## Map 91 Ctesiphon

Compiled by M. Roaf and St J. Simpson, 1994

## Introduction

The region covered by the map lies on the frontier of the Greek and Roman world. It formed part of the early Seleucid kingdom, but subsequently the border between the classical world and its eastern neighbors ran through here. Since there was essentially no contact prior to c. 600 B.C., exclusively Late Assyrian and earlier sites are omitted. Islamic sites are likewise omitted unless they occur in classical sources or were occupied prior to c. A.D. 640. The long period of foreign domination (Achaemenid, Seleucid, Parthian, Roman, Sasanian, Byzantine) between the collapse of the "cuneiform" empires of Assyria and Babylonia and the rise of Islam is one that has yet to be treated with the same intensity as earlier or later ones. The variety and diversity of the sources give rise to notable difficulty, and no one scholar can control them all with equal confidence.

Settlements are restricted to regions where water was available. The area where cereal cultivation was feasible lies in the north-east segment of the map. To the south and west, either canal irrigation had to be used, or other subsistence strategies adopted (such as nomadic pastoralism, exploitation of trade or raw resources). Hence the distribution of settlements: these are found on the plains and in the mountain valleys to the north and east, as well as along the river valleys and the alluvial plains in the south-east, where irrigation was feasible. There are few settlements outside these regions (especially in the mountainous, inhospitable north-east), and very few of any significance. This said, the map may create a misleading impression in the area to the east of the R. Tigris, because very little survey work has been carried out here. Many sites in this area have had to be omitted because information about their dates of occupation is lacking. More generally, there are areas where the ancient landscape has been lost either through natural processes of erosion or alluviation, or through modern development and dam building; inevitably, our knowledge of such areas is likely to remain defective.

The sources underpinning the map are various. Of prime importance is archaeological fieldwork, but such investigations as have been made are very patchy. Some areas have been the subject of repeated investigation, while others are still *terra incognita*. Surveys have varied greatly in quality; moreover, many (including some of the most useful, because they cover the greatest area) have not been published in detail. Often the areas of sites and the periods of their occupation are not noted, and even when they are, evidence such as the types of potsherds discovered is not presented. Moreover since the pottery types are still not well known, and since more recent research has cast doubt on older period-attributions, the lack of detailed primary evidence prevents the reassessment of conclusions from it in the light of new information.

The ancient textual sources are very diverse, and provide uneven geographical and chronological coverage. The most important indigenous sources are Babylonian cuneiform tablets (mostly from the alluvium in the south-east, and restricted to the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods); the Babylonian Talmud (its focus being on communities in the south-east with Jewish populations during the Roman and Late Antique periods); and Christian ecclesiastical literature (mostly concerned with northern regions during the Late Antique period).

For the involvement of Greeks and Romans in the area, the classical authors are fundamental. These texts are most useful for reconstruction of the historical geography when they offer itineraries or draw upon official documents. Most important are Herodotus, Xenophon, Alexander's historians, Isidore of Charax, Ammianus Marcellinus and Procopius. Less easy to use are such geographers and historians as Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo and Pliny, who preserved (with or without explicit acknowledgment) the works of earlier authors. The information in all the Greek and Roman texts, however, has to be treated with caution. Often it appears that the names used are not necessarily accurate. In rendering foreign names into Greek or Latin, variant spellings were typically used, and there is no easy way to decide whether one is more accurate than another. Equally, it is impossible to determine which of the many names mentioned only once or twice are genuine.

The identification of ancient places is often uncertain. The location of some ancient sites is not known precisely, and the association of a particular name with a site can be very problematic. Only very exceptionally do contemporary inscriptions confirm an identification (as is done by some dated Aramaic inscriptions, for example). More commonly, an earlier or later attestation of the name may suggest—but not necessarily prove—it. Another problem arises with names of places whose location is almost certain, but which cannot be identified with known archaeological remains. For example, Circesium may or may not be Tell Busaira, Nicephorium may be just to the east of Islamic Raqqa, ancient Idu may be under the modern town of Hit.

The date of a site's occupation can be equally problematic. Ancient names are often only recorded in later texts, such as accounts of Alexander's conquests written in the Roman period, or Islamic texts which mention many Sasanian towns. In these cases I assume from the context that the attestations are intended to refer to the earlier period. Where the name is not given a specific historical context, however, I take the attestation to belong to the period of the author.

The cuneiform sources are conveniently indexed by Zadok (1985), the Talmudic by Oppenheimer (1983), and the Christian sources rather less conveniently by Fiey (1973). Dillemann (1962) discusses the information from classical texts about northern Mesoptamia between the sixth century B.C. and sixth century A.D.; the late Sasanian and early Islamic geography of Iraq has been investigated by Morony (1982).

Although a wealth of information is recorded by nineteenth century travelers, their accounts have not proved very useful. Twentieth century investigators, such as Herzfeld, Musil, Poidebard and Stein, provide systematic coverage of large areas and provide useful reviews of the classical sources, but their descriptions and dating criteria are often not altogether reliable.

Excavation reports and recent archaeological surveys provide the most important sources for the locations of sites (although the smallest are mostly omitted here). Important archaeological surveys include Adams (1965; 1981), Geyer (1987), Ibrahim (1986), Kohlmeyer (1984), and Röllig (1977). The regions of Derband-i Khan, Dokkan, Hamrin, Haditha, Eski Mosul, and the Middle R. Habur, where dams were planned, have been the centers for intensive salvage excavations, but not all of these have been published in detail.

The secondary literature is of very uneven quality. The focus of the principal encyclopedias (RLAss, EncIs, RE) lies outside the region and period covered by the map. Relatively little systematic study of the historical geography has been made, except for discussion of the itineraries recorded in classical texts such as Xenophon, Alexander's historians, Isidore, Ammianus, and the problematic TabPeut. But even in these detailed accounts there are numerous uncertainties, and with a few honorable exceptions scholars have preferred to outline a single possible solution rather than stressing the inherent uncertainty in the evidence.

