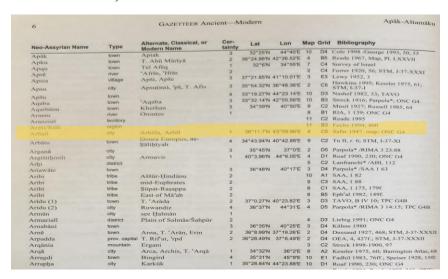
Adiabene¹Emerged from Athura (Assyria)

Fred Aprim²

June 26, 2025

Since the formation of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in northern Iraq in 1992 and more specifically after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the KRG and its empowered Kurdish tribal families have amassed great wealth from the sale of oil produced in the region and from the revenues generated by taxes collected at border crossings with Iraq's neighboring countries. This wealth has enabled the KRG to employ the services of journalists, photographers, correspondents, academics and historians to rewrite the history of northern Iraq (historic Assyria) and promote Kurdish studies in line with the Kurdish national agenda.

One such attempt has been in connection to the region of Adiabene (with its capital of Arbela, which is Arbail or Arbil/Erbil).³



The Kurdish nationalists and activists have flooded social media pages with the claims that Adiabene was a Kurdish region via what they claim as the Kurdish Jewish connection. One such claim states, "the Kurdish royal house of Adiabene accepted the Jewish faith in the 1st century BC and that when the Jews rose up against Roman occupation in the 1st century AD, Kurdish Adiabene sent troops and provisions in support of the embattled Jews." There is not a single non-Kurdish reliable source that links the royal house of Adiabene to Kurds. Only Kurdish

¹ This article was published originally on AINA on October 30, 2007 under the title, *Adiabene was Assyrian, Not Kurdish* where I refuted a claim that Adiabene was connected to Kurds. Additional sources have been added to reflect the undisputed Assyrian heritage of Adiabene and its capital Arbela. https://www.fredaprim.com/pdfs/2007/Adiabene_Was_Assyrian.pdf

² Many thanks to Adamu for sharing his sources.

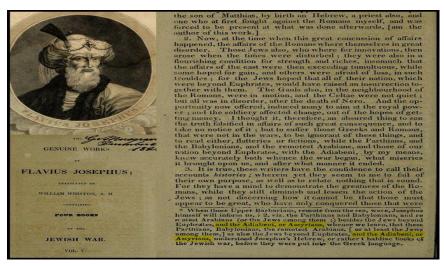
³ Arbela is also known as Erbil or Arbil. It was the capital of the Assyrian kingdom of Adiabene, which was part of Athura (Assyria). See Parpola, Simo & Michael Porter, editors. "The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period". The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project. Helsinki. 2001.

⁴ Accessed 6/16/2025 https://kurdishpeople.org/adiabene/

writers make the wild claim that Queen Helena of Adiabene and her sons Izates and Monobazus, who converted to Judaism, were Kurdish. But, there should be no confusion at all about the Jews of northern Iraq. The Aramaic speaking Jews of northern Iraq who moved to Israel in 1950/51 are not related to the Kurds.⁵ The Aramaic speaking Jews of northern Iraq and northwestern Iran for that matter are very clear regarding who they are. The Jews in and around Zakho (northern Iraq) speak Aramaic and know themselves strictly and clearly as Jews for the same reason that the Kurds know themselves as Kurds: because they know themselves to be different from the others. The Jews did not take a Kurdish language 2,600 years ago; they took the Assyrian-Aramaic language.

Let's consider the facts in the following sources:

- 1.Ancient Adiabene (Assyrian: שראב) or Hidyab corresponds to the area of the "Assyrian triangle" situated between the Lesser Zab and Tigris rivers. Grabowski studied the Batas-Herir relief [which represents the King of Adiabene] that was discovered near Erbil. He investigates the statue's origin and writes that it, may to a certain degree have been inspired by the numerous Neo-Assyrian rock sculptures of the Assyrian homeland. The worship of deities, depicted either in form of statues or divine symbols, by Assyrian kings represented with the "extended-forefinger" gesture was a frequent subject depicted on these monuments. The region of Adiabene expanded and became a petty kingdom that was a vassal state of the Parthian Empire (247 BC–AD 224) in northern Mesopotamia. Its capital was (Arbela; modern Erbil). In the 1st century AD its royal family of the queen mother Helena, embraced Judaism.
- 2. There is no better authority that describes early Jewish history, including the Royal House of Adiabene, than the first century Jewish renowned historian Flavius Josephus who clearly states that the inhabitants of Adiabene or the Adiabeni were Assyrians.⁹



⁵ Accessed 6/20/2025 https://www.fredaprim.com/pdfs/2024/Kurdish%20Jews%20is%20wrong%20hyperlined.pdf

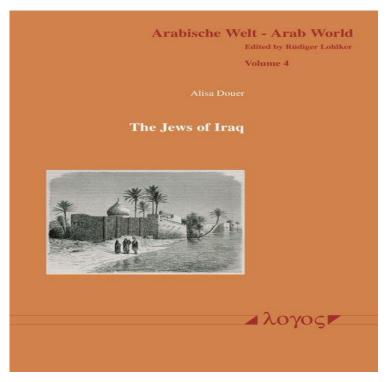
⁸ Accessed 6/18/2025 https://www.britannica.com/place/Adiabene

⁶ MACIEJ GRABOWSKI. ABDISSARES OF ADIABENE AND THE BATAS-HERIR RELIEF. ŚWIATOWIT ROCZNIK INSTYTUTU ARCHEOLOGII UNIWERSYTETU WARSZAWSKIEGO. Vol. IX(L). 2011.

⁷ Ibid

⁹ Whinston, William. Translator. "The Works of Josephus". Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers Inc. 1999.

