

On the geography, toponymy and anthroponymy of Media —

1. Anthroponymy and toponymy from Šušarrā: The onomasticon from OB Šušarrā (cf. the index of Eidem 1992) has almost no parallels in the long lists of prisoners of war, who are thought to have originated in Šašru (the forerunner of Šušarrā) in the Ur III period, about a quarter of a millennium earlier (from Umma, collected by Struve 1952, 14ff.: TCL 5, 6039 and 18ff.: Nikol'skiy 329; 2042 BC). The reason may be not only the chronological gap, but also the fact that all the names in the lists from Šašru refer to females, whereas almost all the anthroponyms from Šušarrā refer to males (cf. Zadok 1993, 235). The anthroponym *Še-pu-ul-lu* (Eidem 1992, 46, 1) is probably the same as Ur III *Še-pu-la*. The latter is recorded at Umma, the same place where the female prisoners are mentioned in the same generation (2028 BC, Zadok 1993, 235: 3.2.2, 27). *Ka-ak-me* is recorded as an anthroponym at OB Šušarrā (Eidem 1992, 118, 5). *Ka-ma-zi* from there is perhaps a late form of the toponym Hamazi (presumably with *k-* for earlier *h-* like NA *Kumurdu* for *Humurti*, cf. below, 2). *Ka-ma-zi* is classified as an anthroponym by Eidem (1992, 94a ad 124, 10), but it can be interpreted as a toponym in view of the structure of the list (“one *Kamazi*-garment” like other garments, which are defined by a geographical name, i.e. their place of origin, in line 8f.)¹ and the fact that the only clear anthroponym according to the context (line 6) is preceded by a *Personenkeil*. In the same manner, *Ku-la-r[u(-um)]* (Eidem 1992, 111, 11: LÚ^{mes} ša ~) is a toponym rather than an anthroponym (as listed by Eidem 1992, 95a) in view of NA *Kul/Kúl-la-ar* (Röllig 1980-83), referring to a pass not far from Šušarrā. The same may apply to *Ku-mu-ur-a-at-t[e]* (listed as an anthroponym by Eidem 1992, 95a, s.v. *Kumur-atte*, but cf. Ziegler 1997, 791) if it refers to Kumurdu (see below, 2). Both are written without a *Personenkeil*. Most of the names preceded by LÚ^{mes} in the same document are toponyms. The toponym *Tu-ud/t-ma-aš-še/šū/šu* (Eidem 1992, 90a with refs.) may be compared with the anthroponym *Tu-du-mi-iš* from Tikunani (Salvini 1996, v, 56). Likewise, the anthroponym *Ul-lu-ba* from OB Tall Lēlān (Hurr. according to Ismail 1991, 121f. ad 109, 5) is homonymous with NA ^{kur}*Ul-lu-ba* (once *Ul-li-ba*, Parpola 1970, 366f.), which refers to a region north of Assyria proper (see

Postgate 1973, 57f.) not far from the important Hurrian city of Kumme. Toponyms which are homonymous with anthroponyms are not rare in Hurrian (cf. Fincke 1993, *pass.* and Zadok 2000, B, 2, 5).