The major changes to the environment in the region during the last three millennia have been due to human interference with the water systems. In the twentieth century this has involved the construction of dams on all the major river systems and the consequent flooding of large areas. The modern lakes of Tharthar, Habbaniya, Razaza, Samarra, Dokkan, Derbend-i Khan, Hamrin, and Haditha have all been removed from the map, and have been replaced either by the pre-existing course of the river or by a modified extent of the lake. It should be realized that the ancient lakes and rivers differed both from today's ones and from those recorded on earlier modern maps. In earlier periods, the construction and abandonment of canal systems have done more than dams to alter the landscape and the settlement patterns. These canals have not only altered the pre-existing drainage patterns, but have also affected the pattern of alluviation and erosion.

In the alluvial plain to the south-east there have been major changes in the courses of the rivers too. These likewise affect Map 93. There is not sufficient evidence to plot or date the successive courses of the Tigris and Euphrates. Such indications as exist are either textual or archaeological attestations of rivers running through or past particular cities such as Babylon, Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Various channels are shown for the Tigris and Euphrates once they emerge from their river valleys onto the alluvium below [Samarra] and Hit. Except where there is sound justification for drawing a particular course, rivers are marked as uncertain.

The course marked for the Tigris includes ancient channels observed from aerial photographs. Downstream from [Samarra] its course moved east in the thirteenth century A.D. to the present one; rather than the latter, the map shows only the ancient course going past [Ukbara]. Further south, however, the modern course is shown in addition to other possible channels. It is retained in part for reference, and in part because there is evidence that ancient

branches did indeed run approximately along the modern courses, since they went through Ctesiphon and Babylon. There is also evidence that at least one branch of the Tigris lay further north (in the vicinity of Opis), and was partly incorporated into the Nahrawan canal system.

Similar considerations govern the choice of courses shown for the Euphrates; essentially they follow those suggested by Adams in his surveys, and are intended to indicate some possibilities without necessarily ruling out others. The courses marked seem to be the most significant insofar as they mesh with the observed settlement patterns for the relevant periods. Although some texts appear to include clear enough descriptions of water courses, they lack sufficient detail, and there are too few definite reference points for channels to be plotted exclusively from them.

A further problem which has not been properly resolved is the distinction between canals and rivers. The ancient sources do not make a rigid distinction between them; river channels were sometimes turned into canals; and sometimes canals became major courses of rivers.

Although the rivers and canals shown give a reasonable impression of the major water courses, much of the alluvial plain–particularly those parts where ancient settlements have been identified—was covered with canals of various sorts, bringing water from the levees of the rivers and larger canals to the fields and orchards. There were also areas of lake and marsh; the excess water from the annual river-flooding was allowed to flow here, and the local topography, canal dikes and defensive walls (note the Teichos Medias) all prevented it from draining away. The locations of these canals, lakes and marshes for the most part remain uncertain, and would in any event have shifted during the timespan of the map. No doubt, however, at least some of the areas in the alluvial plain where ancient sites have not been recorded were marshes and subject to periodic flooding.

Another modern feature—removed from the map because of shifting locations—are fields of sand dunes, both in the alluvial plain, and in the steppe and desert to the south and west. The extent and position of these fields has varied in the past, tending to increase in periods when much of the agricultural land was abandoned, and to decrease during periods of intense agricultural exploitation. In the absence of firm evidence, none is shown here.

The possibility of shifting river courses—so obvious in the wide, flat alluvial plains—is also present in the valleys of such rivers as the Tigris, Euphrates, Aborras, 'Diabas', Radani, Zabas Megas and Zabas Mikros. Here river courses are rendered as certain, although clearly they have shifted over the centuries, as ox-bow lakes and traces of meanders show. Moreover canals probably ran along both sides of the rivers in the past, as they do today.

Only a few of the most important district or regional names can be marked. Sources have a tendency to confuse the capital of a province with the province itself (Morony 1982, 6), because regions were often named after their principal settlement; hence marking a district name does little more than indicate the location of the settlement after which it is named. Furthermore the same name may be applied to both larger and smaller administrative districts. There is no question that the extent and importance of districts varied over the centuries.

For similar reasons, tribal names are omitted: their territories were simply too extensive and variable.

## **Directory**

All place names are in Iraq unless otherwise noted

#### **Abbreviation**

P.Dura

The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, Final Report V, Part I, The parchments and papyri, C.B. Welles, R.O. Fink, and J.F. Gilliam (eds.), New Haven, 1959

