

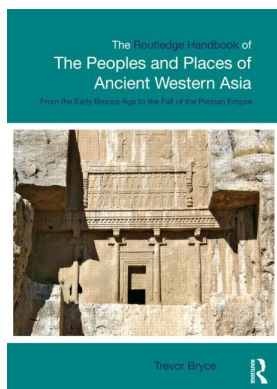
This article was downloaded by: 10.2.97.136

On: 06 Dec 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



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

M

Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203875506-13>

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, *M 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: 06 Dec 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203875506-13>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

M

Maa (map 14) Late C13 and C12 fortified settlement on the west coast of Cyprus. The site is located at Palaeokastro on a small steep-sided promontory with a perennial spring and wide sandy bays on either side. It is defended by a Cyclopean fortification wall with a dog-leg entrance across the neck of the promontory and a second wall along the southern seaward limits. A number of late C13 buildings, excavated by V. Karageorghis and M. Demas for the Dept of Antiquities, Cyprus, from 1979 to 1986, provide evidence for olive oil and metallurgical production and storage. Two were equipped with communal halls and a central hearth. These buildings were destroyed by fire at the beginning of C12, and rebuilt on a reduced scale for a short period before the site was finally abandoned. Karageorghis has identified Maa as an early Aegean stronghold, established by an intrusive population unfamiliar with the Cypriot hinterland and concerned to secure the seaward approach. Other scholars suggest, alternatively, that both Maa and Pyla-Kokkinokremos (see **Pyla**) were indigenous strongholds, reflecting the unsettled conditions on the island in late C13 and C12. Internal activities at Maa are similar to those evident at other C13 settlements, such as Kalavassos, Maroni, and Alassa. The material culture shows both local and Aegean influences.

(J. M. Webb)

Karageorghis and Demas (1988), Steel (2004: 188–90).

Maacah Small state located in the northern Golan heights in northern Palestine, bordering the land of Geshur to its south. It may first be attested in the Middle Bronze Age Egyptian Execration texts (see glossary), but thenceforth only in biblical tradition. According to Joshua 13:13, the Israelites failed to drive out the people of Geshur and Maacah, both of whom maintained their independence. In C10 Maacah joined a coalition of Ammonites and Aramaeans who fought against David, and was presumably among the states which became subject to the Israelites following David's victory (2 Samuel 10:6–19). In C9 both Maacah and Geshur were probably incorporated into the Aramaean kingdom of Damascus.

B. Mazar (1986), Dorsey (*HCB*D 634).

Madaba (Medeba) (map 8) City in central Jordan, 30 km south of mod. Amman. Its material remains date back no earlier than the Roman and Byzantine periods (apart from a cave whose earliest burials go back to c. 1200). *OT* sources, however, record its seizure by the Israelites from the Amorite king Sihon (Numbers 21:30, Joshua 13:9–16). In C10, the Israelite army of King David did battle with a coalition of Ammonite and Aramaean forces outside the city, according to 1 Chronicles 19:7. A century later, in the second half of C9, the Moabite king Mesha recorded his liberation and rebuilding of the city in his well-known inscription on the so-called Moabite stone (see **Moab**). Before this, Mesha claims, the Israelites had occupied Madaba for forty

years. In C2 the city figured in the Maccabaeen revolt against Syria. Later in the century it fell to John Hyrcanus I (135/134–104) after a six-month siege, according to the C1 CE Jewish historian Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities* 13.9.1). It was subsequently handed over to the Nabataeans and remained under their control until its incorporation into the Roman empire as part of the province of Arabia. Among the city's Byzantine remains is the famous C6 CE mosaic pavement depicting the earliest known map of the Holy Land.

Piccirillo (*OEANE* 3: 393–7).

Madanu see Amadanu.

Madahisa Iron Age country probably to be located in the northwestern Zagros mountain region, south of Lake Urmia, in mod. Iranian Kurdistan. Dayyan-Ashur, commander-in-chief of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, received tribute from its cities during his progress through the region in 829 (**RIMA* 3: 70). His itinerary indicates that Madahisa lay between Hubushkia and Mannaea.

Madara (*Matar*) City located north of the Kashiari range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin) in northern Mesopotamia, within the region called the Nairi land(s). Madara is first attested in a letter written by Yasmah-Addu, Assyrian viceroy of Mari in early C18, to his brother Ishme-Dagan (**LAP0* 16: 116–17, no. 27). It subsequently appears in Neo-Assyrian records as a heavily fortified city captured after a siege by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II during his campaign in the region in 879 (**RIMA* 2: 209, 259). At that time, Madara was among the sixty cities said to have been ruled by Labturu, king of the land of Nirdun. Ashurnasirpal demolished the city but spared the lives of its inhabitants, taking some of their young men as hostages, upon their payment of a tribute to him. According to Ashurnasirpal's itinerary, the city lay between the Kashiari range and Tushhan; it has long been identified with mod. Matar, located 1 km east of the Savur r.

Lipiński (2000: 140, 142).

Madaranzu Iron Age city in northern Mesopotamia, on the northern fringe of the Kashiari mountain range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin) as it opens onto the Tigris valley. The Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II conquered, plundered, and destroyed it, along with other cities, during his campaign in the region in 879 (**RIMA* 2: 209).

Madnasa (map 5) M1 city on the Myndus peninsula in Caria, southwestern Anatolia. In C5 it became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Pliny the Elder (5.107) reports that the city (which he calls Medmassa) was one of six Lelegian settlements assigned by Alexander the Great to the jurisdiction of Halicarnassus. (Their incorporation into Halicarnassus was in fact due to the mid C4 Carian satrap Mausolus prior to Alexander's campaigns.) Bean proposes an identification with the ruins on the hill above Türkbükü Bay and lower Göl. Remains of this site include an outer enclosure wall, at whose highest point is an ashlar tower, and within the enclosure half a dozen cisterns and numerous house foundations. At the northwest end of the site, a second tower was constructed. Nearby, a group of tombs was cut into the rock-face. Pottery sherds are of C5 and early C4 date.

Bean (1971: 115 map, 124).

Maeonia Legendary country in western Anatolia. The Trojan Catalogue in Homer's *Iliad* lists the Maeonians among Troy's allies immediately after the Phrygians (*Iliad* 2.864–6), and assigns them a homeland under Mt Tmolus (mod. Boz Dağı) within the region of Lydia. Herodotus (7.74) claims that the Lydians were originally known as Maeonians, before they assumed their later name in commemoration of a legendary king, Lydus. It is possible that the name Maeonia is etymologically linked with Masa, a Late Bronze Age western Anatolian country frequently attested in Hittite texts.

Magan (map 12) Land attested in Mesopotamian Bronze and Iron Age texts and identified with the modern Sultanate of Oman and the United Arab Emirates, on the northeastern part of the Arabian peninsula. It was one of the three countries which in Mesopotamian tradition lay alongside the 'Lower Sea', i.e. the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. The other two countries were Dilmun and Meluhha. In M3 Sumerian literary texts, Magan and Meluhha (the latter = the Harappan civilization, Indus valley?) both appear as distant lands, sources of a wide range of exotic goods. Other Mesopotamian texts confirm the importation of products from these lands: wood, copper, diorite, and semi-precious stones from Magan, black wood (ebony?), ivory, gold, silver, carnelian, and lapis lazuli from Meluhha. Most if not all of these goods were transported by water to their final destinations in Mesopotamia. During the reign of the Akkadian king Sargon (2334–2279), ships from Magan, Meluhha, and Dilmun docked at the royal capital Agade/Akkad. From the Akkadian period onwards, copper was the most sought-after commodity originating in the land of Magan. Evidence of anc. workings at numerous copper mines in Oman and Fujairah, in the northern United Arab Emirates, indicates that Magan was a major source of supply of the metal, which no doubt found its way to many of the cities of Mesopotamia, as attested already in the M3 literary texts. Magan was also the source of the hard black stone called diorite, which Gudea, a C22 king of Lagash, used for fashioning the many statues he commissioned of himself, to honour the city-state's patron deity Ningirsu.

Later Akkadian kings may have sought to obtain Magan's products by less peaceful means. For example, Sargon's grandson Naram-Sin (2254–2218) claims to have conducted a campaign against the country, capturing its king, Manium, and to have brought back booty from it (**RIME* 2: 117). His father, Manishtushu, probably also campaigned against Magan. Perhaps their hostility was prompted by commercial disputes with Magan and threats by it to cut off its exports. However, peaceful relations between Magan and Mesopotamia were restored by Ur-Nammu (2112–2095), founder of the Ur III dynasty. Magan resumed its trade with Mesopotamia, which continued, with Dilmun probably serving as intermediary on many occasions, through the Ur III period (c. 2112–2004) and the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. In return for the goods it exported to Mesopotamia, Magan received consignments of wool, hides, sesame oil, and plant products. From mid C18 onwards, however, there appears to have been some reduction in trading activity between Mesopotamia and the Gulf. This may be reflected in the material remains of Oman in this period. Bienkowski (*BMD* 218) notes that human occupation in Oman contemporary with the text references appears to reflect an oasis economy, with settlement characterized by mudbrick towers, either residences of local rulers or storage buildings, and stone-built tombs with hundreds of skeletons. He suggests that the numerous collective graves dating between c. 1800 and 1000, often without any apparent settlement nearby, may reflect a shift to a nomadic lifestyle.

The Iron Age saw a revival of urban settlement in Oman, which in Neo-Assyrian texts was called Qade. A king of Qade called Pade from the city of Izkie (= mod. Izki in Oman?) brought tribute to the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal in 640. But the name Magan did not entirely disappear. Ashurbanipal's predecessor Esarhaddon used it in his titlature, describing himself as 'king of the kings of Dilmun, Magan, and Meluhha'. No doubt he was following a tradition established by his own predecessors, which helped ensure the survival of the land's original name, at least in formal, ceremonial contexts, long after it had disappeared from everyday use. Magan is attested in Persian royal inscriptions as Maka (Old Persian) (q.v.), while in contemporary economic texts from Persepolis, written in Elamite, the name appears as Makkash.

Heimpel (*RIA* 7: 195–9), Zarins (*OEANE* 4: 184–7), D. T. Potts (1995: 1452–6).

Mag(a)risu Iron Age city in northwestern Mesopotamia, at or near the confluence of the Habur and Harmish rivers (possibly mod. Hassake). The city is first attested in the texts of the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056). It was the site of a battle fought by Assyrian and Aramaean forces during his reign (**RIMA* 2: 102). A further Assyrian–Aramaean confrontation took place in the same month near the city of Dur-Katlimmu on the Habur r. In 885 the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II encamped his forces in Magarisu while progressing up the Euphrates on his last recorded campaign (**RIMA* 2: 177). In 878 his son and successor Ashurnasirpal II also spent a night in the city, at the beginning of his expedition into the Habur/Middle Euphrates region (**RIMA* 2: 212).

Röllig (*RIA* 7: 199–200), Liverani (1992: 63–4).

Magnesia ad Maeandrum (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE western Anatolian city located near the Aegean coast, within the region called Ionia by the anc. Greeks, though not part of the Ionian League. According to Classical tradition, it was founded by Aeolian settlers from Magnesia in northern Greece. The city was captured by the Lydian king Gyges (680–652), and destroyed by a Cimmerian tribe called the Treres c. 650 (Strabo 14.1.40). It was rebuilt by the citizens of Miletus (which lay nearby to the southwest), but subsequently fell to Persia c. 530. In the late 460s, the Persian emperor Artaxerxes I presented the city to the former Athenian military commander Themistocles, ten years or so after his ostracism from Athens (Thucydides 1.138). Themistocles was greatly esteemed by the Magnesians, who gave him a lavish funeral on his death in 459, and set up a memorial to him in the agora. In 400 the Spartans captured Magnesia from the Persians. The victorious Spartan commander Thibron shifted the city to a new site (its original site has not been located) under Mt Thorax, formerly occupied by a village called Leukophrys ('White Eyebrowed') where a temple to the local goddess Artemis Leucophryene had been built (Strabo 14.1.40). In Magnesia's brief period under Spartan control (400–398), the temple of Artemis was refounded, and thenceforth the city became an important religious centre. During the Hellenistic period, it flourished under the rule first of the Seleucid and then of the Attalid kings, and subsequently enjoyed a prosperous, independent existence under the patronage and protection of Rome. In the Byzantine period it was the seat of a bishopric.

The most significant remains of the city are those of the temple of Artemis, a late C3 building in the Ionic order, erected on the site of an earlier temple dating to the period of Themistocles' residence in Magnesia. Excavations conducted in C19 brought to light

other structures of Hellenistic and/or Roman date, among them a theatre, a stadium, and a number of buildings in the agora, which included a temple of the god Zeus (Sosipolis), an odeum, and a gymnasium. On the wall of a stoa in the agora, some seventy Hellenistic inscriptions were discovered. In these, various cities acknowledged Magnesia's territory as inviolate. Most of the results of C19 excavations are no longer visible, due to the site's annual flooding by the (Classical) Lethaius r.

