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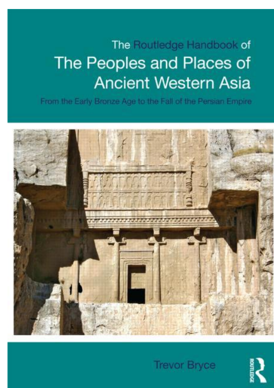

The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia
The Near East from the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire

Trevor Bryce, Heather D. Baker, Daniel T. Potts, Jonathan N. Tubb, Jennifer M. Webb, Paul Zimansky

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Publication details
https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203875506-12
Trevor Bryce, Heather D. Baker, Daniel T. Potts, Jonathan N. Tubb, Jennifer M. Webb, Paul Zimansky
Published online on: 14 Jul 2009

How to cite :- Trevor Bryce, Heather D. Baker, Daniel T. Potts, Jonathan N. Tubb, Jennifer M. Webb, Paul Zimansky. 14 Jul 2009, *L from:* The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia, The Near East from the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire Routledge
Accessed on: 02 Dec 2023
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Lab(a)dudu Iron Age Aramaean tribe in southeastern Mesopotamia, attested in Assyrian sources. The first reference to it dates to the reign of Adad-nirari III (810–783), when it was one of the tribal lands laid waste by the king's commander-in-chief Shamshi-ilu (**RIMA* 3: 232). Labdudu tribesmen were among the deportees from eastern Babylonia who were resettled in Assyria by Tiglath-pileser III c. 730 (*Tigl. III* 160–1). The tribe later figures in the list of Aramaean peoples conquered by Sargon II (721–705), and is last mentioned in correspondence from the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–630/627).

Lipiński (2000: 440–1).

Laba'um (*Labwa*?) Bronze and Iron Age city in the central Biqaʿ valley, Lebanon. It is first clearly attested in Egyptian texts from the reigns of the pharaohs Tuthmosis III (C15) and Ramesses II (C13), though there may be an earlier reference to it in a text dating to Egypt's twelfth dynasty (1985–1773). Laba'um appears in *OT* sources under the name *Lb' Hmt* or *Lbw' Hmt* – read as *Labwa Hamat* – indicating that the city had at one time been part of the Iron Age kingdom of Hamath; it was perhaps one of the territories of Hamath which, according to 2 Kings 14:25–8, fell to the C8 Israelite king Jeroboam II. Later in C8, it was incorporated into the Assyrian empire, as part of a province of which Soba (Assyrian Subutu) was the chief city. An identification has been proposed with mod. Labwa, located near the source of the Orontes r.

Röllig (*RlA* 6: 410), Lipiński (2000: 319–22).

Labraunda (Labraynda) (map 5) Religious sanctuary dedicated to the god Zeus Labraundus or Zeus Stratius (for the latter, see Herodotus 5.119), located in Caria, southwestern Anatolia, 48 km southeast of Miletus. The sanctuary was excavated, from 1948 onwards, by a Swedish team from the University of Uppsala. It was apparently first occupied in late C7. Built on a mountainside in a series of terraces, Labraunda was administered by the city of Mylasa, which lay 13 km to its south and was linked to it by a paved Sacred Way. Numerous rock-cut tombs, probably dating to C4, were built around the sanctuary and along the Sacred Way. L. Karlsson from Upssala University and current excavator of the site, reports that on top of the city's acropolis, 'a fortress with nine towers containing an inner fortress with two towers and barracks was documented as well as five freestanding towers on small hilltops in its vicinity. They appear to be part of a defensive system to protect the sanctuary in the late Hecatomnid period' (in Yıldırım and Gates, 2007: 319).

Labraunda's first cult-temple was probably constructed in C5, and in the following century the whole site was extensively redeveloped by members of Caria's ruling Hecatomnid dynasty, particularly Mausolus, who may have had a palace there. Little further development occurred until the early Roman imperial period when baths and

other public buildings were added to the site. Labraunda continued to be occupied through the Byzantine period until its abandonment in C11 CE.

Bean (1971: 58–68), E. Akurgal (1973: 244–5), MacDonald (*PECS* 474–5), Karlsson (2006).

Lachish (***Tell ed-Duweir***) (map 8) 12 ha city located in the Judaean hill country in southern Palestine, 38 km southeast of Jerusalem. Its history of occupation extends from the Neolithic to the Hellenistic age, with several periods of abandonment in between. Identified as Lachish by W. F. Albright in 1929, the site was excavated successively by a British team under the direction of J. L. Starkey (1932–8), by Y. Aharoni on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1966–8), and by D. Ussishkin for Tel Aviv University (1973–87).

During the Early Bronze Age (M3), Lachish achieved the proportions of a substantial settlement, and in Middle Bronze II became one of the most important city-states of the region. A huge rampart and ditch or fosse enclosed the city in the latter period, and a large building complex constructed on the centre of the mound was probably the palace of the local ruler. It was destroyed by fire, but then apparently rebuilt and thenceforth used for domestic and industrial purposes. Rock-cut tombs contained a range of pottery, weapons, and scarabs. Already by the start of the Late Bronze Age, the imposing Middle Bronze Age defensive system had fallen into disuse, for above the debris which had accumulated in the ditch was erected, close to the northeast corner of the mound, a small temple which has become known as the Fosse Temple. In its earliest phase it consisted of a rectangular room, 15 m × 5 m, orientated north–south, with subsidiary rooms on the north and west. Against the south wall was the shrine or altar, consisting of a mudbrick bench with three projections, on and around which were found the apparatus of the cult. The temple went through two further phases, during which more chambers were added and the main cult room was enlarged and provided with additional benches.

The earliest written reference to Lachish occurs in a text from the reign of the pharaoh Amenhotep II (1427–1400). By C14 it had attained the status of one of Canaan's most important city-states. Its subjection to Egypt in this period is indicated by letters in the Amarna archive (see glossary) written to the pharaoh by its kings Yabni-ilu (**EA* 328), Zimreddi (**EA* 329), and Shipti-Baʿlu (**EA* 330–2), and by other references in the Amarna letters to its involvement in the disputes and conflicts among the pharaoh's vassal states. Destruction of the city (level VII) probably occurred around the end of C13. The last 'Canaanite' city (level VI), still under Egyptian control, was built shortly after this destruction. Its tax obligations to Egypt are indicated by inscriptions on votive bowls dating to the reign of the pharaoh Ramesses III (1184–1153).

Lachish did not escape the upheavals which afflicted many of the kingdoms and cities of the western Asian world in early C12. The level VI city was destroyed during these upheavals and the site was abandoned, not to be resettled until C10. The agents of destruction may have been groups of Sea Peoples. Alternatively, Lachish may have fallen to the Israelites, if their alleged destruction of the city and its inhabitants reported in Joshua 10:31–2 is historically valid and can be assigned to this period. The city's lack of fortifications during its Late Bronze Age phase no doubt facilitated its destruction. It remained unfortified after it was rebuilt (level V) in C10. This rebuilding marked the beginning of the Iron Age II phase of Lachish's existence (levels V–III;

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c. 1000–587). But the city was again destroyed within a few decades, on this occasion during the campaign conducted by the pharaoh Sheshonq I (biblical Shishak) in the region c. 925. Yet again Lachish emerged from its ashes, this time as a large and massively fortified city, dominated by an enormous palace-fortress constructed within the centre of the city. There is an assumption that the new city, level IV, was constructed by one of the early kings of Judah (in the period late C10–early C9) within the context of the divided monarchy. Indeed Lachish now achieved a regional importance second only to that of Jerusalem.

The next archaeologically attested destruction, which levelled substantial parts of the city, including its palace, city gate, wall, and a residential area, has been attributed to environmental causes rather than to human agency. The earthquake reported in Amos 1:1 and Zechariah 14:5 in the reign of the Judaean king Uzziah (c. 760) may have been the culprit. But this remains speculative. In any case, the city's fortifications and palace-fortress were promptly rebuilt, the latter on a larger scale than previously, and the population also grew in size. But the level III city had a relatively short existence before it was destroyed, c. 701, by the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who deported its inhabitants and set up his camp there as a base for operations against Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem. Stone reliefs from Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh depict the conquest of the city.

Yet again Lachish was abandoned and yet again rebuilt and refortified, its level II phase being assigned to the period when Josiah was king of Judah (640–609). But it was now reduced in size, its palace-fortress was not rebuilt, its walls were less substantial, and parts of the centre of the city were left in ruins. A notable find dating to this level was a group of Hebrew ostraca now referred to as the Lachish letters, sent to or by an army commander stationed in Lachish. According to Jeremiah 34:7, Lachish was by now one of the few fortified cities left in Judah. The level II city was destroyed by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II c. 587, and once again abandoned. Its last designated phase, level I, began with its rebuilding as a centre of the Persian administration, the Persian governor being housed in a small government residency built over the remains of the former palace-fortress. Part of its population was made up of Judaean exiles liberated from Babylon by the Persians. The city survived into the Hellenistic period when, yet again, it was abandoned.

Weippert/Wright (*RlA* 6: 412–17), Ussishkin (*NEAEHL* 3: 897–911; *OEANE* 3: 317–23), Pardee (*OEANE* 3: 323–4, for the Lachish inscriptions), Ussishkin (2004), James (2007).

Ladanu Country in northeastern Mesopotamia, in the region of the Greater and Lesser Zab rivers, attested in the texts of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884). Tukulti-Ninurta reports that the land was at that time occupied by Aramaean and Lullu(mu) tribes, and that he conquered and destroyed thirty of its cities (886) (**RIMA* 2: 172–3).

Lade (map 5) Small island off the southwestern coast of Anatolia near the city of Miletus. In 494 it was the scene of a naval engagement fought in defence of Miletus by the Ionian Greeks and their allies who, according to Herodotus, mustered 353 triremes against the 600 ships of the Persian fleet. The Greek forces were routed by the enemy. The Persians followed up their victory by blockading and capturing Miletus, and massacring or enslaving its inhabitants.

Herodotus 6.7–18, Bürchner (*RE* XII: 381).

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Lagash (maps 11, 17) Early Bronze Age Sumerian city-state in southern Mesopotamia, occupying c. 300 ha and consisting of three urban centres: Lagash city (mod. al-Hiba), Girsu (mod. Telloh), and Nina-Sirara (mod. Zurghul), located c. 20 km apart. Lagash achieved prominence in Mesopotamia during the second half of M3, following the decline of two other leading Sumerian states, Uruk and Kish, and continued to play an important role in the political, military, and economic affairs of southern Mesopotamia until the collapse of the Ur III kingdom at the end of M3.

From royal inscriptions discovered on the site of Telloh during French excavations at the end of C19, a first royal 'dynasty' of nine kings has been assembled (the seventh and ninth of its members, Enentarzi and Urukagina, are thought to be interlopers) dated to the period c. 2520 to 2330. Under this dynasty, founded by Ur-Nanshe, Lagash dominated southern Mesopotamia for almost two centuries. It reached the peak of its power and development under its third king Eannatum, best known from the famous Stele of the Vultures monument. Now in the Louvre museum, the stele was found in a fragmentary state during the French excavations of Girsu (late C19). The surviving bas-relief and accompanying inscription record a battle between Lagash and its longstanding rival, Umma, located c. 56 km to the northwest. Boundary disputes led to frequent clashes between the states. The relief scenes on the Stele of the Vultures depict Lagash's tutelary deity Ningirsu entangling the Ummaite enemy in a net, and Eannatum in a chariot leading his infantry forces into battle. The inscription records Eannatum's victory, and the terms of the treaty subsequently concluded with Umma (**Chav.* 11–13). Other inscriptions give the impression that Eannatum extended his power and influence to Mari on the middle Euphrates and even further north into the region of Subartu in northern Mesopotamia, apparently after he had established by military force his control over the city-states of southern Mesopotamia, including Umma, Uruk, Ur, Kish, and Akshak. Unfortunately we have no independent sources of information for assessing whether Eannatum's achievements were as extensive as he claims.