## Names

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
F4	A007	L		Adams 1972.007
F5	A068	RL		Adams 1972.068
F5	A079	ACHR		Adams 1972.000 Adams 1972.079
G5	A221	RL		Adams 1972.221
G5	A262	H?RL		Adams 1972.262
F4	[Aberta]	R?L	Tell Abarta	Adams 1965, 95
B2	Aborras/	RL	Habur SYR / TKY	RE
52	Chaboras fl.	T.L.	Thous STR/TIES	TLE
F5	Abu Hurayba	H?RL		Adams 1972.151
F4	Abu Jilaj	HRL		Adams 1965.497
F3	Abu Shiafa	L		Postgate 1979, 166
F5	Abu Taraichiya	RL		Gibson 1972.84
F4	Abu Taraichiya al-Shemali Adada? = Qasr al-Hayr	CL		Adams 1965, 158
E2	<i>al-Sharqi</i> Adiabene	HRL		RE
EZ		rkl R		Ptol. 5.17.4
C3	§ Akabene? Anatho	K ACHRL	on Lubbad Is.	
CS	§ Ana(h) § Anat	ACHKL	on Lubbad is.	Northedge 1987
	<pre>§ Tyros Anbar = Misiche Annoukas? = 'Basileia'?</pre>	R		Gawlikowski 1988, 90 (n. 72)
F4	Apolloniatis/ Sittacene	CHR		RE Apollonia 27
	§ Apollonia	D		DI: NII ( 122
	§ Arbelitis	R		Pliny, NH 6.132
	§ Palaestine	R		Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.132
EO	Appadana? = Tell Fidain	AC/	Vielmir	DCTC 10, 29 Amonho
F2	Arrapha/ Karkha de Beth Seluk	HRL	Kirkuk	RGTC 10, 38 Arraphe EncIs Kirkuk
	§ Arrapachitis	R		Ptol. 6.1.2
	Artemita? = <i>Karastel</i>	K		1 to1. 0.1.2
F2	Arzuhin?	AC	perhaps Gök tepe near	RGTC 10, 68 Azuhinni; Oates 1968, 59-60
1 2	Alzumi:	<i>n</i> c	Altun Kopru, NW Aripha	KGTC 10, 00 /12ummin, Oates 1700, 57-00
F2	Arzuhin?	AC	perhaps Chemchemal	RGTC 10, 68 Azuhinni; Oates 1968, 59-60
E2	Ashur/	AC/	Qal'at Sherqat	Dillemann 1962, 87, 181, 273, 284, 285
	'Lamban'?/	HRL/		
	'Liba(nai)'?	HR		
	Asicha? = [Terqa]			
F4	[Aspanbor]	R?L	Salman Pak	Oppenheimer 1983, 204
B2	(As)Syria			See Map 3
	$Awana? = Tell\ Ishnayt$			
	D. I. I.	, CHD1	T. U. A.	DI A
F5	Babylon	ACHRL	Tell Amran	RLAss
Б4	§ Babil	4 D.I	D 111	0 1 1 1002 (2 (2
F4	Bagdata	ARL	Baghdad	Oppenheimer 1983, 62-63
B3	Baghuz	H?R?	SYR	Geyer 1987, 341
A1	Balihu/		SYR / TKY	See Map 67
4.2	Balissus fl.	D/	Zalakiwa CVD	Drocom And 2.6.12. Lauffray 1002, 90
A2	'Basileia'?/ Annoukas?	R/ L	Zelebiya SYR	Procop., Aed. 2.6.12; Lauffray 1983, 80
		L		
	Bechchouphrein? = Kifrin			
F5	(Belesi) Biblada? = <i>Ertaje</i> Beth Aramaye	R?L	near Ctesiphon	Dodgeon 1991, 239-240
1.3	Beth Garmai = Garmakan	K (L	near Cresiphon	Dougeon 1771, 237-240
	Biblada? = <i>Ertaje</i>			
D3	Bijan	AR	island in R. Euphrates	Killick 1983, 208
טט	ப்புயா	1111	isiana ii K. Eupinates	Kimek 1705, 200

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
F4	<i>Bint al-Emir/</i> Daskara? Birta = Takrit	L		Adams 1965.041
F5	Borsippa/ Burs	ACHRL	Birs Nimrud	Adams 1972.233
E3	Burj al-Qa'im	L?		Northedge 1990, 123-24, 134
F4 F4	Burs = Borsippa Bustan [Buzurg Shapur]/ [Ukbara]	R?L? R?L/ L	'Ukbara, Tell Sinker	Oppenheimer 1983, 233 Adams 1972.16-17
B2	Calah = Kalhu Callinicum = Nicephorium Chaboras fl. = Aborras fl. 'Charcha' = [Karkh Firuz] Circesium/ Qarquza/	HRL/ HRL/	al-Busaira SYR	Musil 1927, 334-38
	Habora/ Phaliga? Coche = Veh Ardashir	L/ R		Feissel 1989, 544 IsidChar 1
F4 F5	Ctesiphon Cutha	HRL ACHRL	al-Ma'aridh Tell Ibrahim (al-Khalil)	Oppenheimer 1983, 198-207 Gibson 1972.48
F4 G4	<i>D700 D776</i> Daskara? = Bint al-Emir Dastagird? = Zindan	R?L CHR		Adams 1965.776 Adams 1965.776
F4	Dawrin Canal 'Diabas'/ Turnat fl.  § Tornadotus? fl. Diacira = Idu		Diyala IRN / IRQ	See Canals AmmMarc 23.6.20 RGTC 5, 321-2 Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.132
F5	Diglitus fl. = Tigris fl. Dilbat	ACL	Tell al-Deylam	Armstrong 1992
F4	Dur-(Kuri)galzu	AC	Aqarquf	Adams 1972.047
E3	Dura	H?R?L	al-Dawr?	AmmMarc 25.6.9; Oppenheimer 1983, 118-9
В3	Dura/ Europus	HR	near Salihiya SYR	Rostovtzeff 1943; OEANE Dura-Europos
B2	[Dur-Katlimmu]/ Magdalu	A/ ACR?	Sheikh Hamad SYR	Röllig 1978; Kühne 1998
C3	Eddana = Hindanu <i>Ertajel</i>	R		IsidChar 1
	(Belesi) Biblada?			
A2	Euphrates fl. Europus = Dura			See Map 93
B2	Gabalein/ Nabagata § Gablini?	AR/ R	opposite Circesium in district of Gabalein SYR	PDura 25.ext 21; RGTC 5 Gablini IsidChar 1
F2	Garmakan/	RL	region around Kirkuk	Morony 1982, 10-11
F5	Beth Garmai Girumu	ACHRL	Barghuthiat	Gibson 1972.094
C3 D2	Habora = Circesium Haradu Hatra	AC R	Khirbet al-Diniya Hadhr	Killick 1983, 209-10 Ibrahim 1986.001
F1 C3	Hazza Hindanu/	L ACHRL?	about 8 miles SW Arbil al-Shaikh Jaber	Morony 1982, 10-12 RLAss Hindanu;
C3	Eddana	ACHKL!	ar Shaikhi Jaool	Musil 1927