2. Uzhari : The two campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III to the Zagros (744 and 737 BC) and their long-term effect are discussed by Levine (1977b, 180f.) : basically the Great Khorasan Road and around it, with the regions lying on the road itself turned into Assyrian provinces and the other entities subjected to Assyria as vassals. If ^{ur}*Ha-ar-šu* is identical with Mt. *Ha-ar-si* (cf. Edzard 1957-1971), which is described as situated at the “head” (SAG) of the Kumurdean district, then the way from the western Zagros to Bīt-Abdadani was partly controlled by Mannea in Ashurbanipal’s time. ^{ur}*Ha-ar-šu* was situated between ^{ur}*Ku-ši-a-na-áš* (possibly = later ^{ur}*Ku-^lša^l-na* according to Ivantchik 1993, 83 ad 185f. :12) and ^{ur}*Šá-na-áš-ti-ku* (Tadmor 1994, 46 : Ann. 11,1f.). *Harši* is related to Urart. *Wa_x-ar-si-ta* according to Diakonoff and Kashkai (1979, 98 ; -tā is an Urartian suffix). The latter is very probably the same place as *Wa-ar-šu^{ki}* (*Wa-ar-še/ši*) from OB Šušarrā (Eidem 1992, 90a with refs.). Troops from *PA-ar-ši^{ki}* are listed with troops from other places including *Ku-mu-ur-a-at-t[e]*, which is perhaps identical with Kumurdu (cf. above, 1). *PA-ar-ši^{ki}* is a variant of *Waršu*. ^{kur}*Ku-mu-ur-da-A+A* (gentilic) of Mannea (Borger 1996, 34 : B iii, 60 = C iv, 72) was equated with Ur III Humurtu by Diakonoff 1956, 282 with n. 3 ; 1985, 73. Levine (1974, 115) is not aware of Diakonoff’s identification, which may eventually facilitate the localization of Kumurdu, perhaps near the southern section of Mannea. ^{ur}*Šá-na-áš-ti-ku* is followed by ^{ur}*Kiš-ki-ta-ra*, ^{ur}*Ha-ar-šá-A+A* (originally a gentilic of *Ha-ar-šu*) and ^{ur}*A+A-ú-ba-ak*. From there (provided the lacuna does not include more places) Tiglath-pileser III proceeded to ^{kur}*Ha-li-ha-ad/t-ri* (see Streck 1900, 369f.) and ^{ur}*Uz-ha-ri* (cf. just below). The latter belonged to Bīt-Zatti (744 BC, Tadmor 1994,46 : Ann. 11, 1-3), which was on the way to the more easterly Bīt-Abdadani. *Uzhari* is perhaps a late form of Sargonic *Zahara* presumably northwest of Elam (see Edzard, Farber and Sollberger 1977, 193 with previous lit.). *Zahara* is probably identical with *A-za-ha-ar*, a region of Simaški in the Ur III period (see Zadok 1991, 229). Vallat (1993, 305, s.v. *Zahara*) is of the opinion that *Zahara* “doit être localisé en Baluchistan iranien

ou dans les environs immédiats”. However, Vallat (1993, cxxivf.) does not rule out an alternative localization in western Iran. Potts (1998, 103) hesitatingly suggests to identify Zahara with *Azara*, presumably in eastern Khuzistan, which is mentioned in the Parthian period, but the forms are different. The fact that Šar-kali-šarri mentions a victorious battle against Elam and Zahara in the neighbourhood of Akšak and Sakali seems to strengthen the case for a localization of Zahara in northwestern Iran, provided the observation of Hallo (1957-71, 709) that Sakali is a veiled allusion to Qutium is correct. It should be remembered that several regions of northwest Iran, e.g. Harši and Hu’urti, are mentioned in Sargonic and Ur III sources; Zab/pšali was dependent on Simaški. The same applies to Sig(i)riš and possibly Šišturtum. Vallat (1993, 305) suggests a general localization for Zab/pšali on the Iranian Plateau, somewhere between the region of Isfahan and the Caspian sea (cf. Steinkeller 1990; Vallat 1991, 12; Zadok 1991, 227f.). Azahar and Šišturtum were dependencies of Simaški (cf. Zadok 1991, 227; Potts 1998, 136); on the northern extension of Simaški see Potts 1998, 141.² There are several cases of toponymic continuity in northwest Iran (e.g., Harši, Harhar,³ Kumurdu, Nispi, Sigris, and Šišturtu). The river *A-rat-ta-a* was on the way from Sumbi to Surikaš, a Mannean district bordering on Karalla and Allab/pria in 714 BC (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 31; see Levine 1977a, 137; for Karalla cf. Frame 1999, 48ff.). *A-rat-ta-a* is at best a homonym of the much earlier legendary land of Aratta (see the comment of Vallat 1993, 18 on Gordon 1960, 132 with n. 63 and Yusifov 1986, 87).