Our knowledge of the First Dynasty of Lagash depends on 120 royal inscriptions found at Telloh, supported by information contained in almost 2,000 tablets dealing with the administration of the city's temple of the goddess Baʾu. The tablets date probably to the reigns of the last three members of the dynasty. Urukagina, the last member (and possibly a usurper), reigned for only eight years, at a time when Lagash had already become much weakened. His decisive defeat by Lugal-zage-si, the king of Umma, brought Lagash's status as a major Mesopotamian power to an end. But he is particularly remembered for introducing a series of social reforms, which were designed to eradicate the abuses perpetrated by officials and others in positions of power in his kingdom, and to provide adequate protection for the kingdom's less privileged inhabitants. These reforms served as an important forerunner to the later law codes of the Ur III king Ur-Nammu (late M3), of Lipit-Ishtar, king of Isin (early M2), and of the Babylonian king Hammurabi (C18).

Lagash was subsequently incorporated into the Akkadian empire founded by Sargon in 2334. Sargon's son and successor Rimush (2278–2270) reports the conquest and destruction of both Ur and Lagash, killing 8,040 men and taking 5,460 prisoners (**RIME* 2: 45–6). After the fall of this empire c. 2193, a new line of Lagash dynasts arose, who sought to restore their state to its former glory. The most distinguished member of this dynasty (its twelve members were apparently not confined to a single family) was its seventh king, Gudea, whose accession is dated to c. 2120. Under his

reign in particular, Lagash appears to have enjoyed a renaissance, at least culturally and commercially. It became a flourishing centre for Sumerian art and literature, and established trading links as far afield as the Mediterranean coast and the Iranian plateau. Inscriptions on numerous stone statues of Gudea provide a wide range of information about the king's building exploits, his importation of luxury goods and commodities from distant regions, and the general prosperity of his reign; see *Edzard (1997), **Chav.* 45–51, **RIME* 3/1: 29–180.

Two decades or so later Lagash became part of the Ur III empire, founded by Ur-Nammu c. 2112. Under the Ur III regime it continued to play an important economic and political role in Mesopotamian affairs. In the final years of the Ur III kingdom, which came to an end c. 2004 in the reign of its last king, Ibbi-Sin, Lagash may have won a further brief period of independence, before coming under the control of the kingdom of Larsa during the so-called Isin-Larsa period. Thenceforth only a few scattered references attest to its continuing existence.

*Thureau-Dangin (1907), Bauer (*RlA* 6: 419–22), Lafont (*DCM* 453–6).

Lagash city (*al-Hiba*) One of the three urban centres comprising the Early Bronze Age Sumerian city-state of Lagash. The other two were Girsu (mod. Telloh) and Nina-Sirara (mod. Zurghul). Like both these sites, al-Hiba was first occupied in the Ubaid and Uruk periods. It has the distinction of being one of the largest archaeological sites in western Asia, covering at its maximum extent some 600 ha. The

Figure 60 Gudea, king of Lagash.

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German archaeologist R. Koldewey conducted the first excavations there in 1887. The numerous burials within the houses he unearthed led him to conclude, wrongly, that al-Hiba was a necropolis. (He reached a similarly mistaken conclusion about Nina-Sirara.) Following brief regional surveys in the al-Hiba region in 1953 and 1965, new excavations were conducted on the site, from 1968 onwards, by D. P. Hansen for the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Inscriptions have identified al-Hiba's anc. name as Lagash. For a time, it was the capital of its city-state, probably in the first part of the Early Dynastic period (c. 2900–2334), before Girsu took on this role. Part of a large temple precinct called the Bagara has been unearthed. It was dedicated to Lagash's chief deity Ningirsu. A nearby building which appears to have been associated with this precinct has been identified as a brewery. Other buildings dating to the Early Dynastic III period include a temple complex dedicated to the goddess Inanna (the Ibgal of Inanna), located at the city's southwestern edge within an oval enclosure wall, and a large administrative building that contained tablets and sealings dating to the reigns of Eannatum and Enannatum I, third and fourth rulers of Lagash's first dynasty.

The large-scale abandonment of the city at the end of the Early Dynastic III period has been associated with the conquest of Lagash by its longstanding rival Umma. There was, however, some continuing occupation during the period of the Akkadian empire (2334–2193), to judge from a number of Akkadian texts found on the mound. Following the collapse of the empire, Gudea, king of a renascent Lagash, appears to have rebuilt the Bagara. Occupation continued through the following Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods. The latest attested evidence of the city's existence dates to the reign of the Larsan king Sin-iddinam (1849–1843).

Hansen (*RlA* 6: 422–30), Matthews (*OEANE* 2: 406–9).

Lahiru M1 city in the Diyala region, eastern Babylonia, near the Elamite frontier. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911–891) claims that it marked one of the limits of the Babylonian territory which he annexed following his defeat of the Babylonian king Shamash-mudammiq (**RIMA* 2: 148). It was among the cities seized and destroyed by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III in 850 during the second of his Babylonian campaigns (**RIMA* 3: 30). In 812 it was conquered by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V, during his third Babylonian campaign (**ABC* 168). The Babylonian throne at this time was occupied by Baba-aha-iddina. Lahiru later fell to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), along with the nearby cities of Hilimmu and Pillutu and the territories of the Aramaean tribe Puqudu. Tiglath-pileser incorporated all these cities and lands into the Assyrian province of Arrapha (**Tigl. III* 160–1). Lahiru was the centre of a district variously called Yadburu, Yadibiri, Idibirina, and Dibirina in Assyrian texts. It served as a market-place for the wool which was purchased there by textile traders from Nippur, and as a collection centre for livestock (horses, mules, oxen, sheep, goats) brought by local sheikhs as tribute for the Assyrian king.

Brinkman (1968: 178), *Nippur IV*: 117, Lipiński (2000: 432–3).

Lahm, Tell al- see Kissik.

Laish see Dan.

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Lalanda Late Bronze Age district in southern Anatolia, located in the Hittite region called the Lower Land (q.v.). Its inhabitants joined the forces from Arzawa when the latter invaded Hittite territory during the reign of the Hittite king Tudhaliya III (first half of C14). However, the Lalandans promptly renewed their allegiance to Hatti when Tudhaliya's son and successor Suppiluliuma I dispatched his military commander Hannutti to the Lower Land to reassert Hittite authority there (*Houwink ten Cate, 1966: 28–30). They again rose in rebellion in the reign of the C13 king Tudhaliya IV.
Frantz-Szabó and Ünal (*RlA* 6: 437), **RGTC* 6: 240–1.

La'la'tu M1 city belonging to the Aramaean state of Bit-Adini in northern Syria, and located near the capital, Til-Barsip (Tell Ahmar). In 858, when Bit-Adini was ruled by a man called Ahunu, La'la'tu was among the cities in the region conquered by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III during his first western campaign (**RIMA* 3: 9, 15). Abandoned by its population, who fled at the approach of the Assyrian army, the city was seized by Shalmaneser and put to the torch.
Lipiński (2000: 174).

Lalluknu see Sukkia.

Lamena Iron Age mountainous land in southern Anatolia attacked by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, following his campaign in 833 against the kingdom of Que (**RIMA* 3: 68). The Assyrians captured the mountain peak where the population of the land had taken refuge, massacred their victims or took them prisoner, and plundered and burned their towns and villages before moving on to the conquest of Tarsus on the coast.

Lampsacus (map 5) M1 settlement in the Troad, northwestern Anatolia. Originally called Pityussa, it was an Ionian colony founded by settlers from either Miletus or Phocaea on Anatolia's western coast. It occupied a valuable strategic position on the southern shore of the Hellespont. The Greek geographer Strabo (13.1.18) speaks of its fine harbour. In C6 it was part of the Lydian empire, until 546 when the empire fell to the Persian king Cyrus II. In late C6 its inhabitants were involved in a dispute with the Athenian commander Militiades (I) over his domination of the Thracian Chersonesus, which lay close by to the north (Herodotus 6.37–8). Persian control was firmly established over Lampsacus by Darius I after he had crushed the Ionian rebellion in 494. Subsequently, Darius' grandson and successor-but-one Artaxerxes I assigned the city to the exiled Athenian commander Themistocles. The latter's travels after his banishment from Athens ended when he sought refuge with the Persians in western Anatolia and was appointed governor of the city of Magnesia on the Maeander (Magnesia ad Maeandrum). Apparently, Lampsacus kept Themistocles supplied with the wine for which it was famous (Thucydides 1.138). Later, the city became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Its prosperity at this time is indicated by its annual contribution to the Confederacy's treasury – the considerable sum of twelve talents. The city broke its ties with Athens in 412/411, when Athenian fortunes in the Peloponnesian War had reached a very low ebb (Thucydides 8.62). But Athens quickly re-established control over it. In 405 it was taken by the Spartan commander Lysander, and it remained under Spartan domination until it once more fell to the Persians. The

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city regained its independence c. 362, and remained free of outside control until it was taken by Alexander the Great in 334.

Schwertheim (*BNP* 7: 190–1).

Landa One of the small Late Bronze Age countries in southern Anatolia which the early Hittite king Labarna (C17) conquered and assigned to the governorship of his sons (**Chav.* 230). Later references to the city are confined to cultic contexts.

Ünal (*RlA* 6: 487–8).

Lapethos (Lapithus, ***Lampousa***) (map 14) Bronze and Iron Age settlement on the north-central coast of Cyprus, located 14 km west of mod. Kyrenia. Over 250 Early and Middle Bronze Age burials were excavated there in early C20 by J. L. Myres and M. Markides for the Dept of Antiquities, Cyprus, B. H. Hill for the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. The site was particularly important in the Middle Bronze Age, when large-scale consumption of metal is implied by the deposition of significant quantities of bronze weapons and implements in the tombs. This reflects a growing external demand for Cypriot copper and an increasing trade in this material from harbour-towns on the north coast. Lapethos may also have been a manufacturing centre for metal goods, drawing its copper from the Skouriotissa area in the northwestern Troodos. The settlement continued to be occupied, on a much reduced scale, in the Late Bronze Age.

The Iron Age town was founded, according to Greek tradition, by a certain Praxandrus from Laconia in southern mainland Greece. Although not among the local kingdoms listed in the prism inscription of the C7 Assyrian king Esarhaddon (Heidel, 1956), Lapethos appears to have enjoyed political autonomy, but very little is known of its history. Its coin issues, which date to C5 and C4, provide the names of some its kings. But otherwise, the earliest attestation of it in written sources occurs in a reference to it in the list of cities compiled in mid C4 under the name of the 'geographer' Pseudo-Scylax. The first historical reference to the city records the arrest by Ptolemy I Soter of its king, Praxippus (312), who was suspected of being in league with Ptolemy's rival Antigonus. In general, Lapethos appears to have enjoyed a prosperous existence through to the early Byzantine period, when it was the seat of a bishop. Decline set in after the first Arab invasions in 647, and the site was finally abandoned.

Nicolaou (*PECS* 482–3), Herscher (*OEANE* 3: 330–1).

Laqe (maps 7, 13) Iron Age land located on the middle Euphrates, including the confluence of the Euphrates and Habur rivers and the area to the south. It lay between the states of Bit-Halupe to the north and Hindanu to the south, the latter separating it from Suhu. Its population was made up of a mixture of Aramaean and northern Arabian tribal groups. As a cultural and political entity, its origins date back to the early years of M1. But Laqe was never united under a single ruler. Rather, it consisted of a loose confederation of states ruled by independent tribal chieftains. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911–891) received tribute from its cities and the neighbouring land of Hindanu in his progress through the middle Euphrates region (**RIMA* 2: 153–4). Similarly, Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884) received tribute from Laqean rulers called Mudadda, Hamataya, and Haranu while campaigning in the middle Euphrates region

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(*RIMA 2: 175–6). But in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859), Laqe and Hindanu joined with Suhu in an anti-Assyrian coalition, probably with the encouragement of Bit-Adini and Babylonia (c. 877). Ashurnasirpal crushed the coalition's forces, then set about destroying their cities and deporting large numbers of their populations (*RIMA 2: 214–15). In a subsequent engagement at a crossing on the Euphrates, he routed the infantry and chariotry of Azi-ilu, one of the Laqean leaders whom he himself had installed as ruler of the city of Suru (*RIMA 2: 199) (see **Suru (2)**). Azi-ilu survived the battle, fled to the hills, and apparently defied all the Assyrians' efforts to hunt him down.

