (VAT 4979)	The debt note is written on 29.IV of the 12 th regnal year of Nabopolassar (614/3 BC) in Borsippa. Nabu-ušeziḫ has to return 50 l grain of his ^{garim} N. to Nabû-kašir.

⁸ The meaning of GARIM is contested. According to Labat (1988⁶) the sign (n° 484) GARIM can be read as ENGUR = *apsû* “abime, océan”. Borger (2003) classifies the sign (n° 790) GARIM as a combination LAGAB × KUG = *tamiru*, *tawirtu* “Flur, Umland”, and indicates that AHw (1341a) and CAD do not accept Ebeling’s (1930: 88) reading *raqqatu* “swamp, marsh”. The Sumerian Dictionary (<http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/nepstd-frame.html>) follows Borger’s interpretation and translates GARIM as “(a type of) meadow”; a definition that Zadok (2016: 413-414) refines in his *Borsippa Geography* as “field, inundated area”. According to Sandowicz (2009) the GARIM determinative in front of *nagû* or *nagitu* is mostly related to date palm groves.

Table 2. Text references of Nagitu-raqqi and Nagitu-of-Elam during the reign of Sennacherib

Nagitu-of-Elam	
RINAP 3 22, iv 32 = 23, iv 30	During Sennacherib's 6 th campaign, the people of the land of Bit-Yakin crossed the Great Sea of the Rising Sun (<i>tam-tum GAL-tum ša ši-it</i> ^d UTU- <i>ši e-bi-ru-ma</i>) and set up their residences in the city N. of the land of Elam (URU. <i>na-gi-ti ša KUR.ELAM.MA.KI</i>).
Nagitu-raqqi	
RINAP 3 15, iv 33' = 16, iv 56 = 17, iv 4 = 18, iii 19' = 21, ii' 5' = 22, iii 64 = 23, iii 56 = 141, 4'	Merodach-Baladan II flew away like a bird to the city Nagite-raqqi, which is in the midst of the sea (<i>ša qa-bal/MARUB₄ tam-tim; ša qé-reb</i> A.AB.BA), when Sennacherib's army approached the Bit-Yakin territory.

Based on the textual references to the Nagitu triad, one can deduce several facts:

- 1) In the early Neo-Assyrian period, Nagitu is already attested as a toponym (Table 1.1). However, the Nagitu of the Tukulti-Ninurta II era was in a different location to the Nagitu attested at the time of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal. According to Lipiński (2000: 94), the early Neo-Assyrian ^{uru}Nagiate must refer to the island in front of Abū Kamālī (Lower Ḥabur) near the present-day Iraqi-Syrian border. At Bāgūz aš-Šnamālī, these islands are located near both banks of the Euphrates River, which corresponds to the ancient description of that particular Nagitu toponym.
- 2) The oldest reference to Nagitu in connection to the Elamite territory dates from the era of Sargon II. In his Khorsabad Annals (Table 1.2), Sargon II attempts to conquer the Nagitu district in the Gambulu province, i.e. the Elamite-Babylonian border region.
- 3) The overwhelming majority of Nagitu attestations derive from the time of Sennacherib. Despite the numerous references of the destruction of Nagitu by Sennacherib, the Bel-ibni archive (Table 1.16) and the tablet from the Yale collection (Table 1.17) confirm the survival of the Elamite city of Nagitu in late Neo-Assyrian period⁹. Although contradicted

⁹ Zadok (2016: 413-414) suggests that the reference to Nagitu in BRM 1 36 (Table 1.17) is associated with the toponym in the Borsippa region, but the link to Nabū-bēl-šumate and the beginning of the Šamaš-šum-ukin revolt (653/2 BC) supports a location of this Nagitu in Elamite territory.

by Frame (1992: 41 n. 56), Dietrich (1970: 4-5) suggested that Nagitu was the capital of Northern Sealand. By translating *ša-pu-nu* as the Aramaic word for “north” in the reading LÚ.GAR.KUR *tam-tim ša-pu-nu* (ABL 540: r. 7), Dietrich (1970: 161 n. 1) hypothesized that the Sealand was split into two parts: the Southern Sealand with Ur as its capital and the Northern Sealand with Nagitu as capital. The idea of Nagitu as a Sealand capital probably derives from the overwhelming presence of Sealand refugees in the early and mid-7th century BC with the first wave of immigration under Merodach-Baladan and the second under Nabû-bêl-šumate, but the texts clearly state that Nagitu was in Elamite controlled territory and is therefore unlikely to have been an official Sealand capital.