3. *Wilu: The NA gentilic ^{kur}Ú-i-la-A+A (end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 BC, Grayson 1996, 186; Šamši-Adad v, A.0.103.1, iii, 53; cf. Diakonoff 1991, 15) refers to one of the small polities of Parsua or near it (in northwestern Media). *Wilu may be homonymous — if not identical — with Ur III *Pi-i*^{ki} (Sigrist 1984, 4, 10; cf. Zadok 1993, 226: 26;⁴ *PI* with the reading *wi* is very common before the middle of the second millennium BC). This toponym resembles the anthroponyms Ú-e-li, Û-i-lí (Sarg.), Û-e-li (Ur III, Zadok 1994, 34b, 39b, 40b, 41b). *Wilu resembles the Ur III toponym Ú-lum^{ki} (Edzard and Farber 1974, 204), but the latter is mentioned without any geographical context. *Wil(u) may be

quasi-homonymous with 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠-*il-la* near Eribi and Kumuh east of the Euphrates (Tadmor 1994, 184 : Summ. 9, 21'), a basically Hurrian-speaking region.

4. Names of districts in western Iran beginning with Bīt : The 22 districts, whose names begin with *Bīti*, are located in five regions of Media and the piedmont of the Zagros.

(a) Southwestern Media : (1) Bīt-Hamban (e.g. ^{kur}É-*ha-am-ban/DUMU* ^m*Ha-an-ban*, Parpola 1970, 147, see Levine 1973, 22f. ; Herzfeld 1968, 23f. ; Reade 1978, 137f.) ; (2) Bīt-Barrūa (^{kur}É-^m*Ba-ar-ru-ú*, *É-Bar-ru-ú*) in Ellipi (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 25 and 59, 31 resp.) is very probably a dynastic name, presumably named after the Elippean ruler *Ba-ru-ú/Pa-ru-ú* (843 BC, cf. E. Frahm and R. Schmitt in Radner, Parpola and Whiting 1998-99, 273b). It was annexed to the province of Harhar by Sennacherib (see Levine 1974, 117). *Bīt-Barrūa* rather than *Bīt-Bāri* resembles Urart. ^{kur}*Ba-ru-a-ta* (i.e. *Ba-ru-a* ; -*tā* being an Urart. suffix, cf. above, 2) from the time of Argišti I, i.e. the early eighth century BC. If the Urartian toponym refers to Bīt-Barrūa (cf. Diakonoff [and Kashkai] 1979, 18f., who does not preclude an identification with Bīt-Bāri), then ^{kur}*Ba-ru-a-ta* would be the earliest attestation of this district, about half a century after the eponymous dynast is mentioned. The earliest Assyrian occurrences of this district are from Tiglath-Pileser III's time : ^{kur}*Ba-ar-ru-a* and ^{kur/uru}É-*Bar/Ba-ar-ru-a* (Tadmor 1994, 295, index, s.v.). (3) Bīt-Zualzaš (^{uru}É-*Zu-al-za-āš*, Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46 ; see Vera Chamaza 1994, 107f.) ; (4) Bīt-Matti (^{kur}É-*Ma-at-ti* , Tadmor 1994, 70 : Ann. 14*, 6 ; 88 : Ann. 4, 3) is listed between Bīt-Zualzaš and Tupliaš ; and perhaps (5) Bīt-Taranzāyu (^{kur}É-*TAR-AN-za-A+A*), which is listed between Tupliaš and Parsua (Tadmor 1994, 124 : Summ. 1, 18).

(b) The upper Diyala basin : (6) Bīt-Sangibuti (^{kur}É-*Sa-an-gi-bu-te/ti* ; ^{kur}*Sin-gi-bu-te*, gentilic ^{kur}*Sin-gi-bu-ta*1-A+[A], Tadmor 1994, 98 ad St. I, B, 15' ; cf. 296, index, s.v. Bīt-S. ; ^{kur}*Sun-gi-bu-tú*, Harper 1892-1914, 174, 11). Billerbeck (1898, 80f.) erroneously identified this district (not the Urartian homonymous one) with Bīt-Sangi. He is followed by Levine (1977a, 142f.) and Diakonoff (1991, 16 with n. 11 ; cf. Vera Chamaza 1994, 105f.). Both

districts must be differentiated, seeing that they are listed together twice in one and the same summary inscription : Tadmor 1994, 164f. : 29f., 34f. has Bīt-Sangibuti and Bīt-Sangi. Medieval *Sng/jbd*, which may be normalized as *Sangabad/Sanjabid*,⁵ refers to a village and district (*Sanjabadrūd*, now *Sanjabad*, Razmārā 1950, 4, 277b) west of Ḥalḥal, 10 km. northeast of Kīwī (Gronke 1993, 330f., n. 96 ; Krawulski 1978, map 3 has Sanjbon on *Āb-e-Sanjbod* south of Ardbīl and east of Šangolābād, c. 37° 60- 48° 40). The name of this place may originate from a homonym of Sangibutu, as its location precludes a geographical identification with any of the two NA districts named so.