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
D4	Idu/ Diacira/ Hit § Dakira	ACHRL	Hit	Oppenheimer 1983, 164-68
F5	Ishan al-Khara	ACHRL		Gibson 1972.070
F5	Ishan Gurtiya	L		Adams 1972.208
F5	Ishan Rishayd	H?RL		Adams 1972.168
G3	[Jalula]	L	Sa'diya	EncIs Djalula
F5	K060	CHRL		Gibson 1972.060
F5	K063, K064	R?L		Gibson 1972.063, 064
F5	K081 Kapros? fl. = Zabas Mikros fl.	ACHRL		Gibson 1972.081
E1	Kalhu/	ACH/	Nimrud	RLAss Kalhu
	Calah/	C		
F4	'Larisa'? <i>Karastell</i>	C HRL		Adams 1965.74, 61
17	Artemita?	TIKE		7 dams 1703.74, 01
	§ Chalasar Karkha de Beth Seluk = Arrapha	R		RE Suppl. 1
E3	[Karkh Firuz]/	RL	Sheikh Wali	Northedge 1985, 117-18
E2	'Charcha' <i>Khirbet Jaddala</i>	R		Ibrahim 1986.068
E2	Khirbet Qubr Ibn Naif	R		Ibrahim 1986.071
F4	Khiut Rabbua	RL		Kiso 1965
D3	Kifrin/ Bechchouphrein?	R		Invernizzi 1986
E1	Kilizu	AC?H?R	Qasr Semamok	RLAss Kilizu
F5	Kish	ACHRL	Tell Uhaimir and Ingharra	Gibson 1972
G2	Kurh u kich	C?H?		Edmonds 1934, 190-91
F3	La(h)ir?  § Lahiru  'Lamban'? = Ashur  'Larisa'? = Kalhu	C AC	perhaps Eski Kifri	Oates 1968, 59 RGTC 5 Lahiru
F2	Lashom Leontopolis = Nicephorium 'Liba(nai)'? = Ashur	L	about 7.5 miles SW Ta'uk	Morony 1982, 15
E3	Magdalu = [Dur-Katlimmu] Mahoza = Veh Ardashir [al-Mahuza] Maskin? = Tell Miskin	L	Qal'at al-Mahuza	Northedge 1985
G3	Me-Turnat	AC	Tell Haddad	Postgate 1981, 177-78
E4	Misiche/ Peroz-Shapur/ Anbar/ Pumbedita/ Pallughtha	RL	NW Falluja	Oppenheimer 1983, 351-68
	§ Bersabora § Besechana?	R		Musil 1927, 231
	§ Pirisabora <i>al-Mutabbaq</i>			See Walls
	Nabagata = Gabalein Nahrawan Nahrawan? = Tell Isheiri			See Canals

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
F4	Narmalcha/ Nar-Sharri Neapolis? = <i>Tell Fidain</i>	H?RL / AC	canal between Euphrates and Tigris	Musil 1927, 272-74
F4	Neardea? § Naarda? § Nazarra?	RL H?RL L	upstream from Sippar	Oppenheimer 1983, 276-93 RE Νάαρδα RE Νάαρδα
A2	Nicephorium/ Callinicum/	L	SYR	See Map 68
G5 F2	Leontopolis [Nu'maniya] [Nuzi]	L RL	Nu'maniya	Morony 1982, 25 OEANE Nuzi
F4	Opis § Upi	ACH AC	Tell Mujeili'	Adams 1965.590
G2 F5	Paikuli Pallaconta? fl. § Pallukattu	R	originally canal; now Hindiya or W branch of Euphrates	Humbach 1978 Gibson 1972, 24 RGTC 5, 379
	Pallughtha = Misiche Patti-Enlil? Phaliga? = Circesium Peroz-Shapur = Misiche Pumbedita = Misiche			See Canals
C3	al-Qa'im	R?L?		Ibrahim 1986.258
E2 E2	Qal'a al-Bint Qal'a Jabbar	R?L? R?L?		Ibrahim 1986.089 Ibrahim 1986.090
A2	Qarquza = Circesium Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqil Adada?	L	SYR; cf. Map 68 Adada?	EncIs Kasr al-Hayr al Sharki
G3	Qasr-i Shirin [Qasr Muqatil]? = Tulul al-Ukhaidhir Qatnu? = Tell Fadjami	L	IRN	Vanden Berghe 1959, 98-100
G2	Qatul Kisrawi Qizqapan	C?H?		See Canals Edmonds 1934, 183-89
E5	Qusair	L		Finster 1976, 49-54
F3	Radani fl. § Rhamma fl.?	L	Adheim	RGTC 5, 314 RE Suppl. 1 Danas
C4	Rijelat Umm Kubar	R		Safar 1964; 1974
E3	Sachare? = Tell Abu Hait [Samarra]/ 'Sumere' Sangarite? = Tell Abu Hait	AL/ L	Samarra?	OEANE Samarra
F4	Seleucia/ Sliq Kharawta 'Seleucia' = Veh Ardashir	HRL/ RL	Tell Omar	Oppenheimer 1983, 207-23
F4	Semiramidos Diorux Shahraban	R?L	Muqdadiya	See Canals Adams 1965, 80, 92-4
E2	Shjara/	L	<b>4</b> >	Ibrahim 1986.093
F4	[al-Sinn?] Sippar § Sipphara? Sittacene = Apolloniatis Skaphe? = Tulul al-Shuaila	ACL H?\$	Tell Abu Habba	Adams 1972.058 Ptol. 5.17.5
E5	Sliq Kharawta = Seleucia Soura	DI		DE Sura 1: Opporhaires: 1092, 412, 22
F5 G4	Sumaka	RL CHRL	Islamic Uskaf bani Junayd	RE Sura 1; Oppenheimer 1983, 413-22 Adams 1965.734