- 4) The first reference to Nagitu in the Annals of Sennacherib (Table 1.3) locates the toponym among 39 fortified cities of Bit-Amukani, a Chaldean tribe that dwelled in the region between Uruk and Borsippa (Frame 1992: 38; 1998: 80). This location seems to be confirmed by tablet VS 6 9 (Table 1.18), which refers to a rural area on the outskirts of Borsippa (Zadok 1985: 233 s.v. Nagītu 2). Zadok (2016: 413) associates the ^{GARIM}*na-gi-tu₄* with inundated areas and the formation of the marshland around Borsippa (Cole 1994). The Babylonian town Nagitu near Borsippa (VS 6 9), located in the vicinity of the Chaldean tribe of Bit-Amukani, is therefore distinguishable from the Nagitu in Elamite territory.
- 5) Nagitu-di’bina always occurs together with Nagitu (Table 1.5, 8-10, 12-14), Ħilmu, Pillatu and Ħupapanu and is one of the Elamite districts at the Gulf shore. It is therefore unlikely that Nagitu is the abbreviated form of Nagitu-di’bina.
- 6) The description of Nagitu in the Babylonian Chronicle (Table 1.15) seems remarkably similar to that in the Annals of Assurbanipal, which feeds a suspicion that the compiler of the Babylonian Chronicle used the Annals of Assurbanipal as a historical source for this passage. The compiler of the Chronicle, however, did not differentiate between Nagitu and Nagitu-di’bina; and subsequently treated the Nagitus as a single toponym.
- 7) Nagitu-of-Elam is attested only once (Table 2) in an extended version of the fragment RINAP 3 44, 25b (Table 1.9). In the latter fragment, the appellation “of the land of Elam” is omitted in the toponym Nagitu. Based on RINAP 3 34, 20 (Table 1.8), one can identify Nagitu-of-Elam

(URU.*na-gi-ti ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI) as an abbreviation for “Nagitu, district of the king of the land of Elam” (Table 1.8: *na-ge* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI).

- 8) Nagitu-raqqi is said to be “in the midst of the sea”, while Nagitu and Nagiti-di’bina are described as Elamite districts “on the other shore of the sea”. Based on this brief description one envisages Nagitu-raqqi to be an island, and Nagitu and Nagiti-di’bina to be located on the mainland.

From the group of royal and archival references, one can determine that Nagitu-of-Elam (URU.*na-gi-ti ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI) is a shortened form for “Nagitu, district of the king of the land of Elam” (Table 1.8: *na-ge* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI). Nagitu-of-Elam can therefore be excluded as a distinct toponym. Since Nagitu and Nagiti-di’bina are mostly listed consecutively, one can assume that these toponyms refer to two different locations. As for Nagitu-raqqi, further research is needed.

Etymology of Nagitu, Nagitu-raqqi and Nagitu-di’bina

The *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* attributes to *nagitu* (or the Sargonic variation *nagate/i*) the meaning (CAD N 119 s.v. *nagītu*) “district” in Akkadian. *Nagitu* would have derived from *nagû/nagiu* (CAD N 121 s.v. *nagû* A), which can be either translated as “district, province” or “island”. However, Cavigneaux (1982: 190) does not support the translation “district” of the CAD for *nagû/nagitu*. He suggests that Akkadian *nagi(a)tu* is not a genuine Akkadian word and should instead be associated with the Jewish Aramaic *nagāwātā* “coastal region, island” or the Arabic *najwatun* “elevated ground”; a theory supported by Lipiński (2000: 94). Both Sandowicz (2009) and Zadok (2016: 413-414) connect *nagû/nagitu* with fertile land, even palm groves, in inundated areas. Since *nagitu*, the female form of *nagû*, is only attested in 1st millennium BC Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian sources after the settlement of the Aramean tribe in Southern Mesopotamia, an Aramaic origin or influence is highly plausible.

Of course, there is also the second element in the name Nagitu: *raqqi* and *di’bina*. *Raqqi* in Nagitu-raqqi derived, according to Frame (1998: 80), from the Akkadian word *raqqu* meaning “turtle” (CAD R 172 s.v. *raqqu* A). For Cole & Gasche (2007: 29 n. 150; also AsaEger 2011: 73) the turtle element in the name Nagitu-*raqqi* indicated that the city (URU.*nagate-*

raqqi) and the broader district (KUR.*nagiate-raqqi*) were located on an island. Despite the plausibility of the explanation in this particular geographical context at the head of the Persian Gulf, the third toponym Nagītu-di'bina betrays the ethnic character of the area and its influences on the etymology of the name. The second element of the toponym Nagītu-di'bina clearly has an Aramaic origin. *Di* is the genitive indicator in Aramaic, whereas the lexeme *'bn* means “stone, rock” in Aramaic (Hoftijzer & Jongeling 1995: 6) and was used as a construction material in Aramaic references. As Sargon II lists Nagitu as a fortified settlement (table 1.2), the stone element in Nagitu-di'bina may consequently refer to architectural features of the Nagitu buildings. Since the northern Elamite shoreline belonged to the Karkheh and Karun floodplain (Heyvaert, Verkinderen & Walstra 2013: 516), the area could inundate quite easily in Winter/Spring and was unsuitable for mudbrick architecture. The buildings were therefore most likely stone structures.

Returning now to the etymology of Nagitu-raqqi, it may be necessary to revise the Akkadian origin of *raqqu* as well. Next to the first entry of the word *raqqu* “turtle”, the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD R 173 s.v. *raqqu* B) also indicates that *raqqu* is a topographical term linked to *raqqatu* “swamp, marsh” (CAD R 170 s.v. *raqqatu* B). Although Abraham & Sokoloff (2011: 48) recently revised the West-Semitic origin of *raqqatu* and favoured an Akkadian origin based on its occurrence in 3rd and 2nd millennium BC texts, attestations of the second *raqqu* entry in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* occur exclusively in the Neo-Babylonian period. Moreover, the Aramaic term *raqq* indeed corresponds to the signification “swamp, marsh” (<http://cal.huc.edu>; Jastrow 1950: 1498). The description of Nagitu-raqqi “in the midst of the sea” (Table 2: *ša qabal tamti*)¹⁰ in the Sennacherib Annals corresponds remarkably well with the Aramaic translation of the toponyms.