In the reign of Adad-nirari III (810–783), Laqe was among the lands in the middle Euphrates region assigned to the governorship of a man called Nergal-erish (Palil-erish) (*RIMA 2: 209, 211). In mid C8, when Laqe was being plundered by a force of 2,000 Hatallu (q.v.) tribesmen, its governor, Adad-da'anu, appealed to Ninurta-kudurri-usur, ruler of Suhu, for assistance. When he heard reports that the Hatallu were planning to set upon his own land as well, Ninurta-kudurri-usur responded to the appeal by attacking and annihilating the invaders while they were still in Laqean territory. He captured and killed their leader, Shama'gamni, then stripped off his skin and displayed it in front the gate of Al-gabbari-bani, one of the cities of Suhu (*RIMB 2: 292–302).

Postgate (*RlA* 6: 492–4), Lipiński (2000: 77–108).

Larak Early Bronze Age Sumerian city-state in southern Mesopotamia, probably located near Nippur. According to the Sumerian King List, it was the third of five Sumerian cities to be granted kingship in Sumer before the great flood (*Chav. 82). Written evidence indicates that the city was still occupied in M2 and in M1 down to the Persian period (C6–4).

Edzard (*RlA* 6: 494–5).

Larbusa Iron Age city located in the vicinity of Mt Nisir, in or near the land of Zamua on the edge of the Zagros mountain range. Larbusa and the cities belonging to it were conquered, plundered, and destroyed by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II in 881 during his campaign against Zamua (*RIMA 2: 204–5).

Laris(s)a Legendary city of the Pelasgians in Homeric tradition (*Iliad* 2.840–3). There are a number of cities of this name attested in Classical sources (Strabo 9.5.19 lists eleven). The Pelasgian city so called is probably to be located on the western coast of the Troad, in the region of Aeolis, though the listing of the Pelasgians next to Thrace in Homer's Trojan Catalogue (in the *Iliad*) could conceivably indicate a Thracian location for their city. If the city was in fact located in Aeolis, then it can perhaps be identified with the settlement on the hill above the mod. village of Buruncuk (28 km north of Izmir). An alternative identification has been proposed with the site at Yanık Köy, which lies a few km to the east. The Pelasgians of Larissa were apparently overcome by Aeolian Greek newcomers to the region in late C8. From then on Larissa became one of the most important Aeolian cities, and is generally assumed to have been the city attested by Herodotus (1.149), in the form Leris(s)ae, among the twelve original Aeolian communities.

Kaletsch (*BNP* 7: 254).

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Larsa (***Tell Senkereh***) (map 11) City in southern Mesopotamia, covering more than 300 ha, located 20 km southeast of Uruk. Its history of occupation extends (probably) from the Ubaid period (M4) – though the earliest excavated remains date to M3 – to the Parthian period (C3 BCE–C3 CE). However, its main period of occupation falls within the Middle Bronze Age, in the first quarter of M2. Larsa was first identified with Tell Senkereh by W. K. Loftus in 1854. Since then, twelve excavation campaigns have been conducted on the site, the most important and most recent of which have been those of J.-C. Margueron in 1969 and 1970, and J.-L. Huot from 1976 until 1991.

The excavation, incomplete, of a large building dating to the Early Dynastic period (c. 2900–2334), indicates that Larsa was already a city of some importance at this time. However, it reached the height of its power and prosperity in the early years of M2, when it was one of the cities which sought to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of the Ur III empire c. 2004. Prior to this, a ruling dynasty had supposedly (according to the later 'Larsa King List') been established in Larsa by a man called Naplanum c. 2025. He was the first of a line of fourteen kings who held sway over the city and its territories through the first quarter of M2, until Larsa's independence was brought to an end in 1763 by the Babylonian king Hammurabi. The city's rise to prominence as the centre of a major kingdom began with the reign of its fifth king, Gungunum (1932–1906), who led Larsa into the first of a long series of conflicts with the rival kingdom Isin. Gungunum surrounded his city with a wall, seized the city of Ur from Isin's king Lipit-Ishtar, and temporarily 'liberated' the city of Kisurra and possibly also Uruk from Isin's domination. Military victories by Gungunum's successor-but-one Sumu-El (1894–1866) resulted in a northward expansion of the territories controlled by Larsa: Sumu-El conquered Kazallu and Kish, and also briefly gained sway over Kisurra and Nippur. However, his defeat at the hands of the Isin king Bur-Sin enabled Isin to regain control over Ur for awhile.

Sumu-El's successor Nur-Adad (1865–1850) is noted for his impressive building projects, at least according to his own inscriptions (**RIME* 4: 145–9). He claims to have rebuilt Larsa's city wall and a great palace in the city, and also to have ordered an extensive building programme in Ur (obviously now back under Larsa's control) and the restoration of the anc. sanctuary of Enki (Ea) in the city of Eridu. His palace in Larsa has in fact been identified, though it was apparently incomplete at the time of his death and was never occupied. This may have been due to political upheavals at the end of his reign – if we can so judge from an inscription of his son and successor Sin-iddinam (1849–1843), which seems to indicate an uprising in his father's reign but gives no details.

The last two independent rulers of Larsa, Warad-Sin (1834–1823) and Rim-Sin (1822–1763), were members of a new dynasty. The former was installed on Larsa's throne by his father, Kudur-Mabuk, an Amorite chieftain (following the expulsion of Silli-Adad, the last ruler of the previous dynasty). (For an account of Kudur-Mabuk's achievements, see **RIME* 4: 206–21.) Rim-Sin, brother of Warad-Sin, is one of the best known of the early Mesopotamian kings, with the distinction of having the longest reign of all of them: he occupied his kingdom's throne for sixty years. Rim-Sin conquered Uruk around 1802, thus putting an end to the local Sin-kashid dynasty. On his accession, the kingdom covered a 230 km strip of territory in western Babylonia, extending from Eridu and Ur in the south beyond Nippur in the north. During the

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first half of his reign, Rim-Sin pursued his kingdom's ongoing conflict with Isin. The result was a decisive victory for Rim-Sin in 1794, which resulted in Isin's incorporation as subject territory into the kingdom of Larsa. This triumph marked the high point of Rim-Sin's reign. The second half of the reign was characterized by increasingly strained relations with Babylon, then ruled by Hammurabi, who like his father and grandfather had formerly been a vassal of Rim-Sin. When Rim-Sin refused to join Hammurabi in a war against the Elamites, the Babylonian king used this as a pretext for attacking Larsa. He succeeded in capturing the city after a six-month siege, and took Rim-Sin and his son prisoner (1763). But Hammurabi spared the city, its buildings and its population, contenting himself simply with demolishing its fortifications. Initially, he sought to create the illusion of a partnership between the kingdoms of Babylon and Larsa, but this did little to disguise the reality of the absorption of Larsa into the Babylonian empire – along with Isin, Ur, and Uruk, which had formerly been under Larsa's control. (Much of the information about Larsa and its relations with Babylon in this period is provided by letters contained in the Mari archives; see e.g. **ARM XXVI/2*: 203–5, nos. 385, 386, *LKM* 616, refs.)

The territory previously controlled by Larsa was divided into a northern 'upper province' and a southern 'lower province', the former probably with Mashkan-shapir as its centre, the latter centred upon the city of Larsa. The name Yamutbal(um)/Emutbal(um) was frequently applied to the region and also to the kingdom of Larsa, probably a reflection of the Amorite tribal origin of many of the region's inhabitants, including perhaps its kings (see under **Yamutbal(um)**). Along with other southern Mesopotamian cities, Larsa briefly regained its independence, under another leader called Rim-Sin, in the eighth(?) year of the reign of Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna (1749–1712). The rebellion was crushed by Samsu-iluna the following year, and Rim-Sin was killed (**RIME* 4: 387).

In Larsa, Hammurabi undertook a major building programme, most notably within the city's religious precinct, where the main buildings were a temple to the god Shamash, the Ebabbar, and a ziggurat (see glossary). Hammurabi commissioned a monumental new complex, which extended over 300 m and consisted of a succession of buildings and courtyards, the latter lined with chapels and workshops. The precinct was restored several times in the centuries following Hammurabi's reign, and remained in operation in that form until C11. The site has produced two important *kudurrus* (see glossary) of the Kassite period.

The Ebabbar was rebuilt in C6 by the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562) (**CS* II: 308–9), as reflected in material remains of the period, and restored several decades later by the last Neo-Babylonian king, Nabonidus. The Ebabbar precinct clearly continued to provide a focus for religious activities within the city during the Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and Seleucid periods, according to tablets from the city.

Arnaud/Margueron/Huot (*RlA* 6: 496–506), Charpin (*DCM* 466–9), *Mesop*. 319–24.

Lasqum (map 10) City and mountain district in the middle Euphrates region, located above mod. Der ez-Zor (Dayr az-Zawr in Lipiński, 2000) and attested in the Middle Bronze Age Mari archives from Zimri-Lim's reign (1774–1762). It was used as a place of refuge by the inhabitants of a city on the Euphrates called Dunnum when the city fell victim to an epidemic. One of the Mari texts refers to the establishment of a large Yaminite encampment in Lasqum, which extended to the city of Manuhatan. The

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Yaminite presence there provoked an attack upon the land by troops of the Hana people (q.v.), who in this case came from the region of Qattunan on the Habur r.
Durand (1988c: 125–6), *LKM* 616 (refs).

Latihu Iron Age city in northern Mesopotamia, in the lower Habur r. valley, between Qatnu and Shadikannu. The Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II encamped his forces there during his progress up the Euphrates and Habur rivers on his last recorded campaign (885) (**RIMA* 2: 177).
Röllig (*RlA* 6: 511).

Lawazantiya (map 3) City in southern Anatolia, somewhere to the north of the Amanus range, attested in Middle and Late Bronze Age and Iron Age texts. It first appears, in the form Luhusaddia, in C18 Assyrian Colony texts (see glossary) (e.g. **CMK* 113, 166, 280–2, 298, 319). Subsequently, according to a well-known literary composition dating to the Hittite Old Kingdom, it provided winter quarters for a Hittite king who was laying siege to the city of Urshu (q.v.) (*Beckman, 1995: 26). In late C16, it was among the cities that took up arms against the Hittite king Telipinu (**Chav*. 232). Some time after this, Lawazantiya became part of the country of Kizzuwadna, and by C13 was acknowledged as one of Kizzuwadna's most important religious centres. The future Hittite king Hattusili III passed through it on his way back to Hatti from his Syrian command, and while in the city he met and married the Hurrian priestess Puduhepa (**CS* I: 202).

Lawazantiya has been identified with Lusanda, an Iron Age city which appears among the conquests of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III during a campaign which he conducted into southern Anatolia in 839, against the kingdom of Que (**RIMA* 3: 55). If the identification is valid, then Lawazantiya must have been located in the region of Classical Cilicia, giving some support to its suggested equation with the site of Sirkeli (thus O. Casabonne), 40 km east of mod. Adana. However, it is difficult to reconcile a Cilician location for Lawazantiya with the references to it in the Late Bronze Age texts cited above.
Wegner (*RlA* 6: 435–6).

Lazpa see **Lesbos**.