- 3. We are informed that Judaism flourished in the second century of the Christian era in Adiabene, but Adiabene at the time was, and as Gibbon refers to it, "primitive Assyria." ¹⁰
- 4. Alisa Douer, photographer, author, and PhD in oriental studies, explains, "Christianity came into Iraq (particularly in Assyria) between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD, and Assyria became a center of the Eastern Church. Erbil was an integral part of Assyria from around 2050 BC, becoming a relatively important city during the Old Assyrian Empire (1975-1750 BC), Middle Assyrian Empire (1365-1050 BC) and the Neo Assyrian Empire (935-612 BC), until the last of these empires fell between 612-599 BC, and it remained part of Assyria under Persian, Greek, Parthian, Roman and Sassanid rule. The Persian emperor Cyrus the Great occupied Assyria in 547 BC, and established it as an Achaemenid satrapy called in Old Persian (Athura), with Arbela as the capital. The ancient Assyrian kingdom of Adiabene had its center at Erbil, and the town and kingdom are known in Jewish Middle Eastern history for the conversion of the royal family to Judaism. Its populace then gradually converted from the Mesopotamian Religion between the 1st and 4th centuries to the Assyrian Church of the East Christianity, although the ancient Assyrian religion did not die entirely until the 5th century AD". Assyriologist Simo Parpola explains that Athura is recorded in a loanword from Imperial Aramaic Athur, "Assyria".



¹⁰ Gibbon, Edward. "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire". David Womersley, ed. Penguin Books, 2000.

¹¹ Douer, Alisa. "The Jews of Iraq". Vol. 4. Logos Verlag Berlin, 2017.

¹² Parpola, Simo. "Assyrians After Assyria". Accessed 6/20/2025. https://www.atour.com/education/20000703a.html

5. It is well established historically that when the heartland of Assyria was back into focus in early Christianity (during the Parthian era and about six centuries after the fall of the Assyrian Empire), "it was with an Assyrian, not a Persian let alone Greek, self-identification: the temple of Ashur was restored, the city was rebuilt, and an Assyrian successor state that returned in the shape of the client kingdom of Adiabene."¹³

HAGARISM

THE MAKING OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

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The Hagarisation of the Fertile Crescent

Although Iraq thus became a predominantly Muslim country, its fate was still not an unrelenting Hagarisation. In the first place, the surviving Christians remained 'Syrian' '4" despite the early adoption of Arabic's and the ultimate disappearance of Syriac as a literary language, "8 Syriac survived as the liturgical language throughout the province and as a veracular in the runal strongholds of the Assyrians'; similarly, despite the total ignorance to which the Nestorians had been reduced, they were in on doube as to their own non-Arabi clientity. The coming of the Europeans thus meant the revival of the Saryame, and not as in Syria their final disappearance among the Arabis. Where the Christians of Syria were to turn down the label of Arabised Greeks, those of Iraq readily accepted identification as Chaldeans and Assyrians; 3" where the Christians of Syria were to und down the label of Arabised Greeks, those of Iraq readily accepted identification as Chaldeans and Assyrians; 3" where the Christians of Syria were to provide the theorists of Arab nationalism, the Assyrians sparned once more for a polity in Nisive's fair city and Monul's fertile plain. 3"

In the second place, the converts left an after-image: the image of Assyria projected onto an Arab sereen in the case of the Christians, that of Balylon in its Chaldean form in the case of the pagans. The Assyrians had a polity where the metropolitan christians were above politics, and it is therefore not surprising that only Assyria came through via the Christians. Although Iraq thus became a predominantly Muslim country,

But at the same time the Assyrians shared their ethnicity of and the met-ropolitan Christians were above ethnicities, and it is therefore equally unsurprising that the Christians failed to make their mark ethnically or lin-guistically in Islam: on the one hand there was no Syrian Shu Wishm. I and on the other there were no 'Syrian Muslims. I' But if the converts failed to retain their civilisation as Surpan, they could nevertheless do so as South Anbians; and the Arab Christians of Najrian having settled in Najrian of Kuffa to provide the pivot, an Arab from Dayr Qunnai' came to mean a spurious Yemeni. I' The Christian converts thus became Arabs, but Arabs with a difference: and it was a surg of this rather different Arab heritage. with a difference; and it was as part of this rather different Arab heritage that the Assyria of the converst "respected. The king of Hara in northern Misopotamia was accordingly either as Assyrian," an Arab with an Astyrian thick of simply a South Araban," and the twas quite correctly rather bered to have defeated Septimius Sevenust and to have been defeated in turn by Shāpur, "he was also endowed with the more fanciful reputation of having conducted Senancherb's expedition against Jerualem in the days of Jeremah." Likewise the king of Hira in southern Mesopotamia was regarded as an Assyrian or South Araban, 31 and if the drystasty of Hira was too waynian or South Araban, 31 and if the drystasty of Hira was too which Alaigar himself, though known to account Bulletin South Carlos of Haraban, and the Haraban, and the Haraban, and the Carlos of Haraban, and the Haraban, and th spurious Yemeni. **) The Christian converts thus became Arabs, our azam-with a difference; and it was as part of this rather different Arab heritage that the Assyria of the converts "reappeared. The king of Hatra in north-ent Moopotamia was accordingly either an Assyrian," an Arab with an Assyrian title, "fo simply a South Arabian," and if he was quite correctly remembered to have defeated Septimius Severuss" and to have been de-

The Near-Eastern provinces

produced practical men in the style of Pachomius or Shenute, but no thinkers, and compared with Syria or Iraq it had only rudimentary monastic learning.