¹⁰ Zadok (2013: 280) indicates that there is also an Aramaic version for “in the middle/midst” of the marshes during the Neo-Assyrian period. According to him, the name of the ^{lú}*Ma-ši-ḥi* (Reynolds 2003: n. 185:6, NB) derives from the Aramaic *mšy*’ “middle”, meaning “people lying, dwelling in the middle”. Comparing this etymology with the Akkadian reference of the Sennacherib Annals *qabal tamtim* (*tamtum* = sea or lake; CAD T 153-154) “in the midst of the sea”, or more freely “island”, *ma-ši-ḥi* may have a similar designation of a region/population group located in the midst of the sea/lake. An Aramean group, the ^{lú}*Ba/ma-ši-ḥi*, were originally found in the southern marshes (Akk. *appāru*) of the Chaldean Bit-Dakkuri tribe and fled under the rule of sheikh Šamaš-ibni to Bit-Awkani.

If favouring the Aramaic origin of these toponyms, the translation of Nagitu-*raqqi* becomes “island-in-the-marshes” and Nagītu-di’bina becomes “island-of-stone” or “coastal town-of-rocks”. The second element of the toponyms clearly indicates that Nagitu-of-stone and Nagitu-in-the-marshes were two distinct towns/regions, yet in each other’s direct vicinity. Nagitu-in-the-marshes is, as the name clearly indicates, located in the Southern Mesopotamian marshes; Nagitu-of-stone was probably an Elamite coastal town (*ša (ina) ebertain ÍD marrati*) that facilitated access to the Elamite hinterland.

The land, the region or the city of Nagitu?

Now the question remains of how the Nagitu without appellation should be interpreted. As already mentioned above, in the report of Sennacherib’s 6th campaign Nagitu-di’bina and Nagitu are listed together among the conquered Elamite coastal areas (Table 1.5; 1.8; 1.9; 1.10; 1.12; 1.13; 1.14). Thus these locations must have been two distinct places. This leaves us with two possible hypotheses; either Nagitu can be identified with Nagitu-*raqqi* or Nagitu refers to a larger region/district in which the two cities Nagitu-di’bina and Nagitu-*raqqi* were located.

Nagitu without appellation is occasionally preceded by a KUR “land” determinative (Table 1.2; 1.4). In the Annals of Sargon II (Table 1.2), the land of Nagitu points to a district of the Gambulu province. It also seems to emphasise the tribal character of that region. In a fragment of the Sennacherib Annals (Table 1.11), “the land of the city of Nagitu”, with the double determinative KUR URU clearly refers to the larger surroundings of Nagitu and therefore approaches the idea of Nagitu as a broader region. Another Sennacherib attestation (Table 1.4) refers to the “land” (KUR) to which the followers of Merodach-Baladan II fled and settled. Table 1.9 mentions Nagitu as the city where the Chaldeans set up their residences in a context similar to Table 1.4.

Several text fragments also refer to the city of Nagitu (Table 1.7, 1.16, 1.17)¹¹. Merodach-Baladan II fled to the city Nagite-*raqqi* in the midst of the Sea (Table 2) and Bel-ibni (Table 1.16) reports that the grandson of Merodach-Baladan II, Nabu-bel-šumati, had taken refuge in the same city a few decades later. A cuneiform tablet on Nabu-bel-šumati’s finances

¹¹ Table 1.6 cannot be taken into account because the determinative is restored.

with a Babylonian dating formula (Table 1.17) was issued in the city Nagitu. These attestations seem to refer to the city Nagitu on an island under Elamite territorial control that may have been a Chaldean enclave in the marshes. The reason why the Babylonian scribes did not feel the need to specify the second component *raqqi* in the toponym Nagitu is because the etymology of *nagitu* ‘island’ already implied its location and would be considered as a tautology for a trained scribe with knowledge of the area (Table 1.15).

Based on the abovementioned overview, one can conclude that it largely depended on the context when the toponyms Nagitu, Nagitu-raqqi or Nagitu-di’bina were used. If Nagitu and Nagitu-di’bina were combined, Nagitu must have been Nagitu-raqqi. The city of Nagitu could have referred to the Chaldean enclave, but the land or broader area certainly included the Elamite mainland region that provided important waterways for maritime and fluvial transport.

Geographical markers for the Nagitu triad

The description of Nagitu in the Annals of Sargon II as one of the districts of the Gambulu province places Nagitu in the heart of the Aramean territory at the Elamite-Babylonian frontier. Many of the topographical names in the Gambulu region had a West-Semitic (Aramaic) or Akkado-Aramaic hybrid etymology (Zadok 1985: xvii-xxii). In the Hilu and Pillatu district, the neighbouring districts of Nagitu, the Aramaen city lords (*bēl-āli*) *Par-ru-ū* (Baker 2002: 989-990) and *Za-za-az* (Baker 2011: 1440) had even adopted Elamite personal names. According to Zadok (2013: 296-297), these Aramean leaders were called city lords instead of sheikhs in the Neo-Assyrian sources, because they were nominated by the Elamite king to control these strategic locations.