- (c) Near the Great Khorasan Road : Both (7) Bīt-Uargi (^{kur}É-Ú-*ar/mar-gi*) and (8) Bīt-Hirmāmi (^{kur}É-*Hi-ir-ma-mi*) were situated near Kišesim whereas (9) Bīt-Bagāya (^{ur}É-*mBa-ga-ia/-A+A, -Ga-ba-ia*) and (10) Bīt-Ramatua (^É-*Ra-ma-tu-a*) belonged to the province of Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 426ff.). (11) Bīt-Bāri (^{kur}É-*Ba-a-ri*) is juxtaposed with (12) Bīt-Barbari (^{kur}É-*Bar-ba-ri*, Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 21f.). The latter may be merely homonymous with Middle Elamite (ME) ^{as}*Bi-it-ba-ar-ba-ri* (Vallat 1993, 44). (13) Bīt-Sagbat (^{kur}É-*Sa-ag-bat/ba-at*, Tadmor 1994, 164 : Summ. 7, 31 ; Fuchs 1994, 428f.) was situated near Kišesim (see Fuchs 1994, 428f.). ^{kur}É-*Sa-ga-bi* was in *Dan-ni-ti šá DUMU K[Á.DINGIR.RA^{ki} (...)]*, i.e. “the fortress of the Babylonian(s)” (= ^{kur}*Si-il-ha-zi*), according to Fuchs 1994, 428f. (ad Levine 1972, 38, ii, 40), who suggests (following Grantovskiy 1970, 114, cf. Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 17f.) that *Dannutu ša mār-Bābili* is the same as Urart. *Babiluni*. There is no absolute certainty that *Bīt-Sa-ga-bi* is the same place as *Bīt-Sa-ag-bat/ba-at*. Pace Levine (1972, 32 ; 1974, 110 with n. 73), the latter is presumably not the same place as ^{ur}*Sa-ag-bat*, which is mentioned together with Elam (see Fuchs 1994, 428, cf. Zadok 1985, 49).
- (d) In the section of “Inner” Media which is not too far from the Great Khorasan Road : (14) Bīt-Abdadani is written ^{ur}*Ab-da-da-a-ni* (Grayson 1996, 40 : Shalm. III A.0.102.6, iv, 4f.), early NB *Ab-da-da-na* (c. 1000-950 BC, Diakonoff 1978). The earliest occurrence of the compound form ^{kur}*Bīi(É)-Ab-da-da-ni* is from 744 BC (Tadmor 1994, 46 : Ann. 11, 4, see Herzfeld 1938, 163) ; (15) Bīt-Zatti (^{kur}É-*Za-at-ti*, Tadmor 1994, 46 : Ann.

11, 3) ; (16) Bīt-Kapsi (^{uru}É-*kap-si*/DUMU-^m*Kap-si*, Tadmor 1994, 48 : Ann. 11, 6, 10 ; see Vera Chamaza 1994, 107). Regarding (17) Bīt-Urzakki (^{kur}É-*Ur-zak-ki*, Tadmor 1994, 296 with refs.), Warzaqān (originally ending in -*akāna*-), a village 10 km. north of Turkumān, northwest of Miyāna in the modern district (*dihistān*) of Barwānān (Gronke 1993, 311, 331f., 337f., 340), may be based on a form which might have originally been homonymous, but not geographically identical. (18) Bīt-Sangi (^{kur}É-*Sa-an-gi*, Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.) is neither the same as *Bīt-S/Šak-ki* (*pace* Diakonoff 1956, 160, n. 4) nor is it identical with Bīt-Sangibuti (see above, 6). (19) Bīt-Ištar/Issar (^{kur/uru}É-^dXV/INNIN, Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v. ; Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46, see Vera Chamaza 1994, 108) is not mentioned in ME “together with Bīt-Tazzaki” (*pace* Diakonoff 1978, 64, who followed König 1965, 129, n. 9). ME has ^{as}*Bī-it-ta-sak/riš-EŠŠANA* (Vallat 1993, 49, s.v. *Bīt-Tasak-šarri*), which has nothing to do with *Bīt-Taz-zak-ki* ; the latter can be read *Bīt-Ur-zak-ki* (17 above). *Bīt-Ištar/Issār* was hardly renamed by the Assyrians as assumed by Billerbeck (1898, 84 with n. 3), since we happen to know that Median places, which were renamed by the Assyrians, generally begin with *kār* (+ divine or royal name, e.g. *Kišešlu* > *Kār-Nabû*, *Bīt-Bagaia* > *Kār-Ištar* or *Kār-Adad*, and *Harhar* > *Kār-Šarrukēn*, Fuchs 1994, 422, 426, 443). (20) Bīt-Tatti([...]) (^É-^m*ta-at-t[i-i xxx]*) is mentioned together with the Salt Desert and Andarpatianu in a damaged text from Esarhaddon’s reign (Starr 1990, 64, 8 ; no clear geographical context ; *Bīt-tābti*, being a generic term, is not discussed here).