This is not to say that without the Arab conquests Egypt would have seceded from the Byzantine Empire either politically or culturally. It is true of course that the emperor was a figure extrinsic to Holy Egypt, and that the Egyptians insisted on dating from Diocletian's persecution, not Constantine's conversion, "but a Phazano hwith only ecclesiastical power. Constantine's conversion," but a Pharano with only ecclesiastical power, an aristocracy with only Grace-Roman culture, and temples represented only in the desert were not the components of a viably autonomous polity; and the kibbuzniks in the desert had no illusions as to their need of an emperor in Constantinople to keep the barbarians off. Equally Coptic boorishness was hardly capable of providing the basis of a viably autonomous culture. The characteristics of the Coptic church nevertheless provided the components of a highly distinctive provinciality: an Egypt distinguished from the rest of the world by its peculiar sanctivy tellined to it as an example for mankind — in other words, an Egypt on the model uncested by the late reason princise. Or again, an Egypt on the model enunciated by the late pagan priests; 62 or again, an Egypt distinguished from the rest of the world by its peculiar ethnicity and semi-native aristocracy yet linked to it as a member of a Graeco-Roman empire – in other words, an Egypt on the model reversed in the late Ottoman period. 63

Unlike Egypt, Iraq accommodated not one but two provincial identities, the Assyrian and the Babylonian. Both cultures had of course suffered violent destruction on their fall a thousand years before the Arab conquests: as Nabopolassar and the Medes turned Assyria into 'heaps and n 612 B.C. 64 so Xerxes razed the walls of Babylon, exprop and turned its god into bullion after the revolt of 482.65 Both identities nonetheless survived, the first under a Christian aegis, the second under a

pagan.

This unusual division of labour between Christianity and page.

6. In his thesis, Vittorio Cattelan talks about the continuity of the Assyrian people following the fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In one passage, he notes that despite the collapse of the empire, the Assyrians continued to live on their ancestral lands and continued to practice the religion of their forefathers. The same passage notes that the cultural life of the Assyrians was far more superior than that of neighboring peoples, particularly in fields such as literature, astronomy, medicine, mathematics, and history. The author reflects on the Greek general Xenophon, who wrote a chronicle describing Assyrians living along the banks of the Tigris River. He noted that the ancient city of Ashur, then called Kinai, remained prosperous, with many survivors, homes, and monuments still standing. In another section, the author explains how "Assyria" persisted as a geopolitical entity even after the fall of the Neo-Assyrian state, and that its inhabitants continued to be identified as Assyrians. The author states that in the first century AD, a city called Hatra emerged near Ashur and its inhabitants spoke Aramaic. These people worshipped Mesopotamian deities that corresponded to the Assyrian pronunciation of "Ishtar" and the god Shamash. Later, Greek historians who arrived with the conquering forces of Alexander the Great began to call the region of Nineveh "Aturia." He then talks about another post-imperial Neo-Assyrian kingdom known as Adiabene located between the rivers Tigris, the upper Zab and the

¹³ Crone, Patricia & Michael Cook. "Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

lower Zab. In 116 BC this kingdom was conquered by Trajan who converted it into a Roman province with the name of Assyria, and its capital Arbela (Erbil). 14

Le città principali degli Assiri erano la capitale Ashur, Nimrud o Calah, Ninvea, Arbela, Khorsabad e Harran che erano anche i principali centri religiosi dell'impero. Non vi è alcun dubbio che dopo la caduta dell'impero assiro, i suoi abitanti continuarono a vivere e a praticare la religione dei loro padri. La vita culturale del popolo Assiro era di gran lunga superiore a quelle dei vicini paesi, essa includeva un'ampia produzione letteraria⁶⁸ che ancora ci sorprende per la vivacità dei suoi contenuti: la medicina, l'astronomia, la matematica e la storia. Ed è proprio grazie a questa letteratura degli Assiri che conosciamo la storia di popoli altrimenti completamente dimenticati.

Nonostante la distruzione di Ninvea, Nimrud, Ashur e varie altre città ad opera dei Babilonesi nel 612 a.C. 99, gli Assiri poterono mantenere in vita le loro tradizioni religiose. Nel 401 a.C. un generale greco, Senofonte, al servizio di Ciro figlio di Dario e re di Persia, scrisse una cronaca sugli Assiri che vivevano sulla sponda del fiume Tigri. Osservò che Ashur, che al tempo si chiamava Kinai, era una città prosperosa e annotò che vi erano molti sopravvissuti, e che si erano preservati un gran numero di monumenti e di dimore. Sopravvissero inoltre alcune città dell'area circostante a Nimurud, nota al tempo col nome di Larissa. Senofonte scrisse inoltre di una città chiamata Mapila, nome che secondo diversi autori è all'origine della parola Mossul che sorgeva nei pressi di Ninive. Nel primo secolo dell'era cristiana, una città chiamata Hatra emerse in prossimità di Ashur e sembra che i suoi abitanti parlassero l'aramaico. Questo popolo adorava le divinità mesopotamiche come Ishshar-Bel. ("Ishshasr" infatti corrispondeva alla pronuncia assira di "Ishtar" 70) e il dio Shamsh. Successivamente, gli storici Greci che arrivarono con le forze conquistatrici di Alessandro Magno iniziarono a chiamare la regione di Ninvea⁷¹ "Aturia." Un altro regno Neo-assiro post imperiale fu Adiabene⁷² situato tra i fiumi Tigri, l'alto Zab e lo Zab inferiore. Nel 116 a.C. questo regno fu conquistato da Traiano che lo convertì in una Provincia romana con il nome di Assiria, e capitale Arbela73 (Erbil).

Il problema di comprovare la continuità storica del popolo Assiro dopo la caduta dell'impero è connesso con la confusione terminologica creatasi lungo il corso dei secoli. Diamo perciò uno sguardo ai due termini Atura Ashur che costituiscono in un certo senso il nocciolo di tutta questa questione. Autori come Cook ⁴, Olmsted⁷⁵ e Rawlison⁷⁶ hanno indagato l'etimologia di queste parole. Il termine "Aturia" è s'ato ritrovato nelle iscrizioni reali sin dai tempi di Re Dario (558-486 a.C.) ed è equivalente al termine "Assiria" che secondo Cook designa geograficamente la regione al

names at various places, for instance on the ruined site of Ashur, for many centuries, but the essential truth remains the same. A nation, which had existed for two thousand years and had ruled over a wide area, lost its independent character." Cf. I.M. Diakonof, Media, The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 2 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1985), 36-148, especially p. 124, where the author explicitly rejects the annihilation of the Assyrians

