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GREATER MESOPOTAMIA STUDIES 1

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Topography and Toponymy in the Ancient Near East

Perspectives and Prospects

edited by

Jan TAVERNIER, Elynn GORRIS,
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OBSERVATIONS ON NEO-ASSYRIAN PRACTICES OF NAMING PLACES¹

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1. *Introduction*

The purpose of this article is to briefly discuss some common features of five productive settlement name types in Neo-Assyrian sources that were given to these places by the Assyrians². They are all compound names consisting of a noun as the first element, followed by the second element, which may be a divine or a personal name³, an ethnic⁴ name or a profession or title. The five settlement name types to be discussed here are:

- [1] *Kār*-names, with *kāru* “quay; port; trading station, trade colony” as the first element.
- [2] *Dūr*-names, with *dūru* “fortress; (city) wall” as the first element.

¹ This is an updated version of a talk given at Louvain-la-Neuve on 28 February 2014. Access to the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project’s database (Helsinki) enormously facilitated the article’s preparation. I would like to thank Jamie Novotny and Greta Van Buylaere for critically reading a draft of this paper. In addition, note that all dates in the article are BCE (excluding bibliographical references).

² No other comparable name types are so frequent in Neo-Assyrian sources (the same name types were also common in other periods of Mesopotamian history; cf. e.g. Edzard 1998, 115). These names also include cases for which we cannot be certain that the name was really given by the Assyrians or in the Neo-Assyrian period; in some instances, the name change may have taken place earlier.

³ With regard to personal names, I will present below some clearly identifiable cases as well as a few toponyms whose precise identification is not entirely certain. Personal names included in place names were also frequent in the contemporary Babylonian sources. For a “topical analysis” of compound toponyms in the Babylonian texts of the 1st millennium, see Zadok 1985, xxiv, according to whom “In general, it can be assumed that in many cases the settlements named after persons were originally manors belonging to these persons” and “Settlements named after officials might originally be estates granted to them by the authorities.”

⁴ This article keeps comments on ethnic names to a minimum since their origin in Assyrian sources is more complicated than with any other proper name elements.

- [3] Bīt-names, with *bītu* “house, household”⁵ as the first element.
 [4] Āl(u)-names, with *ālu* “town” as the first element⁶.
 [5] Kapar-names, with *kapru* “village” as the first element⁷.

As already stated, common to these names is that they all have two elements: a noun + a second element, but also the use of the determinative URU, denoting settlements, that precedes the two main elements is common to all of them⁸. Apart from perhaps Kapar-names, none of these are Neo-Assyrian innovations⁹, but the first four are all traditional Mesopotamian geographical names, which probably appear in the Neo-Assyrian records even more frequently than in the other periods because of the ample sources available for this period. The geographical spread of the five discussed name types covers almost the whole ancient Near East in the Neo-Assyrian period. Hierarchically, I present the five name types from top to bottom so that the names of larger and more prominent settlements appear first¹⁰. For the sake of consistency, I will call Kār- and Dūr-names as cities, Bīt- and Āl(u)-names as towns and Kapar-names as villages. My aim is to exemplify how these names were used in connection with divine and personal names in the Neo-Assyrian period¹¹, espe-

⁵ For example, Zadok (2013, 269) interprets the word as “place” in the context of Chaldean toponyms.

⁶ I prefer “town” to “city” because the word “city” has a rather strong connotation as to the size of a settlement.

⁷ There are cases in which *kapru* may mean “farm, farmstead” or “estate”; see Fales 1990, 102-105. It is possible that *kaprus* specialized in agricultural production (ibid. p. 103).

⁸ There are also geographical names that combine two of the discussed elements: Kapar-ālāni (URU¹.ŠE-URU.MEŠ SAA 7 30 r. iii 26’ [ADD 815+]; interpreted as “the village of the gods,” and the critical apparatus of SAA 7, p. 43 adds, “URU.MEŠ is tentatively taken to stand for (spoken) *elāni* “gods” (suggestion Simo Parpola)”; Bīt-Kāri (*passim*, see e.g. Lanfranchi 2003, 82-83, 89 [n. 50] and Radner 2003, 51, 61); Kapar(?)-Bīt-balāti ([URU.ŠE]-Ē-*bala*-[*l*]i, SAA 6 119:3 [ADD 1167], 699: land purchased in or near the village of Kiluhte, paid by the mina of Carchemish) and Kapar-Bīt-sasanā (URU.ŠE-Ē²-[*sa*]-*sa-na-a* and URU.[ŠE]-Ē-*sa*²-*sa-na-a*²SAA 14 151:2, 5 [BM 121064 (633*); Iraq 32, 4] whose reading does not appear entirely certain).

⁹ For instance, these name types are well attested in the preceding Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian periods; see Nashef 1982, 11-26, 52-74, 87-100, 149-161. Pongratz-Leisten (1997, 328) has even suggested that the Middle Assyrian Dunni + PN (cf. Nashef 1982, 83-87 and Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 328, n. 21) names would have been replaced by Kapar + PN names in the Neo-Assyrian period.

¹⁰ This settlement hierarchy bears a rough resemblance to what Liverani (1992, 125-26, 131-32) laid out in accordance with the local and Assyrian settlement system in Assurnasirpal II’s annals, summarized by Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 337-38.

¹¹ Divine and personal names were common elements in the Akkadian toponymy of all periods; see Edzard 1998, 114.

cially with identifiable people (royal names in particular), professions and titles in order to find out what kind of name could be given, for example, to a major or a minor settlement. It is worth stressing that my examples only represent a selective sample of all these names available to us.

First, I will present a limited but relevant group of examples for each name type separately and then, at the end of the article, list a more comprehensive group of examples in three appendices to facilitate comparisons between the different name types. The appendices are organized in separate categories: [A] The names of deities in all five name types; [B] royal names with *Kār*- and *Dūr*-elements; and [C] professions or titles with *Bīt*-, *Āl(u)*- and *Kapar*-elements.

The article is neither meant to be a thorough analysis of the discussed toponyms nor does its primary interest lie in the exact geographical location of any individual toponym included or their geopolitical importance in a given area. What is decisive in this account is the regularity of the same elements in these toponyms, their productive use in the period and their strength as a group. It is self-evident that these geographical name types with their repeated use of the same elements reflect the ideology and mechanisms of the Assyrian Empire¹². Less clear is how closely the choice of elements correlates with the size of settlements and whether the toponyms showing hierarchy should be associated with a strict “city” planning of the empire or were rather loose manifestations of such a phenomenon. However, any interesting questions concerning the settlement sizes or city planning fall out of the scope of this paper.

Toponyms are often ancient and the early 1st millennium Assyrian kings inherited many toponyms from the preceding periods, despite their eagerness to change and rename the world around them. Most of these names remained unchanged by the end of the Neo-Assyrian period. Furthermore, when the Assyrian Empire expanded, the Assyrians regularly encountered toponyms whose names were not Akkadian. These places bore names in many languages foreign to the Assyrians (e.g., Aramaic¹³ and Hurrian).

¹² For an approach that highlights the ideological aspects of the Assyrian Empire’s name-giving and name-changing, following the successful military campaigns, see Pongratz-Leisten 1997, complemented by Eph’al 2005, 109-11. In this respect, the towns conquered by Esarhaddon in his Egyptian and Šubrian campaigns are exceptional since they are often renamed as verbal clauses in the “slogan format”. See Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 335-37 (only the Šubrian campaign) and especially Eph’al 2005, 110. For the latest edition of the relevant text passages, see now RINAP 4, nos. 33 (pp. 85-86) and 9 (p. 55-56).

¹³ Aramaic belongs to the (North)west Semitic subfamily. For West Semitic place names in the western parts of the Assyrian Empire, see Bagg 2007, lxxxv-xci.

