

**On some upper Mesopotamian toponyms** – All the cuneiform forms are NA unless otherwise indicated (OSyr. = Old Syriac).

1. *A-za-me-re* (M. Streck, *ZA* 14, 1899, 165; *RGTC* 5, 46, MA, cf. *RGTC* 4, 22?) is recorded in a list of mountains belonging to Assyria which seems to be arranged in a geographical order from southeast to northwest. It is placed after Ebeh (Jabal Ḥamrīn), Urašē (compared by Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, 273a, with the theophorous element *Urašše* which is recorded in the onomasticon from MB Nuzi) and before Ankurna, Pizitta (cf. NA <sup>uru</sup>*Pa-ši-tu*, *CCENA* 23, v, 5?), Pizagiš(?) and Kašyari (Ṭūr-‘Abdīn), *A-za-me-re* reminds one of OSyr. Mt *Zmr* (e.g., J.-B. Chabot, éd., *Le livre de la chasteté*, Rome 1896 [henceforth *Chasteté*], 52, 63) in northwest Adiabene southeast of the confluence of the Greater Zab to the Tigris (Arab. *Zāmir*, see J.M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne* [henceforth *AC*], 1, Beirut 1965, 193) 125f., cf. 41; not to be confused with OSyr. *Kpr Zmr* = modern *Kafr Zammār* on the Tigris near Mossul, J.P. Margoliouth, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith*, Oxford 1927, 169b). In view of the chronology and the Urartian onomastic parallel *A-za-me-ru-ne* (cf. *RGTC* 5, 46), the *a-* of *A-za-me-re* is presumably primary (for the insertion of *a-* in Assyrian toponymy cf. Zadok, in Y. Avishur and J. Blau [eds.], *Studies in Bible and the ancient Near East presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm on his seventieth birthday*, Jerusalem 1978, 164f. with n. 3).

2. <sup>kur</sup>*Ha-sa-mu*, <sup>uru</sup>*Ha-sa-meš* (*AOAT* 6, 155; for the latter<sub>4s</sub> *-meš* cf. Zadok, in M. Liverani, *Neo-Assyrian geography*, Rome 1995 [henceforth *NAG*], 275), OB <sup>(kur)</sup>*Ha-sa-am* (*RGTC* 3, 93; it has nothing to do with Aisouma, OSyr. <sup>(y)</sup>*šwm*<sup>?</sup>, which is more to the east!), MB *Ha-as-mi* (see Kh. Nashef, *RGTC* 5, 121f. with lit.). M. Falkner (*AfO* 18, 1957, 11) located it near Harran and M.C. Astour (*JAOS* 88, 1968, 740) more specifically east or east-southeast of Harran. Astour compares Eg. *Ḥa-da-m*<sup>d</sup> admitting that it renders an original *Haš/zamu*. See also O. R. Gurney, *Iraq* 11 (1949), 139, n. 9, 140; W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), 75f.; and D.J. Wiseman, *RLA* 4, 126f., s.v. *Hasam*, *Hasmi*. It survived

as OSyr. *Ḥsmy* (*Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche* [1166-1199; ed. Chabot, Paris 1899], xii, 21, 543), a mountain (range) near Harran and Bêt-qubbē (like *Ytb-ryš̄* = Pr<sup>č</sup>; mid. 9th century C.E.). At first glance the correspondance NA <s> = Aram. <s> does not look normal, but it can be assumed that *Ḥsmy* is the outcome of the shift /š/ > /s/ which occurred in Aramaic.