69 Antonio Invernizzi, Dal Tigri all'Eufrate II. Babilonesi e Assiri, Ed. Le Lettere, Firenze 1992

71 Cf. E. Hertzfeld, The Persian Empire (Wiesbaden: 1968), 305.

72 American Encyclopedia, art. Adiabene (1982) II, p.166.

73 Cf. Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, (Wiesbaden: 1983)

75 A.T.E. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948).

76 G. Rawlinson, The History of Herodotus (New York: 1859).

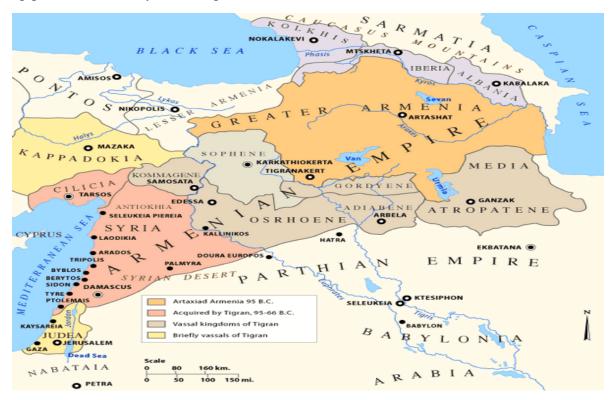
¹⁴ Vittorio Cattelan. "Il monastero di Gabriel Mor nella regione di Tur Abdin come caso simbolo di intolleranza religiosa in Turchia" (Mor Gabriel Monastery in Tur Abdin Region as a Symbolic Case of Religious Intolerance in Türkiye). Thesis. In Corso di Laurea magistrale (ordinamento ex D.M. 270/2004) in Lingue e istituzioni economico giuridiche del Mediterraneo. Administered by Prof. Giampiero Bellingeri & Matthias Kappler. University of Ca'Foscari, Venice.

⁶⁸ Sulla produzione letteraria assira vedi: A. Jaakko Hameen, Bibliography of Neo-Assyrian (Post War Period), in State Archives of Assyria, Bulletin 2 (1988), 73-92; Alasdair Livingstone, Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea, State Archives of Assyria, vol. 3 (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1989); S. Parpola, Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars, State Archives of Assyria, vol. 10 (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1993); idem, Assyrian Prophecies, State Archives of Assyria, vol. 9 (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997).

⁷⁰ S. Parpola, Assyrian Prophecies, p. XXVI: The word "Ishtar" is translated as "it is the spirit of God, who, residing in the heart of the prophet, spirits him and speaks through his or her lips"

⁷⁴ J.M.Cook, The Rise of the Achaemenids and the Establishment of their Empire, Cambridge Histroy of Iran, vol. 2 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1985), 200-291.

7. The Jewish Encyclopedia agrees with the above where it states: "Trajan invaded Adiabene, and made it part of the Roman province of Assyria; under Hadrian in 117, however, Rome gave up possession of Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia."¹⁵



Courtesy of Maps of the Armenian Empire of Tigranes¹⁶

- 8. Archeologists tell us that Erbil is ranked as the most important royal residence and sacral center of the 'Land of Aššur' and its reconstructed pattern and size confirm its remarkable position among Assyrian royal capitals. After the fall of the Assyrian Empire, Erbil retained the status of a regional capital and its extensive Assyrian fortification, albeit possibly in a ruined state, sustained the structuring principle of the city. Adiabene (Hidyab), a region bounded by the rivers Tigris, Great and Little Zabs and Zagros Piedmonts, whose traditional capital was Erbil, used to be a very stable, historical administrative unit whose boundaries may have been established as early as in the 11th century BC. ¹⁷
- 9. We are also told that in the 1st century of the Christian Era, Helena and the royal family of Adiabene embraced Judaism. Then we are told that in the year 117, Trajan and his Roman Army

¹⁵ Accessed 6/20/2025 https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/801-adiabene

¹⁶ Accessed 6/19/2025 https://www.jatland.com/home/File:Maps_of_the_Armenian_Empire_of_Tigranes.gif

¹⁷ Nováček, Karel. "Contextualizing Arbīl: Medieval urbanism in Adiabene". In The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions. Edited by Konstantinos Kopanias and John MacGinnis. Archaeopress and the authors, 2016.

were deep in Adiabene, but they were opposed by about 50,000 Assyrians and equal number of Mesopotamian Jews. ¹⁸

Second Zealot War the Maccabean triumph, and helped set Trajan against the the Maccabean triumph, and helped set Trajan against the Jews. Plotina urged her husband to attack the Jews rather than the Parthians, as the Jews were the ones who truly defied him. Defying Trajan and his army were both Jews and quasiform the Assyrians who began converting to Judaism at the time of the prophet Daniel. Culturally, the Jewishness of the region was as assimilated as that of today's Babylon, New York. Unlike most Jews on Long Island, however, this was a fiercely nationalistic and militaristic community. Not afraid of the Roman legionnaires, the Adiabenian king was buoved by the Roman legionnaires, the Adiabenian king was buoyed by his grandfather's decisive victory over the Romans at the battle of Carrhae. With the proper tactical maneuvering, the larger and more heavily armed Roman forces could yet be overcome. It was late June in the year 117 C.E. Trajan and Roman legions were deep into Adiabene. Opposing t an Adiabenean army of about 50,000 Assyrians and an equal number of Mesopotamian Jews. Jewish volunteers came not only from Adiabene, but from other great cities along the river as far south as Babylon and Ctesiphon, capital of Parthia. With them came a detachment of Parthian cavalry known as "cataphracts." These heavily armed and armored men on horseback were the forerunners of the medieval knights Trajan's army marched confidently through the narrow valleys and steep hills of Adiabene, the modern region of southern Kurdistan. Suddenly, a great opportunity seemed to materialize. The Roman advance guard spied the Parthian cavalry ahead of them in a valley east of the Euphrates. The Romans marched forward to overtake them, their own cavalry in the lead. The Roman army was now based on equal proportions of infantry and cavalry. As Trajan's crack cavalry units advanced, the Parthian cataphracts retreated before them. Suddenly, the superb Parthian cavalrymen, with the expert equestrian and archery skills characteristic of Central Asian warriors, executed a tactic known to history as "the Parthian shot." In this maneuver a retreating Parthian cavalry squadron would unexpectedly draw their bows and fire a volley of arrows behind their back at the onrushing enemy. Normally,

10. Archeologists tell us that from one end there is a strong continuity in the ceramic continuity in the Assyrian heartland. On the other hand, there is a clear lack of materials directly related to distinguishable Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid administrations. This have helped to subsume the historical periods under the general label of Post-Assyrian, a classification that continued to be used until the Seleucid dynasty. ¹⁹

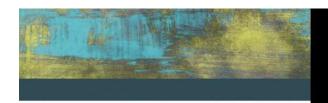
This is important since Adiabene was the center of the Assyrian heartland and for a long time remained Assyrian in essence judging from the overwhelming Assyrian excavations that have been uncovered in northern Iraq since the mid-19th century.