Although I am not going to discuss such names here, it is important to bear in mind that many of the most frequently attested settlement names in Neo-Assyrian sources are neither Assyrian nor Babylonian in origin¹⁴. It is worth stressing that our sources are not ideologically objective concerning geographical names, and we may distinguish between more “subjective” sources – especially Assyrian royal inscriptions – and more “objective” or neutral sources (others than aforementioned, especially administrative documents, legal transactions and letters, i.e., in texts that were not meant to be read to the public).

In Assyrian sources, the most obvious cases of giving names and/or renaming toponyms come from Assyrian royal inscriptions, as expected, where such practices are often explicitly reported¹⁵. For example, in 716, Sargon II (r. 721-705) conquered the city of Harhar in the Zagros Mountains and renamed it; this change of name is expressed in his inscriptions in laconic style as: “I called it (= former Harhar) Kār-Šarrukēn” (Fuchs 1994, Ann 100 and Prunk 63)¹⁶.

Outside Assyrian royal inscriptions, we do not usually find comparable explicit cases of renaming places¹⁷. Tantalizingly, however, we know altogether more than 3,000 toponyms from Neo-Assyrian sources¹⁸, but for most of them, we do not know their origin. In fact, often we do not have any information whatsoever concerning their original (or changed) names. What we actually know is rather limited. In spite of this, we may ask what is going on in Assyrian name giving of places in general terms. Can we detect some guiding principles?

As a working hypothesis, I assume that the Assyrian system of naming new or conquered settlements was to some degree a reward system where, apart from gods and goddesses, the honour of becoming an eponym of a toponym only fell to the well-chosen elite. Ultimately, this may be related to the other Assyrian ways of awarding its eminent individuals¹⁹, in particular using the names of high officials as year names; this system and

¹⁴ For example, see Zadok 1985, xiv-xxiii for the linguistic affiliation of the contemporary Babylonian toponyms.

¹⁵ Further examples in Assyrian royal inscriptions are discussed in Pongratz-Leisten 1997.

¹⁶ On the location of the city, see Radner 2013, 446.

¹⁷ It is no surprise that SAA 12, which contains several royal inscriptions (see Kataja – Whiting 1995, pp. xiv-xvi), attests to naming places. See at least SAA 12 1:5, 10 and 12.

¹⁸ Bagg 2011, 3.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Radner 2011, 48-50 on rewarding distinguished Assyrian soldiers.

these officials are known as eponyms. The order of eponyms was upheld by the central administration and preserved to us by means of eponym lists²⁰.

As the final point of introduction, it comes as no surprise that a significant proportion of relevant geographical names contain Assyria's main gods who, according to the empire's official inscriptions²¹, played a significant role in its expansion. The main gods of the Assyrian Empire were Aššur, Šamaš, Sîn, Illil (Enlil), Nabû, Marduk, Issar (= Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbela), Inurta (Ninurta), Nergal and Adad. As we will shortly see in the examples of the following sections, these divine names are prominent in all the five name types.

2. Some examples and characteristics of Kār-, Dūr-, Bīt-, Āl(u)- and Kapar-names

Various scholars have extensively studied Kār-names in the Neo-Assyrian period²². Hence, apart from the most decisive factors, there is no need to repeat their discussions and treatments of these names in detail here. Traditionally the Kār-names signify important cities as trading centres and economic hubs in Mesopotamia, but also reflect these cities' economic and cultural influence outside Assyria and Babylonia²³. Moreover, "The name-pattern of *Kār*-X is not unique to the Neo-Assyrian period but is well attested in Sumerian and Akkadian texts of earlier periods too"²⁴.

The characteristics of Kār-names. In Neo-Assyrian sources, a Kār-name may comprise a divine or a royal name, a profession or title (see Appendices A and B below for Kār-names with these elements), and even an ethnic name, although the last type is attested in connection with only two leading groups of the Babylonian population, the Kassites and the Chaldeans:

²⁰ For details, see Millard 1994.

²¹ By this, I mean the royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian period in general.

²² See, e.g., Eph'al 2005, 109-11; Pongratz-Leisten 1997; Radner 2005a, 37-38; VÉR 2014 and especially Yamada 2005.

²³ For Kār-names in the Zagros, see also Lanfranchi 2003, 113 and Radner 2013, 444-46, 450.

²⁴ Yamada 2005, 57.

Kār-Kaldāyu (SAA 12 63:10')²⁵ and Kār-Kaššî (*passim* in SAA 4)²⁶.

As is the case with Kār-names, also *Dūr-names*, having the important element of “fortress; (city) wall”²⁷, originate from the earliest periods of Mesopotamian history²⁸. They are often associated with tribal pride, directly relating to the strong fortifications of a given ethnic group. In this way, they are similar to *Bīt-names* in which the *bīt* “house” or “household” element recalls the order and/or hierarchy of tribal societies and their inner cohesion. These two name types should not be considered typically Assyrian, although the Assyrian sources include a legion of Dūr- and Bīt-names, obviously partly due to the increasing political role of the Aramaeans in the Near East at the time²⁹.

In fact, we may have a genuine Neo-Assyrian toponym only in a limited number of Dūr- and Bīt-names, but we find these “exceptions”

²⁵ The only and partly broken attestation (T)A? K[AR']-*kal-da-a-[a]* apparently originates from the reign of Assurbanipal; cf. Kataja – Whiting 1995, pp. xxx and 62 (see also Yamada 2005, 59, 61). One may question the correctness of the reading of this *hapax kārū* toponym for two reasons. The sign before *kal* is read and copied as KUR in the text's previous edition (82-5-22.536) by Fales 1983 (236-37, 251), and, more important, a collation of the photo of the original tablet does not rule out an intentional, partial erasure of the sign to “improve” its reading. In any case, note the name of the village Kapar-Kaldu in SAA 6 283 e.21'. Note also that I only record the previous publication and/or museum number references selectively in this article, but they can be found in the relevant *State Archives of Assyria* volumes.

²⁶ See Yamada 2005, 59, 61. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about Kār-Kaššî beyond the fact that it was the city of a hostile Median city lord called Kaštarītu. The approximately twenty oracle queries to the sungod that concern him were published in SAA 4 and this group of texts forms the only Assyrian source of information about Kaštarītu and his city (see Starr 1990, lx-lxi and PNA 2/I, p. 608). Nevertheless, it is not certain whether the name Kār-Kaššî originated with the Assyrians, but this may be likely; see Radner 2003, 61: “Kār-Kaššî is likely to be identical with the toponym Qarkasia, as attested in Sargon's inscriptions. ...”, as well as Brown 1988, 78 (esp. n. 7) and Zadok 2002, 61.

²⁷ For instance, Dūr-names are common in the Chaldean toponymy, see Zadok 2013: 269. For Dūr-names in the Zagros Mountains, see Lanfranchi 2003, 113. On changing the names of the occupied towns into Kār- and Dūr-toponyms in Neo-Assyrian sources, see Eph'al 2005, 109-11 and Pongratz-Leisten 1997; on naming newly founded cities with the same prefixes, see also Roaf 2013, 344-46. In the context of the Habur and Middle Euphrates areas, Liverani (1988, 88) calls the Kār- and Dūr-names “emblematic names”.

²⁸ For Kār- and Dūr-names in the preceding periods, see Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 328-29.

²⁹ This traditional view is a mere simplification of a more complicated reality. I believe that Lanfranchi (2003, 87) is right when he interprets the frequent writing of the names of territorial entities in the Zagros mountains with *bīt* + proper noun as the Assyrian chancery's attempt to describe foreign polities at a lower institutional level than Assyria. Because of their partly different background, I originally hesitated to include the *bīt*-names in this article, but many of them follow the same principles as the other four discussed groups. On the use of Bīt-PN names by the Kassites and Chaldean tribes, see e.g. Brinkman 1968, 264.

highly interesting and present them below. One of them is the name given by Sargon II to his new capital, viz., Dūr-Šarrukēn (and not Kār-Šarrukēn, which was to have a significant function elsewhere)³⁰. When Sargon named his new capital, he did not follow suit of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta from the thirteenth century. Importantly, if we are allowed to speculate and seek alternatives instead of explaining his choice simply as traditional, then, for example, Dūr-Kurigalzu³¹ was a capital city of the Kassites in the Middle Babylonian period. Also, the late Middle Assyrian city, town or fortress Dūr-Aššur-kettī-lēšir³² may have functioned as a source of inspiration for the later Dūr- + PN toponyms of the Neo-Assyrian period. It resulted from an undertaking of a local ruler, who may not have been technically speaking an Assyrian governor³³, but whose activities were a precedent for later development in the ninth century. It was almost certainly not the first and only case and we might assume to come across comparable cases, provided that there will be excavations in the troubled Middle East in the (not too distant) future.