E. Akurgal (1973: 177–84), Bean (*PECS* 544).

Magnesia ad Sipylum (*Manisa*) (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in western Anatolia, 32 km northeast of Izmir, within the country called Lydia in the first half of M1. The city was built in an excellent strategic location, in the fertile (Classical) Hermus r. valley at the junction of important communication routes. According to Classical tradition, it was founded by settlers from Thessaly in northern Greece after the Trojan War. In mid C6 it was captured by the Lydian king Croesus, but after the fall of the Lydian empire to the Persian king Cyrus II (546) it became subject to Persia. Thenceforth it remained under Persian sovereignty until its liberation by Alexander the Great (following his victory over the Persian forces at the Granicus r.) in 334.

During the Hellenistic period, Alexander's heirs and their successors contended for control over Magnesia. But the city is best known as the site of the famous battle between Rome and the Seleucid king Antiochus III in January 189. The confrontation ended in a decisive victory for the Roman general Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and marked the beginning of a new era in Rome's relations with the western Asian world. Despite one major setback when it was devastated by an earthquake in 17 CE, Magnesia flourished through the Roman imperial period, and continued to be an important city under Byzantine rule. No significant material remains of the anc. city survive.

MacDonald (*PECS* 544–5).

Mahiranu Country in northwestern Mesopotamia, attested in an inscription of the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056), and located in or near the land of Harran. At this time, the Harran area was occupied by large numbers of Aramaean tribal groups. Mahiranu was conquered by the Assyrians during one of Ashur-bel-kala's campaigns against the Aramaeans (**RIMA* 2: 102).

Maka (*Maciya*) Name of a country and people located in southern Iran and the Oman peninsula attested in M1 Persian sources. The name appears as Magan (q.v.) in Mesopotamian Bronze and Iron Age texts. Maka was among the eastern lands of the Persian empire listed several times in the inscriptions of Darius I (522–486), e.g. in his Bisitun inscription (**DB* 6), and also in the *daiva* inscription (see glossary) of his son and successor Xerxes (**XPb* 3). It also makes several appearances in the Persepolis Fortification tablets, where the name, written in Elamite, is Makkash (**Haddock*, 1969:211, nos 679–80, 634, no. 2050, **PE* 875, no. 42 (i)). A kilted representative from Maka is depicted in one of the reliefs from Persepolis. The country has been identified with the land of the people called the Mykoi in Classical sources, located on the Oman peninsula (see *BAGRW* 95, inset). According to Herodotus (3.93), the Mykoi were part of the empire's fourteenth province (but see glossary under *satrapy*), and provided a contingent in the forces assembled by Darius'

MALGIUM

successor Xerxes for his invasion of Greece in 481, under the command of Darius' son Arsamenes (7.68).

D. T. Potts (1990: I.394–400), Wiesehöfer (*BNP* 9: 402).

Makaria (*Moulos*) (map 14) Site located on the northern coast of Cyprus, on the Moulos headland. Pottery sherds indicate settlement during the Late Bronze Age. The settlement apparently survived until the Byzantine period, but was gradually abandoned after the Arab invasions of 647. Apart from a passing reference in the C2 Greek geographer Ptolemy, there are no surviving written attestations of the settlement.

Nicolaou (*PECS* 546).

Malaha Iron Age city in southern Syria belonging to the kingdom of Aram-Damascus. The Assyrian king Shalmaneser III calls it a royal city of the Damascene king Hazael, and refers to booty he took from the city's temple of Sheru in the course of his campaigns in the region in 838 and 837 (**RIMA* 3: 62, 151). Lipiński suggests that Malaha is the early Aramaic name of the city of Hazor.

Lipiński (2000: 350–1).

Malamir see *Izeb*.

Malatya see *Arslantepe*.

Maldiya see *Arslantepe*.

Malgium (map 11) Bronze Age city and city-state and Iron Age city in Babylonia, located on the Tigris south of its confluence with the Diyala, upstream from Mashkan-shapir. Though its history may have extended back to the Early Bronze Age, it is not clearly attested in written records before the Old Babylonian period (Middle Bronze Age). In this period, Malgium was the seat of a small kingdom. Three inscriptions provide us with the names of two of its kings, Takil-ilissu, son of Ishtaran-asu, and Ipiq-Ishtar, son of Apil-ilishu (**RIME* 4: 669–74). Two of the inscriptions were written on behalf of Takil-ilissu, one by Ipiq-Ishtar. All three record the construction of sacred buildings. (The dates of these kings' reigns are uncertain. For example, Charpin considers Ipiq-Ishtar a contemporary of the Babylonian king Hammurabi, Kutscher a contemporary of his successor Samsu-iluna.) Malgium evidently lay close to the territories controlled by Larsa, Babylon, and Elam. In C20 and C19 it suffered attacks by at least two of Larsa's kings, Gungunum (1932–1906) and Sin-iddinam (1849–1843). Warad-Sin (1834–1823), Larsa's penultimate ruler, may also have won a victory over an army from Malgium, if we can so judge from information provided by a date formula relating to the year 1831. But the reliability of this information is considered highly suspect (*Mesop.* 118–19). In 1777 the Babylonian king Hammurabi, acting in concert with Shamshi-Adad I and Ibal-pi-El II, the kings of Upper Mesopotamia and Eshnunna respectively, conducted a campaign against Malgium, destroying a number of its towns and placing its capital under siege. Faced with overwhelming odds, Malgium's ruler bought off the invaders with the substantial payment of fifteen talents of silver, which was shared equally among the coalition leaders (**LAP0* 17: 143, no. 544).

Malgium was used as a transit stop by Elamite messengers travelling between Susa and Hammurabi's court in Babylon. Subsequently it appears to have entered into an alliance with Elam, or else to have been subjected to Elamite control, for Hammurabi claims that in his thirtieth regnal year (1762) he defeated an army of Elamites, whose forces included contingents from Subartum, Gutium, Eshnunna, and Malgium (**Mesop.* 225). If Malgium had been obliged to fight against Hammurabi as a subject of Elam, then the Babylonian victory would have had the effect of liberating it from Elamite overlordship. Its ruler Ipiq-Ishtar concluded a treaty with the Babylonian king, and provided him with a contingent of 1,000 troops for his attack on the kingdom of Larsa, then ruled by Rim-Sin. For reasons unknown to us, relations between Babylon and Malgium turned sour soon afterwards. Hammurabi claims that in his thirty-third regnal year (1759) he won a victory over the armies of Mari and Malgium, which led to the imposition of his rule over the cities and countries in the region between the Tigris and the Euphrates (**Mesop.* 327). Two years later, he demolished the walls of Malgium's capital, and apparently deported a large part of the country's population to his own kingdom. Some thousands of people from Malgium are attested as inhabitants of the Babylonian kingdom in the reign of Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna.

Virtually nothing is known of Malgium's later history. It seems to have been an administrative district in the Middle Babylonian era (with its name now spelled Malgu). References to it as a settlement in several Neo-Assyrian sources (in the form Malaki or Maliki) in connection with the city of Der (3) indicate its continuing existence in M1 until at least the reign of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668–630/627).

Kutscher (*RIA* 7: 300–4), *Mesop.* 31, 118–9, 183–4, 225, 318, 327–30.

Malyan, Tepe see Anshan.

Mama Middle Bronze Age kingdom in southern Anatolia, probably located in the mountainous region southeast of Nesa and in the region of mod. Elbistan or Maraş. Early in the second phase of the Assyrian Colony period (late C19–mid C18) (see glossary) Mama's king, Anum-hirbi, became involved in a dispute with Inar, king of Nesa/Kanesh, which culminated in an invasion of Mama's territory by Inar. Though peace was restored and a treaty concluded between the two kings, hostilities flared once more in the reign of Inar's son and successor Warsama. This was provoked by one of Warsama's vassal rulers, 'the man of Taisama', who had on his own initiative crossed into Mama and attacked and destroyed a number of its towns. Anum-hirbi wrote to Warsama complaining bitterly of his vassal's conduct, and urging him to keep a tight rein on the vassal in the future.

*Balkan (1957), Miller (2001a).

Mankisum (*Tell Kurr?*) (map 10) Middle Bronze Age city in central Mesopotamia, attested in Old Babylonian sources, located on or near the Tigris west or northwest of Eshnunna. It lay at the northern limit of the territory extending through the Tigris region from Upi northwards, annexed by the Babylonian king Apil-Sin (1830–1813). Shortly after this annexation, Mankisum together with Upi and a city called Shahaduni became attached to the kingdom of Eshnunna when it was ruled by Naram-Sin (late C19). Control over the region was now contested by a new player, Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775), king of Assyria. Shamshi-Adad won possession of Mankisum, and

established a boundary with Eshnunna between it and Upi to the south. The Eshnunite king, now Dadusha, responded by assembling his forces at Upi in preparation for an attack on Mankisum. He invited Hammurabi, king of Babylon, to join forces with him, but the invitation was refused (**LAP0* 17: 132–5, no. 534). The Eshnunites then entered Shamshi-Adad's territory, advancing towards a town called Mashkulliya, but withdrawing before a military confrontation took place. Mankisum subsequently fell to Dadusha. However, the Elamite seizure of Eshnunna in 1765 enabled Hammurabi to gain possession of Mankisum, and also the city of Upi. This infuriated the Elamite king, who sent an ultimatum to him, demanding that he return to him the cities formerly belonging to Eshnunna. When Hammurabi refused, the Elamites attacked and captured Mankisum, and then progressed downstream along the Tigris to lay siege to Upi (see under **Upi** (1)).

After the withdrawal of the Elamite troops from Mesopotamia in 1764, Hammurabi sought to resolve by diplomacy the question of sovereignty over Mankisum and other cities in the region, specifically Upi and Shahaduni, in treaty negotiations with the new Eshnunite king Silli-Sin (1764–1762) (*Charpin, 2003: 80–1). He proposed two alternatives: either that all the cities be returned to Babylonian control, where they had been in the time of his grandfather Apil-Sin, or that Mankisum be conceded to the Eshnunites, provided that they compensate him, Hammurabi, for the costs he had incurred in seeking to liberate the city from the Elamites. (The presence of Elamite troops in Mankisum is attested in a number of letters from the Mari archives.) The cities south of Mankisum were in either case to be confirmed as Babylonian territory. It appears that Silli-Sin initially rejected these proposals, but agreed to them a year or so later. Hammurabi's year formula for his thirty-second year (1760) commemorates a decisive victory over an Eshnunite army at Mankisum, which he followed up by annexing Mankisum and the land on both banks of the Tigris as far as the country of Subartum (*Horsnell, 1999: 144–5).

Edzard (*RIA* 7: 339–40), *LKM* 616–17 (refs), *Mesop.* 115, 160–2, 227, 326.

Mannaea (Urartian **Mana**) ([map 13](#)) General name for what was originally a number of small Iron Age kingdoms, dating from early M1 and located south of Lake Urmia in mod. Iranian Kurdistan. The Urmia lowlands are referred to as the land of the Mannaeans in Assyrian texts, and as 'Mana, its land' in Urartian texts. When Dayyan-Ashur, commander-in-chief of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, campaigned in this region in 829 (**RIMA* 3: 70), the states or kingdoms located there were independent political entities. However, one of the kings of the region, Udaku, whose stronghold was the city of Izirtu (or Zirtu), may have exercised some form of hegemonic role over his neighbours. After plundering Mannaeian territory at this time, the Assyrians apparently made no attempt to establish permanent authority there, though Shalmaneser's son and successor Shamshi-Adad V (823–811) reports receiving tribute from it during his third campaign in the Nairi lands (**RIMA* 3: 184).

Urartu adopted a different policy. In the decades following the Assyrians' departure, its repeated invasions of Mannaeian territory culminated in the establishment of Urartian control over the Urmia lowlands, probably in 802/801, by the Urartian king Minua. Urartu's domination of the region continued into the reign of Minua's successor, Argishti I (787–766). But during Argishti's reign, Mannaea broke from Urartu and became a single united kingdom, whose frontiers extended all the way to

the shores of Lake Urmia. This set the scene for a number of armed conflicts between Mannaea and Urartu, under Argishti and his successor Sarduri II (765–733), until the latter finally succeeded in reimposing Urartian control over Mannaeian territory. But taking advantage of the ongoing contest between Urartu and Assyria, Mannaea once more regained its independence following a campaign into Urartian territory by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727).

During the last decades of C8, under the rule of a king called Iranzu, Mannaea reached the peak of its power and prosperity. Its lands and those of its dependencies covered an extensive part of the Urmia basin, and perhaps included territories on both the eastern and western shores of the lake. But Iranzu was intimidated, by news of Assyrian conquests and annexations of neighbouring lands, into making his peace with Tiglath-pileser and paying him a substantial annual tribute (**Tigl. III* 98–100, 108–9). He subsequently pledged allegiance to the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705). The benefits of doing so soon became evident. In 719, when Iranzu's position was threatened by several of his governors who supported the Urartian king Rusa I, Sargon intervened on his behalf, conducting a campaign of devastation against the dissidents and their cities (**ARAB II*: 3). Iranzu was thus made secure, and when he died shortly afterwards, Sargon put his son Aza on his throne (c. 716). But with the encouragement of the Urartian king Rusa, several Mannaeian governors rebelled against the new king, taking him prisoner and executing him. (One of the rebellious governors, Daiukku, who was captured by Sargon in 715 and deported with his family to the city of Hamath in northern Syria, is commonly identified with Herodotus' Deioces, on whom see Panaino, 2003. For the problems of the identification, see Helm, 1981.) Rusa then replaced Aza on the Mannaeian throne with his brother Ullusunu, who had (doubtless) pledged loyalty to the Urartian king, and handed over to him twenty-two of his fortresses as an earnest of this.