11. Authors of "Migrations and Migrant Identities in the Near East from Antiquity to the Middle Ages" include the Assyrians in their study. To describe the Assyrians, the researchers relied on Strabo, a prominent Greek geographer, historian, and philosopher who lived during the birth of

¹⁸ Rosenthal, Monroe & Issac Mozeson. "Wars of the Jews: A Military History from Biblical to Modern Times". Hippocrene Books. 1990.

¹⁹ Cinzia Pappi. "Between Assyria and Adiabene: Discussing Resilience and Collapse in the Transtigrine Region". **2022.**

Christianity, for the description of the Assyrian people. Strabo stated that the Assyrians call their land Atouria, which is basically Mesopotamia that includes many regions, including Adiabene.²⁰



MIGRATION AND MIGRANT IDENTITIES IN THE NEAR EAST FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE MIDDLE AGES

Edited by Justin Yoo, Andrea Zerbini, and Caroline Barron



is then narrowed down in detailed narrative. Thus, his description of the Fertile Crescent names the area to be discussed, then names the subregions that constitute it (16.1.1), before moving around those subregions in turn, with a full discussion of each (16.1.4–27). At the broadest levels, Strabo describes space in terms of the people who occupy it:

The Assyrians [hoi Assurioi] lie next to Persis and Susiana. They call Babylonia and much of the country all round by this name, which in part is Atouria, in which is Ninus, and Apolloniatis, the Elymaei, the Paraetacae, the Chalonitis near Mt. Zagrus, the plains around Ninus, and also Dolomene and Calachene and Chazene and Adiabene, and the tribes of Mesopotamia near the Gordyaeans, and the Mygdonians around Nisibis as far as Zeugma on the Euphrates, and much space on the far side of the Euphrates, which is occupied by Arabians, and those people who are now called Syrians, in a particular sense, who extend as far as the Cilicians and the Phoenicians and the Judaeans and the sea that is opposite the Aegyptian Sea and the Gulf of Issus.¹³

Strabo names the region 'the [land of the] Assyrians', using an ethnonym for the people of the area as a substantive for the space itself. Many of the constituent subregions are also defined by ethnonyms, including the Elymaei, 'the tribes of Mesopotamia', the Gordyaeans, the Mygdonians and so on. ¹⁶ By naming the space under examination after its living, moving inhabitants and largely neglecting fixed geographical or urban markers, Strabo prioritises the people over the land, detaches them from fixed spatial boundaries and invites a conceptualisation of the space as a realm of action, culture and mobility.

When Strabo defines space using geographical features, those definitions are often also based on movement.¹⁵ Sometimes that movement is the focus of the passage, while at other times reference to movement are descriptive esides. In

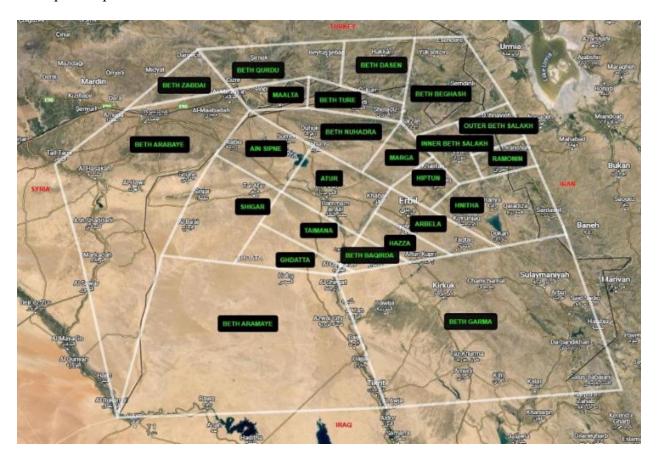
12. The diocese of the Church of the East have been present in Adiabene since the early days of Christianity. Erbil lost much of its former importance with the growth of the city of Mosul, that is situated across the River Tigris from Nineveh. The Assyrians of Nineveh built Mosul after the collapse of the capital of Nineveh. In the *Chronicle of Arbela*, probably written in the 6th century, collected information about the Christian community and the history of Erbil between 132 and 540. The bishop became the "Metropolitan of Adiabene" of the Church of the East during the 4th century, and the cathedral was reconstructed between 450 and 498. The Sasanians maintained a suspicious watch over Adiabene because of its Christianity and the possible influence of Rome, especially after Constantine declared Christianity as a permitted religion in the Roman Empire; two early bishops, Yohannan and Abraham, were martyred in 343 and 345 under Shapur II. This attitude changed only in the 7th century, when Arbela became the seat of a Nestorian [Church of the East] Metropolitan.²¹

During the reign of the Patriarch Timothy I (780–823) the seat of the metropolitans of Adiabene was moved to Mosul. The dioceses of Adiabene were governed by a "Metropolitan of Mosul and

²⁰ Yoo, Justin, Andrea Zerbini, and Caroline Barron. "Migrations and Migrant Identities in the Near East from Antiquity to the Middle Ages". Routledge. 2018.

²¹ MacGinnis, John and David Michelmore. "Arbela". Published online in 2024.

Erbil" for the next four and a half centuries. Around 1200, Mosul and Erbil became separate metropolitan provinces.