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
	'Sumere' = [Samarra] Sur Umm al-Khawashij Syria = (As)Syria			See Walls
E3	Takrit/ Birta	ACHRL	Tikrit	Ibrahim 1986.259
E5	al-Tar	R		Fujii 1993
E3	[Tartaru] fl.	K	Tharthar	Musil 1927, 59-60
LJ	Teichos Medias		i nai thai	See Walls
D3	Telbis	AR	on island in R. Euphrates	Killick 1983, 222
<b>D</b> 3	<ul><li>§ Olabous</li><li>§ Thilabous</li></ul>		on island in R. Dapinutes	Musil 1927, 230, 239
	§ Thiloutha?	L		Gawlikowski 1988, 90 (n. 74)
G3	Tell Abqa	RL		Postgate 1981, 170-71
G3	Tell Ababra	CHRL		Postgate 1979, 162-63; 1981, 170
B2	Tell Abu Hait/	AC?R/	SYR	Röllig 1977, 119-120
	Sangarite?/	AC/		
	Sachare?	R		P.Dura 26.int 1-2; 26.ext 5; 26.ext 7-8
F4	Tell Abu Ja'ari	R?L		Adams 1965.252
F4	Tell Abu Jelamid	L		Adams 1972.013
G5	Tell Abu Khay			See Map 93
F4	Tell Abu Qubur	ACH?		Adams 1972.053
A2	Tell Abu Said	R?L	SYR	Kohlmeyer 1984.43
G5	Tell Abu Sarifa	IID		See Map 93
E2	Tell Ajri	HR		Ibrahim 1986.084
G5	Tell al-Arsan	HRL		Adams 1981.826
F5 F5	Tell al-Daym	CHR HRL		Adams 1972.212
G3	Tell al-Deir (al-Aqul) Tell al-Hafa'ir	R?L		Adams 1965.791 Adams 1965.15
F4	Tell al-Hargawi	ACH?		Adams 1972.055
F4	Tell al-Ilaimi	RL?		RLAss Ilemi(jat)
E1	Tell al-Khwain	L		Ibrahim 1986.099
F4	Tell al-Mas'ud	RL		Adams 1972.026
F5	Tell al-Rishayd	H?RL		Adams 1972.201
F5	Tell al-Umfuggar	ACHR		Adams 1972.072
B2	Tell Ashamsani	ACHRL	SYR	Röllig 1977, 23
F4	Tell Aswad	CHRL		Postgate 1977, 311-12
F5	Tell Babil	ACHR		Gibson 1972.127
G3	Tell Baradan	HRL?		Amin 1979
F4	Tell Bismaya	R?L		Killick 1983, 208
G5	Tell Bismaya	HRL		Adams 1981.882
E2	Tell Buraich	RL		Ibrahim 1986.092
F4	Tell Dhahab	H?RL		Oppenheimer 1983, 204
B2	Tell Fadjami/	AC?H?R	SYR	Röllig 1977, 126
D.O.	Qatnu?	L?	CAND.	D.W. 1077 100 01 100
B2	Tell Fidain/	HRL/	SYR	Röllig 1977, 120-21, 133
	Appadana?/	R		Poidebard 1932, 134
	Neapolis?			Feissel 1989, 541
	§ Apadna			
G3	§ Apatna <i>Tell Gubba</i>	A?C?		Postgata 1001 176
B2	Tell Gubn	HRL	SYR	Postgate 1981, 176 Röllig 1977, 120
D1	Tell Hadhail	CHRL	SIK	Ibrahim 1986.205
B2	Tell Hussain	AL	SYR	Röllig 1977, 121
F4	Tell Isheiri/	R?L	SIR	Adams 1965.308, 309
	Nahrawan?	K.L		7 dams 1703.300, 307
F4	Tell Ishnayt/	RL		Adams 1972.15
1 (	Awana?	KL		100110 1/12.13
F5	Tell Itwayba	ACHR		Adams 1972.077
F4	Tell Jim'a	HRL		Adams 1965.338
F5	Tell Karuna	L		Adams 1972.209
B2	Tell Katluma	HRL	SYR	Röllig 1977, 120
B2	Tell Khan	HRL	SYR	Röllig 1977, 120

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
E3	Tell Khan al-Legleg	L		Ibrahim 1986.265
B2	Tell Khariza	HRL	SYR	Röllig 1977, 120
F4	Tell Mahmudiya	ACH?		Adams 1972.060
F2	Tell Mahuz	RL		Córdoba 1997
B2	Tell Margada	L	SYR	Röllig 1977, 123
F4	Tell Miskin/	RL	Tell Miskin	Adams 1972.004
	Maskin?			
D2	Tell Sa'adiya Gharbi	R		Ibrahim 1986.035
B1	Tell Shaddada	L	W Habur R. SYR	Röllig 1977, 124
F5	Tell Suraysur	CHRL	Tell Suraysur and Tell	Adams 1972.210
			Karuk	
B2	Tell Suwwar	AC?H?	SYR	Röllig 1977, 121
		R?L	2	
F4	Tell Tabl	HRL		Adams 1965.627
B2	Tell Talfis	HRL	SYR	Röllig 1977, 120
E2	Tell Unuq Jaddala	R		Ibrahim 1986.069
B3	[Terga]/	ACHRL	Tell Ashara SYR	OEANE Terqa
	Asicha?			Gawlikowski 1988, 83
	§Gazika?	R		Feissel 1989, 542
E1	Tigris/			See Map 93
	Diglitus fl.			T
G5	Tulul Abu Adhem	ACHR		Adams 1972.266
F4	Tulul Abu Jawan	CHRL		Adams 1965.684, 687
D2	Tulul Ahmad al-Hussein	R		Ibrahim 1986.006
F4	Tulul al-Hibir	RL		Adams 1972.006
G4	Tulul al-Lawami	HR		Adams 1965.814
G5	Tulul al-Shuaila/	HRL		Adams 1965.826
	Skaphe?			
E5	Tulul al-Ukhaidhir/	L		Finster 1976, 57-150
	[Qasr Muqatil]?			
F4	Tulul Khattab	ACHRL		Adams 1965.223
F4	Tulul Rughath	R?L		Adams 1965.363
	Turnat fl. = 'Diabas' fl.			
~-				
G5	U549	HRL		Adams 1981.549
G5	U552	CHR		Adams 1981.552
G5	U671	H?RL?		Adams 1981.671
G5	U730			See Map 93
	[Ukbara] = [Buzurg			
	Shapur]			C W II
	Umm Rus			See Walls
F4	Veh Ardashir/	RL	Abu Khshaim	Oppenheimer 1983, 223-35
	Coche/			11
	Mahoza/			
	'Seleucia'			
	§ Azochis?	R		Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.118
	§ Kaukaba?	Ĺ		Dodgeon 1991, 240
F4	Vologesias?	HRL	Abu Halafiya	Oppenheimer 1983, 198-207
			<b>3</b> ·	**