After the reign of Sargon II, numerous Aramean tribes from the Gambulu district became engaged in the anti-Assyrian movement and allied with the Elamite, Babylonian and Sealand rulers (Frame 1992: 167-170; Gorris 2014: 89, 200). The Sealand ruler Merodach-baladan II fled in 700 BC from Sennacherib’s army and settled with members of the Bit-Yakin tribe in Nagitu. In 694 BC Sennacherib organised a retaliation mission and plundered the Nagitu region (Table 1.4-1.14). During the Babylonian Šamaš-šum-ukin rebellion (652-648 BC), the Sealand ruler Nabû-bēl-šumate received asylum in Elam (Frame 1992: 180-182). Based on the Bel-ibni

text (Table 1.16) and the Yale document (Table 1.17), Nabû-bêl-šumate directed his financial transactions and military operations from the Nagitu region (De Vaan 1995). This made the region a prime target for Neo-Assyrian military campaigns.

Not only the etymological markers and historical references, but also the geographical hints in the Neo-Assyrian Annals provide valuable indications for the location of the Nagitu triad. According to the account of Sennacherib's naval campaign, Sennacherib positioned his fleet at the Babylonian Gulf shore near the mouth of the Euphrates and ordered it to cross over to Nagitu on the opposite side of the Gulf (Table 1.11). The fortified settlement of Nagitu-di'bina was probably worth mentioning for the army of Sennacherib, as the stone structures may have been a distinguishable landmark at the flat, sandy Khuzestan coastal plain. The Elamite Gulf shore, however, was unsuitable for docking ships and for men to set foot on (Table 1.12). Therefore, the Neo-Assyrian war fleet had to sail up the Ulaya River¹² to find a quay to disembark. The Ulaya River had good banks to accommodate a harbour for seafaring ships (Table 1.12; Table 1.13). Since the war ships of Sennacherib were able to sail up the river, this Ulaya branch was suitable for fluvial transport.

In an analysis of the position of the paleochannels of the Ulaya, Cole & Gasche (2007: 12-18) situated the river's outlet in the vicinity of Naisan (Spasinou Charax/Alexandria-on-the-Tigris) as a tributary arm of the Tigris in both the Neo-Assyrian period and the Classical era. According to these authors (Cole & Gasche 2007: 44 fig. 74), the watercourse resulting from the junction of the Tigris and Ulaya rivers debouched in the Tigris estuary before entering the Persian Gulf. The Tigris estuary is known to have been in the Southern Mesopotamian marshlands and located far more inland than the Euphrates mouth. Since Neo-Assyrian maritime activities were all launched from the Euphrates outlet into the Persian Gulf and the Tigris outlet is never mentioned in connection to nautical transport, objections against the reconstruction of the Ulaya as tributary arm of the Tigris debouching in the southern marshlands can be made for the Neo-Assyrian period.

¹² The Ulaya from the Sennacherib and Assurbanipal sources is probably the ancient name for the watercourse resulting from the junction of the Karkheh, Dez, and the Karun River. The Uknu River, which is not mentioned again after the reign of Sargon II in the Neo-Assyrian texts, can probably be identified with the Lower Karun as well (for discussion, see Cole & Gasche 2007: 28-30).

Firstly, Classical texts (Arrian vii.7.7; Strabo xvi.1.9) describe the 'Persian' system of cataracts/dams, possibly for irrigation or agricultural purposes (Briant 2006; *id.* 2008), on the Lower Tigris that Alexander the Great removed to create a passageway for ships sailing from the Gulf in the direction of Opis. Since the Opis settlement already existed in the Neo-Assyrian period and Neo-Assyrian fluvial transports took the Arahtu canal downstream instead of the Tigris (RINAP 3 46: 56-70; RINAP 3, 44: 28-30), era the cataract system must have prevented boats from sailing upstream in the pre-Alexandrianian.

Secondly, the marshlands that led to the Tigris outlet were not suitable for manoeuvring larger boats. It is therefore unlikely that the Sidonian war ships which Sennacherib brought to the mouth of the Ulaya crossed the swamp to reach Nagitu.

The cataract system and the inaccessibility for larger boats both suggest that the Tigris outlet was unsuitable for navigation during the Neo-Assyrian period. If the Ulaya debouched in the Tigris before entering the Gulf, as Cole & Gasche (2007: 12-18) suggested, then the Ulaya would have presented the same obstacles as the Tigris in terms of fluvial transport.

These arguments do not exclude, however, the possibility that a riverine connection between the Mesopotamian canal system and the Elamite lowlands was in place; and that a small part of the Lower Tigris (near the Naisan region) was used as connector between Babylonia and Susiana, but it does exclude the linkage with maritime transports.

Moreover, the identification by Cole & Gasche (2007) of the Ulaya River with the paleochannel near Naisan might not necessarily be inaccurate, but it does not correspond to the description of the particular Ulaya branch that Sennacherib and Bel-ibni used to access the Elamite hinterland via the Persian Gulf.

More recent research on the Lower Karkheh and Karun (Heyvaert, Verkinderen & Walstra 2013: 523-524) identified the Karun branch in the direction of Meisan as the channel K2 that was active between the 2nd century BC and the 7th century AD. However, Heyvaert (*et al.* 2013: 505, 523) also identified two other channel belts, of which one paleochannel, the K1 belt, predates the K2 Karun belt. The course of the K1 belt, which runs in a more southwards direction and splits into two outlets in the Lower Khuzestan plain, would match the description of the Neo-Assyrian geographical situation quite well. The northern outlet of this K1

Karun paleo-belt debouched in an area of the Southern Mesopotamian marshes, near present-day Basra. The southern branch of the K1 paleo-channel debouches into the Persian Gulf somewhere between Khorramabad and Abadan, possibly with the aid of some canals.