Lebedus (map 5) Classical Greek city built on a peninsula on the Aegean coast of Anatolia, in the region called Ionia in M1, 36 km northwest of Ephesus. It was one of the twelve cities constituting the Ionian League (see **Panionium**). In C5 it became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). In early C3 Lysimachus, former general of Alexander the Great, transplanted (at least some of) its inhabitants to his new city of Ephesus. Some years later, c. 266, Ptolemy II Philadelphus refounded the city, calling it Ptolemais. But its old name was soon reinstated. The peninsula on which Lebedus was located was fortified by an ashlar wall with four towers and three gates.
Bean (1966: 149–53; *PECS* 492–3).

Ledrae (**Ledroi, Ledra, Ledron,** ***Leukosia***) (map 14) City in north-central Cyprus in the vicinity of mod. Nicosia. Human settlement in the area dates back to the Chalcolithic period, and there is evidence also for extensive habitation from the Early

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Bronze Age through the early Byzantine period. The first attested historical reference to the city comes from the prism inscription of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (673/672) (*Borger, 1956 §27, Heidel, 1956), where the name Unasagusu, king of Ledir, appears – identified as Onasagoras(?), king of Ledrae. The next known reference to the city is found in early C4 graffiti from the temple of Anchoris at Karnak in Egypt, indicating the presence there of several persons from Ledrae. In C4 CE the city was the seat of a bishop.

Inscriptions attest to the worship of Aphrodite at Ledrae, but no trace of a sanctuary of the goddess has been found.

Nicolaou (*PECS* 494).

Lehun (map 8) 65 ha settlement in the region of Moab, central Jordan, with evidence of human activity extending back to the Palaeolithic Age and continuing to the Ottoman period. Excavations, sponsored by the Belgian Committee of Excavations in Jordan, were conducted from 1977 onwards under the successive directorships of P. Naster and D. Homès-Fredericq. The earliest evidence of actual habitation at Lehun goes back to the Early Bronze Age, when a large settlement was built on the site, with adjacent water reservoir. A later fortified agricultural village has been dated to the transitional Late Bronze–Iron Age period, between 1300 and 1000. Contact with Egypt is suggested by the discovery of a fine faience scarab, depicting a sphinx with ram's head, dated to Egypt's twentieth dynasty (1186–1069). Around 1000 the village was abandoned, and then succeeded, in Iron Age II, by a fortress settlement, c. 35 m × 43 m, believed to belong to a belt of military installations along the northern Moabite plateau. This is suggested by Homès-Fredericq, who notes the fortress' excellent strategic location, overlooking the whole region and controlling all traffic on the King's Highway (q.v.), with protection provided by the cliffs of northern Moab. The presence of fortified storage buildings in this level has suggested that the fortress-settlement served economic and agricultural as well as strategic purposes. A small, square temple dating to the Nabataean (late Hellenistic–early Roman) period was used, Homès-Fredericq suggests, by traders and caravaneers travelling one of the by-roads of the King's Highway.

Homès-Fredericq (*OEANE* 3: 340–1).

Leilan, Tell (Shehna, Shubat-Enlil) (map 10) Settlement with acropolis and lower town, its wall enclosing an area of 90 ha, located in northern Mesopotamia in the Habur triangle, with six main occupation levels extending from the Halaf period (M6) to the Middle Bronze Age (early M2). The region in which it lay was called Subir in M3 and Subartu in M2. Excavation of the site began in 1979 under the direction of H. Weiss. The first major urban development belongs to the phase designated Leilan IIId, c. 2600–2400, when the settlement increased sixfold, and extended from the original occupied area on the summit of the mound to a new lower town with a regular street layout. A public cultic quarter where sacrificial activities took place was constructed on the acropolis, in place of earlier domestic dwellings. In the Leilan IIa phase, c. 2400–2300, wealth and social differentiation are evident, with the construction of a fortification wall around the acropolis, which apparently divided off an administrative elite from the inhabitants of the lower, unfortified town. The excavator notes evidence of increasing economic and political connections with southern Mesopotamia in this period.

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During the Leilan IIb phase, 2300–2200, the Subir region, including Tell Leilan, was conquered by Naram-Sin, thus coming under the domination of the Akkadian empire. The city, then called Shehna, became a centre of the Akkadian imperial administration, and the lower town was walled for the first time. With the collapse of the Akkadian empire c. 2193 the city was abandoned, along with many other settlements in northern Mesopotamia. This abandonment is attributed by the site's excavators to extreme climate change. The city remained derelict until early C18 when the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775) re-established it as his royal capital, with the name Shubat-Enlil, meaning 'the dwelling place of (the god) Enlil'. The city's new name has been identified from inscriptions found in the temple quarter on the acropolis, supplemented by inscriptional information unearthed in the two palaces of the lower town. Remains of the impressive public structures which were constructed both on the acropolis as well as in the lower town during this phase provide evidence of Shamshi-Adad's ambitious building programme. The excavator notes that the lower city's eastern palace covers an area of some 10 ha, and was therefore one of the largest early M2 palaces in northern Mesopotamia.

Among the rooms which led from the palace's central throne-room were a number containing cuneiform tablets and fragments, many hundreds in total. The contents of this archive include historical and administrative texts, treaties and letters, and a copy of the Sumerian King List. Many of the documents bear seal impressions of the king's palace staff. The historical information obtained from the texts relates to the period of Shamshi-Adad's successors (see below) at Shubat-Enlil. Excavations in the lower town palace (north) also brought to light a tablet archive, consisting of 590 tablets. But the contents of these are restricted to the documentation of beer production and disbursement.

Following Shamshi-Adad's death, Shubat-Enlil remained for a while under the control of one of his retainers, Samiya, but soon a dynasty from the local land of Apum (q.v.) gained control of the city. Thenceforth it became the capital of Apum, and was now commonly (though not invariably) referred to by its original name, Shehna. There are frequent references to Shubat-Enlil/Shehna in letters from the Mari archives during the period when Mari's throne was occupied by Zimri-Lim (1774–1762). These letters record the city's involvement in the complex and constantly changing power structures and political relationships of the period. Samiya supported the invading ruler of Eshnunna, Ibal-pi-El II, in a struggle against Turum-natki, king of Apum. However, Turum-natki died without being able to recapture Shehna, and was replaced by his son Zuzu. The Eshnunnites then departed from Shehna, leaving a garrison there under Yanuh-Samar and Zuzu; the latter became its ruler. Some time after the departure of the Eshnunnite army, Shubat-Enlil/Shehna was captured and pillaged by Hatnurapi, king of Qattara, and later king of nearby Karana. Subsequently it was occupied by an Elamite military commander called Kunnam when a king called Haya-Abum sat upon its throne. Kunnam claimed that he was the equal of this king, and regarded himself as a 'son of Zimri-Lim', like Haya-Abum (**LKM* 495). Atamrum, king of Andarig, sought to evict Kunnam from the city, allegedly acting on Zimri-Lim's behalf, but no doubt fearing that his own city was at risk of an Elamite occupation. Kunnam eventually left the city. We do not know whether his decision to do so was connected with any action taken by Atamrum, but the latter may eventually, for a time, have secured control of Shubat-Enlil/Shehna for himself. By 1762, when the Mari archives come to

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an end, the city was in the hands of Himdiya, Atamrum's successor at Andarig. When and how he came to exercise power over it, and for how long, remain unknown.

Thanks to the discovery of part of the city's royal archives during excavations in its eastern palace, we have some information about the last three kings of Shubat-Enlil/Shehna, in the period from c. 1750 to the city's fall twenty-two years later. Their names, in chronological order, are Mutiya, Till-Abnu, and Yakun-ashar (the last two were brothers). Texts from their reigns indicate the alliances they concluded with other kings in the region. Mutiya allied himself with Ashtamar-Adad, king of Kurda, and a third king, Shepallu (country unknown), against an alliance formed by Hazip-Teshub, king of Razama (in the land of Yussan), and Buriya, king of Andarig. External pressures eventually forced the two blocs to come to terms, as reflected in an extant treaty concluded between Mutiya and Hazip-Teshub. Mutiya's successor Til-Abnu (probably his nephew) concluded a treaty with Yamsi-Hadnu, king of Kahat, and also a commercial treaty with the city of Ashur. This latter document indicates the existence of an Assyrian trading colony at Tell Leilan, as do a number of other administrative documents found in the city.

The rule of Yakun-ashar, the last king of Apum, came to an end when the royal capital Shubat-Enlil/Shehna was conquered and destroyed by the Babylonian king Samsu-iluna in 1728. The city was thenceforth abandoned until it was resettled by Kurdish villagers early in C20 CE.

Weiss (1985; *OEANE* 3: 341–7), Charpin (1986), *LKM* 69–71, 83–6, 624 (refs), *Mesop*. 203, 348–51.

Lelegians Attested in Classical Greek sources as a pre-Greek population group of Greece and western Anatolia. In the Trojan War, a Lelegian contingent fought on the side of Troy (Homer, *Iliad* 10.429, 21.86). The Lelegians are associated with a wide variety of locations in both Greece and Anatolia, including (in Anatolia) the Troad, Pedasus on the Satnioeis r., Smyrna, Ephesus, Tralles, Miletus, Pisidia, and Caria. To judge from Greek tradition, Caria in particular appears to have become an important area of Lelegian settlement. It is possible that a Lelegian population group originally located in northwestern Anatolia, perhaps in the Troad, moved southwards during the upheavals at the end of the Bronze Age, and finally resettled in the southwest corner of Caria. But the Lelegians remain an elusive people.

Gschnitzer (*BNP* 7: 380–1).

Lesbos (maps 2, 3, 4, 5) Island off the northern Aegean coast of Anatolia, the third largest island in the Aegean Sea (after Crete and Euboea). In Late Bronze Age Hittite texts it is attested as Lazpa. It was a dependency in this period of the Arzawan kingdom called Seha River Land. A cult-idol from Lazpa was used in treating an illness of the Hittite king Mursili II.

In late M2 the island was settled by Aeolian migrants from mainland Greece. During the Classical period its chief city was Mytilene, which also possessed territory on the Anatolian mainland. In the second half of C6, Lesbos became a tributary of Persia, but joined the Ionian rebellion against Persia in 499. Subsequent to the allied Greek defeat of the Persians at the battle of Mycale (q.v.) in 479, Lesbos became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). In 428/427 Mytilene made an abortive attempt to revolt from the alliance (Thucydides 3.1–50), following which Athens established a military colony of 2,700 Athenian settlers on the island. In 405

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Lesbos came under Spartan control, but in C4 domination of it fluctuated between Sparta and Persia – except for two brief periods when it was again allied with Athens.
Paraskevaidis (*PECS* 502–3), Houwink ten Cate (*1985–6: 38–46).

Letoum (map 15) M1 BCE–M1 CE sanctuary in Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, near the west bank of the Xanthus r., 4 km southwest of Lycia's chief city, Xanthus. It was dedicated to the worship of the Letoids – the goddess Leto and her children Apollo and Artemis – and the nymphs. The site's history of known occupation extends from C8 through the Roman imperial period. From 1962 onwards, annual excavations have been conducted in the sanctuary by French teams, initially under the direction of H. Metzger, and currently under J. des Courtils and D. Laroche. (For accounts of the excavations in the last two decades, see reports in *An Ant* from vol. 6, 1988 onwards.)

According to the Roman poet Ovid's version of a well-known mythological tradition (*Metamorphoses* 6.316–81), Leto's association with Lycia began when the goddess sought to quench her thirst at a lake in the country, during her flight with her baby children Apollo and Artemis from the wrath of the goddess Hera. When the local peasants tried to drive her away, she rebuked them and turned them into frogs. The confrontation was almost certainly understood to have taken place on the site that became the sanctuary of the Letoids. None of the anc. sources explicitly states this, but Ovid's description of the scene – a small lake set in a deep valley amid grassy glades – is consistent with the low-lying marshy area where the Letoum was located.