- (e) In the central Zagros and its piedmont : (21) Bīt-Kilamzah (^{uru}É-^m*Ki-lam-za-ah*, Luckenbill 1924, 26, i, 72) ; (22) Bīt-Kubatti (^{uru}É-^m*Ku-bat-ti*, Luckenbill 1924, 73 ; annexed to the province of Arrapha). Levine (1973, 313f.) is of the opinion, that unlike Bīt-Kilamzah, Bīt-Kubatti might have been situated more to the west. Such toponyms are not encountered in Mannea and its environs (the northern homonymous district of 6 above is generally written just Sangibuti) or in Elam. Most of these districts are located in a basically Kassite territory, and the element *Bīt-* may continue the Middle Babylonian practice of naming districts after Kassite and other tribes, notably *Bīt-Hamban*. This practice was later applied also to the territories of the ever-expanding Iranian tribes (out of the 22 toponyms at least

eight are Old Iranian [6, 7, 9-11, 15, 17, 18], three Kassite [1, 13, 21], one Iranian or Elamite [2], one Akkadian [19] and one atypical [12]; the linguistic affiliation of the remaining eight is uncertain). It seems that *Bīr-* was added to these toponyms only by Akkadian scribes if to rely on its absence in the very few Urartian renderings of the same toponyms. It is noteworthy that the earliest Assyrian occurrences of 2 above are written both with *Bīr-* (6x) and without it (1x), but the possibility that the only spelling without *Bīr-* is due to a scribal omission cannot be excluded.

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Notes

1. Cf. ^ug^zu-hu-ú *Ka-ak-mu* in an OB document from Tall Lēlān (see Ismail 1991, 100 ad 94, 1f.)

2. The Marhasheans' names *A-pá-al-ga-maš* and *Si-it-ga-ù* are not Hurrian: the first component of the former may be Elamite (if the segmentation is correct) and the latter is strange (see Zadok 1993, 223 :1.1, 20, 27; the heading has not only "Hurrian", but also "strange", i.e. hitherto linguistically unaffiliated, names). Therefore they cannot have any implications on the location of Barahsum (cf. the cautious statement of Potts 1998, 106).

3. Reade (1978, 140, n. 22) doubts the identification of Ur III Karahar with NA Harhar. Frayne 1997, 257f. hesitatingly suggests to locate Karahar in Qašr-i- Šīrīn (kept apart from NA Harhar), but the identification of Karahar with NA Harhar is defensible in view of the other instances of toponymic continuity.

4. *Šu-uh-ni-ki-pa*, the ruler of Pi-il, bore a name whose second component (if the segmentation is correct) ends in *Nikippa*, a homonym of a mountain in Parsua (in northwest Media; = Urart. *Nigībe*? see Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 60) on the border of Sumbi (part of Inner Zamua).

5. Yāqūt has *Sinjbād*; Šafwat aš-Šafā *Sanjīd* (Šafwat aš-Šafā - Ibn-i-Bazzāz : *Sanjabūd*); -*ābād* of modern *Sanjābād* is probably due to popular etymology.

Ran Zadok (20-12-00)