One such tributary arm of the K1 paleochannel may have been the Naditu canal (Fuchs 1994: 330 § 300-301, 401 § 34), which aided accessibility for sea vessels along the meandering Karun in the Pillatu district. The *ÍD Naditu* means literally in Akkadian “the abandoned canal” (CAD N 67-68 s.v. *nadû*). An artificial branch (*ÍD ħar-ri*) of the Ulaya River to the sea (*ÍD mar-rat*) in connection to the Nagitu district is also mentioned in a Bel-ibni report (Table 1.16). Since the geological condition at the head of the Persian Gulf invoked delta formation at the river mouths, it seems highly likely that human activity was needed to ensure the accessibility of these seafaring ships to the Elamite hinterland. This would explain the “canal” (*ÍD ħar-ri*) in the Bel-ibni report (Table 1.16).

The use of the Lower Karun branch as a part of interregional maritime routes is already attested in the Ur III period (c. 2100-2000 BC) when Babylonian vessels sailed from Gu’abba, the Babylonian seaport at the head of the Persian Gulf at that time, to the Elamite harbour of AdamDUN (Laursen & Steinkeller 2017: 75). This Elamite harbour town (Tepe Surkhegan) was most likely situated between modern Shushtar and the Ahwaz bank of the Karun River (Steinkeller 2013: 297). The location of this harbour suggests that AdamDUN was not a coastal harbour on the Iranian littoral, but an inland harbour on the Elamite river network, similar to the Elamite capital Susa.

Based on the Neo-Assyrian geographical information, the island Nagitu-raqqi was probably a Chaldean enclave and an outpost for Nagitu-di’bina, an Elamite coastal settlement at the mouth of a Karun outlet with harbour facilities. This harbour was not situated on the coastline, but along the river bank of the Ulaya. Nagitu-di’bina therefore also facilitated access to the Elamite hinterland via the river outlet of the Ulaya to the Persian Gulf. As a consequence of all this, Nagitu-raqqi and Nagitu-di’bina can be considered as Elamite harbour towns along the Susiana coastline.

Nagitu: its geographical location through history

The Greek authors

With our current knowledge, it remains challenging for modern scholars to make any suggestions on an approximate location for the ancient toponym(s) of Nagitu. Brinkman (1984: 60), who clearly followed the Aramaic etymology of Nagitu-raqqi, suggested that Nagitu was located on an island in the marshes, possibly on the east side of the modern equivalent of the Khor al-Ḥammar, the western part of the present-day Central Marshes of southern Iraq. The main water source of the Ḥammar Marshes is – and was in antiquity – the Euphrates River. Brinkman’s geographical description, stretching from the east bank of Khor al-Ḥammar to the Iranian mainland, comprises practically the entire region of the Southern Marshlands, which offers no assistance in establishing a more precise location for Nagitu.

With the geographical framework of the Neo-Assyrian sources, i.e. an island in the midst of the Chaldean marshes in front of the Susian coast and Karun mouth, Classical and Arabo-Persian sources offer valuable additional information. Interestingly, Greek authors¹³ identify an island with a geographical description similar to Nagitu-raqqi as the island of Mesene. The etymology of Μεσηνη could derive from the Greek root μεσ- (Liddell-Scott 1968: 1107-1108) “middle, midst”, or be a Greek adaptation of the equivalent Aramaic *mšy*’ “middle”¹⁴. This etymology reminds us of the Neo-Assyrian description *qabal (tamti)* “middle”.

In his geographical description of Babylonia and Arabia, Strabo (2nd century AD) mentions a region called Mesene twice. Babylonia bordered in the south on the Persian Gulf and Chaldea until “Arabs of Mesene” (Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.1.8: ὑπὸ τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων μέχρι Ἀράβων τῶν Μεσηνῶν). In the chapter on the geography of Arabia, Strabo (*Geogr.* 16.4.1) describes Mesene (Μαικίνη) as an Arabian region bounded by the Arabian desert and the marshes of Chaldea

¹³ Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 6, 129-131) also mentions the region Mesene, but he describes the larger region of the Kingdom of Characene, and not the most southern part of Characene, i.e. Mesene.

¹⁴ Mesene is later attested as Mēšān/Mēšūn in Middle Persian, Maysān/Mayšān in Syriac, and Maysān in Arabic. For an extensive overview of the possible etymological suggestions, see Schuol 2000: 276-278.

that were fed by the overflowing Euphrates and the sea of Persia. It was a fertile region where vines grew in the midst of the marshes, albeit the frequent displacements of the racks owing to the movement of the waters. Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90-168 AD) mentions in his *Geography* (5.19.1) that the Masani inhabited the northern shore of the Persian Gulf. This region was part of Arabia Felix (Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 6.7), and connected to it was a bay on the Gulf called the Mesanites Bay on which the island of *Apphana*¹⁵ was situated (fig. 1). This island in the Mesanites Bay (*sinus mesanitis*) is attested under the name *Apphadana* in a manuscript of the 4th century geographer Marcian (Hoeschel 1600: 48). His contemporary Philostorgius (c. 368 – c. 439 AD) still refers to the island “inhabited by a tribe called Mesenians”, without specifying the name *Apphadana*. Philostorgius (*Ecclesiastical Hist.* 3.7) describes the region of Mesene as follows: “Before, however, it (Tigris) reaches the sea, it divides its waters into two large channels; and thence it flows into the Persian Sea, the extreme points of its mouths being so far distant from each other, that the two mouths embrace between them a large extent of country. This is an island; it is washed both by the rivers and the sea, and it is inhabited by a tribe called Mesenians”. Stephanus of Byzantium (early 6th century AD: *Ethnica* § M447.14 s.v. Μεσηνη) describes Mesene in his handbook of place names as a Persian region between Tigris and Euphrates.