Sargon responded furiously. He invaded Mannaea, and seized and destroyed its capital Izirtu and the strongholds Izibia (Ziwiye) and Armit. He then proceeded to wreak havoc in other parts of the country. In the process he captured Bagdatti, the leader of the rebellion which had unseated Aza, and had him flayed alive. Ullusunu, who had fled his capital on the approach of the Assyrian forces, now returned and threw himself on Sargon's mercy. The outcome was perhaps better than he could have expected. Sargon forgave him, restored him to his throne, and returned to him the twenty-two Mannaeian fortresses which he had seized back from the Urartian king Rusa (**ARAB II*: 27–9). In 714, the year of Sargon's great campaign against Urartu, Ullusunu reaffirmed his loyalty to the Assyrian king when the two met in Mannaeian territory, and provided him with food supplies, horses, and cattle for his army. In turn, Sargon acknowledged Ullusunu as his ally, according him a place of honour at a special feast, and undertook to win back for him any of the remaining territories that he had lost to the Urartians (**ARAB II*: 75–8).

But the accord with Assyria was probably shortlived. Hostilities between Mannaea and Assyria, generally at the expense of the former, were much more characteristic of the relations between the two kingdoms. In the 670s Mannaea suffered another resounding defeat by Assyria when it formed an anti-Assyrian alliance with the Scythians. In 660–659 an attempt by the Mannaeian king Ahseri to destroy an Assyrian force dispatched across the Zagros mountains also ended in failure. Ahseri was subsequently killed, along with most of his family, in an uprising of his subjects. His

surviving son, Ualli, sought peace with the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668–630/627), and succeeded in forming an alliance with him. The Assyrian–Mannaean alliance proved a lasting one. It still remained in force in late C7, when the Babylonian king Nabopolassar (626–605) launched a series of campaigns into Assyrian territory, and in the course of these inflicted a defeat on Assyria's Mannaean allies.

Kingship in Mannaea seems to have been hereditary. The royal seat of the ruling dynasty was probably the city of Izirtu, which in all likelihood was located near the southern shore of Lake Urmia. The king was assisted and advised, and his power was probably circumscribed, by an aristocratic council of elders. Even after unification the Mannaean kingdom lacked a strongly coherent political structure. 'Provinces' of the kingdom were under the immediate authority of governors, who appear to have exercised a high degree of autonomy. The names of these provinces include Arsianshi, Ereshteiana, Messi, Subi, Surkiash, and Uishdish. Heads of families and communities seem also to have played important roles in the kingdom's administration. There may have been a core Mannaean population of perhaps Hurrian origin. But the overall population of the Mannaean lands was made up of a number of tribal groups of different ethnic origins. Included amongst the ones identified in Assyrian records were Dalians, Kumurdians, Messians, Sunbians, and Teurlians. Though these groups were loosely integrated into the kingdom of Mannaea, the tribal structure of Mannaean society remained strong. The basis of the kingdom's economy was agriculture. Wheat, barley, and wine figured amongst its principal crops. A variety of livestock was raised, including cattle, horse, sheep, camels, and donkeys.

Postgate (*RIA* 7: 340–2).

Mansuate Iron Age city in western Syria, first mentioned in the Assyrian Eponym Chronicles (see glossary). Reference is made there to a campaign conducted in 796 by Adad-nirari III 'as far as Mansuate' (*Millard, 1994: 57). The city later became a centre of the Assyrian administration, as indicated by references to it in Assyrian letters and administrative documents. Its status as the chief city of an Assyrian province may date back to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), though its provincial status is not firmly attested until the beginning of the reign of Esarhaddon (680), when it was assigned to the Assyrian governor Dananu. Various identifications have been proposed for Mansuate's location. Most recently, Lipiński has equated it with mod. Masyaf, west of the Orontes.

Hawkins (*RIA* 7: 342–3), Lipiński (2000: 263 map, 304–10, with refs).

Manuhatan Middle Bronze Age city, attested in the Mari archives, probably to be located on the east bank of the Euphrates in the district of Saggaratum, an important city of the kingdom of Mari. It was fortified by the Yaminite leader Yagih-Adad, who was an enemy of the Mariote king Zimri-Lim (1774–1762). A large Yaminite encampment was established in the area extending between Manuhatan and Lasqum, which lay on the Euphrates to the north. The encampment was attacked by troops of the Hana people, from the district of Qattunan on the Habur r.

LKM 617 (refs).

Marabaya Late Bronze Age city in northern Syria belonging to the kingdom of Ugarit, and frequently attested in texts from Ras Shamra. The city [Ma-]raba,

MARACANDA

belonging to the Iron Age kingdom of Hamath and attested in a list of Hamathite cities and districts conquered by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) (**Tigl* III: 136), was probably its Iron Age successor. A location near the mod. coastal city of Latakia seems likely.

Lipiński (2000: 290, with refs).

Maracanda (*Samarkand*; archaeological site *Afrasiab*, [map 16](#)) M1 BCE–M1 CE city located in the valley of the Zarafshan r. in mod. Uzbekistan, central Asia, on the northeastern edge of the Iranian highlands. It was the capital of the country called Sogdiana (Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.30.6). When Sogdiana was incorporated into the Persian empire, Maracanda probably became a regional centre of the Persian administration, and a royal palace may have been located there. In 329, Alexander the Great conquered the city and used it as his base for his two-year campaigns in the region. According to Curtius (7.6.10), Maracanda was a walled city of extensive proportions, dominated by a fortified citadel (which has now been identified by excavation). During the Hellenistic period the city probably became a colony of the Seleucid empire.

Sancisi-Weerdenburg (*OGD* 920–1), Brentjes (*BNP* 8: 278).

Marad ([map 11](#)) City in northern Babylonia located on the site of Wanna-wa-Sadam, midway between Babylon and Isin. Attested in sources spanning the period late M3–M1, it appears first in the reign of the Akkadian king Manishtushu (2269–2255). Subsequently it was governed by one of the sons of Manishtushu's successor Naram-Sin (2254–2218) (**RIME* 2: 112). Marad was later the centre of a province under the C21 Ur III administration, ruled on behalf of the administration by a series of governors (*ensis*). At the beginning of C19, its fortunes seem to have been linked closely with those of the city of Kazallu, which appears to have been located between Marad and the city of Kish. Kazallu became for a time the dominant power in northern Babylonia, in effect sharing control over the southern Mesopotamian remnants of the Ur III empire with Ishbi-Erra's ruling dynasty at Isin in the south. Marad and Kish were both subject to a king of Kazallu called Sumu-ditana. Subsequently, Marad and Kazallu were ruled by a king called Halum-pi-umu (variants Halambu, Alumbiumu), who seized the city of Dilbat, which apparently belonged to the kingdom of Babylon. In 1878 the Babylonian king Sumu-la-El responded by inflicting a defeat on the aggressor, and five years later Kazallu suffered a further military defeat at the hands of the Larsan king Sumu-El. In 1862, Sumu-la-El demolished the walls of Kazallu, and the following year Marad was incorporated into the kingdom of Babylon. This did not prevent its seizure by the kings of Isin and Larsa, but it was eventually recaptured by the Babylonian king Sin-muballit (1812–1793), who fortified its walls against further attack. It continued to make somewhat half-hearted attempts at regaining its independence during the reigns of Sin-muballit's successors Hammurabi and Samsuiluna.

During the period of Kassite rule in Babylonia (Late Bronze Age), Marad was one of the more important cities of Babylonia, due partly to its status as a major religious centre. The city's chief deity was the god Lugal-Mar(a)da ('King of Marad'). At the end of the Late Bronze Age, when the Babylonian throne was occupied by the Assyrian-appointed Kassite king Adad-shuma-iddina (1222–1217), Marad was among the cities devastated by the Elamite king Kidin-Hutran during an Elamite invasion of

Babylonia (**ABC* 177). Several hundred years later, the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle (see glossary) entry for the year 770 refers to an expedition to Marad by the commander-in-chief Shamshi-ilu during the reign of the Assyrian king Ashur-dan III (772–755). Marad was one of a number of Babylonian cities (others included Borsippa, Kish, Sippar, Ur, and Uruk) whose temples Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562) rebuilt and decorated on a lavish scale.

Edzard (*RIA* 7: 351–3), *Mesop.* 87–8.

Marassantiya r. see Halys r.

Marathus (*Amrit*) (map 7) Phoenician city on the coast of Syria, serving as the continental port for the island of Arwad (Phoenician Ruad). Occupation of the site dates back to the end of M3, as indicated by ceramic ware of this period uncovered during excavations by M. Dunand, principally from 1954 onwards. Among the remains of later date were eight corbelled tombs (the so-called ‘silo tombs’) of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, whose contents included weapons and a range of incised and decorated ceramic ware, and in some cases the original human remains. An open-air colonnaded temple, cut in the side of a hill and now commonly referred to as the *Ma'abed*, was excavated in 1955 and 1957. Its covered portico with square pillars enclosed a large rectangular basin, 47 m × 39 m and over 3 m deep, in the centre of which was a cube-shaped chapel. The temple was probably dedicated to the gods Melqart of Tyre and Eshmun, and has been dated to the period of Persian expansion into Syria following Cyrus II's conquest of Babylon in 539. A second temple described by visitors to the site in 1697, 1743, and 1860 has now entirely disappeared. To the south of the city lies a cemetery dating to C4, the last century of the Persian period. It contains rock-cut tombs, three of which are surmounted by pyramidal- and cube-shaped funerary towers. They are among the most notable grave-monuments of the Phoenician world. The contents of the two-chambered ‘pyramidal hypogeum’, consisting of a cubic base on which stands a cylinder surmounted by an eight-sided pyramid (thus Saliby), indicates continuing use from C4 to C1. Excavations at Amrit have also brought to light the city's anc. harbour facilities, and a stadium of C4 date which remained in use in the early Hellenistic period. (For the surrender of Marathus to Alexander the Great in 333/332, see *Arwad*.) Settlement continued at Marathus until at least the end of this period. The city was in ruins in C1, according to Strabo (16.2.12). However, its continuing existence is indicated by references to it in later Classical writers (e.g. Pliny the Elder, 5.78).

Dunand and Saliby (1985), Saliby (*OEANE* 1: 111–13).

Mardaman Early and Middle Bronze Age city located in the eastern Habur region of northern Mesopotamia. The earliest reference to it allegedly dates to the reign of the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (2254–2218) when according to a later (Old Babylonian) tradition its ruler, Duhsusu, joined the ‘Great Revolt’ against Naram-Sin (**Chav.* 32). During its Middle Bronze Age phase Mardaman sent envoys to the court of Yahdun-Lim, king of Mari (1810–1794), and was subsequently one of the cities in the region captured by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775), whose son Yasmah-Addu occupied the Assyrian viceregal seat at Mari.

The end of Shamshi-Adad's reign was followed after a brief interval by the seizure of



Figure 69 Marathus, temple.

Mari's throne by Zimri-Lim (1774–1762) (see **Mari**), who sought to win by diplomacy the support of Mardaman (along with a number of other northern Mesopotamian cities). At the very beginning of his reign, he wrote a letter to a certain Tish-Ulme, who later became king of Mardaman, proposing that Tish-Ulme and Mardaman's administrators hand the city over to him, with the promise that he would give it back to its 'rightful owner' – i.e. a local ruler loyal to him (**Chav.* 120–1). The letter was found still in its envelope in Mari, and was thus never dispatched. Other references to Mardaman during Zimri-Lim's reign indicate that its relations with Mari were hostile for at least part of this reign. The city came to the assistance of the land of Hadnum when the latter changed its alliance from Zimri-Lim to the city of Kurda, and in retaliation it was attacked and defeated by troops from Mari's ally, Karana (**LKM* 396). In another letter from the Mari archive, Zimri-Lim is informed that his allies Qarni-Lim and Sharraya, the kings of Andarig and northern Razama (see **Razama** (2)) respectively, had entered Mardaman and taken from it 1,000 prisoners (**LKM* 225).

Edzard (*RIA* 7: 357–8).

Margiana (Margush) (map 16) Central Asian country located west of the Oxus r. in the region of mod. Turkmenistan. From early in Cyrus II's reign (559–530) it was incorporated into the Persian empire as a dependency of the country of Bactria. It is listed in the Bisitun inscription among the states which rose in rebellion against Darius I shortly after his accession in 522 (**DB* 21). But its uprising under a king

called Frada was shortlived. Darius' Bactrian satrap, Dardashish, crushed the Margian forces in a battle in December 522, in which 55,000 Margian troops were allegedly killed and a further 8,500 captured (*DB 38). Alexander the Great built six forts in Margiana during the course of his eastern campaign in 328, and founded there one of his cities called Alexandria.

Wiesehöfer (*BNP* 8: 339).