3. *Kap-ra-bi*, presumably near the east or northeast border of Bīt-Adini (see M. Liverani, *Studies on the annals of Ashurnasirpal II. 2: Topographical analysis*, Rome 1992, 72) is perhaps *Kapri(URU.ŠE)-ra-bu* with haplology (see Zadok, *NAG*, 277). The latter is recorded in the 'archive<sub>4</sub> of Se-<sup>3</sup>-ma-a-di (683-680 B.C.; there is no need to emend *-ra-bu*<-ti> as T. Kwasman, *StPohl SM* 14, 353 ad 300, 15<sub>4</sub> does), where the slaves 1. *Mar-ia-te-<sup>3</sup>*, 2. *Se-<sub>4</sub>-em-me* (both with West Semitic names), and 3. *Mu-ra-a* (Akkadian-West Semitic, atypical) are mentioned. It may, however, be merely homonymous. Old Syriac has *Kpr<sup>3</sup> rb<sup>3</sup>* *dSrwg* (F. Nau, *Les légendes syriaques d'Aaron de Saroug, de Maxime et Domèce d'Abraham, maître de Barsoma et de l'empereur Maurice* = *Patr. Orientalis* 5, Paris 1910, 295f.) or simply *Kpr rb<sup>3</sup>* in the following section of the narrative (*ibid.*, 303f.). On the purely linguistic level, this form is the equivalent of the hypothetical Old Aramaic source of *Kap-ra-bi*. *Kpr rb<sup>3</sup>* is described as a hot and arid place where flocks were pastured (*ibid.* 296). Perhaps it was situated south of Sarūg/Baṭnān not far from a river (*nhr<sup>3</sup>*) if to rely on the description in 303f. If this is the case, then the identification with the town of Bīt-Adini is not impossible.

4. *Mil-qi/qi-a* was situated not far from Arbela (cf. B. Menzel, *StPohl SM* 10, 113f.; W. Röllig, *RLA* 8, 1994, 207f.). A village and a mound/hill near Arbela are named *Mlqy* in an Old Syriac source (*Chasteté*, 11).

5. <sup>uru</sup>*Ni-ra-ma-<sup>1</sup>A+A<sup>1</sup>* belonged to the governor of <sup>kur</sup>*Se/Si-me-e* according to *SAA* 11, 222, 2 (cf. xxxivf.), but this does not necessarily imply that this settlement belonged to his province (although it could). This toponym is a gentilic of \**Niram*. The text has only gentilics (cf. *URU-ŠĀ-URU-A+A*, <sup>uru</sup>*TIM-bu-<sup>2</sup>-na-A+A*, and <sup>uru</sup>*Kal-ha-A+A*, lines 4, 14<sub>4</sub>, and r. 10 resp.; aptly normalized as

*Niramu* in *SAA* 11, 182a, index, s.v.). This basic form is homonymous, if not identical with OSyr. *Nyrm*, name of two villages (*N.* and *N. dr'w't'* «of the shepherds») in *The book of governors: The Historia monastica of Thomas bishop of Margā, A.D. 840* (ed. E.W. Budge, London 1893 [henceforth *HMT*], 2, 592, 599). *Nrm* was presumably in Margā, i.e. central Assyria proper, north of the Greater Zab, probably in a mountainous terrain. *Nyrm* is identified by Fiey, *AC* 1, 252f. (cf. map on 224) with *Niram* (so Tfindji [report from 1911 quoted by Fiey, *loc. cit.*], which seems preferable to Fiey<sub>45</sub> «*Nerem*»), recently renamed as Gunduk (Kurdish) in eastern Marga. *Nyrm dr'wt'* is to be sought in the mountainous section of the district of Birta, not far from the river Hāzir and Wādi Nārdoš, likewise in Assyria proper (see Fiey, *AC* 1, 297ff.). On the face of it, this information seems to contribute towards a localization of the province of Se'mē. Postgate (*NAG* 11f.) cautiously suggested to locate Se'mē in the region between the Hāzir and the Greater Zab. He bases his suggestion on a list of fugitives from the governor of Se'mē with their home settlements (*ADD* 875+ = *SAA* 11, 163, undated). One of the settlements is Issutu which was situated on the route towards Nineveh from the east (see G.B. Lanfranchi, *NAG* 131f.). However, the governor recorded in the list of fugitives was not that of Se'mē but of Ši-i-mu. Therefore it seems reasonable to localize the province of Šimu in the region between the Hāzir and the Greater Zab. The occurrence of [...S]e?-<sup>2</sup>-me-e in a broken context in the same document (*SAA* 11, 163, r. ii, 4<sub>4</sub>) is of course inconclusive as its reading and definition (GN or PN) are not certain. Postgate (*NAG* 10) is of the opinion that *Se/Si-<sup>2</sup>-me-e* and Ši-i-mu (cf. *RGTC* 5, 248; Deller and Postgate, *AfO* 32, 1985, 75) are not the same toponym. It is noteworthy that one of the settlements of the list of fugitives is <sup>uru</sup>Ir<sup>1</sup>-ba-A+A (*SAA* 11, 163, i, 10). This toponym resembles <sup>uru</sup>Ir-bu-A+A which might have been situated not far from <sup>uru</sup>Hu-ba-ba in *StPohl SM* 14, 119 (see Zadok, *NAG* 261, prob. mid. 7th century B.C.). The latter belonged to the province of <sup>kur</sup>Se/Si-m[e!-e?] according to *SAA* 11, 225, 4<sub>4</sub>f. (undated).