It is likely that the sanctuary was first associated with the cult of an early Anatolian goddess of Luwian origin, called *ẽni mahanahi* ('mother of the gods') in Lycian inscriptions. Leto came to be identified with this deity, probably early in C4, at the time of increasing Greek influence on the native Lycian culture. Thenceforth, the cult of all three Greek deities gained in importance in Lycia through C4 and the Hellenistic period, as did the sanctuary itself where the cult was based. By the Roman imperial period, the Letoum was the religious focal point of the whole of Lycia. It was the cult-centre of all three Letoids, who were designated as the national gods of the country.

The sanctuary complex is dominated by three surviving temples, the most anc. of which dates to C5 or C4 and was almost certainly dedicated to the goddess Artemis. The other two temples, of Hellenistic date, are of unknown attribution but were presumably dedicated to one or more of the Letoids. In the southern part of the temple precinct are the remains of a monumental nymphaeum (fountain-house), generally dated to early C2 CE, but which may have been built later. It occupied the site of an earlier Hellenistic structure constructed around a natural water source. To the north of the precinct are the remains of a theatre of Hellenistic date.

One of the most important finds from the site is a stele, discovered in 1973, with a trilingual inscription – in Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic versions (**N* 320, **PE* 859–62, no. 33). Dated to 358, during the period when Lycia was subject to the Persian king Artaxerxes III, it contains regulations for the establishment of a new cult in the sanctuary. Apart from its content, the trilingual inscription has made a small but useful contribution to our knowledge of the still largely unintelligible Lycian language.
Bean (1978: 60–4), *Bryce (1978; 1983), Laroche (2006, report of most recent excavations).

Leucae (***Uç Tepeler***) Ionian city in northwestern Anatolia, located 30 km northwest of Izmir in the Gulf of Smyrna (*BAGRW* 56 D4). Pliny the Elder (5.119) refers to its

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Figure 61 Letoum, temple.

situation 'on the promontory which was once an island'. According to Diodorus (15.18.1), it was founded in 383 by a Persian called Tachos, and contained a shrine of Apollo. Diodorus reports that after Tachos' death, control of Leucae was contested by the cities Clazomenae and Cyme. To avoid warfare between the contestants, the Pythian oracle decided that it should should be awarded to whichever of them first offered sacrifice in Leucae, with each side setting out from their city at dawn on an appointed day. Though Cyme was closer to Leucae, the Clazomenians won the contest through the stratagem of founding a city even closer to it, and sending their representatives from there. Coin issues of the city date exclusively to C4. There are some remains of Leucae's C5–4 fortifications, but the site now lies in a prohibited zone and cannot be visited.

Bean (1966: 125–7; *PECS* 505–6), Olshausen (*BNP* 7: 441–2).

Levant Term first used in mediaeval times, derived from the Latin verb *levare*, 'to raise', referring to a region or regions where, from a European perspective, the sun rises. The words Anatolia and Orient, of Greek and Latin origin respectively, are used in a similar way. All refer to lands lying to the east of Europe. The name 'Levant' is now applied particularly to the eastern Mediterranean coastal territories and hinterlands of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Palestine.

M. Sommer (2001).

Leviah Enclosure 9 ha site located in the land of Geshur, southern Golan Heights, northern Palestine, overlooking the Sea of Galilee. Its history of occupation extends from late M4 (c. 3300) to the end of M3. Following the site's discovery during the

1968 Golan Survey, excavations began in 1987 as part of the Land of Geshur Project, conducted by the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University. The term 'enclosure' was one used by early explorers of this and similar sites which they interpreted as 'places where nomads assembled with their flocks and herds in times of crisis, or as pens for livestock belonging to the Early Bronze Age towns in the valleys west of the Golan'. Thus Kochavi, who notes that the term is no longer apt. The excavations of the Leviah Enclosure, which during the Early Bronze Age developed into a strongly fortified urban settlement, have helped throw new light on the Early Bronze Age in the Golan. Kochavi comments: 'As early as M4, settlements sprang up with good natural defences. In the course of the Early Bronze Age, these settlements developed and became fully-fledged towns . . . The proximity of these towns . . . their size, massive fortifications, and long-lived existence attest to an intensive civilization that flourished in the Golan. . . . This urban civilization collapsed under the pressure of some besieging enemy.'

Kochavi (*NEAEHL* 3: 915–16).

Lidar Höyük (map 2) Settlement-mound in eastern Anatolia on the upper Euphrates, with a history of occupation extending from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (M3) to the mediaeval period. There is some evidence also of habitation in the Chalcolithic period (Halaf, Ubaid, and Uruk phases). M3 occupation extended from the Early Dynastic II/III to the Akkadian/Ur III period. Excavation of the settlement, which reached its greatest extent in the Early Bronze Age, was conducted by H. Hauptmann from 1979 onwards, initially for the Institute of Near Eastern Archaeology, Free University of Berlin, and subsequently for the Heidelberg Institute for Prehistoric Archaeology. In its Early Bronze phase, Lidar was fortified by a 2 m wide mudbrick wall. Its acropolis covered an area of 200 m × 240 m, and the area of settlement, including the terraces, extended over a distance of 650 m. A necropolis of this period, located east of the mod. village of Lidar, contained over 200 burials.

Lidar Höyük apparently suffered violent destruction by fire early in the Late Bronze Age, but eventually recovered from this, as made clear by evidence of a substantial population on the acropolis during the latter half of the Late Bronze Age. The destruction was clearly caused by enemy attack, as indicated by the corpses found under the collapsed walls and in distorted positions in the entrances to several buildings, and by bronze arrowheads, one of which was found sticking in the plaster of the walls. Hauptmann concluded that the end of this phase of Lidar's existence is to be attributed to Hittite expansion, either under Hattusili I (1650–1620) or his grandson and successor Mursili I (1620–1590). M. Liverani (1988) has suggested that Lidar Höyük was the site of anc. Hahhum (q.v.), destroyed by Hattusili during his second Syrian campaign. But this identification has been disputed, and other locations have been proposed for Hahhum.

Among the important finds from the site are two seal impressions, dating to the period of the fall of the Hittite empire (early C12). They bear the name Kuzi-Teshub, son and successor of Talmi-Teshub, the last known Hittite viceroy at Carchemish. The presence of the sealings at Lidar may indicate that the city was and remained subject to the administration of Carchemish at the time of the Hittite empire's collapse. The fact that Ku(n)zi-Teshub styled himself 'Great King' suggests that the central Hittite

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dynasty based in Hattusa was now defunct, and that he saw himself as the successor of the Hittite royal line. Hauptmann suggests that Lidar was subsequently destroyed by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076). Material remains of later periods include a Persian tomb dug into levels of C7–6 date, among whose contents was a bronze spatula-type object decorated with a male figure in Persian dress, and relics of Hellenistic and Roman occupation.

Hauptmann (1987; *RlA* 7: 15–16).

Limenia (*Limnitis*) (map 14) Town on the northwest coast of Cyprus, located to the west of the palace at Vouni. The town is attested in Strabo (14.6.3), though Strabo locates it inland. In 1899 the remains of a sanctuary were excavated at Limenia, containing sculptures and terracottas dating from the Archaic (C7–6) to the Hellenistic period.

Nicolaou (*PECS* 510).

Limyra (map 15) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in eastern Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, consisting of a fortified acropolis and lower city, located northeast of mod. Finike. Inscriptions in the native Lycian language, in which the city is called Zemu(ri), date its origins back to at least C5. In the first half of C4 it was the seat of the Lycian dynast Pericles, known both from inscriptions and coin issues, who extended his sway over much of Lycia and probably led his country's participation in the so-called satrap's revolt (see glossary). Pericles' tomb (heroon) is the most notable of Limyra's many sepulchral monuments. It was excavated and partly restored by a German team under the direction of J. Borchhardt. Portions of a frieze which originally decorated the walls of the cella depict Pericles in his chariot setting out for war, accompanied by mounted troops and foot soldiers. Its burial chamber was located in the foundations of the building. Built in the form of an Ionic temple, the monument was a clear assertion of Pericles' cultural affinities with the Greek world. Its caryatid porch (caryatids were columns in the form of draped women) was inspired by the similar porch of the Erechtheum on the acropolis in Athens, built several decades earlier. Further artistic inspiration for Pericles' tomb was provided by the so-called Nereid monument of Lycia's chief city, Xanthus.

Four large necropoleis at Limyra are considered by Borchhardt to provide material evidence of the city's wealth and power. Borchhardt notes that a third of all the known sepulchral inscriptions in the native Lycian language come from Limyra (see *TAM* I 98–148, *N* 316–17). Ten of the tombs, which include both cliff-chambers and free-standing structures, are decorated with reliefs. The most notable of the freestanding structures is identified by its inscriptions as the tomb of a certain Xñtabura, dating to mid C4. It is a two-storeyed building, whose lower chamber (*hyposorium*) is a Lycian house-type structure decorated with reliefs. One of these depicts the deceased standing before the judges of the next world. Above the *hyposorium* is an ogival sarcophagus, in which the tomb owner himself and the immediate members of his family were no doubt interred. Another inscribed and sculptured tomb, located in the necropolis west of the citadel, belonged to a man called Tebursseli. The reliefs depict him fighting alongside Pericles, and the inscriptions identify their opponent as a western Lycian ruler called Arttum̃para.

During the Hellenistic period, Limyra was subjected to Macedonian, Ptolemaic,

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Figure 62 Limyra, house-tomb.

Seleucid, and Rhodian rule, before the Roman Senate declared its independence in 167. Gaius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, died here in 4 CE. The city prospered under Roman rule, with considerable development, beginning in the Hellenistic period, of the settlement at the foot of the citadel. It was the seat of a bishop in the Byzantine period, and was finally abandoned towards the end of M1 CE as a result of the Arab invasions.

Little remains of the city today apart from its tombs and a theatre of Hellenistic-Roman date. Inscriptions indicate that its chief deity, at least in later Greek and Roman times, was Olympian Zeus, in whose honour athletics contests were held. Pliny the Elder (31.22) reports that a fish-oracle was located at Limyra, where responses from the god were ascertained by the behaviour of fish – though some scholars have suggested that Pliny or his sources may have confused Limyra with the oracular centre at Sura.

Excavations concentrating on the 'West City' of Limyra and its pre-Hellenistic phases have recently been undertaken by T. Marksteiner.

Bean (1978: 142–5), Borchhardt (*PECS* 518), Marksteiner (2006).

Lissa M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Lycia in southwestern Anatolia, located on the western side of the gulf of Fethiye (anc. Telmessus) (*BAGRW* 65 A4). The date of the city's foundation is unknown, since the first evidence for its existence dates no earlier than C3 when its name is established in decrees from the reigns of Ptolemies II and III. No coins are known from the city. Material remains indicate that Lissa had an acropolis fortified by a wall and a tower. There are also a number of cist tombs and sarcophagi.

Bean (1978: 48; *PECS* 520).

Lita'u (Litamu) M1 Aramaean tribe, located in southeastern Babylonia. It is apparently first attested in a legal document from Nippur, dated c. 786, which refers to a man called Kabitu from Litamu (if the latter is an ethnic name). Later attested in the list of thirty-five so-called Aramaean tribes conquered by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745) (**Tigl. III* 160–1, line 7), the tribe is attested elsewhere in Assyrian texts as being among the enemies on the banks of the Tigris against whom Sargon II (721–705) campaigned, as allies of the tribe Bit Yakin (**ARAB* II: 26, **Sargon II* 343). It also appears among the Aramaean enemies whom Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib conquered and carried off to Assyria (**Sennach.* 25, 49, 54, 57). In the reign of the Persian king Darius I (522–486), an area of countryside to the south of Babylon was known as Litamu (*RGTC* 8: 213).

Lipiński (2000: 467–8).

Figure 63 Arms-bearer of Tiglath-pileser III.

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Lod (**Lydda**) (map 8) Settlement-mound in mod. Israel, located c. 15 km southeast of Tel Aviv near the southern bank of Nahal Ayalon (Wadi el-Kabir), and on a branch of the anc. Via Maris (q.v.). Its history of occupation extends from the Early Bronze Age to the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, with perhaps several periods of abandonment in between. Exploratory excavations were conducted on the site from December 1951 to January 1952 by J. Kaplan for the Israel Dept of Antiquities and Museums. Most of the site is today covered by mod. buildings.