The characteristics of Dūr- and Bīt-names. As with Kār-names, Dūr-names may contain a divine name, a royal or personal name (attestations for these are given in Appendices A and B below), a profession or title, or an ethnic name³⁴. Except for the complete lack of royal names, the same is true of Bīt-names. Thoroughly Assyrian Bīt-DN names do not regularly

³⁰ At all events, the names of both cities must have been well thought out early in his reign. The foundations of Dūr-Šarrukēn were laid in 717 (see e.g. Millard 1994, 46-47, 60 and Parpola 1995, 50) and Harhar got its new name Kār-Šarrukēn in 716.

³¹ See e.g. Bryce 2012², 206.

³² Named after a local ruler whose name is also written as Aššur-ketta-lēšir; on the name, see Maul 2005, 34; Shibata 2007, 66 (n. 17); Shibata 2012, 489-90 (n. 3); Shibata – Yamada 2009, 88 (n. 13). This Aššur-kettī-lēšir II, whose ancestor Aššur-kettī-lēšir I ruled in the same area in the second half of the thirteenth century, was a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser I (r. 1114-1076). He probably fortified the town of Dūr-Aššur-kettī-lēšir because of the imminent Aramaean invasions of the Jezireh at that time; see Shibata 2011a, 100-101; Shibata – Yamada 2009, 94, also Maul 1992, 15-17, 29-30, 47-54.

³³ On his status, see the discussion in Shibata 2012 (with previous literature). If the two local rulers are not ethnically Assyrians, then the name they shared, Aššur-kettī-lēšir, is in a way even more interesting. In fact, the first two rulers of this local dynasty bear Hurrian names Akit-Teššup and Zumiya, and the local dynasty may have become “Assyrianized” already during their reigns. See Shibata 2011b, 171-75, 178.

³⁴ Here, I ignore the rare and questionable Dūr + profession/title names, as well as the combination of Dūr/Bīt + ethnic names, etc., because of the non-Assyrian prevalence of these names, and their relatively common use of the determinatives KUR for “land” and DUMU for (literally) “son”. For Bīt-names in the east (Zagros, northwestern Iran, Kurdistan), see, e.g., Zadok 2002, 17, and for Dūr/Bīt + Chaldean personal names in the context of southern Babylonia, e.g., Fales 1990, 105-106 (n. 123). The latter are “dynastic” names.

appear as toponyms due to their close connection to temple names, e.g., *bīt Nabû* stands for the “temple of Nabû”. The paucity of Bīt-toponyms with an Assyrian personal name is probably due to the frequent way to express the owner- or leadership of a house, estate, household or a(n) Aramaean) tribe by *bīt* + a personal name, despite the fact that, if desired, the use of a geographical determinative URU would keep the names of house(hold)s and settlements efficiently distinct from one another. Here in the main text, therefore, I limit myself to the examples of Dūr-and Bīt-names with personal names and present these cases in alphabetical order as short entries:

Dūr-Abi-hāra (modern Šaiḥ-Ya‘qūb al-Yūsuf³⁵; Fuchs 1994, Ann 266a, 267, 279, 286b, 287: written as URU.BĀD-^mAD-*ha-ra/ri*), a place named after its leader, was the main city of the Aramaean tribe Gambulu in southern Babylonia near the Elamite border, until Sargon II changed its name into *Dūr-Nabû* in c. 710. This change is exceptional since the first element is rarely kept unchanged, as it is here. Consequently, this example attests only to a partial change of the name. The background of this name change may be sought in Abi-hāri’s³⁶ relations with the Assyrians: In SAA 19 120 and 141 (cf. *ibid.* pp. xxii, xxxi and xxxviii), two letters most likely written late in Tiglath-pileser III’s reign, around 730, a man with this name³⁷, probably the leader of the Gambulu tribe, openly collaborates with the Assyrians. For example, he assures the king of Assyria that “by the gods of the king, my lord, I and my father are servants of the king, my lord, (and) our loins [are girded] for the king” (SAA 19 141 r.7’-s.1). The mention of his (active) father is interesting since it may indicate that [Abi]-hāri was not an old man at the time he sent this letter. However, approximately twenty years later, when Sargon II campaigned in Babylonia and conquered *Dūr-Abi-hāra*, Abi-hāri’s relations with the Assyrians no longer appear to have been as cordial as they had been previously³⁸. Two fragmentary Neo-Babylonian letters (SAA 17 95 r.8-9 [ABL 1316] and 109 r.9’-10’ [ABL 1319]) may allude to this. Accordingly, the cautious

³⁵ All modern names in this paper follow the spellings found in the Gazetteer of Par-pola – Porter 2001, 5-35. *Dūr-Abi-hāra* deviates from other discussed examples of this article since Abi-hāra was not an Assyrian official, but only the changed name *Dūr-Nabû* is “assyrianized”.

³⁶ Abi-hāra and Abi-hāri are variants of the same name.

³⁷ The name of the sender of the letter had to be partially restored as ^m[*a-bi*?]-*ha-ri* in SAA 19 141: 1, but I think this restoration makes good sense.

³⁸ For a summary of these events, see Fuchs 1994, 422-23 (note that *Dūr-Athara* there is an earlier and erroneous reading of *Dūr-Abi-hāra/i*).

interpretation of Abi-hāra in PNA I/1, pp. 9-10, nos. 1 and 4, may be considered outdated as they probably concern the same person, the leader of the Gambulu tribe.

Dūr-Bēl-Harrān-bēlu-ušur (modern Tell ‘Abta): Bēl-Harrān-bēlu-ušur was a well-known palace herald of the Assyrian kings Shalmaneser IV and Tiglath-pileser III and eponym of the year 741. He was the founder of the city URU.BĀD-^mEN-KASKAL-U-PAB that carries his name (RIMA 3 A.0.105.2:9)³⁹.

Dūr-Bēl-ilā’ī: The location of the city, which is *passim* written as URU. BĀD-EN-DINGIR-*a-a*, and in particular appears in the letters to and from Sargon II, is not certain, although it must have been situated east of the Tigris, south of Lubda, most likely somewhere between Meturna and Zabban. The official behind this toponym almost certainly was “Governor of Arrapha and eponym of the year 769 (reign of Aššur-dan III)” PNA I/II, p. 313, no. 1. Arrapha’s eastern location and its local governor’s importance in the eighth century naturally support this inference.

Dūr-Nergal-ēreš: The only attestation for the city URU.BĀD’-[^{md}IGI].DU-KAM 33 URU.*kap-ra-ni-šú* “the city Dūr-Nergal-ēreš with its 33 villages” comes from RIMA 3 A.0.104.7:16, which records Adad-nērārī III’s decree of giving control of 331 towns and villages to Nergal-ēreš. Nergal-ēreš was one of the leading magnates of the Assyrian Empire in the late ninth and early eighth centuries; see, e.g., PNA 3/I, p. 981-82, s.v. Pālil-ēreš, no. 1: “Eunuch, governor of Rašappa and eponym official of the years 803 and 775 (reigns of Adad-nerari III and Shalmaneser IV)”⁴⁰.

*Bīt-Abu-ilā’ī*⁴¹: The town was probably not far from Nineveh since some of the documents including this toponym refer to Ištār of Nineveh in the penalty section: URU.É-AD-DINGIR-*a-a*/É-URU.AD-DINGIR-*a-a* in

³⁹ On Bēl-Harrān-bēlu-ušur, see Fuchs 2008, 85, 94-96, 98, 100, 130; Siddall 2013, 100-101, 126-28; also PNA I/II, p. 301, s.v. Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur no. 2, with previous literature, including Grayson 1993, 28-29.