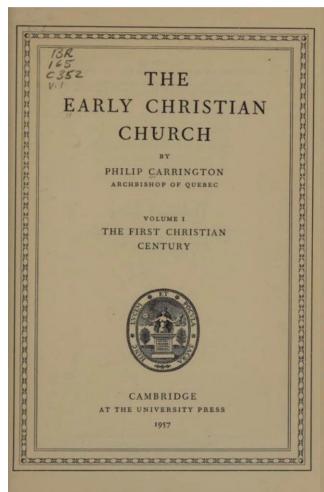
Nenif Matran Hariri. Map of Adiabene v2.0 (Church of The East, diocese)

This strong Christian and Assyrian presence in Adiabene region could not be overlooked, ignored or denied. The region was "administratively centered around its capital city at Arbelā (Erbil, Iraq), this geopolitical entity was also commonly known as Ḥidyaḇ (Adiabene), a name that was used synonymously, by early Syriac Christian authorities—both East Syriac and West Syriac —to mean Assyria. As a result of progressive missionary activities in the region, Assyria was transformed into a leading center for Syriac-speaking Christians."²²

13. The above fact about early Syriac Christianity and the role of the Assyrians in spreading Christianity in Osrhoene (Edessa), Adiabene (Arbela), and others centers in historic Assyria could not be disputed.²³

²² Edward, Ramsin. "Christianising Assyria". Banipal: Issued by General Directorate of Syriac Culture and Arts No. 51. Spring 2024.

²³ Carrington, Philip. "The Early Christian Church". Vol I. Cambridge University Press. 1957.



THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

communities, like the circle in Tarsus in which he grew up himself; but in other cases there was a mixture with the local population which produced mixed cults like that of Sabazius in Apamea, a god who united some of the features of Jehovah with some of the features of a local deity who rather resembled the Greek god Dionysus. The resultant cult was connected with the story of Noah, and the community placed the emblems of this 'syncretist' cult on their coins. This is a most instructive example of what could and did happen outside the rigid enforcement of the Law of Moses. The cult of Sabazius spread to Rome and appears there side by side with Christianity in the evidence of the catacombs.

In many Jewish colonies, it may be, the Aramaic language prevailed, as it did in Palestine and the East. In others it gave way to Greek, and this must have occurred in Antioch itself. There must have been wellorganized synagogues there, in which the Bible was read and the prayers offered in the Greek tongue. There was, in short, a Jewish Hellenism in Antioch, though our information about it is defective. We should expect that it would reflect in some degree the Syrian Hellenism of the Seleucid empire, which was the tutor of imperial Rome in the realms of Greek literature and philosophy; for Stoic philosophy, with its feeling for monotheism, and its ethic of self-discipline, may be looked on as in some degree the offspring of Syrianism.

ORIENTAL FAITHS

The Hellenism of the Seleucid empire was probably little more than a screen behind which the old religions of the east continued their very lively existence. Antioch was nominally a Greek city with a Syrian substratum; but farther north and east there were little Syrian principalities in which Syriac or Aramaic was the native tongue, though the Greek culture would be welcomed and adopted as a civilizing influence. Among these were Commagene with its capital at Samosata; Osrhoene with its capital at Edessa across the Euphrates; and Adiabene with its capital at Arbela across the Tigris. There were cities like Nisibis and Nehardea in the old Assyrian country; and Seleucia and Ctesiphon farther south, not far from the ancient city of Babylon. Ctesiphon was the capital city of the Parthian monarch who was the principal rival of the Roman emperor. These cities and kingdoms were all more or less

5

The Assyrian Christian region of Adiabene was born from the womb of the region of Athura (Assyria) with its capital in Arbela.

14. Emmet Sweeney, who holds a Master's Degree in Early Modern History from the University of Ulster and has had numerous articles published in historical journals such as the "Society for Interdisciplinary Studies Review" and "Ancient Warfare, informs us that during the Achaemenid Empire, Assyrian was divided into the two regions of Athura and Mada. In fact, the Assyrian language was still used by the Persian in their normal diplomatic correspondances. The Book of Ezra (450 BC) refers to an Assyrian governor by the name Sanballat (Assyrian: Sin-uballit) and the Greek historian Xenophon mentions another governor named Abracomas (400 BC)—both holding authority over Athura (Assyria) under Persian rule. So deeply-ingrained was the Assyrian culture that it survived well beyond the Persian period and into the Seleucid period and beyond, when the region began to be referred to as "Syria"—a term which was identical in meaning to Assyria. Prof Richard Frye, an American scholar of Iranian and Central Asian studies and a professor emeritus at Harvard University, explains that Syria and Assyria were

²⁴ Sweeney, Emmet. The Ramissides, Medes and Persians. The Series: Ages in Alignment. Vol. 4. Algora Publishing, 2008.

synonymous.²⁵ In addition, scholars tell us that large areas of Syria and Phoenicia were part of a satrapy known as Athura (Assyria).²⁶

15. The Map of the Achaemenid Empire and the West below covers the period of around 500 BC by Dr. Michael Ditter Michaelstadt. It reflects the region of Athura.

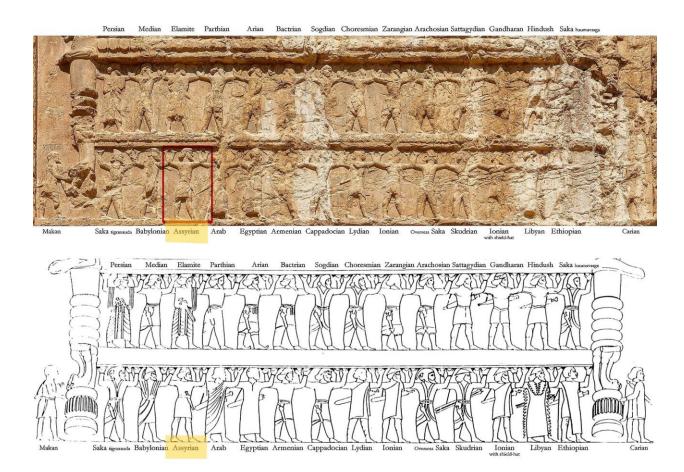


The Persian Empire and the West

16. Furthermore, military records show Assyrians serving alongside other people in key expeditions, including the campaign of Xerxes.