Marhashi (Sumerian form of the name; Akkadian **Barahshum/Parahshum**, sometimes represented as **Warahshe**) (map 12) Important Early and Middle Bronze Age kingdom in Iran, bordering upon Elam. The mod. regions of eastern Fars or Kerman have been suggested as possible locations. (Tepe Yahya, q.v., whose anc. name is unknown, may have lain within its territory.) However, more easterly and more northerly locations have also been proposed (the former in the region of mod. Baluchistan). The kingdom is attested, either as B/Parahshum or Marhashi, in Mesopotamian texts of the Akkadian, Ur III, and Old Babylonian periods (i.e. second half of M3–early M2). It was independent of Elam but often allied with it. Indeed, there is a suggestion that up to the time of the eastern campaign of the Akkadian king Rimush (see below), Parahshum may have exercised some form of control, or at least strong influence, over Elam (Steinkeller, 1982: 257). By the end of the Old Babylonian period the kingdom had apparently ceased to exist as a separate political entity, though its name survived down to the very end of cuneiform literature in scientific and lexical texts.

The earliest references to Marhashi/Parahshum date to the reign of the Akkadian king Sargon (2334–2279), who conducted a major expedition into the highland regions of western Iran, and claimed to have conquered Parahshum and Elam (along with Awan, Susa, and other cities and states in the region). The conquered lands were incorporated into the Akkadian empire, with the probable exception of Parahshum, whose distance from the centre of Akkadian power made it impracticable for any form of permanent control to be established over it, by either the Akkadian rulers or the later Ur III kings. But it was not beyond the reach of military campaigns launched from southern Mesopotamia, as demonstrated by Sargon, and especially by his son and successor Rimush (2278–2270). Following Sargon's death, Parahshum had joined with Elam and Zahara (another of its neighbours) in an anti-Akkadian military alliance. Rimush responded with a devastating campaign of conquest, resulting in the greatest military triumph of his reign. After defeating Abalgamash, king of Parahshum, he attacked and defeated the combined forces of Zahara and Elam which confronted him within Parahshum's territory. According to his report of the campaign, he killed 16,212 of the enemy troops, and captured a further 4,216 (**DaK* 206–11, **RIME* 2: 52–67). Parahshum's general, Sidgau, was among the prisoners, as was the Elamite king Emahsini. But Abalgamash, who had led the alliance in partnership with Emahsini and Zahara's ruler Sargapi (who was also later captured), probably survived the battle and escaped. Rimush followed up his victory by establishing his sovereignty over Elam, though Zahara and Parahshum apparently retained their independence.

Parahshum is conspicuously absent from the records of Rimush's successor Manishtushu (2269–2255), who certainly campaigned in western Iran, and no doubt further strengthened his empire's control over Parahshum's neighbour, Elam. But it does appear on the extensive list of countries which rose up in the so-called 'Great Revolt' against Manishtushu's son and successor Naram-Sin (2254–2218) at the beginning of

his reign (**Chav.* 32) – though we have no details of the part it played in this uprising. In any case, by the end of Naram-Sin's reign, relations between Parahshum and Akkad must have taken a turn for the better, since either Naram-Sin's son Shar-kali-sharri travelled to Parahshum while he was crown prince to marry a local princess, or Shar-kali-sharri's son was sent there for this purpose.

Through the period of the Ur III empire (C21), Marhashi/Parahshum appears to have retained its independence and to have enjoyed close diplomatic links with at least some of the Ur III rulers. There were apparently regular diplomatic exchanges between the two royal courts, and on occasions the king of Marhashi may himself have visited Ur. If there were in fact a parity-type relationship between the kingdoms, this would indicate Marhashi's status as a major political, military, and probably economic power at this time. Such a relationship would no doubt have enabled Marhashi to serve as a valuable intermediary between the rulers of other lands in its region and the Ur III dynasty. Marhashi's own links with the dynasty were consolidated by a marriage alliance, when Shulgi (2094–2047), second of the Ur III rulers, gave one of his daughters in marriage to its king. (The relevant text refers to her as being 'raised to the ladyship of Marhashi'.) On the other hand, the fact that small detachments of troops from Marhashi served in the armed forces of the Ur III kingdom, during the reign of Amar-Sin (2046–2038) and under the overall command of one his own generals, may indicate that Marhashi played some sort of subordinate role in its relationship with Ur, but not necessarily. The provision of such troops may have been purely a goodwill gesture by the Marhashite king, or else part of a quid pro quo arrangement.

Following the collapse of the Ur III dynasty at the end of M3, conflicts appears to have broken out between Marhashi and other states on the Iranian plateau. This is suggested by inscriptions from the reign of Ilum-muttābbil, a ruler of the northern Babylonian city of Der in early M2 (Old Babylonian period), who claims to have 'smitten the heads of Anshan, Elam, and Shimashki', apparently as an ally of Marhashi. The last surviving reference to Marhashi/Paharshum, at least as a political entity, occurs in the year-formula of the Babylonian king Hammurabi for his thirtieth year (1762), which records a victory by Hammurabi over the Elamites.

Steinkeller (1982; *RIA* 7: 381–2).

Mari (*Tell Hariri*) (map 10) Early and Middle Bronze Age Mesopotamian city on the west bank of the middle Euphrates. Its history of occupation extends from the beginning of M3 until its destruction by the Babylonian king Hammurabi in 1762, with some evidence of later settlement on the site until the last centuries of M1. According to the Sumerian King List, it was the seat of the tenth postdiluvian (post-flood) dynasty. Excavations have been carried out at Tell Hariri by a succession of French teams from 1933 onwards, most notably by A. Parrot between 1951 and 1974, and by J.-C. Margueron from 1979 onwards. The chief phases of the city's existence, as identified by these excavations, belong successively to the Early Dynastic, Akkadian, Ur III, and Old Assyrian (Amorite) periods. In its Early Dynastic phase (c. 2900–2334), Mari was circular in plan (c. 1,900 m in diameter) and surrounded by a dyke to protect it from floodwaters. The Early Dynastic III sub-phase contained the remains of private houses, a porticoed market-place surrounding a square, a palace, and temples dedicated to Ishtar, Ninni-Zaza, and Ishtarat. By the middle of M3 Mari had become a wealthy city, due no doubt to its central position in a fertile strip of land along the Euphrates,

and its involvement in the international trading operations that passed between Babylonia and Syria. But at some point during the period of the Akkadian empire (c. 2334–2193), the city suffered violent destruction, perhaps early in C23. The circumstances of this destruction are unknown.

Towards the end of the Akkadian period, Mari entered a new phase in its existence. For a brief time it was subject to Akkad, under the immediate authority of a military governor (Akkadian *shakkanakku*) installed by the Akkadian administration. This man became the first of a line of rulers constituting the so-called Shakkanakku dynasty, who presided over the city as an independent power through the period of the Ur III kingdom (last century of M3). Extensive building operations took place in the city during this period, including the construction of substantial fortifications of baked brick, the redevelopment of the temple quarter, to which new buildings were added, and the construction of a new palace over the ruins of the old. Laid out in a manner which became typical of Mesopotamian palaces of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, with multiple rooms grouped around open courts, it included among its main features a large courtyard (the so-called Court of the Palm) planted with palm trees and associated with two long rooms, one of which appears to have been the throne-room. A second, smaller palace is thought to have provided the local ruler with a temporary residence while the major palace was under construction. In the succeeding centuries the main royal palace was regularly restored, redeveloped, and enlarged, achieving its maximum extent in the reign of the Amorite king Zimri-Lim (1774–1762). At that time, it covered an area of over 2.5 ha, and contained at ground level almost 300 rooms. Evidence for a second storey suggests that this number could well be doubled. Apart from the royal living quarters, the complex included public reception halls, kitchens, administrative quarters, archive rooms, perhaps a scribal school, a market area, and a caravanserai. The throne-room, main courtyard, and other areas of the palace were decorated with wall-paintings, one of which depicted the investiture of the king in the presence of the gods.

We do not know when the Shakkanakku dynasty came to an end or the circumstances in which this occurred. After a period of obscurity, Mari again came into prominence with the accession of a king called Yahdun-Lim (1810–1794). From his royal seat, Yahdun-Lim exercised authority over a substantial amount of territory extending from Mari to the mouth of the Balih r. and including the cities of Terqa and Tuttul (**Chav.* 96–8). He also led an expedition to Lebanon, for the purpose of obtaining quantities of the prized timbers of the region. Presumably to try to secure himself against attack from his neighbours, he concluded a pact with the king of Yamhad (whose capital was Aleppo) in northern Syria. But the Yamhadite king, Sumu-epuh, became hostile when Yahdun-Lim subsequently formed an alliance with his powerful eastern neighbour Eshnunna, and sent troops to support a rebellion of several Yaminite kings against him (**CS* II: 260). Yahdun-Lim's son and successor Sumu-Yamam may have tried to repair relations with Aleppo, but his assassination after two years on the throne paved the way for the takeover of Mari c. 1792 by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775). Following a major redevelopment and refurbishment of Mari's palace, Shamshi-Adad installed one of his sons, Yasmah-Addu, as viceroy in the city, giving him authority over the middle Euphrates region, and subsequently extending this authority to the city of Shubat-Shamash. (He appointed his other son, Ishme-Dagan, viceroy in the city of Ekallatum.) For eight years, Yasmah-Addu occupied the

viceregal throne – though not with distinction, to judge from his father's correspondence with him, preserved in the Mari archives. In this correspondence, Shamshi-Adad frequently complains of the viceroy's fecklessness and neglect of his responsibilities.

The disintegration of the Old Assyrian kingdom, which began shortly after Shamshi-Adad's death in 1775, provided the opportunity for the return of a man called Zimri-Lim. Designated in official inscriptions as the son of Yahdun-Lim (who was in fact probably his grandfather or uncle), Zimri-Lim had fled Mari as a child when Yasmah-Addu was appointed viceroy there, and may have sought refuge in Aleppo. He returned to his homeland at the head of an army, captured the city of Tuttul in 1775 shortly before Shamshi-Adad's death, and several months later entered Mari in triumph after Yasmah-Addu's hasty flight from the city (though the Mariote throne may have been occupied for a brief time after Yasmah-Addu's departure by a certain Ishar-Lim; thus Dalley, 1984: 35, with n. 9). Zimri-Lim's thirteen-year rule in Mari (1774–1762) is the best attested of all periods of the city's history, thanks to the extensive documentation of his reign contained in the Mari archives (see below). Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct a coherent history of the reign from these records. But Zimri-Lim's achievements included a successful campaign against the Yaminite princes early in the reign, and his establishment of alliances with his powerful neighbours, notably the Babylonian king Hammurabi, and Yarim-Lim, ruler of Yamhad. (For the former, see *ARM XXVI/2: 364–6, no. 449.) Hammurabi in particular proved a valuable ally to Zimri-Lim in countering threats to his territories posed by both Eshnunna under its king Ibal-pi-El II (see e.g. under **Suhu(m)**) and Elam. But the threat from Eshnunna was considerably allayed when after much hesitation, and with strong reservations expressed by some of his own subjects and by oracles, Zimri-Lim finally concluded a treaty of alliance with Ibal-pi-El. All these alliances must have contributed significantly to the relatively high degree of peace and stability which Mari enjoyed under Zimri-Lim's rule, and the city prospered from its commercial enterprises (it had a flourishing textile industry) and the benefits derived from its location as a crossroads of international trading activities. The wealth that the city generated in this period enabled Zimri-Lim to complete Mari's great palace complex on a scale of unprecedented size and splendour.

But the brief years of peace and prosperity came abruptly to an end in 1762, when Hammurabi led his troops into Mari, occupied it for several months, plundered the palace of most of its contents for removal back to Babylon (though some were left in place where they were discovered during excavations), and later burnt all the city's monumental buildings. The reasons for this dramatic about-face in the relations between Babylon and Mari, which had previously enjoyed close, cordial relations, remain matters for speculation (see discussion in van de Mieroop, 2003: 64–78). But whatever the reasons, Hammurabi's comprehensive looting and destruction of the city left no doubt that he intended it never to rise again.

The cuneiform clay tablets excavated at Mari numbering more than 22,000 and consisting of both state and private archives (the latter belonging to palace personnel) came to light in a number of locations, but mainly in and around the great palace. Their contents include letters, administrative documents, and a few legal and religious texts. Though the total timespan covered by the archives extends from late M3 until 1762, the great majority of the tablets are confined to a quarter of a century at the very end of Mari's existence, from the period of the Assyrian viceroy Yasmah-Addu to the

destruction of Mari by Hammurabi at the end of Zimri-Lim's reign. (Most of the tablets date to Zimri-Lim's reign.) They are a most valuable source of information on the daily life and administration of the kingdom of which Mari was the centre, and provide some important insights into the relations between the kingdoms and states of Mesopotamia and Syria in the period when the Old Assyrian kingdom was in terminal decline and the Old Babylonian state was on the rise.