⁴⁰ For more on Nergal-ēreš, see e.g. Fuchs 2008, 75-79, 83-85, 90, 94, 100, 109, 129-30; Kühne – Radner 2008, 32-34, 41f, 44 and Siddall 2013, *passim* (see p. 238) but especially pp. 106-18, 197-201. On the relationship between Nergal and (the problematic) Pālil, see, e.g., Ponchia – Luukko 2013, xli, n. 126.

⁴¹ In this article, I am using the Babylonian Bīt- instead of the Assyrian Bēt-, although the latter might be more correct in some of the cases. Fales (1989) has attempted to reconstruct the village of Bīt-Abu-ilā’ī, basing himself on the two land sale documents of Kak-kullānu (ADD 414 [SAA 14 42] and ADD 621 [SAA 14 45]).

SAA 14 44: 2, 10 and URU.É-^mAD-DINGIR-*a-a* in SAA 14 45: 3, 15. Note that the small fragment SAA 7 37:3 (K 13033) reads ša É-^rAD-DINGIR-*a-a* without the initial determinative. According to PNA 1/I, p. 17 the eponym of the city of Bit-Abu-ila'i (no. 11) is quite possibly identical with ... the eponym for the year of 887, from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (no. 1). Alternatively, because of the fact that at least four out of five references to the town date from the late seventh century⁴², one might also think of the “King’s personal guard, from Ma’allanate (reign of Assurbanipal)” (no. 7), cf. Āl-Abu-ila'ī in SAA 14 42 r.12.

Bīt-Adad-lē'i was a town where a high female official called *šakintu* was located, i.e., a relatively large place is assumed, although the town, written as URU.É-^m10¹-ZU, is mentioned only once in Neo-Assyrian sources, more precisely in the undated administrative document SAA 7 23:7 (ADD 950), where it occurs between Šibaniba (NE Assyria) and Šudu (Habur region). Accordingly, it is entirely uncertain whether the town should be sought in central Assyria or perhaps further in the west. Adad-lē'i is a surprisingly rare personal name in Assyria and the only decent candidate for the eponym of this town is listed in PNA 1/I, p. 28, as no. 1 “Prefect, from Nineveh (reign of Esarhaddon)”.

Bīt-Erība-ilu: “The town Bēt⁴³-Erība-ilu” and “(6 witnesses from) Bēt-Erība-ilu”, URU.É-^mSU-DINGIR and URU.É-^mSU-DINGIR-*a-a*, respectively appear in SAA 6 311:5 and r.6, which is a legal transaction titled “Remanni-Adad buys a house” in Bēt-Erība-ilu and dated to 666. The honoured person might well have been “Team commander from Kalhu (reign of Sargon II)”, listed in PNA 1/II, p. 402, as Erība-ilu no. 3, but we lack any convincing details to securely identify the eponyms of these towns (unlike in the cases of Dūr + a personal name). The same is true for the other two cases of Bīt + a personal name, discussed just above.

Based on these admittedly few examples, one might suggest that Dūr- and Bīt-names in a purely Assyrian context could be seen as a sign or reflex of the Aramaization of the Assyrian Empire in the early Neo-Assyrian period of the ninth and eighth centuries. Thus the practice of imitating the naming practices of powerful Aramaean tribes, who frequently used the Dūr- and Bīt- names to label their “dynasties”, could indicate how the

⁴² The date of SAA 7 37 (K 13033) is uncertain.

⁴³ Cf. note 41.

Assyrian Empire was not immune to foreign influence. Nevertheless, as Dūr- and Bīt-names are traditional and basically of Mesopotamian origin, the possible Aramaic influence does not appear entirely convincing, but any new or more compelling evidence might give reason to re-examine these names and their motives at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE.

Since the urbanization of Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium until the end of independent Assyria and Babylonia in the 1st millennium BCE, the common Akkadian (Assyrian and Babylonian) word *ālu* and Sumerian URU (or iri) were the most standard words to denote a “city”⁴⁴. In this article, however, for *Āl(u)*-names, the most neutral term is “town” (cf. above). Unfortunately, not many of them can be located on the map. No doubt, this corresponds to their secondary importance compared to the larger settlements that I call here, apart from Bīt-names, “cities”.

The characteristics of Āl(u)-names. *Āl(u)*-names may occur together with a divine or a personal name, a profession or title (examples below in Appendices A and C), or an ethnic name, just like the previously discussed name types. They are not attested with royal names (cf. Bīt-names). Here, I have chosen to discuss five examples of *Āl(u)*-names, which attest to both clearly identifiable people and to individuals whose occupations are not certain to us:

Āl-Aššur-būnā’ī-ušur: Aššur-būnā’ī-ušur was chief cupbearer and eponym on three separate occasions (855, 825 and 816). His stela, which now belongs to the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem, once stood at the town of *Āl-Aššur-būnā’ī-ušur*; for details, see PNA 1/I, p. 177⁴⁵. Interestingly, the town bearing the name of this high official begins with *Āl*- and not with *Dūr*-, albeit the latter model might be expected due to the comparable names of *Dūr-Bēl-Harrān-bēlu-ušur*, *Dūr-Bēl-ilā’ī* and *Dūr-Nergal-ēreš*, all from the late ninth or early eighth century BCE.

*Āl-Dannāya*⁴⁶: As PNA, 1/II, pp. 376-77 lists five different influential and/or high-ranking individuals named either *Dannāia* or *Dān-Aia* (nos. 1, 4-6, 8); it becomes very difficult to identify the eponym of this town or

⁴⁴ On the ancient Mesopotamian city and cities, see, e.g., Van De Mieroop 1997.

⁴⁵ See also Mattila 2000, 45f, 48 (n. 9), 135, 139 and Siddall 2013, 109.

⁴⁶ Only attested as URU.*da-na-a-a* in SAA 6 325: 1, 11, cf. PNA 1/II, p. 377, no. 11: “Eponym of the town of *Al-Dannaia* (or *Kapar-Dannaia*)”, but see the next footnote.

village⁴⁷ in the district of Arrapha⁴⁸ with any certainty. Despite so many candidates, we may nevertheless note that only no. 1, a “Military official active in the region of Hamath (reign of Sargon II),” would really fit the description because of the date of SAA 6 30 (710)⁴⁹, provided that this document refers to the same toponym as the other known attestations (SAA 6 320-321, 325, 336). It almost certainly concerns the same place in all attestations of the toponym. In any case, the identity of Dannāya, who served as an eponym of the town/village carrying his name, remains uncertain.

Āl-Dayyān-Adad or *Āl-Daiān-Adad* was probably an important⁵⁰ town that may be located near Nineveh since the penalty clause of SAA 14 114, which records an estate sold by Pašî, son of Ibašši-ilani, from the town of Dayyān-Adad, refers to Ištar of Nineveh (r.12-13). The eponym of this geographical name may be identified with the same influential Dayyān-Adad, who appears in the late eighth century letter SAA 19 165: 6⁵¹, but because all three references to the town in SAA 10 96, SAA 14 114 and 117 come from the reign of Assurbanipal, this hypothesis is far from certain. In addition, one may note that the profession and the corresponding title *dayyānu* “judge” was not part of the Neo-Assyrian legal system. Its use in personal names was due to the influence of literary texts in which a divine judge was often appealed or referred to. Accordingly, personal names such as Dayyān-Adad or Dayyān-Šamaš are part of the Neo-Assyrian onomasticon⁵².

Āl-Mahdê: The only attestation for this town, written as [U]RU.mah-di-^r, comes from a short administrative list of towns ND 2622: 1⁵³. In

⁴⁷ Obviously the same toponym is meant by Kapar-Dannāya (UR]U.ŠE-^mdan-na-a in SAA 6 320: 6' [664-X-17] and 321: 7; URU.ŠE-da-na-ia in SAA 6 30 r.9' [710-XII-15] and URU.ŠE-dan'-a-a in SAA 6 336: 3').