In sum, the Greek Classical authors called the head of the Persian Gulf bordering Susiana the Mesanites Bay. The Arab/Semitic tribe of the Mesenai inhabited the northern shore of the Gulf and a large island in the Mesanites Bay. On the map of Ptolemy, this island *Apphana* was situated off-shore in the midst of the Chaldean Marshes (fig. 1). By the mid-4th century the island *Apphadana* was bordered by two large channels (Tigris-Karun) and the Persian Gulf, whereas by the early 6th century Mesene had

¹⁵ No Greek manuscript of Ptolemy’s *Geography* (2nd century AD), partially based on the work of Marinus of Tyre (70-130 AD), survives from earlier than the 13th century AD (Dilke 1987: 267-268). In the 9th century AD, it was translated into Arabic and in the 15th century AD into Latin (d’Angelo, 1478. <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10664/view/1/198/>). Although the Latin text might be inspired or translated from the Greek and/or Arabic manuscript of Claudius Ptolemaios (Stückelberger & Grasshoff 2006), the maps may contain several inaccuracies. When assuming that the orthography *Apphadana* in the *Periplus* of Marcian was more accurate based on the later Arabic parallel renderings (cf. fn. 16), the inserted syllable can hardly be explained grammatically other than as a scribal error by Ptolemy or an erroneously copied manuscript.

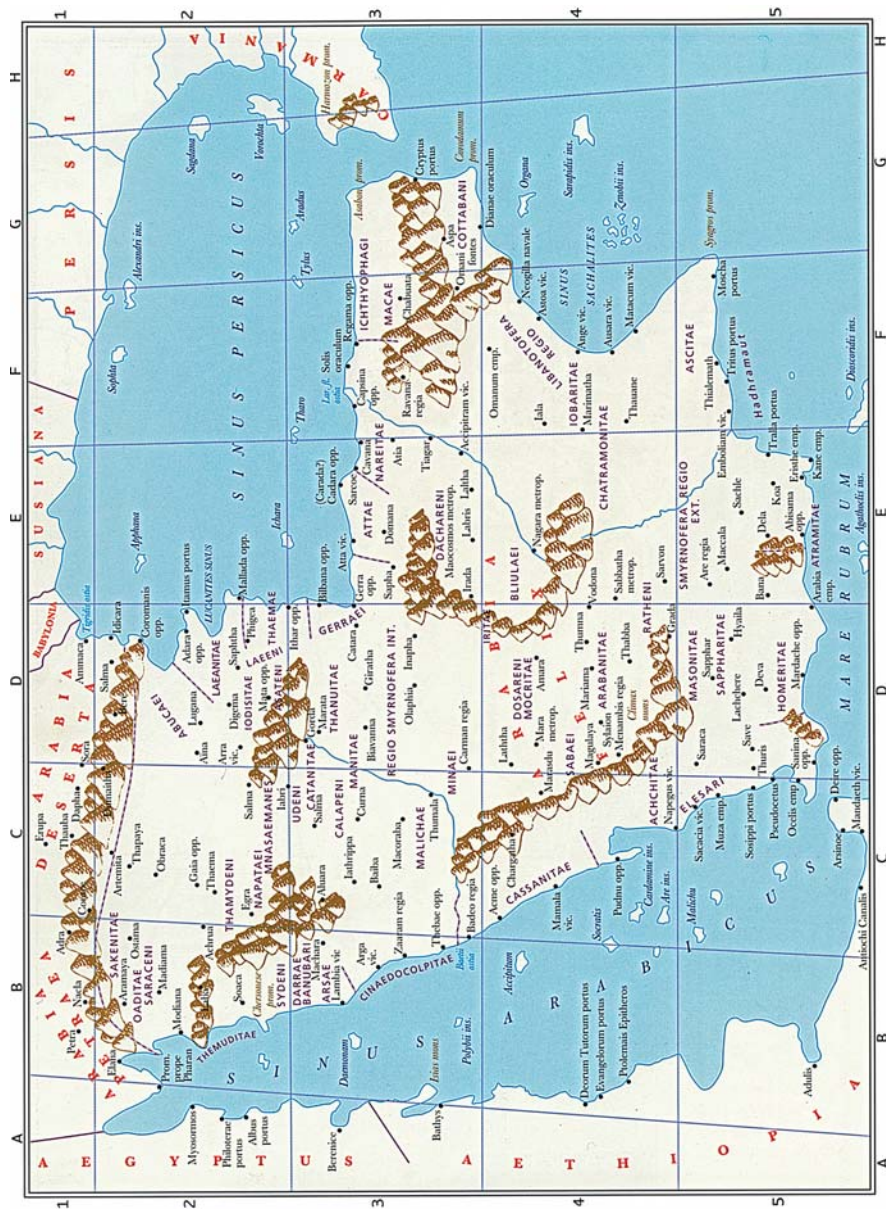


Fig. 1. 6th map of Ptolemy's Geography (after Kennedy, An Historical Atlas of Islam, online version, s.v. Apphana).