Mari survived its destruction by Hammurabi, but was never again to play a major role in the western Asian world. During the Late Bronze Age it became part of the Middle Assyrian kingdom, and is listed among the thirty-eight districts and cities which the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208) conquered (**RIMA* 1: 273). Thenceforth it may have fluctuated between Assyrian and Babylonian control. A fragmentary text refers to the crushing of a rebellion in Mari by a Babylonian king (*Walker, 1982: 400–1). And in mid C11 resistance to the Assyrians by Mari's king, Tukulti-Mer, met with ruthless retaliation from the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (**RIMA* 2: 89). (This Tukulti-Mer is thought to be identical with the king of Hana so called, who lived in the same period and has left a dedicatory inscription; **RIMA* 2: 111). Under the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (810–783), Mari was among the cities and lands assigned to the governorship of a man called Nergal-erish (Palil-erish) (**RIMA* 3: 209). In the first half of C8 a certain Shamash-resha-usur, who may have been nominally subject to the Assyrian king (Ashur-dan III?), but who appears to have enjoyed a largely autonomous status, called himself governor of 'the land of Suhu and the land of Mari' (as did his son and successor, Ninurta-kudurri-usur). Information about his attempts to redevelop what was evidently a depressed and underpopulated region along the middle Euphrates is provided by an inscription on a stele commemorating his exploits (**RIMB* 2: 279–82). These exploits apparently did little to resurrect Mari's fortunes, though there is evidence that the city continued to exist, on a very modest scale, down to the Hellenistic period. Frame (*RIMB* 2: 275) comments that Mari was located in the land of Laqe at this time, that it is thus unlikely that Shamash-resha-usur actually controlled it, and that the term 'land of Mari' was employed in his title, along with Suhu, for historical reasons.

Kupper, Spycket, and Aynard (*RIA* 7: 382–418), Marguérón (*OEANE* 3: 413–17; 2004), **LAP* 16–18, **LKM*, *Mesop.*, *passim*.

Marib (map 9) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in southern Arabia, capital of the kingdom of Saba (biblical Sheba), located on the north bank of the Wadi Dhanah in mod. Yemen. Covering an area of c. 23 ha, it is the largest known pre-Islamic settlement in southern Arabia. The site was first excavated by F. P. Albright for the American Foundation for the Study of Man in 1951 and 1953, with further excavations being conducted in the 1980s by the German Archaeological Institute, initially under the direction of J. Schmidt. Large numbers of South Arabian inscriptions were found on the site, dating from C8 onwards. These inscriptions, written in an alphabetic script, indicate that the language spoken by the Sabaeans belonged to a Northwest Semitic language sub-group. They provide important information about the dating of the site, and more generally about the kingdom of Saba, which was probably constituted no later than C10.

The most important of the city's architectural remains is the Awwam Temple, which was dedicated to the moon god, Marib's chief deity. This god also headed the pantheon of other South Arabian states, but was known by different names in different places. In

Marib he was called Ilumquh. The temple's principal feature was an entrance hall in the form of an open court surrounded by a roofed peristyle. The whole complex was enclosed within a casemated oval wall of limestone ashlar blocks. On its outer surface were carved seven inscriptions, which contain the names of the gods to whom particular parts of the wall were dedicated, and also the names of the kings who commissioned the building. The earliest of these inscriptions provide a mid C7 date for the wall, though its origins may go back to an earlier period. A mausoleum was built adjacent to the wall on its northwest corner. It contained sixty burial compartments arranged in tiers, and a number of underground burial chambers. Inscriptions on fragments of panels which closed the compartments contain the names of the deceased, including two kings. This has led to the building being dubbed the royal mausoleum. A group of mausolea lay 100 m to the south, dated to C8 by a boustrophedon inscription (see glossary) painted on one of the walls.

Van Beek (1974; *OEANE* 3: 417–18).

Marina Late Bronze Age and Iron Age city in northern Mesopotamia, probably the predecessor of the M1 Aramaean city Burmarina (Tell Shiyukh Fawqani) (q.v.). It is first attested in a C13 Assyrian letter found at Dur-Katlimmu, and subsequently on one of the bronze bands from a gate of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) at Balawat (see **Imgur-Enlil**) (**RIMA* 2: 345). The latter inscription locates it (like Burmarina) in Bit-Adini.

Cancik-Kirschbaum (1996: *96–7, 104), Lipiński (2000: 175–6).

Marion (*Polis*) (map 14) City built on two plateaus (thus an 'eastern' and a 'western' city) on the northwestern coast of Cyprus. Its name may first be attested, in the form Aimar, in an inscription from the funerary temple of the C12 Egyptian pharaoh Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. But there are no remains of any settlement on the site at this time. The origins of the settlement on the eastern plateau, known as *Peristeries*, have been dated, on the basis of archaeological evidence, to the Geometric period (C8). An important rural sanctuary and a large palatial building of the Cypro-Archaic period were excavated there by the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition in the 1980s and 1990s. A necropolis is located nearby, whose tombs date to the Geometric and Archaic (C7–6) periods. In mid C5, perhaps following the Athenian commander Cimon's arrival at Marion, the city was moved to the western plateau.

Very little is known of Marion's early history, beyond the fact that it was one of the kingdoms of Cyprus in the first half of M1, and the names of most of its C5 and C4 kings are known from coin issues. The king's name on these coins is accompanied by the designation *Mariens*. Marion's importance and affluence at the time apparently came from its exploitation of the copper mines nearby at Limne, and from its regular trade with Athens. It has been suggested that the hilltop palace at Vouni (q.v.) further east along the north coast may initially have been built, c. 500, as a royal summer residence by a king of Marion. But we have no hard evidence for this. The first clear reference to the city in historical records belongs to 449, when the Athenian general Cimon liberated it from the Persians, replacing its pro-Persian ruler with a pro-Greek one, who was then installed in the palace of Vouni.

Marion's last known king was a man called Stasiocus II, who in 312 made the unwise decision to support Alexander's former general, Antigonus, in his conflict with

another of his generals, Ptolemy I Soter. The city was destroyed by Ptolemy and its inhabitants transported to Paphos, which lay south on Cyprus' southwest coast. It was, however, refounded c. 270 by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and renamed after his wife (and sister) Arsinoe. The city flourished in Hellenistic and Roman times, and was the seat of a bishopric in the Byzantine period. Remains of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine city of Arsinoe have been found on the ridge occupied by the mod. village of Polis.

Nicolaou (*PECS* 552), Smith (1997), Papalexandrou (2006).

Mariru Iron Age city in northern Mesopotamia, near the city of Damdammusa, possibly on the northwestern side of the Kashiyari mountain range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin) (Liverani, 1992: 37). It was conquered by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II during a campaign in the region in his second regnal year (882) (**RIMA* 2: 201).

Marista Late Bronze Age country in northern Anatolia, first attested in Hittite texts as the site of one of the storage depots which the Hittite king Telipinu (c. 1525–1500) established in various parts of his realm. In the reign of Muwattalli II (1295–1272) its territory was ravaged by enemy forces from Kaska and other hostile northern countries, namely Pishuru and Daistipassa (**CS* I: 200). It was among the depopulated lands which Muwattalli assigned to his brother Hattusili (later King Hattusili III) when he appointed Hattusili ruler of the northern part of the Hittite homeland (**CS* I: 201) (see **Hakpis(sa)** and **Turmitta**).

**RGTC* 6: 262–3.

Marki ([map 14](#)) Early and Middle Bronze Age settlement and cemetery complex in central Cyprus, situated on the geological divide between the copper-bearing igneous foothills of the Troodos mountains and the agriculturally productive sedimentary soils of the central plain. Excavations here by D. Frankel and J. M. Webb from La Trobe University, Australia, between 1991 and 2001, exposed over 2000 sq. m of well-preserved domestic architecture, dating from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age to the middle years of the Middle Bronze Age. The settlement, which at its maximum extent covered 5 ha, was occupied for about 500 years. The population probably grew from several dozen in the earliest phase to over 300 before the village was gradually abandoned. A stone mould for casting copper ingots is among the earliest artefacts found at the site, testifying to the importance of metalworking from the settlement's foundation and suggesting that the site was located specifically to take advantage of nearby copper sources. The inhabitants were also engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry and the production of pottery and textiles for local use.

The excavators identified thirty-three house compounds and traced the evolution of domestic space over 500 years. House compounds with large courtyards and small interior rooms were the norm from first settlement. Artefacts suggest that the processing and small-scale storage of cereals and other commodities, spinning and weaving, chipped and ground stone tool production, and perhaps wood- and hide-working were routinely carried out in interior rooms, along with the preparation, serving, and consumption of food. Like other settlements of the period on Cyprus, Marki was not fortified, and there is no evidence for writing, sealing systems, centralized storage, communal buildings, cult-centres or major inequalities in wealth or status.

(J. M. Webb)

Frankel and Webb (2006).

MARONI



Figure 70 Marki.

Maroni ([map 14](#)) Late Bronze Age settlement located on the low hillock of Vournes in the Maroni valley 500 m inland from the south coast, excavated by G. Cadogan for the University of Cincinnati. Both the Vournes hillock and an associated settlement on the coast at Tsaroukkas were in use from Late Cypriot (LC) IA (1650–1550). Evidence for copper-working at Vournes is visible from LC IIB (1375–1300). A number of buildings are of particular interest. These are the Basin Building, a 4.5 m square freestanding structure with a paved sunken basin erected in LC IIA (1450–1375) or IIB and abandoned in or after LC IIB, and the somewhat later Ashlar Building, constructed in LC IIC (1300–1200). The Ashlar Building is a tripartite structure measuring 30.5 m × 20 m and partly built of dressed ashlar blocks. It produced evidence of olive oil processing, cereal grinding, large-scale storage of staples, metalworking, weaving, and writing. It has been interpreted as an administration centre controlling food production and metalworking in the Maroni valley in C13.

(J. M. Webb)
Cadogan (1996).

Marqas (*Maras̄*) ([map 7](#)) Iron Age city attested in the records of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705) as capital of the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Gurgum in southeastern Anatolia. After Sargon dethroned the last Gurgumite king, Mutallu, and deported him to Assyria (c. 711), Gurgum was incorporated into the Assyrian empire and thenceforth called Marqas, after its capital. Sargon boosted its population by settling deportees there (*SAA I: 199, no. 257).

Parpola (1970: 239–40), Hawkins (*RIA* 7: 431–2).

Martu see Amorites.

Masa (map 3) Late Bronze Age country in western Anatolia, mentioned several times in Hittite texts alongside the country called Karkisa. Apparently governed by a council of elders rather than a king, Masa remained independent of Hittite control, but not beyond the reach of Hittite arms. When Mashuiluwa, rebel vassal ruler of Mira, fled his country and sought refuge in Masa during Mursili II's reign (1321–1295), Hittite forces invaded the country and demanded the surrender of the refugee (*Bryce, 2005: 212–14). Threatened with severe reprisals if they failed to comply, the people of Masa returned Mashuiluwa to Hittite authority. A contingent from Masa fought on the Hittite side in the battle of Qadesh, probably in a mercenary capacity (*Gardiner, 1960: 8). In the so-called Südburg inscription (see **Hattusa**), Masa appears among the western lands conquered and annexed by the last Hittite king Suppiluliuma II (1207–) (*Hawkins, 1995: 22–3). The name Masa has been linked, very conjecturally, with the Maeonians of Classical legendary tradition, whose homeland lay under Mt Tmolus (mod. Boz Dağı) in the region of anc. Lydia.

*RGTC 6: 264–5, Heinhold-Krahmer (RIA 7:441–2).

Masashuru Royal city of the Iron Age country Harna, which bordered upon the land of Mannaea in mod. Iranian Kurdistan (*RIMA 3: 70).

Maşat see Tapikka.

Mashkan-shapir (*Tell Abu Duwari*) (map 11) Early and Middle Bronze Age site (with evidence of some occupation also in the Uruk period, M4) in southern Mesopotamia, a low mound rising 2–5 m above the surrounding plain, located east of Babylon and north of Nippur. Excavations began in 1987, following a survey of the Nippur region by R. McC. Adams, under the direction of E. C. Stone. First attested in correspondence from Nippur dating to the reign of the Akkadian king Sargon (2334–2279), Mashkan-shapir began life as a small rural settlement. It underwent some development in the period of the Ur III dynasty (C21), perhaps with the support of this dynasty, but remained relatively insignificant throughout the Ur III period, functioning primarily as the centre of a sheep-raising area. With the rise of the dynasties of Isin and Larsa early in M2, it became a frontier-post of the kingdom of Larsa, within the sub-region called the 'land of Yamutbal' (Yamutbal(um)/Emutbal(um)). This marked the beginning of its development into a major urban centre, becoming the second most important city in the kingdom of Larsa (see below). Its importance to Larsa was at least partly due to its strategic position which, Stone comments, enabled it to control trade moving from areas east and north of Babylonia into the southern heartland.

Larsa apparently lost control of Mashkan-shapir for a time, but Larsa's eighth ruler Nur-Adad recaptured it, and in the reign of his son and successor Sin-iddinam (1849–1843) Mashkan-shapir was fortified, or refortified, with an extensive wall. This enclosed an area of c. 72 ha, parts of which were only thinly populated. The wall was dedicated to the god Nergal, probably Mashkan-shapir's chief deity. A dedicatory inscription associated with one of its gates established the city's name. Mashkan-shapir was divided into sections by four major canals. Residential areas with manufacturing areas among them and a religious quarter have been identified. The manufacturing areas provide evidence of copper- and stone-working industries and pottery production. Within the religious quarter, baked- and mud-brick temple platforms have been

unearthed, along with many fragments of terracotta life-size and half-size statues of lions, horses, and human figures. These may have served to guard the entrance to a temple. A walled-off area of the central mound was used as a cemetery in the last phase of the city's occupation. Funerary items scattered on the surface of this area include large burial jars, jewellery, and weapons.