⁴⁸ Cf. SAA 6 336: 3' and 6' of the same text.

⁴⁹ See note 47. In addition to SAA 1 176, the only text quoted under Dannāia no. 1 of PNA 1/II, p. 376, one may mention the possible but very uncertain attestation of Dannāya in SAA 19 182 r.5'.

⁵⁰ This hypothesis is based on the mention of Dayyān-Adad, admittedly without the determinative URU, in SAA 10 96:18 (other attestations are SAA 14 114: 3 [634*-II-5], 117: 5 [633*-I-26]) where it (“town”) or he (a “magnate”) is enumerated together with many provincial capitals (lines 13-e.23). For a discussion of the name and passage, see Parpola 1983, 318 (incl. n. 578 in which ADD 631:4 stands for SAA 6 258 r.4'). See also PNA 1/II, p. 367, s.v. Daiān-Adad, no. 3.

⁵¹ It is entirely uncertain whether he also appears in SAA 19 226: 4'.

⁵² For a discussion, see Radner 2005b, 42, 60-61.

⁵³ Published in Parker 1961, pl. 20.

all likelihood, the town was named after Mahdê, “Governor of Nineveh, eponym of the year 725 (reigns of Shalmaneser V and Sargon II)” PNA 1/I, p. 104, s.v. Ammi-hâfî, no. 1; add to the evidence presented in PNA also SAA 19 162, a letter most likely from the same Mahdê to the king of Assyria.

*Ālu-ša-Nashur-Bēl*⁵⁴ (URU.ša-^mNIGIN-EN) is another town of uncertain location that is presently only attested in SAA 19 188 r.7. The two separate entries in PNA 2/II, p. 932, no. 2 “Eponym of a town” and no. 3 “Governor of Amedi and Sinabu and eponym of the year 705 (reign of Sargon II)” should almost certainly be combined with one another since Nashur-Bēl’s high position as governor makes him a predictable eponym of the town. Moreover, he is known as the author/sender of many letters to Sargon II (SAA 5 1-20; cf. SAA 19 187 r.3, presumably the same person is also mentioned in SAA 15 24 r.17).

Our last group consists of the geographical names that begin with the element *Kapar* “village (of)”⁵⁵. In particular, these names frequently contain the masculine determinative (DIŠ-sign) and, thus, clearly refer to individuals. They mainly occur in administrative documents and legal transactions. These sources often specify their location in more detail than that of their larger counterparts because of at least two reasons. First, they usually carefully describe the exact location of the estates sold and often situate them in a village or next to a village. The estate in SAA 6 169: 3-10, for instance, is “An estate of 30 hectares of land adjoining the king’s road leading [from] Maliyati [to] Kannu’, [the *w*]adi running from Adian to the vill[age] of [...]ha (URU.Š[E]-^m[x]-‘x’-ha’), and the road leading from the village of the god (URU.ŠE-DINGIR) to Kannu’, all the way to the river, i[n ...]”⁵⁶. Another reason is the apparently modest size of these villages that may call for a further definition, e.g., as follows: “Total, (*in*) the village of Bel-abu’a, near the town of Dumâ, in *Kipani*” (SAA 11 201 i 48).

Unfortunately, the settlements’ modest size prevents us from identifying their exact locations on the map, despite the more detailed descriptions in both legal transactions and administrative documents.

⁵⁴ On whether one should read Nashur-Bēl or Nashir-Bēl, see Tavernier 2010, 87 and 91-92. For the principle of reading the determinative URU as part of the name with *ša*, see Zadok 1985, xii.

⁵⁵ Sometimes, especially in the older texts, also written syllabically as *kap-ri* (see, e.g., SAA 12 1: 6, 2 r.8 and 3:9’: examples from the reign of Adad-nerari III).

⁵⁶ See also, e.g., SAA 6 335: 5’-10’ and SAA 12 96:6-10.

The characteristics of Kapar-names. Like in all other groups discussed above, Kapar-names appear together with a divine or a personal name, a profession or title (more examples are given below in Appendices A and C), or an ethnic name. Not unsurprisingly, they do not appear with a royal name (cf. Bīt- and Āl(u)-names). Here are three interesting examples of Kapar-names:

Kapar-Akkullāni is a village located in the “land” of Halahhu, a district North-west of Nineveh, and only attested in SAA 11 224 r.3, an undated administrative document. PNA 1/I, p. 96, no. 5 has a separate entry for the person of this passage as “Eponym of the village of ...”. However, the village may well have been named after the well-known “Astrologer and priest of the Aššur temple” in Assur (no. 1). Still, one might find as likely a candidate in the “Cohort commander of the crown prince, from Nineveh (reign of Assurbanipal)” (no. 2), who belongs to the circle around Rēmāni-Adad, and who is better known as Kakkullānu⁵⁷. I would be inclined to think that no. 2 is the more likely candidate, in particular because the location of Kapar-Akkullāni is closer to Nineveh than Assur; however, I would not entirely rule out no. 1.

Kapar-Dannāya see *Āl-Dannāya* (above).

Kapar-Hunnî is a village of uncertain location. The entry in PNA 2/I, p. 480, no. 2, interprets Hunnî as “Owner of a village (reign of Sennacherib)”, based on the single source SAA 6 93: 4', in which Ahi-talli, *šakintu* of Nineveh, buys an estate that, among others, [... is *adjoining* the vil]lage of Hunnî. In the previous line (SAA 6 93: 3') it is also said that the estate “[it is] adjoining the road which] lea[ds] to the Inner City”; this may allow us to very roughly locate the estate somewhere between Nineveh and Assur. In my opinion, the same village appears as a location of grain for Ubru-Nabû in an unpublished memorandum from Dūr-Šarrukēn, dated after Assurbanipal’s reign⁵⁸. The only person known by the name

⁵⁷ It is odd that neither PNA 1/I (p. 96, s.v. Akkullānu, no. 2) nor PNA 2/I (pp. 596-97, s.v. Kakkullānu, no. 7) includes a mention of this identification. However, compare, e.g., the title of SAA 14 50 with line 5 of the same text. Furthermore, the suggested date of SAA 14 144 (650?) should be considered uncertain because it deviates from Kakkullānu’s own dossier (see e.g. Mattila 2002, pp. xvi-xviii) by twenty years; this is not necessarily a problem, but the document might also include another Akkullānu as witness (SAA 14 144 r.9e). The same uncertainties may be said of SAA 6 345 because its date is also lost and is witnessed by a certain Akkullānu (r.9').

⁵⁸ URU.ŠE-^mhu-un-ni CTDS 2 2; note that the final vowel of the name is not written long as expected. On the assumed date of this undated document and on Ubru-Nabû, see PNA 3/II, p. 1368, no. 43.

Hunnî in Neo-Assyrian sources occurs in the introductory formula of a letter (cf. PNA 2/I, p. 480, no. 1):

“The very best of health to the king, my lord! May Aššur, Šamaš, Bel, Nabû, Sîn and Nergal bless the king, my lord! (This is from) your servant Hunnî, an adorer of the king his lord. All the temples and palaces of Assyria are well; the crown prince Sennacherib is well; all the princes [who are in] Assyria are well; [the king], my lo[r]d, can be gl[ad] [indeed]!” (SAA 1 133: 1-13).

This introductory formula, which is very close to the crown prince’s formula in the late eighth century, makes it very plausible, together with the fragmentary SAA 7 75, Hunnî in r.27, that this Hunnî was involved in the teaching of Sennacherib and other princes and may even have assumed the responsibility for it. Then, he was most likely a scholar or priest by profession, possibly even one of the leading scholars or priests of Sargon’s reign⁵⁹.

3. Discussion and Conclusions

This brief study on the Assyrian practices to frequently used Kār-, Dūr-, Bīt-, Āl(u)- and Kapar-elements with similar complements in place names may raise more questions than it provides answers. However, through systematically observing some of the guiding principles of Assyrian name-giving, there is still potential to extract new information from old sources.