Lod is first attested in written records as one of the Canaanite towns conquered by the pharaoh Tuthmosis III in C15. The first biblical reference to it occurs in 1 Chronicles 8:12, in the genealogical list of members of the Benjaminite tribe, where mention is made of its (re)settlement by the sons of Elpaal. This has led B. Mazar (cited by Kaplan) to conclude that the town remained abandoned for most of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, and was not resettled until the reign of Josiah, a C7 king of Judah. Subsequently, in *OT* tradition, Lod was one of the sites resettled by the Israelites after their return from their Babylonian exile (e.g. Ezra 2:33). There are frequent references to the city in texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It achieved its greatest important in the latter period, when the C2–3 CE emperor Septimius Severus bestowed upon it the status of a Roman *colonia* with the name Diospolis.

J. Schwartz (1990), Kaplan (*NEAEHL* 3: 917).

Loryma (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE coastal city of the Rhodian Peraea (see glossary) in Caria, southern Anatolia. First attested in Hecataeus (*FGrH* I F247), its location opposite the island of Rhodes led to its frequent use by naval forces in the Greek and Roman periods (see e.g. Thucydides 8.43.1, Diodorus 14.83.4).

Kaletsch (*BNP* 7: 815).

Lower Land (map 3) Late Bronze Age region in south-central Anatolia, extending in part through the Plain of Konya. It was incorporated into Hatti early in the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom (C17–15) and served as an important buffer zone between the Hittite homeland and the western and southwestern countries of Anatolia, especially the Arzawa Lands. During the comprehensive invasions of Hatti in the reign of Tudhaliya III (first half of C14), Arzawan forces swept through the Lower Land and established their frontier in the cities of Uda and Tuwanuwa, within striking distance of the Hittite heartland (*Bryce, 2005: 146). Tudhaliya's son Suppiluliuma led a counter-offensive against the occupation forces, driving them from the Lower Land and restoring the region to Hittite control. During his own reign, Suppiluliuma (I) (1350–1322) appointed his military commander Hannutti as governor of the Lower Land (*Bryce, 2005: 151), which may have served as a base for military operations against enemy countries in the west. A rebellion in the Lower Land during the reign of Tudhaliya IV (1237–1209) (Bryce, 2005: 299) reflects increasing unrest among Hatti's subject territories in the last decades of the Hittite kingdom. The rebellion may have been linked with possible insurrectionist activities by lineal descendants of Tudhaliya's uncle, Muwattalli II (1295–1272), in the kingdom of Tarhuntassa (see under **Tarhuntassa**). But this is purely speculative. In the first centuries of the Iron Age, the countries constituting the land of Tabal occupied much of the territory of the former Lower Land.

**RGTC* 6: 455 (s.v. Unteres Land), Bryce (1986–7: 97–9).

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Luash **(Lugath, Luhuti)** (map 7) Iron Age country located in northwestern Syria, north of the kingdom of Hamath, in the region previously occupied by the Late Bronze Age Nuhashshi lands. Its capital was the city of Hatarikka/Hazrek (perhaps = Tell Afis). It appears in the records of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II, in the context of the campaign which he conducted in 870 against the Syro-Palestinian states. After receiving the submission of Lubarna, ruler of the northern Syrian kingdom of Pat(t)in (Assyrian Unqi), in his capital Kinalua, Ashurnasirpal moved south along the Orontes r. and occupied the Patinite city of Aribua. Using this city as his base for military operations against Luhuti, which lay to its south, he claims to have conquered and destroyed Luhuti's cities and captured its soldiers, whom he impaled on stakes set up before their cities (**RIMA* 2: 218). Around 796 the country was incorporated into Hamath by the Hamathite king Zakur. This information is provided by the so-called Zakur stele found at Tell Afis (see under **Afis**) in 1903. J. D. Hawkins (1982: 389) suggests that Luash may already have formed the northern province of Hamath by the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824),or even earlier.

Hawkins (*RlA* 7:159–61), Lipiński (2000: 249–318).

Lubdu City in the east Tigris region of central/southern Mesopotamia, attested in sources of M2 (Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, Nuzi) and M1 (Neo-Assyrian) date, especially in conjunction with the city of Arrapha. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) conquered it during a campaign in Babylonia (**RIMA* 2: 53). It marked one of the limits of former Babylonian territories which he now added to his kingdom. At some later time Lubdu reverted to Babylonian control, and became one of Babylonia's fortified frontier outposts. However, it fell to the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911–891) during his campaign in Babylonia, in the course of which he claims to have conquered Arrapha and Lubdu, then ruled by the Babylonian king Shamash-mudammiq (**RIMA* 2: 148). Lubdu joined in a widespread revolt against the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824), initiated late in his reign by the king's son Ashur-daʾin-apla. The rebellion continued into the early regnal years of Shalmaneser's son and successor Shamshi-Adad V before it was finally crushed (**RIMA* 3: 183).

Lugath see **Luash**.

Luhuaiia see **Luhuatu**.

Luhuatu **(Lihuatu)** M1 tribe of possible North Arabian origin, probably to be located in northern Babylonia, east of the Tigris r. It appears to have been closely associated with the Ham(a)ranu tribe (q.v.), which it follows in the list of thirty-five Aramaean tribes conquered by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III, probably in his first regnal year (745) (*Tigl. III* 158–9). The Luhuatu immediately precede the Aramaean tribe Hatallu (q.v.) in this list. They have been identified with the Luhuaiia (var. Minu'u) who are attested as a clan of the Hatallu tribe in an inscription of Ninurta-kudurri-usur, the mid C8 ruler of the middle Euphrates Aramaean state of Suhu (**RIMB* 2: 295).

Lipiński (2000: 427, 442–5).

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Luhuti see **Luash**.

Lukka (map 3) The name of an ethnic group or groups belonging to the Luwian-speaking populations of western Anatolia, and attested in a number of Late Bronze Age written sources. They appear most frequently in Hittite texts, with an occasional reference to them in Egyptian records, and a late reference to Lukka in a text from Ugarit. Unlike many other Late Bronze Age Anatolian peoples, the Lukka people appear to have had no coherent political organization. We know of no Lukka kings, no Lukka states corresponding, for example, to those of the Arzawa complex, and no treaties of vassalhood between Lukka and the Hittite king; and no one person or city could act on behalf of Lukka as a whole. In other words, the term Lukka was used not in reference to a state with a clearly defined political organization, but rather to a conglomerate of independent communities, with close ethnic affinities and lying within a roughly definable geographical area. While it seems clear that there was a central Lukka region, a 'Lukka homeland', various elements of the Lukka population may have been widely scattered through southern and western Anatolia, and may in some cases have settled temporarily, or permanently, in states with formal political organizations. I. Singer (1983: 208) has defined the Lukka Lands as 'a loose geographical designation for southwestern Anatolia, used for a group of ethnically and culturally related communities and clans'.

From Hittite records, it is clear that 'Lukka people' became at least nominal subjects of the Hittite king, apparently from the time Hittite authority was extended over the Arzawan states. But we have the impression from the texts that these subjects were often fractious and difficult to control, and often openly hostile to Hatti, as indicated in one of the 'Plague Prayers' of Mursili II (*Singer, 2002: 49). Lukka people seem also to have had a reputation as seafarers who engaged in buccaneering enterprises in the waters and against the coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean (e.g. **EA* 38), a clear indication that the territory which they occupied or from which they operated included a coastline. They were also listed in Egyptian records among the so-called Sea Peoples who attacked the coast of Egypt during the reign of the pharaoh Merneptah (1213–1203) (**ARE III*: §579). In early C12 Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit, reported in a letter to the king of Alasiya that his entire fleet was stationed off the the coast of Lukka, no doubt part of the southwestern Anatolian coast (*Nougayrol *et al.*, 1968: 87–9, no. 24). On the basis of the above information, we can conclude that the term Lukka, or Lukka Lands (the plural form is not attested before C13), referred to a region extending from the western end of Pamphylia through Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Lycia (the later Classical names). It must, however, be said that a Lukka presence in these regions has yet to be confirmed by archaeological evidence.

Röllig (*RlA* 7: 161–3), Melchert (2003, *passim*; see index refs, 371).

Lullubu (**Lullu, Lullumu**) Mountain region and population group in northeastern Mesopotamia, first attested in records of the Akkadian empire (c. 2334–2193). It is likely that the group's geopolitical situation changed over time. On the basis of inscriptional evidence, their homeland is generally located on the western slopes of the Zagros mountains, between the headwaters of the Lesser Zab and Diyala rivers in the region of mod. Suleimaniya. They were among the peoples and lands incorporated into the Akkadian empire by its founder Sargon (2334–2279). In his famous victory

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stele, Sargon's grandson Naram-Sin (2254–2218) records a victory he won over the Lulluban king Satuni (or Sidu[r . . .]) (*RIME 2: 143–4). The Lullubu are depicted on the stele with short beards and braided hair, and clad in tunics with animal skins over their shoulders. They were apparently made up of a number of independent groups, each under its own 'king' or chieftain, which presumably banded together for military enterprises. The strength of the forces they could muster and the dangers they posed to the Akkadian empire are indicated by the (admittedly late and somewhat confused) 'Cuthean Legend' (*J. G. Westenholz, 1997: 310–15). According to this legend, they captured the cities of Purushanda in eastern Anatolia and Shubat-Enlil in northern Mesopotamia, and then embarked on a campaign of devastation through Gutian, Elamite, and Babylonian territory until they reached the Persian Gulf. These conquests are associated particularly with a Lulluban king called Annubanini. The king's rock relief found near mod. Zuhab links Annubanini with the goddess Inanna, who leads enemy prisoners before him. Archaeological evidence indicating a destruction of Naram-Sin's palace at Tell Brak has been connected with a supposed Lulluban attack upon the city.

The continuing threat posed by the Lullubu in later times, particularly to the kingdoms of Mesopotamia, is first indicated in the records of Shulgi (2094–2047), second ruler of the Ur III dynasty, who claims to have conducted nine campaigns against them: the year-name of his forty-fourth regnal year commemorates his ninth victory over Simurrum and Lullubu. The latter were to remain a major force in the western Asian world for many centuries to come. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (1307–1275) includes the Lullumu among the peoples whom he conquered (**RIMA* 1: 131), as do his son and successor Shalmaneser I (**RIMA* 1: 206, 207), and Shalmaneser's son and successor Tukulti-Ninurta I (**RIMA* 1: 236–7). In C12 the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I and the Assyrian king Ashur-resh-ishi I both report campaigns of conquest against the Lullubu/Lullumu (**RIMB* 2: 34, **RIMA* 1: 310–11). Ashur-resh-ishi's successor Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) also claims to have conquered the entire land of the Lullumu (**RIMA* 2: 34). Almost certainly, these campaigns were provoked by attacks and raids mounted by the Lullubu/Lullumu against Babylonian and Assyrian territories. Although the campaigns were allegedly successful, they probably achieved little beyond temporary pacification of the Assyrians' aggressive eastern neighbours. Lullumu was one of the lands conquered by Adad-nirari II (911–891) during a campaign he conducted across the Lesser Zab (**RIMA* 2: 157). Again, this campaign allegedly led to the subjugation of the enemy, as did Ashurnasirpal II's (883–859) confrontation with them (**RIMA* 2: 221). But several decades later they were once more in conflict with the Assyrians, in the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824).

By the beginning of Sargon II's reign (721), Lullumu was being used as an archaizing/literary term for the province of Mazamua (Zamua, q.v.) (Radner, *RlA* 11: 51–2), and as such it was one of the few eastern dependencies to remain loyal to Sargon in the early years of his reign. Its loyalty was rewarded when in 716 Sargon conquered the rebel states in the region which had attempted to align themselves with Urartu, and added one of them, Karalla, to Lullumu's territory.