Following Sin-iddinam's reign, Mashkan-shapir was again lost to and again regained by Larsa, and in the reign of Larsa's king Rim-Sin (1822–1763) reached the peak of its importance when it achieved the status of the kingdom's second capital (after the first capital, the city of Larsa). This is made clear by correspondence from the Assyrian viceroy Yasmah-Addu at Mari. The city was now governed by Rim-Sin's brother Sin-muballit, and was the base for Babylonian diplomatic missions to Larsa in the reign of the Babylonian king Hammurabi (1792–1750).

With the outbreak of war between Babylon and Larsa, following Rim-Sin's incursions into Babylonian territory, Hammurabi, in alliance with Mari, invaded Larsa, and launched the first attack of his campaign against Mashkan-shapir (Charpin, 2003: 84–5). The city fell after a siege, and Hammurabi went on to complete the conquest of Larsa. Under Hammurabi, Mashkan-shapir continued to be a city of some importance, though no longer with the status it had enjoyed during Rim-Sin's reign. Subsequently it became a victim of the Babylonian kingdom's decline under Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna (1749–1712). It was among a number of southern Babylonian cities which were abandoned during his reign. Many centuries later, the Parthians occupied the site – though only on a limited scale – for c. 500 years, from mid C3 BCE until the early decades of C3 CE.

Stone (*OEANE* 3: 430–2), *LKM* 617 (refs), Stone and Zimansky (2004a), Steinkeller (2004), *Mesop.* 319.

Mashqitu Iron Age city in the middle Euphrates r., in the region of Suhu, between the cities of Ana(t) and Haradu. During his last recorded campaign in 885, the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II spent the night in the city on his progress up the Euphrates (**RIMA* 2: 175). Haradu and Kailetu were other cities in this same region through which Tukulti-Ninurta passed on the same campaign.

Masos, Tel (Arabic *Khirbet el-Mesbash*) ([map 8](#)) Site in the northern Negev desert, Israel, 12 km east of Beersheba. Extending over both sides of a wadi, it consists of (a) a small tell, (b) a large village to the northeast of the tell, and (c) a fortified Middle Bronze Age enclosure on the wadi's southern bank. Occupation of one part or another of the site was spread over five periods. There were: a late Chalcolithic settlement continuing into the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (late M4–early M3; area a); a Middle Bronze Age fortified settlement built in two phases (early M2; area c); a relatively large Iron Age I village, c. 200 m × 150 m (1200–1000; area b); a fortified late Iron Age II settlement from which the tell was formed (C7; area a); and a Byzantine monastery (C7–8 CE; area a). The overall settlement pattern is one of brief periods of occupation with long intervals in between. Excavations were carried out from 1972 to 1975 by Y. Aharoni, V. Fritz, and A. Kempinski for the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.

The two-phase Middle Bronze Age settlement (its first phase was demolished to make way for the second) has been seen by the excavators as an attempt by the cities in the southern Shephelah and along the Canaanite coast to control the route leading

to the east. The Iron Age I settlement was progressively built up from a nomadic encampment to an urban centre by an ever-increasing population coming from apparently different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The small finds from this period include a wide assemblage of imported ware, of Phoenician, Philistine, Midianite, and Egyptian origin. The site's cultural diversity is also reflected in a range of house types – predominantly four-room houses, but also three-room houses, broadroom houses, a courtyard house, and an Egypt-style 'Amarna house'. The settlement was abandoned c. 1000. Three hundred years later, a fortified Iron Age II settlement was built to its southwest. A large building in the centre of this settlement has been interpreted as a caravanserai. The settlement's shortlived existence (c. 50–70 years) was ended by a violent conflagration, perhaps the result of the Edomite invasion in early C6, around the time the kingdom of Judah was destroyed.

Attempts to identify Tel Masos with one of the many cities of the Negev listed in Joshua 15:21–32 have not been successful.

Kempinski (*NEAEHL* 3: 986–9), Fritz (*OEANE* 3: 437–9).

Massagetae (map 16) A group of M1 populations probably to be located in the region of mod. Kazakhstan. According to Herodotus (1.204), they occupied an immense tract of land east of the Caspian Sea. Herodotus reports that in their dress and lifestyle they were very like the Scythians whom, he alleges (4.11), they drove out of Asia across the Araxes r. Information about the Massagetae comes mainly from Greek sources (which are of limited reliability and often contradictory). Herodotus discusses them at some length (1.215–16), noting their reputation as fierce warriors who fought both on foot and on horseback. He portrays them as an essentially nomadic people who lived on fish and meat and milk; they knew nothing of agriculture, and though they had abundant quantities of bronze and gold, they had no knowledge of silver or iron; they shared their wives and ate the flesh of their dead elders as a mark of respect (cf. Strabo's account, 11.8.6–7). The Persian king Cyrus II (559–530) allegedly fought against the Massagetae during his final campaign in the east, in the region of the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers. According to Herodotus (1.205–14), Cyrus' forces were confronted by those of the Massagetae queen Tomyris. The Persian army was almost entirely destroyed, and Cyrus himself was killed in the conflict (Herodotus 1.214; but see under **Derbices**). His defeat was finally avenged by Darius I, who during his eastern campaign in 517 conquered the Massagetae and incorporated them into the Persian empire. In 329 the Massagetae allegedly fought against Alexander the Great under the leadership of the Persian commander Spitamenes, during Alexander's campaign across the Jaxartes r. After his army was defeated by Alexander, Spitamenes sought refuge with the Massagetae. A renewed uprising by Spitamenes against Alexander resulted in his death and the conquest of the Massagetae.

Hermann (*RE* XIV: 2123–30), Dandamaev (1989: 66–8), Vogelsang (1992: 181–3, 186–8).

Mastuma, Tell (= **Ashtammaku?**) (map 7) Early Iron Age settlement in Syria, 60 km southwest of Aleppo. The site, which also has remains of occupation from the Neolithic, Early, and Middle Bronze Ages, and the later Persian period (C4), was excavated by a Japanese team from the Ancient Orient Museum, Tokyo, for eight seasons between 1980 and 1995. The settlement-mound is oval-triangular in shape, 18 m high and 200 m in diameter. An area of c. 4,000 sq. m was uncovered, estimated

to have been about 40 per cent of the site's total spread. The settlement was built on a terrace, and appears to have had a planned street system which divided it into housing blocks or *insulae*. The excavators suggest that its carefully organized layout arose from a need to adapt the settlement to the topography of the mound. They calculate that the total settlement may have contained up to one hundred housing units. So far, only one major residence has come to light, measuring c. 30 m × 16 m. It occupied one-third of a block and had three street-frontages. A number of the dwellings had storage jars sunk into the lime-plastered floors up to their mouths. Ovens were found in the courtyards. The fact that almost all the buildings are of domestic type is seen by the excavators as making a significant contribution to the study of the domestic architecture as well as the provincial lifestyle of Iron Age Syria.

Present indications are that the Iron Age settlement began in late C10 and was abandoned by the end of C8. It was probably located in the north of the kingdom of Hamath on the frontier between Hamath and Bit-Agusi, and was perhaps built, or later developed, as a garrison-settlement for the Hamath kingdom. This could explain its well-planned layout. However, the excavators comment that the site's small cooking pots and common standard-type dwellings may indicate that the nuclear family was the basic family unit at Mastuma. Perhaps the families who dwelt there belonged to the men who were (we may surmise) assigned to the settlement as garrison troops. The growth of the settlement, the excavators suggest, could have been due to a deliberate immigration policy intended to reinforce the region's military power; and the one great house found on the site was perhaps the residence of a military governor. Mastuma may have been part of a frontier defence system for the kingdom of Hamath. Such a system would have become particularly important in attempting to counter the threat of Assyrian penetration into northwestern Syria in C9, during the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824).

Tsuneki (1995), Wakita *et al.* (1995; 2000).

Masuwari see *Abmar, Tell*.

Matiate (*Mateiatu, Midyat*) Iron Age city in northern Mesopotamia in the Kashiyari mountain range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin), reached via the 'Pass of the Goddesses' (Ishtarate). The Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II attacked and conquered the city during his progress through this region in his fifth regnal year (879) (**RIMA* 2: 208–9, 249). He had a statue of himself, inscribed with a record of his military victories, set up in the city. His son and successor Shalmaneser III reports conquering and plundering the city and massacring its inhabitants in his thirteenth regnal year (846) (**RIMA* 3: 39).

Kessler (*RIA* 7: 585–6), Radner (2006: 289).

Matieni (*Matiani*) Eastern Anatolian people whose land, according to Herodotus (1.202, 5.49, 52) lay east of Armenia and was the source of several rivers, including the Lesser Zab and the Araxes. Herodotus (3.94) claims that together with the lands of the Saspeires and the Alarodians it formed the eighteenth province of the Persian empire as reorganized by Darius I (522–486) (but see glossary under *satrapy*), and paid an annual tribute of 200 talents to the Persian administration. He also reports (7.72) that it contributed a contingent for Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 481. The Greek geographer Hecataeus names Hyope as a city of the Matieni.

Mazar, Tell el- (map 8) Small tell in the Jordan valley, near the junction of the Jordan and Jabbok rivers. Its history of occupation extends from C8 (early Iron Age II) to C4 (early Hellenistic period). Excavations were conducted by K. Yassine for Jordan University between 1977 and 1981. Five occupation levels were identified. In the earliest, C8 level (Early Iron Age II; Stratum V), the excavator uncovered a large paved courtyard surrounded by rooms containing loom-weights, grain storage jars, and animal bones. He suggests that the level's destruction was due to the Assyrian king Sennacherib's campaign in the region in 701. Yassine believes that the principal architectural remains of the succeeding Stratum IV (Iron Age II; C7) were those of private houses, in view of the modest walls and rooms of the buildings and the domestic utensils found in them. This level apparently ended peacefully. It was followed in late C7 (Late Iron Age II; Stratum III) by a settlement dominated by a large structure which Yassine designated as a palace-fort. Evidence of its destruction by fire suggested to him that it was a victim of the Babylonian campaign in the region in 582. Its C5 successor (Stratum II), dating to the Persian period (C6–4), was a meaner settlement than its predecessors, to judge from its ill-constructed mudbrick house- and courtyard complexes. In C4 (Stratum I) the site appears to have been used purely as a granary.

Associated with Tell Mazar was a small mound designated by Yassine as mound A, where the earliest stratum contained a tripartite structure, with mudbrick walls built on stone foundations. A 16 m wide courtyard was attached to it. Constructed in C11 and destroyed in C10, it preceded by two centuries the earliest level on Tell Mazar – though Yassine left open the possibility that the latter may contain earlier undiscovered remains beneath its C8 level. In C5 and perhaps also in early C4, mound A was used as a cemetery. Eighty-five graves have been recovered from this level, illustrative of several different kinds of burials. It was contemporary with Stratum II on the tell, and was evidently the burial ground for the occupants of the settlement in this phase of its existence.

Yassine (1989), McCreery and Yassine (*OEANE* 3: 443–4).

Mazuradum City in Ilan-sura, a Middle Bronze Age kingdom located in the Habur triangle, northern Mesopotamia. It was plundered by Hammurabi, king of Kurda, while the throne of Ilan-sura was occupied by Haya-Sumu, as reported by Haya-Sumu in a letter to his overlord Zimri-Lim, king of Mari (1774–1762) (**LKM* 502–3).

Medeba see Madaba.

Medes (map 16) Iron Age Indo-European-speaking population whose homeland, Media, lay in the central Zagros mountains in western Iran. It is first attested in mid C9 Assyrian texts, when the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III conducted a military campaign into the land of the Mada people in his twenty-fourth regnal year (835) (**RIMA* 3: 68). No separate texts written in the Median language have survived, and the language is known to us only from fragmentary survivals and loanwords found in texts written in the Old Persian language, to which Median is related. The term 'Median' came also to be applied to other neighbouring peoples whose lifestyle was similar to that of the original Medes, or who for one reason or another sought to identify themselves with them (Reade, 2003: 150).

Fragments of the history of the Medes can be pieced together from information contained in contemporary western Asian sources, including the records of campaigns conducted into Median territory during the reigns of the Assyrian kings Shalmaneser III (noted above), Tiglath-pileser III (**PE* 22, no. 1ii), Sargon II (**PE* 24–5, no. 2), and Esarhaddon (**PE* 26, no. 4), and the Babylonian Chronicles (see glossary). However, they are best known from the account of them provided by Herodotus in his so-called *Medikos Logikos* (*Histories* 1.95–106). According to Herodotus, the Medes originally comprised a number of independent tribal groups, living in villages, each ruled by a king. The tribes were eventually united (apparently in C7) into a single kingdom, with a royal capital established at Ecbatana (mod. Hamadan). This unification was, according to Herodotus (1.96–102), the achievement of a man called Deioeces, son of Phraortes, who ruled for fifty-three years. Herodotus (1.101) lists the following tribes as components of the kingdom: the Busae, Paraetaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budians, and Magi. In his version of events, Deioeces was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who expanded his kingdom by conquering the Persians and then various other Asian tribes until he was defeated and killed in battle by the Assyrians after a reign of twenty-two years (Herodotus 1.102).