One may observe a hierarchy in the Neo-Assyrian toponyms with a divine name as the second element in so far that a significant number of them include one of the main gods of the Assyrian pantheon. This is consistent enough to be called programmatic, especially since many Kār- and Dūr-names with a divine name stem from the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II⁶⁰. However, one should probably not go too far and start to label the names of new and/or conquered places “standardized” or “systematized”, in particular, given the relatively high number of lesser but locally important gods in many areas of the empire, producing, therefore, some exceptions⁶¹. In fact, some local peculiarities are attested

⁵⁹ See Luukko 2012, 98, 102 (n. 28), 113 and Ponchia – Luukko 2013, lxxviii.

⁶⁰ For these *kārus*, see most recently VÉR 2014: 793-94. Holloway 2001 (242-53) discusses the related issue of the ideological context that touches upon some of these place names during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II.

⁶¹ For example, Kār-Apladad, Kār-Salmānu, Dūr-Nanaya and Kapar-Têr. In these regional “peculiarities”, the patron god or goddess of the city or region replaces the

simultaneously with the tendencies that might still be best labelled as representing various degrees of “standardization” or “systematization”. In the case of Kār-names, one might further argue that the fact that different *Kārus* may bear the same name (see Appendix A for examples) stresses the limited supply of ideologically most meaningful elements. In his seminal study, Yamada (2005, 61) subdivided the Kār-names into six categories, but probably because of ideological reasons only two of them, viz. Kār-DNs (Appendix A), with major gods, and Kār-RNs (Appendix B), should be considered genuinely productive in Neo-Assyrian sources whereas other categories appear somewhat marginal. Moreover, Kār-Bānīti (Ištar) and Kār-Bēl-mātāti (Aššur) were probably ideologically important Kār-DN names⁶².

It seems that no governor, without also being a year eponym, is honoured with a settlement name other than Āl(u) + his-name. In this respect, some governors behind Bīt-names about whose identity and eponymous status we are currently uncertain (due to the uneven nature of the extant sources at our disposal) may form an exception. This uncertainty indicates our ignorance of many of the highest officials of the Assyrian Empire, at its worst showing how precious little we know about them in certain sub-periods as we draw a complete blank when trying to identify them. At any event, and more positively, there is enough evidence to point out the existence of a system in which the king and many of his highest officials were awarded a distinction in the form of place names carrying their names (whether this mainly resulted from the individual’s – other than a king – own initiative is not clear)⁶³. The professions or titles in the names

national god or goddess as the second element of the name. This feature corresponds to the distribution of deities in personal names: “... personal names from a particular city are frequently formed with the name of the deity who was the patron god or goddess of that city” (Baker 2002, 1).

⁶² For references, see notes 71 and 72 (below). It is not clear to me whether one should understand the name of the city Kār-Balāṭi in the light of the names Kār-Bānīti and Kār-Bēl-mātāti, which include a divine epithet, since the name may mean literally “Port of life”, with diverse associations. Alternatively, but speculatively, one might seek for an explanation for the element of “life” in the name. However, there are too many candidates, for example, Marduk, (Ištar/)Mullissu (on Mullissu and “life”, see Parpola 1997, xxviii, xlii, xciv [n. 128], c [n. 180] and the text SAA 9 9), Nabû, Šamaš or the king of Assyria (in his role of controlling life and death). Kār-Balāṭi is attested as URU.kar-TIL.LA in a broken list of towns ND 2618 r.6, published in Parker 1961, 38, pl. 19. A comparable name Dūr-Balāṭi appears in a much clearer context, URU.BĀD-TIL.LA in RIMA 2 A.0.100.5: 55-56 and RIMA 3 A.0.103.1 i 48, and can be located in northern Babylonia without difficulty; for details, see e.g. Bryce 2012², 204.

⁶³ It is sometimes suggested, most recently in Fuchs 2008, that in the ninth century the powerful officials in provinces did honour themselves by giving their own names as

of both the larger and smaller towns and villages favour those of the highest officials, but also include artisans, bakers and farmer(s) (for attestations see Appendix C). The possibility of having Kapar-toponyms named after distinguished scholars (see the entries of Kapar-Akkullānu and Kapar-Hunnî above) is interesting, even if not really flattering as to their status. Furthermore, with Āl-masenni, Āl-sukkalli and Kapar-turtāni, there is evidence for towns and villages named after three of the seven highest officials or “magnates” of the Assyrian Empire; Kapar-rabûti “Village of the Magnates” is also attested. Almost certainly there also existed towns and/or villages with the titles of the other four magnates; these are often translated as “chief cupbearer” (“village of the cupbearer,” without “chief” is attested), “chief eunuch” (“Eunuch Town” is known), “chief judge” and “palace herald”⁶⁴.

Clearly, the discussed toponyms reflect the organization of Assyrian society where high military officials precede administrators, priests and scholars. Obviously, hierarchy in naming places was of the utmost importance; for example, we know that a generic “town” or “village of the king”⁶⁵ were acceptable toponyms, but it was not appropriate to call a small settlement more specifically “town of Esarhaddon” or “village of Tiglath-pileser”, at least not according to extant texts. Therefore, it may be worth pointing out that in some cases a given name was fit for a god but not for the king!⁶⁶ Naturally, the use of the ruler’s own name had to be more expedient and goal oriented than that of gods, who were omnipresent, so that it occurred only sparingly in practice.

There is no doubt that the place names under discussion correspond to the ideology of the Assyrian Empire, especially being one of the

part of place names at the cost of the king, but it is not so certain whether this really happened with or without the ruling king’s consent. In addition, potentially the problem of this interpretation is to view the situation of the late eighth and most of the seventh century as sort of “normality” from the Assyrian point of view. It is not certain that the power of the highest provincial officials undermined the Assyrian king’s authority or prestige. It may be that only as late as in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE new control mechanisms were introduced to curb the power of provincial governors, who were quite independent in their freedom of action and often very far away from central Assyria. Hence, the chosen course of action in the ninth century and earlier may have been beneficial to both the king and his highest-ranking officials. Interpretively, taking a middle course between the king’s and his magnates’ benefits and interests might be the most productive way forward. For a good discussion on the topic, see Siddall 2013, 81-86, 100-106 (with previous literature).

⁶⁴ For the attestations of this group of toponyms, see Appendix C, below.

⁶⁵ URU.ŠE LUGAL SAA 11 201 i 38.

⁶⁶ Several Āl-DN and Kapar-DN examples can be found in Appendix A, below.

manifestations of the empire's reward system to its foremost and distinguished members. On the one hand, one may discern a rather strict social hierarchy in the use of settlement names in the Neo-Assyrian period; on the other hand, one is able to formulate only loose rules or principles for them. Accordingly, the five name types discussed in this article attest to some extent to a hierarchy that correlates with the names' first and second elements and the corresponding settlement sizes. Notwithstanding the examples discussed above as short entries, to detect and confirm the mechanisms, rationale or inner logic of these toponyms may appear more important than finding the right match with identifiable personal names, however exciting the latter search is in practice.

In this article, I have not attempted to trace any chronological development in the use of the five discussed toponym types, four of which are anyhow traditional (Kār-, Dūr-, Bīt- and Āl[u]-names), and, therefore, also well attested in the previous periods. However, I would like to point out that already from the first part of the ninth century onwards, from the reign of Assurnasirpal II at the latest, Kār-toponyms regularly appear in combination with the most prominent rulers' own names at least until Esarhaddon. Common to all these name holders is their relatively long and stable reign. Basically, the same development is discernible in Dūr-toponyms, though, as can be proved, only from the reign of Adad-nerari III until Esarhaddon. Moreover, a small group of Dūr-toponyms exceptionally contains the personal names or titles of some of the highest officials in the early Neo-Assyrian period in the ninth and eighth centuries. Perhaps surprisingly, however, we lack any evidence for personal names of the very last Assyrian kings with Kār- and Dūr-elements. Thus, the present impression is that the very highest officials were awarded with less glorious toponyms that carried their name in the course of time, but the practice did not disappear. On the contrary, it may even have increased during the reign of Assurbanipal for which, however, we do not have enough comparable data at the moment.