Klengel (*RlA* 7: 164–8).

Luristan (maps 12, 16) Region in western Iran, associated with the production of thousands of anc. bronze weapons, tools, utensils, votive objects, and ornamental items.

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A substantial number of these survive today. The bronzes first came to public attention when they began appearing on the antiquities market in the late 1920s. They had been illegally excavated by local tribesmen, and most were apparently grave goods recovered from anc. cist tombs and other burial places. Because of the clandestine nature of their recovery, specific provenances and contexts for the great majority of them are unknown. However, later official excavations have enhanced the information we have about the bronzes. In 1938 E. Schmidt investigated a number of Luristan sites, concentrating on Surkh Dum (map 13) which is located in the Zagros region, northwest of Susa. In 1965, the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran under the direction of L. Vanden Berghe resumed work at Surkh Dum, spending fifteen seasons there until 1978. Within a fifteen-roomed building complex, identified as a temple sanctuary and dated to C8–7, a total of 1,851 terracotta and bronze artefacts were found, including human and animal figurines. The bronzes also included depictions of deities, demons, and other supranatural figures. Of the cylinder seals among the finds, some were inscribed with the name of a goddess, and one depicted a mounted rider. The figures are represented both in relief and in the round. Their depictions are sometimes realistic, sometimes fantasized. 'Zoomorphic junctures and the coiling of body features are very characteristic' (Muscarella, 1995: 998). These figures, which appear on pinheads, axes, finials, and horse-bits, illustrate in a fairly comprehensive way the repertoire of classic Luristan bronzes. The period of the bronzes extends back as early as C10, but most of them belong to C8 and C7. They are readily distinguishable from M3 and M2 bronzes, as is evident from finds which came to light in the hundreds of burials unearthed by the Belgians during their excavations. (See also Haerinck and Overlaet, *RlA* 11: 121–4, for the excavations conducted by Vanden Berghe in the Pushti-i Kuh area of Luristan.) The dates of these burials range from M3 to M1. A few bronzes of the classic Luristan type were found among the M1 burials, but none from the earlier burials.

Though many thousands of the classic Luristan bronzes have now come to light, they provide very limited information about the people who produced them. Their abundance has been seen as evidence of a wealthy society, and their distinctive iconography as a reflection of a people who were both highly militaristic and highly spiritual. But such conclusions are vague and speculative. We know nothing of their producers' ethnic background (Cimmerian, Median, and Persian origins have all been suggested), the language or languages they spoke, the nature of their settlements, their way of life, or what brought their culture to an end, apparently in C7. We have neither inscriptional information about them, nor any significant archaeological remains apart from the bronzes, the great majority of which no longer have context. Of course, if those who produced them and were buried with them were essentially a nomadic people, we should not expect to find much surviving evidence of their places of settlement. Indeed, the nature of many of their artefacts (horse-trappings, portable objects) may be seen as supporting the view that their lifestyle was a nomadic one. On the other hand, the quality, variety, and sophistication of their artwork has led some scholars to argue that only a sedentary people would have been capable of such an achievement. It is of course possible that there were both sedentary and nomadic elements among them. But this too must remain speculative until further evidence comes to light.

Calmeyer (*RlA* 7: 174–9), Schmidt et al. (1989), Muscarella (1989; 1995: esp. 981–99).

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Figure 64 Luristan finial (C9–7)

Lusanda see **Lawazantiya**.

Lusna One of the small Late Bronze Age countries in southern Anatolia conquered by the early Hittite king Labarna (C17) and assigned to the governorship of his sons (**Chav.* 230). It was perhaps the forerunner of Classical Lystra (*BAGRW* 66 A1) in Lycaonia.

Lutibu Fortified Iron Age city belonging to the kingdom of Sam'al in southern Anatolia, perhaps to be identified with the site of Sakçagözü (q.v.), 21 km northeast of Zincirli. In 858, under the Sam'alite king Hayyanu, Lutibu joined a military coalition of northern Syrian–southeastern Anatolian states which confronted and was defeated by Shalmaneser III, the new king of Assyria, on his first western campaign (**RIMA* 3: 9, 16).

Luwians One of several Indo-European speaking peoples whose presence in Anatolia is attested in M2 written sources. There is no general consensus on where the original homeland of these peoples was, or how and when they first appeared in Anatolia. Most scholars date their arrival to a period or periods during the Early Bronze Age – though an entry date of c. 6000 has also been proposed. Nor do we know whether they came in a single large movement, or in a series of migrations spread through M3. In either case, their dispersal, probably soon after their arrival, led to marked differentiations in the languages they spoke. This has provided us with a basis for identifying, from M2 written records, three main Indo-European speaking groups in Bronze Age Anatolia:

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the Hittite- (strictly Nesite-) speaking group of north-central Anatolia, the Palaic-speaking group south of the Black Sea in the region of later Paphlagonia, and the Luwian-speaking group, who by the Late Bronze Age had dispersed widely through Anatolia. Recently, I. Yakubovich has proposed that the core Luwian area was located in central Anatolia, in the region of the Konya plain, which in part extended over the region called the Lower Land (q.v.) in Hittite texts. In the final centuries of M2, after the collapse of the Hittite empire, and in the first centuries of M1, Luwian speakers may also have settled in parts of northern Syria (see below).

The Luwian language is attested in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts. Passages in Luwian cuneiform, generally of a religious nature, occur in the archives of the Hittite capital Hattusa, where they have been incorporated into Hittite texts and are identified by the term *luwili* ('in the language of Luwiya'). Several hundred Luwian passages have been found inserted into Hittite festival, ritual, and incantation texts. The actual name 'Luwiya' is attested in very early versions of the Hittite laws (laws §§ 5, 19–21, 23a, **CS* II: 107, 108). The name is replaced by 'Arzawa' in subsequent versions of the laws, and 'Luwiya' thenceforth disappears from the texts, though the adverbial form *luwili* survived as a linguistic term. The explanation for the name replacement remains a matter for debate, particularly as the reading and interpretation of the passage in which it occurs (§5) are problematical. What does seem certain is that 'Luwiya' was never used as a geopolitical term to refer to a single political entity or an administratively unified territory. Rather, its connotations were purely ethno-geographical, indicating a general region whose inhabitants included large numbers of Luwian speakers, but without precise territorial limits. It may in fact have been a term of convenience used only by outsiders, and never, perhaps, by the inhabitants of 'Luwiya' themselves.

Most scholars believe that substantial numbers of Luwian speakers had spread into western Anatolia, particularly into the region of the Arzawa lands, by the Late Bronze Age. I. Yakubovich (2008) has opposed this view, arguing that what Luwian presence there was in the west may have been due, in part at least, to population deportation in the aftermath of Arzawan attacks upon the Lower Land. He believes that the predominant population of the Arzawa region was 'proto-Carian'. Yakubovich's arguments have yet to be fully assessed by other scholars, but they encourage a re-examination of the bases for the assumption that western Anatolia was politically dominated for much of M2 by Luwian speakers who formed a substantial part of the populations of the region.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that by the middle of M2, Luwian-speaking groups had occupied much of southern Anatolia, from the region of Classical Lycia in the west through Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Isauria to Cilicia in the east. From the Luwian areas of southern Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age, several kingdoms or states came into being during the Hittite period. These included the kingdoms of Kizzuwadna, where Hurrian and Luwian elements were intermingled, and Tarhuntassa, perhaps a more exclusively Luwian state, which was apparently created by the Hittite king Muwattalli II in early C13. Almost certainly there were substantial numbers of Luwians settled in central Anatolia, including the region of the Hittite homeland, during the Late Bronze Age. This is indicated by Hittite military records which report the deportation of tens of thousands of persons from conquered states, including those of western and southern Anatolia, back to the homeland, for service with the Hittite king and his land-owning officers.

Figure 65 Luwian hieroglyphic inscription.

As noted above, the Luwian language was written in a hieroglyphic (as well as a cuneiform) script, made up largely of a series of pictographic symbols. The earliest known example of the script appears on a seal impression of C16, from the seal of Isputahsu, king of Kizzuwadna. But the majority of hieroglyphic texts date to C13 and (by far the larger category) to the period from c. 1100 to 700, i.e. the period of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Decipherment of the script was greatly facilitated by the discovery in 1946 of a C8 bilingual text, in Luwian hieroglyphs and Phoenician, at Karatepe in eastern Cilicia (see under ***Karatepe***). The language of the bilingual's Luwian version has been shown to be virtually identical with that of the Luwian cuneiform texts.

After the fall of Hattusa, the practice of writing cuneiform on clay tablets ceased. However, the surviving branches of the Hittite royal family in Syria and southern Anatolia continued to use the Luwian hieroglyphic script, primarily for monumental inscriptions on stone as in the past. But the script also appears in a small number of letters and economic texts, on leather and strips of lead, and on small votive objects. To what extent does this indicate the spread of Luwian population groups through northern Syria in the early centuries of the Iron Age? We should be careful not to make any *a priori* assumption that the language inscribed on the Iron Age hieroglyphic monuments and on other materials used as writing surfaces was in common use in the regions where they were found. The hieroglyphic tradition was a carry-over from Late Bronze Age Hittite royalty, and like the title 'Great King' was one of the trappings of kingship adopted by later and lesser kings. Of course, we can by no means exclude the possibility that the populations where the post-Bronze Age hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found had a significant Luwian component. It may be that Luwians came to these regions in increasing numbers in the post-Bronze Age centuries, spreading southeastwards from southern Anatolia. But this has yet to be demonstrated, since apart from the hieroglyphic inscriptions, there is no evidence to indicate a significant Luwian presence in Iron Age Syria. Of course, if a large number of Luwian personal names were to be found in the regions where the hieroglyphic inscriptions have come to light, this would greatly strengthen the likelihood that these regions had substantial Luwian populations.

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Such was clearly the case in southern Anatolia, where the persistence of Luwian names through M1 indicates the survival of Luwian elements and, in some areas at least, the probable continuation of Luwian population groups down to the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. Luwian onomastic elements are found in the inscriptions of Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycaonia, and Cilicia, with a particular concentration of Luwian names in Lycia and Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera (Rough Cilicia). These areas almost certainly continued to be inhabited by peoples of Luwian ethnic origin until at least early M1 CE.

Houwink ten Cate (1965), Laroche (*RlA* 7: 181–4), Melchert (2003).

Lycaonia (map 4) Classical name of the region in south-central Anatolia located south of the Salt Lake. Its western end was probably part of the Late Bronze Age Lukka Lands. In M1, as in the Bronze Age, Lycaonia occupied strategically important territory, for through it passed a major route linking western Anatolia with southeastern Cilicia and Syria. No doubt primarily for this reason control of the region was hotly contested by a succession of M1 powers, including Persia and the Seleucid and Attalid kingdoms.

Jones and Mitchell (*OCD* 894).

Lycia (maps 4, 15) M1 BCE–M1 CE country in southwestern Anatolia, covering part of the region called the Lukka Lands in Late Bronze Age Hittite texts. The name Lycia, of Greek origin, had various false etymologies assigned to it in Classical tradition; e.g. it was so called by the goddess Leto in honour of the wolves (*lykoi*) who had guided her there, with her baby children Apollo and Artemis, in her flight from the goddess Hera (Antoninus Liberalis 35.3). Unwittingly, Classical tradition may have preserved the authentic Bronze Age name Lukka. However, the Lycians themselves called their country Trm̃misa and themselves Trm̃mili, names which may reflect one of the country's early population groups. A tradition recorded by Herodotus (1.173) which tells of immigrants into Lycia from Crete called the Termilae perhaps has some basis in historical fact. The Lycian population may well have contained an Aegean element which intermingled with groups of Bronze Age Anatolian origin. In a tradition dating back at least to Homer, the Lycians under the leadership of Sarpedon were the most important of Troy's allies in the Trojan War. There are numerous references to Lycia in the *Iliad*, and to the prominent role of the Lycians in the conflict (see Bryce, 1986: 12–14). To Homer's period (C8) belongs the earliest M1 archaeological evidence for settlement in Lycia, unearthed in the country's most important city, Xanthus. More than forty other anc. cities have been found throughout Lycia.