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
F2	Wiranshehir	R?L	also Wiron Shehir	Simpson 1996, 93-94
E1	Zabas Megas/ Zapatas?/ Lykos? fl.	L/ CRL/ C?H?R	Greater Zab IRQ / TKY	RE Tigris 1, col. 1014; RE Zapatas; Dillemann 1962, 217
	§ Anzaba fl.	L		AmmMarc 18.7.1
E2	Zabas Mikros/ Kapros?/	L/ HR/	Lesser Zab	RE Tigris 1, col. 1014; RE Zapatas
	Zerbis? fl.	R		
A2	Zenobia Zerbis? fl. = Zabas Mikros	RL	Halabiyya SYR	Lauffray 1983
G5	fl. <i>Zibliyat</i>			See Map 93
F4	Zindan/ Dastagird?	L		Adams 1965.042

# Bridge

Grid	Location	Period	Reference
D2	near Hatra	R	Ibrahim 1986.002

# Canals

Grid	Location	Period	Reference	
A2	Semiramidos Diorux, at al-Masran SYR	R?L?	IsidChar 1; Lauffray 1983	
B2	Dawrin Canal SYR	A?C?H?	Geyer 1987, 313-15	
		R?L?		
E4	Patti-Enlil?	A?C?	RGTC 8, 395	
F3	Qatul Kisrawi	R?L?	Adams 1965, 76-77	
F4	Nahrawan	R?L?	Adams 1965, 67, 76	
E3	S [Samarra]	L?	Northedge 1990, 121-29	
F3 F4	Qatul Kisrawi Nahrawan	R?L? R?L?	Adams 1965, 76-77 Adams 1965, 67, 76	

# Dam

Grid	Location	Period	Reference
12	at Zenobia	R?L?	Louffwy 1002
A2	at Zenobia	K!L!	Lauffray 1983

# Walls

Grid	Name / Location	Period	Reference	
D3	Sur Umm al-Khawashij	H?R?	Killick 1983, 222	
E4	al-Mutabbaq	R?L?	Reade 1964, 83-87	
E4	Umm Rus	R?L?	Reade 1964, 87-88	
F4	Teichos Medias, at Habl as-Sahr	C	Black 1987	
F5	around Babylon	ACHR	RLAss Babylon	

# **Unlocated Toponyms**

Name	Period	Probable Location	References
Abba		Nehar Abba?	Oppenheimer 1983, 267-69
Abourene	R	district of Aborras fl. ?	Feissel 1989, 544
Achaiachala Ins.	L	Haditha or Bijan Island?	Musil 1927, 239; Gawlikowski 1988, 90 (n. 75)
Ad Herculem	H?RL	Jaddalah?	ItMiller 779; Ibrahim 1986.068
Addaia	H?R	near Euphrates	Ptol. 5.17.5; Musil 1927, 223
Aeipolis	R	perhaps for Is polis (=Idu/Hit)	RE Suppl. 1
Agamana	H?R	near Euphrates	Ptol. 5.17.5
Agranis/	RL	near junction of Euphrates and	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.120; Oppenheimer 1983, 134-40
Hagrunya	KL	Narmalcha fll.	1 mry, 1411 0.120, Oppenhermer 1903, 134-40
Allan	R	Kasra?	Lauffray 1983, 68; Feissel 1989, 541
Alouanis	H?R	near Nicephorium	Ptol. 5.17.7
Ankobaritis	H?R	near Meephonam	Ptol. 5.17.4; RE
Anthemus	R	city in lowland Assyria	Pliny, NH, 6.118; RE Polyteleia
Antiochia	R	between Tigris and the	
Antiochia	K	'Diabas' fll.	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.132
Amacha fl	L	Greater Zab?	AmmMarc 18.7.1
Anzaba fl.			
Apamea	H?R	in Sittacene?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.132; Oppenheimer 1983, 29-35
Aphphadana	H?R		Ptol. 5.17.5; RE
Apphadana	H?R		Ptol. 5.17.7
Apollonia	H?R		RE 27
Araxes fl.	C	Aborras?	Xen., Anab. 1.4.19; Musil 1927, 221
Archous fl.	R	river of Apamea in Sittacene	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.132
Arderikka	C	in N Babylonia	Hdt. 1.185
Aris	L		RE 1; Dillemann 1962, 141-42
Artivna	RL	near Pumbedita	Oppenheimer 1983, 41-42
Asbora fl.	L	Aborras fl.?	Zosimus 3.13
Asporakan = Sphorakene			
Audattha	H?R	near Auzara	Ptol. 5.18
Auzara	H?R	Deir al-Zor?	Ptol. 5.18; Lauffray 1983, 77
Balagaia	H?R	near Euphrates	Ptol. 5.18
Balictanor	L	between Ctesiphon and Artemita	RE <i>Κάραι</i>
Banake	H?R	near Euphrates	Ptol. 5.17.5; RE Banabe
Banathsamson/	R		Feissel 1989, 544
Bonasamson			,
Baraxmalcha	L	on Euphrates above Hit	Gawlikowski 1988, 90
Bariana	H?R	in inner Mesopotamia	Ptol. 5.17.7
Barophtas	L	between Ctesiphon and	RE Hucumbra
<b>Durophius</b>	-	Hucumbra	TED TIMOUMETU
Barsipa	HRL	on Maarsares fl.	Ptol. 5.19; RE Borsippa;
Barsipa	THE	on Madisares II.	Oppenheimer 1983, 468-69
Basileios fl.	HR		Strabo 16.1.27; RE Balicha
Beathagai	R	in Abourene	Feissel 1989, 544
Be Kenishta = Kounaxa	IX.	III / ROGULENC	1 013301 1707, 3 1 1
Belgynaia – Rounaxa	H?R	near Euphrates	Ptol. 5.18
Belias fl.	L	Balihu fl.?	AmmMarc 23.3.7
Beona(n)	R	al-Sinn?	Musil 1927, 229; RE Beona
Besouchis	L	in Babylonia	Zosimus 3.20 RE
Be(th) Phourai(a)	R	•	Feissel 1989, 540-41
. ,	K	on Euphrates in district of	reissei 1909, 340-41
§ Bephoure(a)	HOD	Appadana	Dt-1 5 17 5: Dill 1062 229
Bethauna	H?R	(Beth) Anatho?	Ptol. 5.17.5; Dillemann 1962, 228
Bimatra	H?R	Hatra?	Ptol. 5.17.7
Birtha Okbanou /	R	Qreiye?	Feissel 1989, 542
Birt Akupan	ъ	7 1:0	D. 1.5.17.6 F.: 1.1000.540
Birtha(n)	R	Zenobia?	Ptol. 5.17.6; Feissel 1989, 542
Bithra	L	near Cutha?	Zosimus 3.19; Musil 1927, 241
Biturs /	L	between Tigris and Thelser fll.?	RE Thelser
Praetoris			
Bonasamson =			
Banathsamson	_		
Boubia	L	near [Samarra]	RE Suppl. 1 Bubia