*Se/Si(-<sup>2</sup>)-me-e* was in the upper Habur area according to S. Parpola (*SAA* 1, 238, index, s.v.). This localization is based on *SAA* 1, 247, 5, where Se'mē is listed between Tillē and Našibīna. However, Isana is also mentioned in the same let-

ter. According to the letter *SAA* 1, 257 (Sargon's time), Gozan was perhaps on the way from Se'mē to Marqasi, but this does not necessarily imply that Se'mē was in the upper Habur area: it might have been located anywhere east of Gozan, including Assyria proper. It is reported in this letter that deportees were brought from Se'mē to Gozan where they were given grain rations. Their final destination was Marqasi. It may be surmised that these deportees originated in hostile regions east of Assyria proper, were transported via Se'mē to Gozan and then to the recently conquered province of Gurgum/Marqasi. The Assyrian practice of settling easterners in the far west and westerners in the far east is well known.

6. *Pu-rat-ta-A+A* (738/7 B.C.) is a gentilic of \**Purāt-*. It is mentioned in *CTN* 2, 98 together with another gentilic, viz. *Alu-ša-Libluṭayyu* (of the chief cup-bearer, see K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1980, 158). A deed from 639 or 622 B.C. (found at Assur) records a certain Šulmu-ahhē son of Nabû'a<sup>um</sup> *Pu-ra-ta-A+A* (gentilic; K. Deller, F.M. Fales and L. Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 9, 1995, 121: 131, 3f.). A village *Prt* (OSyr.) was situated in the region of Margā (in central Assyria proper, cf. 5 above; *AC* 1, 281). However, an absolute localization of \**Purāt* is not possible.

7. *Qu-re-'* (*Šēpē-Issar*) was active there sometime between 647 and 612 B.C. according to *CTN* 3, 15). Cf. perhaps OSyr. *Qwry* in Assyria proper or near it (*HMT* 2, 296, 326); cf. also *AC* 1, 267 (without localization).

8. *Sa-ar-da-ur-ri-a-na* is an Urartian toponym based on the Urartian royal name *Sarduri*. Its variant *Su-ur-du-ra-a<sup>1</sup>-nu* (cf. H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994 [henceforth Tadmor, *Tigl. III*], 126) is presumably with NA vowel harmony, Tadmor (*Tigl. III*, 52 ad 84; 100 ad 24) rightly rejects von Soden's proposal to assign a value *sar<sub>5</sub>* merely on the strength of the single occurrence of NA <sup>d</sup>*XV-BAD* for Urart. *Sarduri*. His basic idea is to retain the divine name here (apparently by popular etymology). Since *Ištar* has become *Issar* > *Sar* in NA, the form can be harmonized with the other Assyrian and Urartian spellings of the royal name.

R. Zadok (14-06-98)