In fact, apart from Assurbanipal, this may not be so difficult to explain when considering the historical situation in which Assyria's extension came to a halt and turned into a defensive struggle in the last two decades of the empire's existence, resulting in the final collapse between 614-609. Therefore, unlike many of their predecessors, the names of Assurbanipal and his short-term successors no longer occur together with Kār- and Dūr-elements in the second part of the seventh century. In spite of Kār- and Dūr-toponyms with Esarhaddon's own name, his reign may be seen as the divide in the Assyrian practices of naming toponyms, expressed in

the words of I. Eph'al as follows: "Toponyms that were changed before Esarhaddon's reign are quite different from those changed during his time. Prior to his reign, the majority had the structure Kar/Dur RN/DN" (Eph'al 2005, 110). Although it has already been stated⁶⁷, new Kār- and Dūr-names were still taken into use under Esarhaddon's rule whose decision, however, may have affected Assurbanipal for some reason to reject this practice of his father's⁶⁸.

Finally, one may predict that new archaeological excavations, e.g., in Iraqi Kurdistan but also elsewhere in the Middle East may provide well-suited material that will change our knowledge of settlement names of the Neo-Assyrian period considerably. Of course, this goes hand in hand with new textual discoveries.

Appendix A⁶⁹: *Kār-, Dūr-, Bīt-, Āl- or Kapar- + divine name*

Kār-Adad (RINAP 1 30:3; former Anzaria, see Fuchs, Sargon Ann 114, Prunk 65 and p. 442, also Vér 2014, 794; SAA 7 161 r. i 10; for the two or three different Kār-Adad cities, see Yamada 2005, 58) // *Āl-Adad* (RIMA 3 A.0.104.7:19; CTN 2 135:3; SAA 19 164 r.6').

Kār-Apladad (SAA 6 259:2 and 260:2)⁷⁰.

Kār-Aššur (*passim*; for changing the name from Humut to Kār-Aššur, see e.g. RINAP 1 39:6f; for the location, now see Kessler 2013)⁷¹ // *Dūr-Aššur*

⁶⁷ Also by Eph'al 2005, 110 (cf. note 44 on the same page): "Even in Esarhaddon's fourth regnal year, one still finds the old format, in which the king's name was incorporated in the changed toponym (as in Kar-Esarhaddon, the city built on the ruins of Sidon in 676 B.C.)."

⁶⁸ The thus far *hapax legomenon* Dūr-šarri (URU.BĀD-LUGAL), the background of the name is not known, appears among the cities in the Elamite border area whose inhabitants surrendered to Assurbanipal during his Elamite wars (Prism A vii 59, edited in Borger 1996, 60, 243).

⁶⁹ To accentuate and facilitate comparison between the five groups of toponyms, I use two forward slashes in the appendices to indicate similarity between names whose second element is the same. Moreover, Appendices A and C appear in alphabetical order according to the second element, but also in the hierarchical order (first Kār, then Dūr, Bīt, Āl and finally Kapar) of the first element.

⁷⁰ As to the location of Kār-Apladad, Yamada (2005, 59), in his Table 1, records "Assyrian heartland?", but the two attestations in SAA 6 might as well refer to a city in the Middle Euphrates whose name originated by the local ruler Ninurta-kudurri-ušur (RIMB 2, S.0.1002.2 iii 22b'-32'). For a short discussion of the city, see e.g. Lipiński 1976, 56; Vér 2014, 792 (n. 19) and Zawadzki 2010, 211.

⁷¹ A city founded by Tiglath-pileser III. Yamada (2005, 58) hesitantly surmised two different cities with the name Kār-Aššur. In this connection, the city Kār-Bēl-mātāti is equally interesting since, in the words of I. Eph'al (2005, 111, n. 48) "In the Assyrian royal inscriptions Bēl-mātāti is a designation of the god Ashur (see K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* [Helsinki ... 1938] 48)". Outside Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions the same epithet, "lord of the lands", refers, for instance, to Šamaš and Marduk. Therefore, for

- (= possibly Bakr Āwā, but cf. Miglus 2016, 236b; *passim*) // ĀI-Aššur (= Assur, a relatively rarely used name for the Assyrian religious capital).
Kār-Illil/Enlil (near Nippur in Babylonia; SAA 11 1 ii 2) // *Dūr-Illil* (*passim*).
Kār-Issar (= Kār-Ištar = Tell ʿAğāḡi; former Bīt-Bagāia, see Fuchs, Sargon Ann 114, Prunk 65 and p. 442, also Vér 2014, 794; SAA 6 119:6, SAA 12 62:5; two different cities according to Yamada 2005, 58)⁷² // *Dūr-Issar* (*passim*, e.g., RIMA 3 A.0.104.7:15) // *Bīt-Ištar* (city in Media; *passim* by Tiglath-pileser III and once by Sargon, TCL 3 46) // *Āl-Issar* (ND 2465:7).
Kār-Mullissi (= Karmallīs, Keremlīs; *passim*)⁷³.
Kār-Nabû (former Kišešlu, see Fuchs, Sargon Ann 114, Prunk 65 and p. 442, also Radner 2013, 450 and Vér 2014, 794; RINAP 3/1 1:47; RINAP 3/2 230:9; StAT 3 15:5, r.7'; for the two different cities, see Yamada 2005, 58f) // *Dūr-Nabû* (see above, also Fuchs, Sargon Ann 275, 280 and p. 431; SAA 11 202 i 19⁷⁴) // *Kapar-Nabû* (in Halahhu, SAA 12 50 r. 14').
Kār-Nanaya (ABL 795+ r.11 [city in Babylonia]) // *Dūr-Nanaya* (SAA 6 245:9⁷⁵; SAA 12 50 r.24').
Kār-Nergal (= aš-Šūwaira; *passim*; former Kišešim, see Fuchs, Sargon Ann 95, Prunk 60 and p. 442, also see Vér 2014, 794; for the two different cities, see Yamada 2005, 59) // *Bīt-Nergal* (RIMA 3 A.0.102.6 iv 14).
Kār-Salmānu (in the vicinity of Dūr-Katlimmu; BATSH 6 59:3, 72 r.10).
Kār-Sîn (RIMA 3 A.0.104.7:15; former Qindau, see Fuchs, Sargon Ann 114, Prunk 65 and p. 442, also Vér 2014, 794; for the two different cities, see Yamada 2005, 59).
Kār-Šamaš (SAA 1 97:6, 8; SAA 5 242:10; SAA 6 188 r.7'; SAA 15 50 r.5'; SAA 19 100:13) // *Dūr-Šamaš* (SAA 5 97 r.6', 198 r.2'; SAA 12 3:6') // *Bīt-Šamaš* (SAA 14 126: 7') // *Kapar-Šamaš* (SAA 6 271:15).
Dūr-Marduk (RIMA 3 A.0.104.7:17) // *Bīt-Marduk* (RINAP 4 9 ii' 8').⁷⁶

example, the name of the Babylonian city Kār-Bēl-mātāti (Nashef 1982, 152-53; also another town in Babylonia had the same name, see von Dassow, 2000, 207), mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III (RINAP 1 47:8), was not given by the Assyrians, and most likely honoured Marduk (Grayson 1975, 258 and Nashef, *ibid.*). However, Esarhaddon gave the same name to the former Sais (Eph'al 2005, 110 [n. 41]; also explained by Assurbanipal, see Onasch 1994, I 106-109, II 69, 71 and Novotny 2014, 82-83, 101), which he mentions in connection with probably another city with the name Kār-Aššur (RINAP 4 54:23', 25' [p. 116]).