²⁵ Frye, Richard, N. Assyria and Syria: Synonyms. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Oct., 1992), pp. 281-285.

²⁶ Yamauchi, Edwin, M. & Elaine Phillips. The Expositor's Bible Commentary (Revised Edition): Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. Tremper Longman III & David E. Garland, General Editors. 2017.



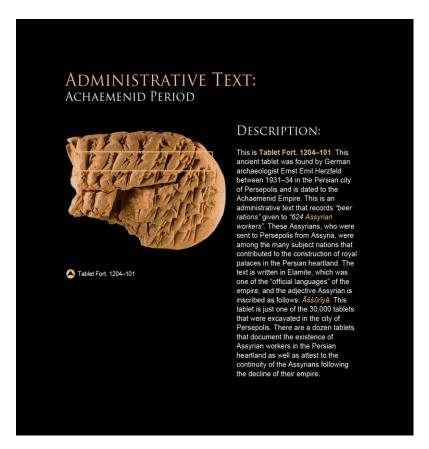
An Assyrian soldier in the Xerxes II Tomb, Naqsh-E Rustam 424 BC

17. The Daiva Inscription of Xerxes was discovered in 1935 in seven slabs – three in Old Persian and one in Babylonian – and another fragmented slab in Elamite in the southeast corner of the Persepolis terrace. It tells us that the Achaemenid king Xerxes mentioned Athura (Assyria).

§3 (13-28) Proclaims Xerxes, the king: By the favor of Ahuramazda these (are) the countries of which I was king outside of Persia; I ruled them; to me they brought tribute. What was said to them by me, that they did. The law that (was) mine, that held them (stable): Media, Elam, Arachosia, Armenia, Drangiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Sardis, Egypt, the Ionians who dwell by the sea and (those) who dwell beyond the sea, the Makran people, Arabia, Gandara, the Indus province, Cappadocia, Dahae, the Amyrgian Scythians, the Scythians with pointed caps, Thracia, the Åkaufaka people, Libyans, Carians, Nubians.

18. The Assyrians are mentioned in the Persepolis Archive. Elamite documents mentions Athuriya (Assyrians). In one instance, the Old Persian royal inscriptions mention "Assyrians" bringing the Lebanon cedar trees to Babylonia. In the parallel Akkadian text, the term

"Assyrians" is replaced by the more general designation "People from Across the River" (Ebīr-Nāri). Ebīr-Nāri was the Akkadian term used for the area of Syria and the Southern Levant. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the term "Assyrians" in the Old Persian and Elamite versions of this text was used for the entire area. As in the case of Babylonian groups, we see "Assyrians" traveling to the area of Persepolis and receiving rations from the administration during their journey. There is one travel document that mentions a group of 37 free Assyrian men who were traveling together with a man called Šadašba, who carried a sealed travel document from the Persian king. Or Beer rations given to 624 Assyrians, Sesame rations were given to 560 Assyrians under the authority of Pišā, Sesame rations for 207 Assyrian workers [kurtas] under the authority of Pišā who carried a sealed document of the king, Grain rations supplied for 167 Assyrian workers including men, boys, women, and girls, Grain rations for 224 Assyrian workers at Persepolis, Grain rations for 49 Assyrian workers at Persepolis, Grain rations for 29 Assyrian workers at Nušaya and Antarrantiš in the Persepolis region, Grain rations for 169 Assyrian workers at Rakkan in the Persepolis region, and Grain rations for 55 Assyrian workers.²⁷

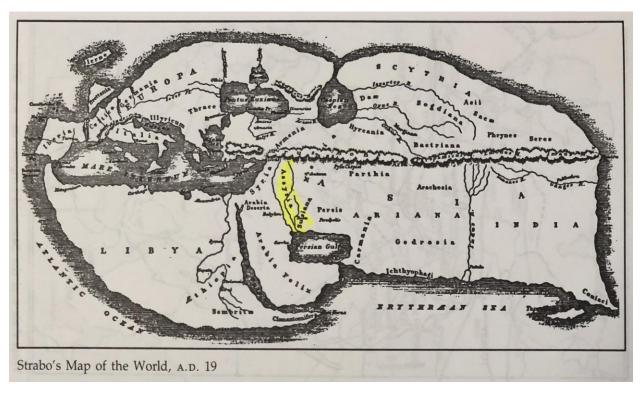


Pix courtesy Mark Gewargis and "History in Assyrians". https://www.atour.com/history/continuity/20210129a.html

²⁷ Zilberg, Peter. "In His Majesty's Service: Semites in the Achaemenid Heartland". In A Question of Identity-Social, Political, and Historical Aspects of Identity Dynamics in Jewish and other contexts. 2019.

19. The role of the ancient Assyrian city of Arbela mentioned above is emphasized by A.T. Olmstead, an American historian and an academic specializing in Assyriology. He writes that Arbela became the capital of the Achaemenid province of Athura (Assyria), following the decline of Ashur and Nineveh. He noted that Arbela, which had long been overshadowed by the former Assyrian capitals, regained its prominence and was elevated as the new political center of Assyria under Persian rule. Later, Arbela would again serve as a central city in the Assyrian kingdom of Adiabene, continuing its role as a key center of the Assyrian cultural and religious life well into the early Christian period.²⁸

20. From the beginning of the Christian history of Adiabene or Athura (Assyria), Samuel Moffett, an American Christian missionary and academic who served as professor emeritus at the Princeton Theological Seminary and is considered as the leading scholar on Christianity in Asia, tells us that we cannot deny the unshakable conviction of the Mesopotamia Christianity that had roots back to the apostolic age, to a Thomas of India, or an Addai of Edessa, "the blessed city" that became the center of Christianity in Asia. From Edessa and Adiabene the churches began to take form in the writing of the Assyrians' historical figures, such as Addai of Edessa (Urfa), Tatian the ascetic and Bardaisan the hedonist. Envision Tatian declaring proudly, "I am an Assyrian" during his address to the Greeks.²⁹