Phraortes was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, who reorganized the Median army (Herodotus 1.103). Cyaxares has commonly been regarded as the true founder of the Median empire. Acceding to his country's throne c. 625, he ruled for forty years, during which time he conquered Assyria's traditional capital, Ashur, and subsequently formed an alliance with the Babylonian king Nabopolassar. This Median–Babylonian partnership effectively brought to an end the Neo-Assyrian empire, by its conquest and destruction of the Assyrian capital Nineveh in 612, as recorded in a Babylonian Chronicle (no. 3) (**ANET* 303–5, **ABC* 90–6, **PE* 30–2, no. 10). According to Herodotus, Cyaxares' Assyrian campaigns were interrupted for a time by the incursions of the Scythians into the western Asian world. The Scythians allegedly dominated this world for twenty-eight years (Herodotus 1.106), until their leaders were all massacred at a banquet arranged by Cyaxares.

In the latter years of his reign, Cyaxares expanded his territories progressively westwards, eventually into the eastern half of Anatolia. This brought him into conflict with the Lydians, overlords of an empire which extended through most of western Anatolia. A five-year conflict with the Lydian king Alyattes (Herodotus 1.74, 103) culminated in the so-called 'battle of the eclipse' fought between Cyaxares' and Alyattes' forces in 585 on the banks of the Halys r. in north-central Anatolia (1.74). The battle ended inconclusively, and was followed by a treaty which established the river as the border between the two empires. Peaceful relations between Media and Lydia were subsequently consolidated by a royal marriage alliance, when Alyattes wed his daughter to Cyaxares' successor Astyages. After thirty-five years of despotic rule, Astyages was attacked and overthrown by his 'grandson', the Persian Cyrus II (559), who went on to found the Persian empire. (For doubts about the alleged familial link between Cyrus and Astyages, see Brosius, 2006: 8.) Medes played an important role in the cultural and administrative activities of this empire, and in the defence of the realm. In this last capacity they served alongside Persians in the elite imperial guard, and were a prominent part of Persia's military forces. They remained a privileged people, acknowledged as the second most important ethnic group within the Persian empire. Indeed, the contemporary Greeks used the terms 'Persian' and 'Median' interchangeably.

The above reconstruction of Median history is based on a patchwork of information, much of which comes from Classical sources. These sources are now considered by many western Asian scholars to have little historical value, except for a few details in them which can be independently verified. Particularly suspect is any information for which Herodotus is our only source. Thus neither Deioces nor his son Phraortes is attested in any anc. texts, either Classical or Near Eastern, outside Herodotus (but on the former, see Panaino, 2003). More generally, a number of scholars have in recent years cast considerable doubt on, or almost completely rejected, the historicity of a Median empire as presented in Classical sources. Among the first scholars to do so were P. Helm (1981) and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988) who argued specifically against the validity of Herodotus' version of events. A comprehensive re-examination of the Median question was the focus of a conference held in Padua in 2001 (Lanfranchi *et al.*, 2003). Emphasis was placed throughout the conference on the absence of any archaeological evidence for the Herodotean account of Media, and a perceived lack of consistency between this account and contemporary treatments of the Medes in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian documentary sources. With regard to the archaeological material, reference was made to excavations carried out in the 1960s and 1970s in what was apparently the core territory of Media, the region between Kermanshah and Hamadan. Information gathered from the most important sites so far uncovered in this region, Godin Tepe, Nush-i Jan, and Baba Jan, appears to indicate that while the Median civilization experienced significant material development during late C8 and C7, it suffered a major decline in the first half of C6. According to the Herodotean presentation of Median history, it was in the latter period that the civilization should have reached its height.

With regard to the contemporary documentary sources, the largest body of information comes from Assyrian texts, dating from mid C9 to mid C7 – from the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824) to that of Esarhaddon (680–669). Liverani (2003: 4) observes that in these texts the Medes appear as no more than 'a loose set of tribes, presenting no special features as compared to other Zagros tribes and devoid of political unity or even coordination'. He argues that the assumption about unification of the Median state during or after the reign of Esarhaddon's successor Ashurbanipal (668–630/627) has been made entirely in the absence of evidence to the contrary. On the other hand, as he notes, the subsequent Neo-Babylonian sources do have a couple of points of contact with Herodotus: first, in their account of the Median looting and destruction of the Assyrian capital Nineveh under the leadership of Cyaxares (Akkadian Umakishtar) (*ABC 94 = *PE 31, no. 10; cf. Herodotus 1.103, 106); and second, in their report of the defection of troops from the Median king Astyages (Akkadian Ishtumegu) to the Persian king Cyrus II, in 550 (*ABC 106 = *PE 50, no. 1; cf. Herodotus 1.127). But Liverani stresses that this is where similarities between Herodotus and the Babylonian sources end. He claims that the latter present a quite different view of the Medians – as the plunderers and destroyers of the Assyrian cities, returning home once their 'dirty job' is completed and leaving to their Babylonian partners the role of reconstruction and political continuity. Other recent 'mimimalist' proposals, as summarized by Lanfranchi (2003: 117), portray the Medians who participated in the destruction of Assyria not as forces of a powerful independent kingdom, but as a major component of the Assyrian army who precipitated the fall of the last Assyrian king by rebelling against him.

In Liverani's view, Media's proximity to Assyria led to the transformation of the pastoral tribes in the Zagros region into the powerful chiefdoms which engaged in war and trade activities. Towards the end of C7, at the time of the fall of the Assyrian empire, Media's fortified manors and ceremonial centres were peacefully abandoned, and the Medes were confined to the Zagros region, which had already been lost to Assyria. Almost all the rest of Assyria's territory was inherited by Babylonia. Liverani develops arguments already advanced by Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988) against the Herodotean tradition of Median expansion into central Anatolia, and by Kuhrt (1995b), who pointed out that the Assyrian heartland and its fringe territories, extending through Syria and southeastern Anatolia, were all absorbed into the Neo-Babylonian empire. Rollinger (2003b) also concludes that the extent of Neo-Babylonian power through Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, and southeastern Anatolia raises suspicion about the traditional view concerning Media's western frontier. He argues that there is considerable evidence that Herodotus' perception of the Halys r. as Media's western boundary in C6 is a mixture of post-C6 events and ideological constructs by the author. While he concedes that there must have been some kind of Median presence in eastern and central Anatolia in C6 – and contacts of some kind between Lydians and Medes in this period – he doubts that the Anatolian region remained long under Median control. But the evidence remains circumstantial, and Roaf (2003: 2) still maintains the possibility, which he believes is not inconsistent with this evidence, that the Median rulers, having acquired considerable wealth from the sacking of Assyria's heartland and having conquered the Assyrian provinces in the Zagros, expanded their rule until they held sway over territories stretching from Anatolia to the borders of Fars, and from central or eastern Iran to the foothills of the Zagros bordering on Babylonia. By implication, a common frontier in C6 between Media and Lydia on the Halys is still not out of the question.

In their summing up of the papers presented at the 2001 Padua conference, the editors of the conference proceedings (Lanfranchi *et al.*, 2003: 397–406) noted that recent re-examinations of the sources relating to Media have led to a radical reduction in the extent of the 'Median empire' before it was incorporated into the Persian empire. But they observed that opinions still vary between two extremes – a 'maximalist' and a 'minimalist' view. The former 'might extend Median power from the west of the former kingdom of Urartu to the borders of Fars and from the western outliers of the Zagros mts on the plains of eastern Assyria to the fringes of the central Iranian desert beyond Rayy', while the latter 'would abandon the whole of the north, east and central western Iran to bands of nomads roaming freely over an extensive territory, and consider Median influence to be negligible'. The 'truth', the editors say, may well lie between these extremes.

Diakonoff (1985), Schmitt/Calmeyer, Brown (*RIA* 7: 617–23), Young (1988; *OEANE* 3: 448–50), Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988), Lanfranchi *et al.* (2003), Liverani (2003), Roaf (2003), Rollinger (2003b), **PE* 19–46.

Megiddo (*Tell el-Mutesellim*) (map 8) 20 m high settlement-mound in northern Palestine at the western end of the Jezreel valley, located in a strategically important position at a major intersection on the Via Maris (q.v.). It has been linked with biblical Armageddon where, according to Revelation 16:16, the apocalyptic conflict at the end of time will take place. The site's history of occupation, covering twenty major archaeological levels, extends from the Neolithic period (mid M9–mid M5) to the end of the

MEGIDDO

Persian period (C6–4). The first excavations were conducted by G. Schumacher, between 1903 and 1905, on behalf of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. Work on the site was resumed in 1925 and continued until 1939 under the (successive) directors C. S. Fisher, P. L. O. Guy, and G. Loud for the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. The most recent series of excavations are those started in 1992 by D. Ussishkin and I. Finkelstein of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, and B. Halpern of Pennsylvania State University. One of the aims of these excavations has been to resolve a number of questions relating to the complex problems of the site's stratigraphy.

During the Early Bronze Age, the site was occupied by a large, initially unfortified settlement, whose proportions were later reduced in Early Bronze II–III when it was surrounded by a massive stone wall (Stratum XVIII). The settlement included a sanctuary compound in which was constructed a series of temples in successive layers. In the Middle Bronze Age, Megiddo developed into a major urban settlement which continued without a break through a number of occupation strata (XIII–VIIA) until its destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The M2 city was heavily fortified, with a glacis (see glossary) and wall built on stone foundations with mudbrick superstructure. It was here that the pharaoh Tuthmosis III inflicted a defeat upon a coalition of Syrian states loyal to the kingdom of Mitanni during his first Asiatic campaign (c. 1479) (**ANET* 234–8). The significance of this victory was that it opened the way for Tuthmosis into the heartland of the kingdom of Mitanni. Megiddo itself fell to Tuthmosis after a seven-month siege, and thenceforth remained under Egyptian sovereignty until its destruction in C12. During the reign of the pharaoh Akhenaten (1352–1336), its involvement in the disputes and conflicts of Egypt's Syro-Palestinian vassal



Figure 71 Megiddo.

states is attested (as Magidda) in a number of letters from the Amarna archive. At that time it was ruled by a man called Biridya, some of whose letters to the pharaoh survive in the Amarna correspondence (*EA 242–6). Material remains of the city's Late Bronze Age phase, represented archaeologically by Strata IX–VIIA, include a broad, paved roadway, a series of four superimposed palaces in one area (designated as area AA), and a second palatial complex in another (designated as DD). The final Stratum VIIA palace, unearthed in area AA, contained wall-paintings displaying Egyptian influence, and a room in which a collection of 382 carved ivories was discovered. Some were of local Canaanite type, others represented a variety of foreign provenances – Hittite, Aegean, Assyrian, and Egyptian. Scholars have suggested various explanations for the absence of a city wall in this period.

Following its destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age, the city was rebuilt as a sizeable town (Stratum VIB), the life of which continued for a considerable period. Strata VIB and VIA were the city's first Iron Age levels. Ceramic ware of 'Philistine' type indicates contact with one of the Sea Peoples groups. Megiddo continued to be a Canaanite settlement until the destruction of Stratum VIA. In its new phase (Stratum V), the unfortified city was associated with the Omride dynasty (see glossary). In its subsequent Stratum IV phase, the city became a royal administrative centre fortified with a solid, 'inset-offset' wall, within which there were a palace and three large 'stable' complexes. These building projects are now dated to the later kings of Israel.

Subsequent to the conquest and annexation of northern Israel by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III in 732, Megiddo became the administrative centre of the Assyrian province called Magiddu. Archaeologically, this phase of its existence is represented by Stratum III, which was a well-planned city with spacious residential quarters and two large public buildings. Stratum II is associated with the reign of the Judaeen king Josiah (640–609), who may have gained independence from Assyria during the Assyrian empire's final years but was killed at Megiddo by the pharaoh Necho II, Assyria's ally. His death occurred when he tried to stop Necho's army at Megiddo on its march to Carchemish to support Assyria against Babylon (2 Kings 23:29–30; 2 Chronicles 35:20–4). The modest remains of the city of Stratum I (small houses and stone-built cist tombs) date from the Babylonian to the end of the Persian period. The city was abandoned in the last decades of C4, possibly at the time of Alexander's conquest of the region in 332.

Cogan/Wright (*RIA* 8: 12–20), Ussishkin (*OEANE* 3: 460–9), I. Finkelstein *et al.* (2000; 2006), Harrison (2004), Franklin (2006).

Mehru Country in northern Mesopotamia, attested in Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Assyrian texts. It was apparently noted for the high quality of its timber. The Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208) conducted a campaign there, and used troops from the land of the Qutu to cut large beams from its forests to be used in the king's palace in Ashur (**RIMA* 1: 235). Mehru was one of the lands in the region which became regular tributaries of Tukulti-Ninurta (**RIMA* 1: 240, 244). Adad-nirari II (911–891) refers to his conquest of its cities on the banks of the Ruru r. in the context of his first campaign against the land of Qumanu (**RIMA* 2: 144), and claims further conquests in Mehru during his second campaign against Qumanu (**RIMA* 2: 148). His successor-but-one Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) claims also to have

MELUHHA

conquered the land, cutting timber from its forests for use in his new building projects in Nineveh (**RIMA* 2: 309).