About 540, the Persian commander Harpagus conquered Lycia, and thereupon it became part of the Persian empire ruled by Cyrus II. A local dynasty was established in Xanthus, which exercised authority over much of the country until the early decades of C4, except for several decades in mid C5 when Lycia became part of the Athenian Confederacy, (see glossary). The Xanthian dynasts along with the rulers of a number of individual Lycian cities issued coins which often bore their own and their cities' names as well as portrait-heads of themselves wearing Persian-type tiaras. In the 360s Lycia took part in the abortive satrap's revolt (see glossary). When the uprising was crushed, the country was restored to Persian overlordship and remained subject to Persia until Alexander the Great invaded it in 334/333. After Alexander's death in 323, Lycia came

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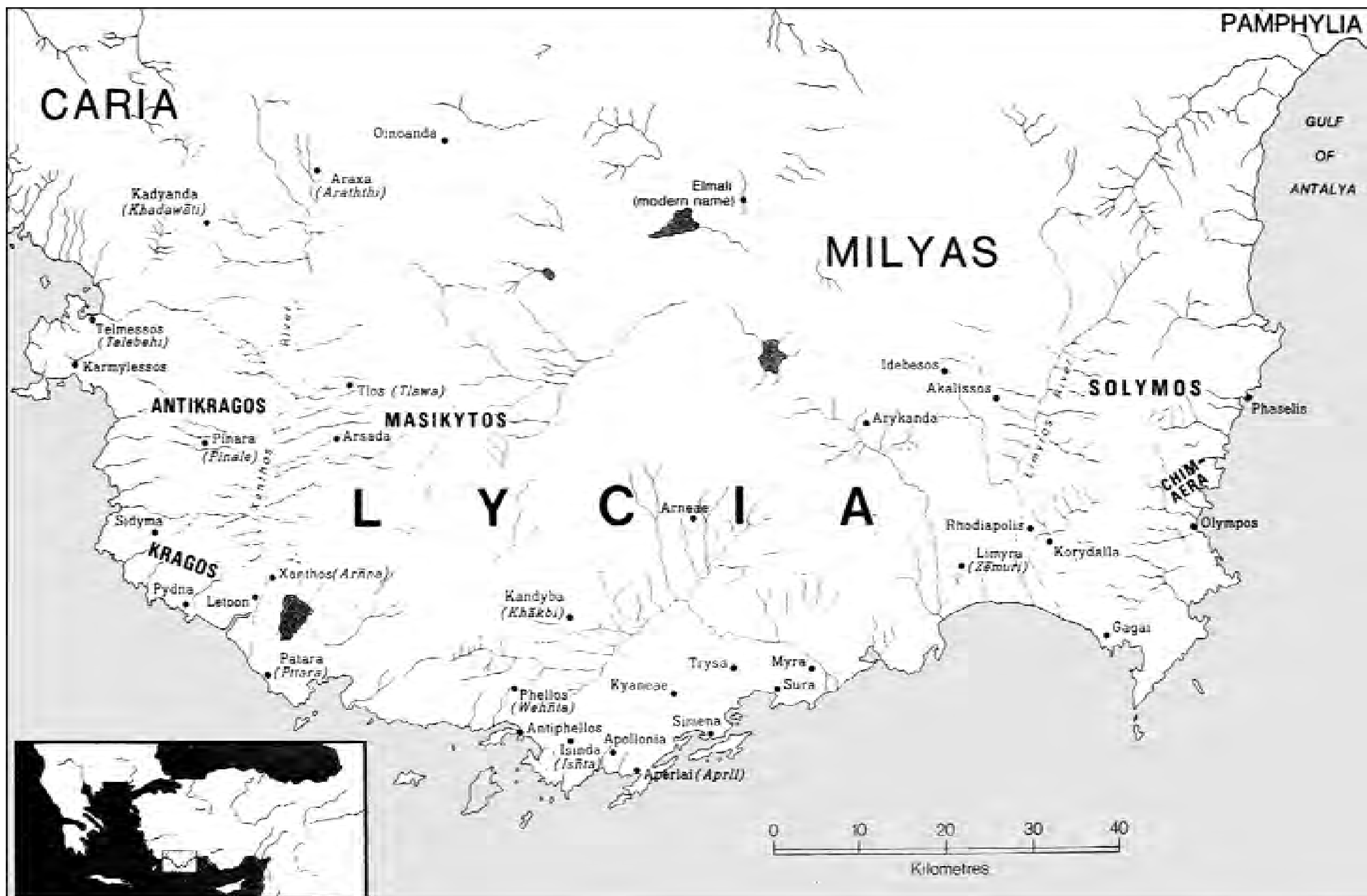

Map 15 Lycia.

first under the control of Antigonus of Macedon, and subsequently under Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule. However, with the defeat of the Seleucid king Antiochus III by the Romans at the battle of Magnesia in 190, Lycia was brought within the Roman sphere of influence. Early in C2 the Lycians formed a league amongst their cities which continued until C4 CE. It discussed and decided upon matters of war, conclusions of alliances, and diplomatic missions to foreign states. There were twenty-three member-cities of the league, ranked according to their size and importance. In 43 CE the emperor Claudius joined Lycia with the neighbouring country of Pamphylia and made it a Roman province.

The native language of Lycia is preserved in approx. 180 inscriptions, appearing mainly on rock-cut tombs which often replicate the façades of the wooden houses in which the Lycians lived. Both freestanding tombs and burial chambers cut into cliff-faces are found throughout the country. Many were used for multiple burials – for the tomb owners and their families, and sometimes also for the owners' friends and servants. Lycian inscriptions appear occasionally on steles, more commonly on coin legends, and, very rarely, as graffiti on metal and ceramic ware. The earliest of the inscriptions date to early C5, the latest to late C4. The language of the inscriptions belongs to the Indo-European language family and is closely related to Bronze Age Luwian. There are two dialects of Lycian, now referred to as Lycian A (by far the more common) and Lycian B. Apart from the highly formulaic sepulchral inscriptions and various words, phrases, and sentences in other texts, the language is still largely undecipherable. The inscriptions are written in a modified form of the Greek alphabet, derived from Rhodes. Greek inscriptions begin to appear at various Lycian sites in C5, and then from C4 onwards in increasing numbers. Over 1,200 Greek inscriptions have been recorded, primarily from the Roman imperial period (late C1 onwards), along with a small number of Latin inscriptions. The most prominent native Lycian deities

Figure 66 Lycian warriors.

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were a mother goddess, called *ẽni mahanahi* ('mother of the gods'), and the storm god Trqqas (a descendant of the Luwian god Tarhunda), both of Bronze Age Anatolian origin. Greek deities also start to appear in inscriptions and on coins from C5 onwards. Subsequently, the Letoids (Leto, Apollo, and Artemis) achieved the status of the country's most important gods (see **Letoum**) as the Lycian civilization became increasingly Greek in character.

The following cities of Lycia are listed as separate entries: Antiphellus, Aperlae, Apollonia, Araxa, Arneae, Arsada, Arycanda, Cadyanda, Calynda (in Caria or Lycia?), Candyba, Choma, Corydalla, Crya (in Caria or Lycia?), Cyaneae, Gagae, Isinda (1), Khãkbi, Letoum, Limyra, Lissa, Myra, Patara, Phaselis, Phellus, Pinara, Rhodiapolis, Simena, Sura, Telmessus (2), Timiussa, Tlos, Trysa, Tyberissus, Xanthus.

**TAM* I, Bryce (1986), O. Masson (1991: 671–4), Keen (1998).

Lydda see **Lod**.

Lydia (maps 4, 16) Iron Age kingdom of western Anatolia, bordering on Phrygia in the east and the Ionian colonies in the west. According to Greek tradition, the kingdom's inhabitants were originally known as the Maeonians, but subsequently adopted the name of a legendary king of the region called Lydus. Lydia was later ruled by a dynasty allegedly founded by Hercules (Herakles), which in Greek tradition continued for 505 years, up to early C7. Candaules, the last member of this dynasty, was assassinated by one of his court favourites, a man called Gyges, who established a new dynasty – the so-called Mermnad dynasty – c. 685 (Herodotus 1.7–12). From his capital Sardis, Gyges (called Guggu in Assyrian texts) embarked on a programme of territorial expansion, continued by his successors, which made Lydia the dominant power in western Anatolia. But the Mermnad kings faced a formidable enemy in the Cimmerians, who had brought the Phrygian empire to an end in early C7, and now posed a serious threat to its Anatolian successor. On a number of occasions the Cimmerians attacked and invaded Lydian territory. Gyges secured some assistance against them from the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal. But he subsequently lost this assistance when he supported Egypt's rebellion against Assyria. Eventually he was killed in a Cimmerian onslaught, which also resulted in the destruction of part of the Lydian capital (c. 644). The struggles with the Cimmerians continued into the reign of the fourth ruler of the Mermnad dynasty, Alyattes (c. 609–560), who finally drove the invaders from Lydian territory (Herodotus 1.16).

Lydia's aggressive programme of expansion also brought it into conflict with the Ionian cities along Anatolia's western coast. The conflict ended with the incorporation of these cities into the Lydian empire, except for Miletus, whose independence was formally acknowledged in a treaty which Alyattes drew up with it (Herodotus 1.22). To the east, Alyattes was, according to Classical sources (esp. Herodotus), confronted with the westward expanding kingdom of the Medes, whose heartland lay in the Zagros mountain region of western Iran. A five-year conflict between the Lydians and the Medians culminated in the so-called 'battle of the eclipse', fought between Alyattes and the Median king Cyaxares on the banks of the Halys r. in north-central Anatolia (Herodotus 1.74, 103). The outcome was a treaty between the two kings which established the border between their kingdoms along the banks of the river. (For recently expressed doubts about the historicity of a Median 'empire' which stretched as far west

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Figure 67 Account of Ashurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns and his reception of embassy from Gyges.

as the Halys r., see under **Medes**.) Lydia also appears to have been threatened to the east by the expansionist programme of the Neo-Babylonian empire. The Babylonian king Neriglissar, after his campaign of conquest in the kingdom of Pirindu in southern Anatolia (557/556), is reported to have started fires from the pass of Sallune (Classical Selinus in Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera) to the border of Lydia (**ABC* 104). But as far as is known, the Babylonians never consolidated their military penetration of the region with actual control over it.

Lydia reached the peak of its wealth and power under Croesus (560–546), the last member of the Mermnad dynasty. But with the rise of Persia under Cyrus II, the Lydian empire's days were numbered. Alarmed by the rapid expansion of Persian power westwards, Croesus led his troops across the Halys r. in an attempt to forestall a Persian invasion of his own territory. After a fierce but inconclusive encounter with Cyrus east of the Halys frontier (the 'battle of Pteria', spring 546; Herodotus 1.76), Croesus withdrew to the west where he was pursued by Cyrus' army and comprehensively defeated in a pitched battle outside Sardis (Herodotus 1.80). Croesus' royal capital fell to the Persians after a siege, and Croesus was taken prisoner (Herodotus 1.84–6). Lydia was now incorporated into the Persian empire, and Sardis became Persia's chief administrative centre in the west.

Under the Mermnad dynasty, Lydia became a powerful commercial and military empire, noted for its abundant mineral as well as agricultural resources. The mining of precious metals, especially silver and gold, accounted for much of the kingdom's

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Figure 68 Lydian delegates at Persepolis.

wealth, and led to the invention of coined money in C6 – an invention which rapidly spread to the Greek world. The Lydian language survives in approximately sixty-four inscriptions, dating from C6 to C4 and found mostly on grave steles in Sardis. The language used in these inscriptions is Indo-European, but is imperfectly understood.

Neumann (*RlA* 7: 184–6), O. Masson (1991: 669–71), Mellink (1991: 643–55).