Name	Period	Probable Location	References
Bura	R		Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.118; RE 2
Chabora/	H?R	between Nicephorium and	Lauffray 1983, 78-79
Choubana		Zenobia	<b>,</b>
Chanar	R	Zenobia	Dodgeon 1991, 363
		C harda Essaharatan	
Charmande	C	S bank Euphrates	RE
Charra	L	between Artemita? and Albania	RE Κάραι
Chazene	HR	district round Hazza?	RE
Choubana = Chabroa			
Dabausa	H?RL		Lauffray 1983, 61, 67
Danas /	L	connected with Radani fl.?	RE Suppl. 1
Ru(n)danas	_	Commercial William Planetin III.	The supplier
Daremma	H?R	hatwaan Funhrotes and Tigris	Ptol. 5.17.7
		between Euphrates and Tigris	
Dardanees	С	on border between Assyria and Media	RE 1
Delas fl.	L	Diyala?	Dillemann 1962, 306
Douros fl.	L	Diyala?	Dillemann 1962, 306
Eudrapa	H?R		Ptol. 5.17.5
Gad(e)irtha	H?R	at or near Qraiya?	RE; Lauffray 1983, 76-77
Galabatha	R	Tell Ja'idah?	
			Musil 1927, 229; Lauffray 1983, 71, 78
Gamla	R	Jmeila? (suburb of Anatho)	Gawlikowski 1988, 97 (n. 72)
Ganaba	L	in Osrhoene	NotDig Or. 35.15
Gibrata/	L	between Ctesiphon and Hatra	RE Gubrata
Gorbatha	H?R	•	RE; Dillemann 1962, 304
Gyndes fl.	C	Diyala?	Hdt. 1.189, 202; RE
Hagrunya = Agranis			
Hucumbra /	τ /	[I II shows 19	DE
	L/	[Ukbara]?	RE
Symbra	L		
Izan Ins.	R	Bijan Is.? Alus Is.?	Gawlikowski 1988, 85
Ka(i)nai	CL	Takrit?	RE Kawai
Kalachene /	R/	Kalhu district?	
		Kamu district?	RE Καλαχηνή, ή
Kalakene	H?R		
Karai	CHR	between Susa and Sittacene	RE Κάραι
Karthara	H?R	between Takrit and Seleucia	Ptol. 5.17.6
Kauchabenoi	H?R	tribe in Arabia Deserta near	Ptol. 5.18; RE
		Euphrates	
Kinna	H?R	in Sittacene	Ptol. 6.1.6
Kolarina	H?R		Ptol. 5.18
		near Euphrates	
Korsote	C	on Maskas fl.	RE Κορσωτή; Musil 1927, 222
Kounaxa /	CH/	Tell al-Kenisa?	Oppenheimer 1983, 290-91; NPauly Kunaxa
Be Kenishta	RL		
Kyparisson	HR	S Arrapha	Strabo 16.1.4
Kyta fl. /	H?R /	river course / canal SW Cutha	Oppenheimer 1983, 179 (n. 177); RGTC 8, 374
Nar-Kute fl.	AC	Tiver course / cumar 5 W Cuma	oppenhemer 1703, 177 (n. 177), RGTC 0, 371
Lakeite	R		P.Dura 17.D.40
		in Masanatamia	
Laodicea	R	in Mesopotamia	Pliny, NH 6.117; RE Laodikeia 7
Maarsares /	H?R		Ptol. 5.19
Marses fl.	L		AmmMarc 23.6.25
Macepracta	L	on Euphrates	AmmMarc 24.2.6
Mag(o)uda	H?R	Tell Markhada near	Ptol. 5.17.5; Lauffray 1983, 71
		Nicephorium?	•
Magdala	R	in Sphorakene	Feissel 1989, 542
Maiozamalcha	L	near or at Veh Ardashir?	AmmMarc 24.4.2
Mambri	L	Shaikh Mubarrak or Qubr Tibni	Procop., Aed. 2.8.7; Musil 1927, 332;
	_	near Zenobia?	Lauffray 1983, 67