become the geographical denomination for the region between the Euphrates and Tigris. From the Seleucid through to the Sasanian era, the toponym Mesene/Mēšān/Maysan referred to the southernmost part of Mesopotamia (Schuol 2000: 280-281). In the Sasanian period, Ard Maysan was a province in the Sasanian Empire with Karkh Maysan as administrative center (Streck & Morony 1991: 910-915) and seat of the Nestorian Church (Bosworth 1983: 594). At that point in time, the Maysan town and region were located more inland along the Shatt el-Arab and had lost contact with the Persian Gulf bay.

The Arab Geographers

After the Islamic conquest, several Arab geographers comment on this region by stating that there was a great island between the two estuaries (Tigris and Karun). This island, which Yāqūt (12th-13th century) names Miyān Rudān “Between the river(s)”¹⁶, is described by Muqaddasī as a *sabkha* or salt-marsh, with the town of ‘Abbadān¹⁷ on the seaboard at one

¹⁶ The Persian toponym Miyān Rudān is mostly translated as “between the rivers”, but critical notes on this translation can be made. The suffix ān (ان-) in Rudān is either an Arabic postposition indicating a dual “the 2 rivers” or the geographical marker denoting a place or location “the place between the river” (cf. Isfahān). Rudān cannot be interpreted as a plural form in Persian, because the suffix -ān (ان-) is used exclusively for plural animate forms. As a river is an inanimate form, Persian grammar suggests the suffix -hā (ها-). Even though Miyān Rudān is attested in Arabic sources, it seems odd to add an Arabic suffix to a non-hybrid name. Interestingly, based on the Persian etymology of the word, the waterways surrounding the island were considered to be multiple branches of a single river. A hypothesis supported by Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw who described ‘Abbadān as an island between two branches of the Šaṭṭ al-‘Arab (Nāṣ 245; Verkinderen 2009: 250). However, most Arab geographers must have interpreted the name as a dual.

¹⁷ There is a discrepancy in the orthography of ‘Abbadān. In the Greek period, the toponym *Apphana* shifts to *Apphadana*. Even though the Arabic form ‘Abbadān (عبدان) with initial ayn and short medial vowel -a- was used in Medieval sources, the Persian orthography (آبادان) with initial aleph and long medial vowel could have been used interchangeably. Regardless of whether the origin of this toponym was Greek, Arabic or Persian (Old Persian or Pahlavi), the transmission from a voiceless labial -p- to a voiced labial -b- must have occurred somewhere between the 4th-10th century through intermediary of Arabic, which is the only of the abovementioned languages that has no voiceless labial -p- in its alphabet.

Several etymologies have been proposed for this toponym. There is the hypothesis that the Arabic orthography for Abadan derived the Arabic *al-‘ābbad* (العباد), followed by the suffix -ān (ان-); a geographical marker denoting a place often used in Persian toponyms. This hypothesis may explain the transmission from the alef to the ayn. An Iranian etymology of the name deriving from *āb*, “water,” and the root *pā*, “watch, guard,” thus “coast-

angle, and Sulaymanān at the other angle on the Dujayl (Karun) estuary (Muq 118). Both al-Ḥuwārizmī (early 9th century) and Muqaddasī (10th century) describe ʿAbbadān as having only the open sea beyond it (Verkinderen 2009: 244-246), but in the era of Yāqūt the city of ʿAbbadān lies up the estuary more than twenty miles (60 km) from the coastline of the Persian Gulf, for the sea has been pushed back thus far by the delta of the great river (Le Strange 1905: 48). The fortified city of ʿAbbadān was constructed as a stronghold against pirates (Iṣṭ 78; Ḥaw 48).

According to the exhaustive analysis of Verkinderen (2009: 257, 244-254, fig. 29), the Tigris mouth shifted somewhat in the late 10th century. In early maps and texts, ʿAbbadān is located west of the Tigris, but in the late 10th century to the east. From the mid-12th century onward, ʿAbbadān was located on an island between two Tigris branches, probably because the pre-10th century branch was reoccupied. The island was then bound by the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab on the west, the Karun on the north, the Bahmanshīr on the east, and the Persian Gulf on the south (Elwell-Sutton 2016). Depending on their destination, the Gulf or the Persian coastline, ships were diverted to one of the branches. Before the widening of the ʿAdudi channel (Haffar channel) connecting the Karun River with the upper Tigris estuary