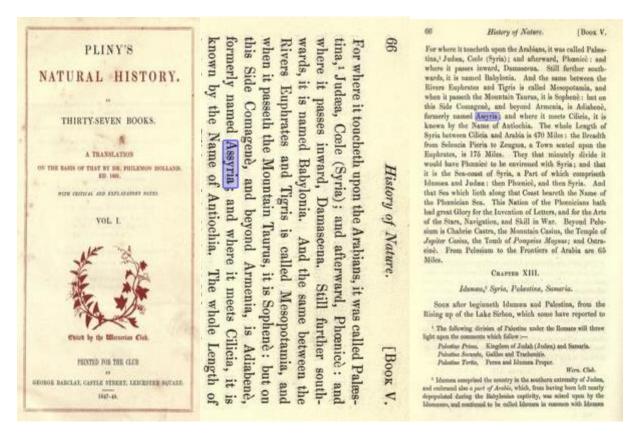
"Strabo's Map of the World in AD 19". From Samuel Moffett's "A History of Christianity in Asia: Vol. I.".

²⁸ A.T. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire, University of Chicago Press, 1948, p. 39.

²⁹ Moffett, Samuel Hugh. A History of Christianity in Asia. Vol. I: Beginning to 1500.Orbis Books, New York. 1998. Pp. 56-75.

These roots of Assyrian or Syriac Christianity in Assyria's cities of Edessa (Osrhoene) and Erbil (Adiabene) have been uninterrupted until modern times.³⁰

21. Lastly, but not least, I wanted to save this important source for the end. Pliny the Elder, born Gaius Plinius Secundus in AD 23/24, was a Roman author, naturalist, philosopher, and military commander. He is remembered as one of the most important figures of ancient Rome. His works, particularly *Naturalis Historia*, continue to be studied not only as historical documents but also as reflections of the intellectual and cultural milieu of the Roman Empire. Through his life, writings, and legacy, Pliny the Elder remains a symbol of intellectual curiosity, dedication to knowledge, and the quest to understand the world in all its complexity. Pliny mentions Assyria several times. In his "Pliny's Natural History" he states, "Adiabene, formerly named Assyria". 32



Adiabene has never been associated with people known as Kurds, or with a region known as Kurdistan, as there is no record of people known as Kurds before the 7th century birth of Islam. Furthermore, Kurdistan (land of Kurds) was never a politically recognized and defined country, state or kingdom called Kurdistan. It was always a superficial region, superimposed on the Middle East maps. Furthermore, there is no archeological or historical evidence that a homogenous group of people known as Kurds lived in Mesopotamia in ancient times. The fact is

³⁰ Gewargis, Mark. "Assyrians in History". Accessed 6/25/2025. https://www.atour.com/history/continuity/20210129a.html#550-330%20BC:%20Assyrian%20Sales%20Contract

³¹ Accessed 6/25/2025 https://worldhistoryedu.com/who-was-pliny-the-elder/

³² Pliny the Elder. "Pliny's Natural History". Wernerian Club, Holland. England, G. Barclay. 1847/49.

that there is not a single "Kurdish" literature document that dates back to the first half of the first millennia. In fact, many consider the 1597 *Sharafnamah* by Sharaf al-Din Bitlisi as the first Kurdish literature publication. Interestingly, it was published in Persian and not Kurdish language. Kurdish historian Mehrdad Izady corrupted this publication,³³ and inaccurately represent it by entering personal nationalistic interpretations on the original publication, including, for example, changing its title from a simple Sharafnamah to *The Sharafnama: Or the History of the Kurdish Nation.*³⁴

Politicizing history has become a modern trend. Kurdish history, as we all know, is very vague, and it is well known among many serious historians that Kurdish writers endeavor to construct a history that never existed. In an effort to cover everything, Kurdish writers foolishly link their history to all the peoples and civilizations of antiquity that lived in the regions of modern Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria and even parts of Russia. Kurdish writers associate their history with the early dynasties of the Halaf and Ubaids, with Hurrians, Hittites, Mitanni, Medes³⁵ and more recently with Sumerians³⁶. Or they link the term Kurd to specific ancient terms of kardu, kardukh, and carduni, which have been challenged repeatedly.³⁷ However, we know that the term Kurd originates from the Middle Persian (Sassanid period from the 3rd to 7th century) *kwrt*, which means tent-dweller nomad.³⁸ The Sassanids applied the name *kwrt* to all the nomads of the Zagros Mountains. Over time, *kwrt* developed into Kurt and Kurd. Islam conquered the region, and when the Arab Muslims encountered these Iranian tribal nomads of the Zagros Mountains, they adopted the terms Kurd (كر) and plural Akrad (اكراد) to refer to these Iranian nomads.

³³ Aprim, Fred. "Prof. Mehrdad Izady and the Politicization of Sharaf Khan's 1597 Sharafnama". https://www.atour.com/media/files/forums/20250401100533.pdf

³⁴ Bajalan, Djene Rhys. "Sheref Khan's Sharafnama: Kurdish Ethno-Politics in the Early Modern World, Its Meaning and Its Legacy". Iranian Studies, volume 45, number 6, November 2012.

³⁵ Aprim, Fred. "Kurds Are Not Related to Medes".

https://www.fredaprim.com/pdfs/2024/Kurds%20Are%20Not%20Related%20to%20Medes.pdf

³⁶ Aprim, Fred. "Kurds and Kurdish Language Not Related to Sumerians: A Response to Soran Hamarash". https://www.fredaprim.com/pdfs/2024/Kurds%20are%20not%20Sumerians.pdf

³⁷ Aprim, Fred. "Kurd is Not Related to Qardu, Kardu, Kardukh, Carduni, etc." https://www.fredaprim.com/pdfs/2024/Kurd%20and%20Ancient%20words.pdf

³⁸ Asatrian, Garnik. "Prolegomena to the Study of the Kurds", Iran and the Caucasus Vol 13, No. 1. Yerevan State University. Brill, 2009.