⁷² Note also Kār-Bānīti (for Bānītu = "Ištar", see e.g. Eph'al 2005, 111 and Parpola 1997, xviii, lxxx [n. 6]), a new name given by Esarhaddon during his campaign in the Nile delta in 671 (Yamada 2005, 59 and Vér 2014, 794). The toponym is also mentioned by Assurbanipal: URU.kar-ba-ni-ti LET 18', see Onasch 1994, I 104-105, II 56 and Novotny 2014, 81, 100 and URU.kar-^dDÛ-ti in Assurbanipal's Prisms A i 77, B 170 and C ii 70, see Borger 1996, 20, 212).

⁷³ As Aššur's/Enlil's wife Mullissu can be counted among the great gods. On her role and interchangeability with Ištar in Assyrian cult and ideology, see, e.g., Parpola 1997, xviii, xx, xxxvi-xlii and *passim* in the introduction to SAA 9.

⁷⁴ This attests to another Dūr-Nabû in the vicinity of Harran.

⁷⁵ A town probably located in the province of Rašappa (cf. SAA 6 245: 2).

⁷⁶ The toponym may relate to Esarhaddon's Egyptian campaign, but this is not entirely certain (Leichty 2011, 55), cf. Eph'al 2005, 111.

*Dūr-Papsukkal*⁷⁷ (= Mandalī, in Babylonia; RIMA 3 A.0.103.1 iv 24, 41).
*Bīt-Amurri*⁷⁸ (canal in Babylonia; ABL 1342 r.18, 25).
Bīt-Bēlti (3R 66 r. ii 29'; URU.Ē-^dNIN).
Bīt-Dagān (in the west: RINAP 3/1 4:41, 22 ii 69; SAA 6 32:4).
Bīt-Ramannu (possibly located close to Carchemish; SAA 6 245:7).
Kapar-Inurta (= Ninurta; KAV 31 r.5 and KAV 35:8').
Kapar-Têr/Te'er (SAA 11 209 r.iii 27').

Appendix B:⁷⁹ *Kār-, Dūr- + royal name*

*Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta*⁸⁰ (= Tulūl-al-^cAqar; *passim*).
Kār-Aššur-nāšir-apli (II; RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 iii 50; RIMA 3 A.0.104.6:24).
Kār-Salmānu-ašarēd (Shalmaneser III renamed Til Barsip = Tell Aḫmar, *passim*).
Kār-Adad-nērārī (III; RIMA 3 A.0.104.7:17) // *Dūr-Adad-nērārī* (III; *ibid.* line 19).
Kār-Tukultī-apil-Ešarra ([uncertain: URU.KAR]-tukul-ti-A-Ē.[ŠĀR.RA, perhaps Dūr-...] SAA 11 105:6') // *Dūr-Tukultī-apil-Ešarra* (= Tiglath-pileser III; RINAP 1 47:40; SAAB 3 77 r.17, 19).
Kār-Šarrukēn (= Harhar, *passim*) // *Dūr-Šarrukēn* (= Khorsabad; *passim*).
Kār-Šîn-ahhē-rība (RINAP 3/1 22 ii 29, 3:32, 4:29) // *Dūr-Šîn-ahhē-rība* (ABL 1009 r.24'; StAT 3 61 s.1-2⁸¹; SAA 14 10 r.8'; Eponym Canon 667, Millard 1994, 61, 70, 94 s.v. Gabbaru, 102 [top]).
Kār-Aššur-ahu-iddīna (new city built by Esarhaddon in 677 near Sidon; *passim*) // *Dūr-Aššur-ahu-iddīna* ("toponym ... given to one of the conquered Shubrian cities" Eph'al 2005, 110 [n. 44]; RINAP 4 33 [Tablet 2] iv 19').

Appendix C: *Bīt-, Āl(u)- or Kapar- + profession or title*

Bīt-sangî (approx.) "Place of the Priest" (BT 112:5 [Iraq 25 (1963) 93, pl. 21]).
Bīt-ša-muhhi-āli (approx.) "Place of the City Overseer" (SAA 6 245:8).
Āl(u-ša)-āpiāni "Bakers' Town" (SAA 11 228 ii 7', SAA 12 19:23', r. 10) // *Kapar-āpiāni* (ND 2618 r.5).
Āl-ašlakê "Fuller Town" (SAA 14 161:4).
Āl-ērib-bēti "Town of the Clergymen" (SAA 12 19:30', r.10).

⁷⁷ Not a name given by the Assyrians.

⁷⁸ With Amurru together with Dagān, Ramannu and Têr/Te'er (the last three listed below Amurru in this Appendix) one can notice that here we interestingly have several western gods in the Bīt-category as, apart from the initial element of Kapar, with Têr/Te'er.

⁷⁹ In descending chronological order.

⁸⁰ Chronologically, it is the first combination of Kār- + an Assyrian royal name; see Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 330. In the Neo-Assyrian period, the city still went by its same, original name.

⁸¹ The only attestation of the "new" Dūr-Šîn-ahhē-rība (GIBIL); for a discussion see Faist 2007, 101; cf. PNA 2/II, p. 773, Mušallim-Aššur no. 8.

- Āl-ikkāri* “Farmer Town” (SAA 14 210:8') // *Kapar-ikkāri* “Village of the Farmer” (SAA 11 224 r.1)⁸².
- Āl-masenni* “Town of the Treasurer” (SAA 14 230:2).
- Āl-nukaribbī* “Gardeners Town” (SAA 11 231:7').
- Āl-pahhārāni* “Potters’ Town” (SAA 6 10: 11, 17; 11:5'; KAV 75:6').
- Āl-rā'āni ša mār šarri* “Shepherd Town of the Crown Prince” (SAA 12 50 r.18').
- Āl-rādi-imāri* “Donkey Driver Town” (SAA 14 140:2, 271 r.12').
- Āl-sasinnī* “Bow-makers’ Town” (ND 2476 i 4' [Iraq 23 pl. 15]).
- Āl-sirāšē* “Brewer Town” (SAA 12 50 r.10', ND 2476 i3' [Iraq 23 pl. 15]; CTN 3 11:8).
- Āl-sukkalli* “Town of the Vizier” (SAA 15 153:6') // *Kapar-sukkalli* (SAA 12 96:8).
- Āl-sūsāni* “Horse Trainer Town” (SAA 11 163 i 5, SAA 12 50:1, SAA 14 258:2).
- Āl-šarrāpi* “Goldsmith Town” (SAA 6 19:6, r.9'; SAA 14 183 r.2; CTDS 1 113', 205').
- Ālu-ša-hābīšu* “Hoisters’ Town” (SAA 12 1:11).
- Ālu-ša-kubšātēšu* “Hatter Town” (SAA 12 28:35).
- Ālu-ša-mār-šarri* “Town of the Crown Prince” (SAA 7 161 ii 22) // *Kapar-mār-šarri* (ND 3412:2).
- Āl(u-ša)-mar'at-šarri* “Town of the Daughter of the King/Princess” (SAA 11 221:4; SAAS 5 28:4).
- Ālu-ša-nappāhi* “Town of Smiths” (SAA 14 434 e.7, StAT 2 9 r.9).
- Ālu-ša-pūlišu* “Limestone Peddlers’ Town” (Tell Billa 82:7').
- Ālu-ša-rāṭātīšu* “Plumbers’ Town” (SAA 12 1:10).
- Āl(u-ša)-rēšāni* “Eunuch Town” (SAA 6 1 r.16, 277 r.8').
- Ālu-ša-tamkāri* “Merchant Town” (SAA 1 114 r.8).
- Kapar-rabūti* “Village of the Magnates” (SAA 6 30:7).
- Kapar-šāqī* “Village of the Cupbearer” (ND 2465:9 [Iraq 23 (1961) 31, pl. 15]).
- Kapar-sēgalli* “Village of the Queen” (SAA 14 401 r.6').
- Kapar-turtāni* “Village of the Commander-in-Chief” (CTN 2 4 r.9).

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⁸² No connection is assumed, but one may bear in mind that the king used the low-profile title “farmer” during the substitute king ritual. For a discussion, see, e.g., Parpola 1983, xxiv and Ambos 2013, 39-41, 45-48.

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