guard station” is also suggested (Elwell-Sutton 2016). However, the consonant -d- remains unexplained in this analysis. The historian Ahmed ibn Yahya al-Balāḍurī (c. 892) reports that the town was founded by ʿAbbād bin Ḥusayn Kabeṭī from the Arabian tribe of the Banu Tamim who established a garrison there (Elwell-Sutton 2016). The name would render thus “the town of ʿAbbād” and have a similar construction to ʿAbbadān’s neighbouring town Sulaymanān “the town of Sulayman”. Regardless of the accuracy of the etymology, the fact that a 9th century historian suggested that a town existed by that name during the governorship of Ḥajjāj (695-714) brings back the orthographical transmission period to the 4th-7th century. Tabari’s account of Sasanian history suggests that following Shapur’s II Arabian campaign in 325 AD a section of the North Arabian Bani Tamim was relocated in the region of Ahwaz (Potts 2014: 123). So, this Arab movement supports an early transmission, i.e. early 4th century. However, a highly hypothetical possibility is that the name was transmitted already in the Achaemenid period. After the Achaemenid annexation of Susiana and its incorporation into the administrative system, it is possible that some of the Susian toponyms received a Persian name. Although the Achaemenids had an extensive and well maintained channel system connecting Babylonia with Susiana (Waezeggars 2010: 804), some periods of the year they were still dependent on maritime transport. The region of Nagitu – Mesene – Apphadana must have played a prominent role. In Old Persian vocabulary the root *ap(p)adana-* translates literally as “palace” or “architectural construction” (Schmitt 2014: 132); a meaning rather similar to the Aramaic component diʿbina in Nagitu-diʿbina. The Old Persian toponym could consequently be rendered into Greek during the Alexandrian era and later during the infiltration of the Arab tribes in the Mesanites Bay (c. 2nd century) rendered into Arabic.

from Ahwaz to Basrah, cargo boats had to pass down the Karun estuary past Sulaymanān and ʿAbbādān, out to sea, and then up the Tigris estuary past Bayān (Muhammarah/Khoramshahr) to Ubullah (modern Basra).

Although any suggestion on the location of Nagitu remains highly hypothetical, the accounts of the Arab geographers describing the *sabkha* Miyān Rudān with the town ʿAbbādān, inhabited by the Arab Banu Tamīm tribe, and the town Sulaymanān on the other side of the river bank providing access to the Susiana hinterland corresponds remarkably well with the description of Nagitu-diʿbina and Nagitu-raqqi. Since both the Classical authors and the Arab geographers indicated a considerable progradation of the Khuzestan coastline and the numerous modifications of the Tigris and Karun River courses, the Abadan coastal *sabkha* “in between the Tigris branches” must have been in the Neo-Assyrian period an island (Nagitu-raqqi) further offshore than in the Medieval era. Consequently, the ancient Nagitu-diʿbina was probably located more inland in the direction of Ahwaz in comparison with the Medieval Susiana coastal towns¹⁸.

Conclusion

The toponym Nagitu is a rather common topographical name in the historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian period. When following the West Semitic etymology of Nagitu “island, coastal region, elevated ground”, the toponym could be used for river islands, marsh islands and/or *sabkhas* as well as coastal towns.

¹⁸ When looking at the maps of Persia through history for instance (Alai 2005), one can determine that the head of the Persian Gulf and the outlet of the Rivers Euphrates, Tigris and Karun are always drawn differently, even on maps of the same historical period. Some maps of the 17th century show several small islands in the Shatt el-Arab/Arvand Rud (Alai 2005: pl. 53, Pl. 54), others one large peninsula (Basra island) (Alai 2005: pl. 57), and another group depicts a large bay (Alai 2005: pl. 48). The many shapes of the head of the Persian Gulf probably indicates that the Euphrates-Tigris-Karun delta mouth remained heavily subjected to human interference, such as dam constructions and dredging activities, shifting watercourses and progradation of Khuzestan plain throughout history. The only map that seems to give a more detailed image of the head of the Persian Gulf is the planisphere of Diogo Ribeiro (c. 1530). This map shows two large estuaries (Couto *et al.* 2006: 106-107 pl. 17); the first one is the confluence of Euphrates & Tigris with the Basra peninsula and the second one is a large embayment where nowadays the Shadegan Marshes and the mudflats of Khor-al Amaya & Khor Musa are situated. The elevated strip of land squeezed in between these estuaries is – although not explicitly mentioned on the map – the Abadan Island.

For the first half of the 1st millennium BC, the toponym Nagitu refers at least to four different locations, all matching the West Semitic etymology of Nagitu. The Nagitu from the Tukulti-Ninurta II era refers to an island in front of Abu Kamali on the Lower Ḥabur. The fortified Nagitu in the Chaldean Bit-Amukani area and in the Neo-Babylonian debt note is probably located in the vicinity of Borsippa, where the Ḥammar marshlands created an adequate environment for a toponym by the name Nagitu. The cluster of Nagitu-raqqí “island-in-the-marshes” and Nagitu-di’bina “coastal town-of-rocks” was instead part of Elamite Susiana. In this Elamite Nagitu region, Nagitu-raqqi was probably a *sabkha* in front of the Elamite coast, where an enclave of Chaldean refugees of the Bit-Yakin tribe had settled with approval of the Elamite king. Nagitu-di’bina was a fortified Aramean settlement under Neo-Elamite governance with harbour facilities. Due to the difficulties seafaring ships encountered in docking at the Susiana littoral, the Nagitu harbour must have been located inland at the mouth of the Karun, providing ships with access to the waterways of the Elamite hinterland. In this way, Nagitu can be considered an Elamite harbour town on the Susiana coastline providing an Elamite mooring place on the Elam-Sealand maritime transport route.

Taking into account the progradation of the coastline at the head of the Persian Gulf, the shifting watercourses of the Tigris and Karun River throughout history, and the account of the Classical and early Arab Geographers, the ancient sites of Nagitu-raqqi and Nagitu-di’bina were probably located somewhere between Abadan island and Ahwaz.

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