Name	Period	Probable Location	References
Manchane	H?RL	on Tigris N Seleucia	RE Μασχάνη
Maranga	L	district N Hucumbra	AmmMarc 25.1.11
Marses fl. = Maarsares fl.	L	district in fracumora	Allimivate 23.1.11
Martenoi	H?R	tribe in Arabia Deserta on borders	RE
Maskas fl.	С	of Babylonia river / canal encircling Korsote	RE
Massicen	H?R	near confluence of Babylon and	Pliny, NH 5.90
		Seleucia branches of Tigris	
Megia Meinas Sabattha/	L L	Hit? near Seleucia	Gawlikowski 1988, 91 (n. 80)
Sabat	RL.	near Seleucia	RE Μείνας Σαβατθά Morony 1982, 23
Mennis	C?H?R	bitumen spring between Arbela	RE
	R	and Ctesiphon, near Arrapha?	
Merra	R R	Tell Medkuk near Mari?	Gawlikowski 1988, 84 (n. 33)
Mesene Naresh	RL	area of Ctesiphon	Pliny, NH 6.129, 131
	L L		Oppenheimer 1983, 258-66 RE Hucumbra
Nischana(be) Nisibis	R	near Neardea	Jos., AJ 18.312, 379;
INISIDIS	K	near reardea	Oppenheimer 1983, 319-34
Nisistu	L	near Radani fl.?	RE Κάραι
14151514	L	iicai Radaiii II. :	KL Kagai
Olabous	R		Gawlikowski 1988, 85
Ona fl.	L	Lower Zab?	AmmMarc 23.6.20-22; Dillemann 1962, 306
Oroba	H?R	near Tigris, between Takrit and Seleucia?	Ptol. 6.1.3
Ossa	R	Sciedeia.	P.Dura 23.1; 31.1
Ozogardana/	L	on Euphrates downstream from	AmmMarc 24.2.3; Gawlikowski 1988, 90-91
Zaragardia		Hit	
Pakor(i)a /	RL/	near Kish?	Ptol. 5.17.5; Morony 1982, 26 (n. 404)
Paqorya	L		Cl + 1004 02 C 1'1 1' 1000 04
Parapotamia	HR	district along Euphrates embracing Nicephorium and	Chaumont 1984, 82; Gawlikowski 1988, 84 (nn. 31-32)
Peliala	H?R	Dura / Europus E Aborras fl., S Singaras M.	Ptol. 5.17.7
Peloria(r)c(h)a	L	near Takrit?	RE Peloriarca; Dillemann 1962, 305
Pharga	H?R	in Arabia Deserta near Euphrates	Ptol. 5.18
Phathousas	L	near Anatho	Gawlikowski 1988, 90 (n. 72)
Philiscum	H?R	neur i munio	RE Philiscum; Gawlikowski 1988, 87
Phissenia	L	near Basileios fl. in Babylonia	Zosimus 3.19; Musil 1927, 236, 240-41
Phrygia	L	near Radani fl.?	AmmMarc 25.3.9
Physkos fl.	C	Diyala?	RE 2
Poly(t)elia	R	in lowland Mesopotamia	Pliny, NH 6.118; RE Polyteleia
Praetoris = Biturs		-	
Rakoukaitha	R		P.Dura 26.int 1; 26.ext 7
Rumakan	RL	district west of Veh-Ardashir	Morony 1982, 23
Ru(n)danas = Danas			
Sabat = Meinas Sabattha	D	in Cittagana	Dliny NH 6 122, DE
Sabdata Sambana	R CHR	in Sittacene Babylon area?	Pliny, NH 6.132; RE RE Σάμβανα, τά
Sambatai	H?R	tribe N Sittacene	RE Σαμβανα, τα Ptol. 6.1.2
Samsbanas	R	near Euphrates?	Feissel 1989, 544
Saokoras fl.	H?R	Dawrin canal?	Ptol. 5.17.3; Dillemann 1962, 53
Silla fl.	R	river of Artemita; Diyala?	RE Σίλλα
Sitha	L	Hit?	Gawlikowski 1988, 91 (n. 80)
Sittace	CHR	in Sittacene	RE Σιττάκη
Sphorakene /	R	along Euphrates, near Zenobia?	Feissel 1989, 543
Asporakan			
Stratonicea	R	in lowland Mesopotamia	Pliny, NH 6.118; RE Polyteleia
Soura	H?R	near Arrapha?	Ptol. 6.1.6

Name	Period	Probable Location	References
Syrbane Ins. Symbra = Hucumbra	RL	in Euphrates	StByz Συρβανή; RE Euphrates, col. 1199
Tartaru / [Tharthar] Tetyroi	AC?H? / R?L? R	Wadi Tharthar	Ibrahim 1986, 26-27 P.Dura 17.A.2
Theboura Thelamouza Thelde	H?R RL H?R	in Sittacene on Arabian side of Euphrates near Tigris, between Seleucia and	Ptol. 6.1.6 Gawlikowski 1988, 97 (n. 74) Ptol. 6.1.3
Thelser / Zelfir	L	Takrit? between Tigris and Radani?	RE D'II 10/2 195
Themessata Thillada Mirrada / Thel(la)da	L H?RL	W Hatra Tell Khmeyda near Zenobia?	RE; Dillemann 1962, 185 Ptol. 5.17.5; Gawlikowski 1988, 82
Tiona / Titana fl. Tiridata	L H?R	Diyala?	RE Thelser; ItMiller 846 Ptol. 5.17.5
Titana fl. = Tiona fl.  *Vaccatum	L	fort E 'Sumere'	AmmMarc 25.6.4; RE Vaccatum
Zaira da Sacharae Zaitha /	RL RL	Zaitha? near Dura / Europus?	P.Dura 26.int 3; 26.ext 10 RE; Gawlikowski 1988, 89 (n. 67)
Zautha / Zeitha Zaragardia = Ozogardana Zautha = Zaitha Zeitha = Zaitha Zelfir = Thelser	H?R		Ptol. 5.17.5
Zerbis fl.	R	Greater or Lesser Zab?	RE

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