Röllig (*RIA* 8: 31).

Meishta (*Tashtepē?*) (map 20) M1 city in the central western Zagros region of Iran. An inscription of the Urartian king Ishpuini (824–806) and his son and co-regent Minua records a campaign conducted by father and son in late C9 with an army of 106 chariots, 9,174 cavalry, and 2,704 infantry against Meishta and other cities in the region (**Hcl* 40, no. 7). Horses and cattle were taken from these cities as booty. Meishta is generally identified with Tashtepē near Miyandowab (southeast of Lake Urmia) because of the discovery there of an inscription of Minua which refers to the city (**Hcl* 59–60, no. 17).

Barnett (1982: 340).

Melid see *Arslantepe*.

Meluhha (map 12) Land attested in Mesopotamian Bronze and Iron Age texts, and generally identified with the Harappan civilization of the Indus valley. It was one of the three countries which in Mesopotamian tradition lay alongside the 'Lower Sea', i.e. the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. The other two countries were Dilmun and Magan. The *floruit* of the Harappan civilization in late M3 corresponded to the period when Meluhha figures most prominently in Mesopotamian written sources. In M3 Sumerian literary texts, Meluhha and Magan both appear as distant lands, sources of a wide range of exotic goods and precious metals. Other Mesopotamian texts confirm the importation of products from these lands – gold, silver, carnelian, and a black wood (perhaps ebony) from Meluhha, and wood, copper, and semi-precious stones from Magan. Meluhha also exported lapis lazuli to Mesopotamia, as indicated by an inscription of Gudea, a C22 king of Lagash. Since this material was apparently not found in Meluhha, it must initially have been brought from elsewhere, probably from a source or sources in Afghanistan. Other goods exported from Meluhha may also have originated in other regions. Most if not all of the goods dispatched from Meluhha were transported by water to the Mesopotamian cities. During the reign of the Akkadian king Sargon (2334–2279), ships from Meluhha, Magan, and Dilmun docked at the royal capital Akkad/Agade.

Items of Harappan origin which have turned up in a number of southern Mesopotamian cities (e.g. Babylon, Kish, Nippur, and Ur) very likely reflect Mesopotamian commercial contacts with Meluhha. Included among these items are a number of inscribed square stamp seals. The inscriptions are in the Indus valley script, entirely different from Mesopotamian writing systems. Many hundreds of these stamp seals were found in the main urban centres of the Indus valley, and in smaller numbers at many other sites. The language too of Meluhha seems to have been unintelligible to the Mesopotamians, so that communication required the services of a translator. Harappan cuboid weights and ceramic ware found in Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and at Susa (where Harappan seals have also surfaced) probably indicate the presence of merchants from Meluhha in these places as well. Notable in this respect is the discovery of an assemblage of Harappan painted pottery at the site of Ras al-Janayz in the Oman peninsula, and, on one ceramic fragment, part of an incised

Harappan inscription. Trade between Meluhha and Mesopotamia may well have been direct on occasions, although much of this trade may have been conducted via Dilmun (mod. Bahrain), which played a prominent role as a commercial entrepôt in the international trading network, particularly during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. Evidence for an actual presence of Mesopotamians in the Indus valley – which could indicate a trading colony – is very meagre. On the other hand, a ‘village of Meluhha’, attested in the territory of Lagash during the Ur III period (C21), may well indicate that settlers from Meluhha re-established themselves there, their way perhaps paved by merchants from their homeland who came to Mesopotamia for trading purposes.

After the fall of the Ur III kingdom at the end of M3, there is no further reference to Meluhha in the texts until the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208) calls himself ‘king of Dilmun and Meluhha’. As far as this title has any validity, it probably signifies Assyrian control over the routes that led from these regions rather than control of the regions themselves. During the Iron Age Neo-Assyrian period, the name Meluhha again occasionally surfaces, e.g. in the titulature of the C7 Assyrian king Esarhaddon, who calls himself ‘king of the kings of Dilmun, Magan, and Meluhha’. By this time, the names Magan and Meluhha are probably no more than fossilized relics of a past age, preserved in formal royal titles. They were, however, apparently used in reference to Egypt and Nubia, which supplied Assyria with a range of exotic goods as the Arabian peninsula and Indus valley had once done.

Heimpel (*RIA* 8: 53–5), D. T. Potts (1995: 1456–9).

Mersin (*Yüyük Tepe*) (maps 2, 4) Anc. settlement, c. 250 m in diameter, located in the northwestern part of the mod. city of Mersin, in the Cilician plain of southeastern Anatolia. Its history of occupation extends from early Pottery Neolithic (c. 6000–5000) to the Islamic period. Initial soundings were made on the site in 1936 in the course of the Neilson Expedition to Cilicia, and excavations were carried out from 1937 to 1940 and in 1946–7, by J. Garstang for the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, and subsequently by I. Caneva. Thirty-three occupation levels were identified. Already in the Neolithic period there is evidence of trading connections with both the Anatolian plateau and the Levantine coast. Obsidian from central Anatolia found in Mersin illustrates the city’s connection with the plateau. Commercial and cultural connections with Syria, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia continued through the Chalcolithic Age. In this period the settlement was fortified by a buttressed enclosure wall, and accessed through a gate which had an approach ramp and was flanked by two projecting towers. Mersin was a major settlement in the Middle Bronze Age, with extensive trading links, as in previous periods, with a number of regions of the western Asian world. In the Late Bronze Age it became a part of the Hittite empire, within the subject kingdom called Kizzuwadna. Its location on the southern Anatolian coast near the sea routes which brought grain and other imports to the Hittite world no doubt gave it considerable strategic value to the Hittites. It was heavily fortified in this period, with casemate walls and projecting square towers, typical of the fortifications of a number of Hittite sites. The Hittites may in fact have been responsible for its substantial fortifications, designed to protect it against enemy attack by sea as well as by land. In the Iron Age, Mersin continued its role as a trading city, when it had particularly close contacts with the Aegean world.

Garstang (1953), Esin (*RIA* 8: 66–73).

Mesopotamia (maps 1, 2, 3, 4, 10) Greek name meaning ‘the land between the rivers’, broadly used of the region encompassed by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and their tributaries. Much of the region today belongs to Iraq, but it extends also into Syria and Turkey. Northern or Upper Mesopotamia (north of mod. Baghdad) was the homeland of the Akkadian (M3), Assyrian (M2 and M1), and Mitannian (M2) empires; southern Mesopotamia, often called Babylonia, was the homeland of the Sumerian city-states (M3) and the Babylonian empires of Hammurabi (early M2), the Kassites (later M2), and the Chaldeans (M1) until the Persian conquest of 539.

Mesu M1 mountain city and land in western Zamua, northwestern Iran. The Zamuities established a garrison there in their retreat from the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II during his campaign in the region in 881 (**RIMA* 2: 208). Mesu was listed among the lands which Ashurnasirpal’s son and successor Shalmaneser III entered after his campaign in Namri and Parsua in his twenty-fourth regnal year (835) (**RIMA* 3: 68). Other lands listed in this context include Media (Amadaia), Araziash, and Harhar, along with the cities which Shalmaneser captured – Kuakinda, Hazzanabi, Esmaul, and Kinablila (and other cities in their environs). Shalmaneser’s son and successor Shamshi-Adad V (823–811) conquered, plundered, and destroyed the cities of Mesu during his third campaign against the Nairi lands. He pursued inhabitants of the cities who had sought refuge in the mountains, and massacred many of them (**RIMA* 3: 184). Mesu again appears in the list of conquests of Shamshi-Adad’s son and successor Adad-nirari III (810–783) (**RIMA* 3: 212). It is to be distinguished from the district of Missi (q.v), which was located in the southwest corner of Mannaea (Fuchs, 1994: 451, Zadok, 2002: 25).

Röllig (*RIA* 8: 95–6).

Me-Tur(r)an (Me-Turnat, Me-Turnu, *Tell Haddad*) (map 10) Bronze and Iron Age city located on the Diyala r. (at its furthest navigable point) in eastern Mesopotamia. Its capture in mid C19 by Ipiq-Adad II, king of Eshnunna, paved the way for an eastwards expansion of Eshnunnaite power. The city’s remains have been uncovered in two adjacent settlement-mounds, Tell Haddad and Tell as-Sib (*Mesop.* 129). During rescue operations conducted on these sites prior to the construction of a dam, numerous cuneiform tablets came to light, whose contents include mathematical, literary, and ritual texts. First attested in Middle Bronze Age sources (early M2), the city is also mentioned in Middle Babylonian (Late Bronze Age) texts excavated at Tell Imlihiye. It reappears in 851, when it was besieged and captured by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III on the first of his two Babylonian campaigns (**RIMA* 3: 30, 37). The city submitted to Shalmaneser’s son and successor Shamshi-Adad V (823–811) during his fourth campaign, in which he led his forces into Babylonian territory (**RIMA* 3: 187). Several texts from the reign of Sargon II (721–705) refer to the city. One of these contains a report to Sargon of the murder of its mayor by an Assyrian military officer (**SAA* V: 47, no. 53). Inscribed bricks found at Tell Haddad report that the C7 Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668–630/627) enlarged the courtyard of the temple Eshahula (‘House of the Happy Heart’), a temple dedicated to the god Nergal ‘lord of Sirara’ at Me-Turran (**RIMB* 2: 229). Me-Turran is one of the cities east of the Tigris whose long-neglected cults the Persian conqueror Cyrus II claims to have restored, according to the so-called ‘Cyrus Cylinder’ (**Brosius*, 2000: 11, no. 12, **Chav.* 429, **PE* 72, no. 21).

Röllig (*RIA* 8: 150), *Mesop.* 445–6.

Meydancikkale see Kirshu.

Michal, Tel (map 8) Settlement spread over five hills in the southern part of the Sharon Plain, coastal Palestine, mod. Israel, north of the Yarkon r. estuary. Its history of occupation extends from Middle Bronze IIB (late C17) to the early Arab period. The main excavations on the site were conducted from 1977 to 1980 by a team from Tel Aviv University under the direction of Z. Herzog, in collaboration with a number of USA universities and Macquarie University in Australia. Seventeen occupation levels were identified. The excavators concluded that the first (Middle Bronze Age) city, located on the main mound, was a trading settlement connected with the maritime activities of the Hyksos people. This conclusion is based on the discovery of numerous 'Hyksos'-type scarabs (see **Hyksos**), Egyptian alabaster products, and a large quantity of Cypriot ware in the level. Its buildings were constructed on a large artificial platform which levelled the top of the mound. Destruction of the Middle Bronze Age settlement was followed by a Late Bronze Age community, which was accommodated by an artificial extension of the mound created by means of a massive earthen rampart. Houses and a small fort are among the meagre architectural remains of this level. It came to an end when the site was abandoned in C13.

After a gap of several hundred years, the site was reoccupied in C10, with settlement spreading from the main mound to the adjacent hills. Architectural remains of this phase, covering Strata XIV–XIII, include large domestic structures on the main mound, and what are apparently cultic structures on several of the hills. Near one of the hills, two wine presses were found, with adjacent wine storage facilities. Herzog believes that wine production may initially have been associated with the site's ceremonial needs, perhaps later developing into a commercial enterprise. He concludes that the site was settled as part of the expansion of Phoenician traders along the coast of the eastern Mediterranean, with the cultic chambers possibly reflecting the traders' ceremonial needs.

Another gap in occupation followed, prior to what the excavators concluded was Tel Michal's most prosperous phase, extending through the Persian to the early Hellenistic period, from c. 525 to 300 (Strata XI–VI). The discovery on the main mound of a large fort or administrative building, along with grain pits and a large silo, give support, they believe, to the view that Tel Michal was one of the stations along the coast that supplied the Persian army on its campaigns against Egypt. A dense array of housing on the settlement's northern hill, with an industrial area on its edges, further reflects the flourishing nature of this phase of Tel Michal's history. From a cemetery located on the hill's northern slope, 120 burials of different types were brought to light (pit-graves, cist tombs, and an infant jar burial), accompanied by jewellery, bronze bowls and fibulae, and iron tools. A temple unearthed on the northeastern hill contained numerous clay and stone figurines. Extensive overseas trading contacts are indicated by large quantities of luxury goods (made of clay, glass, alabaster, and bronze) originating from Cyprus, Egypt, Persia, and Greece. Herzog notes that the settlement's material remains in this period corroborate the picture of the political and commercial control of the region by the Phoenicians under Persian hegemony, as recorded in the inscription on the lid of a sarcophagus belonging to Eshmunazar, a late C6 (or early C5) king of Sidon (see under **Sidon**).

Herzog (*NEAEHL* 3: 1036–41; *OEANE* 4: 20–2), Herzog *et al.* (1989).

'Midas City' (map 4) Iron Age citadel located in the highlands of Phrygia, central Anatolia, between mod. Eskişehir and Afyon Karahisar. It was so named in the 1880s by W. M. Ramsay because of the location there of the structure commonly referred to as the Midas monument (see below), after the famous C8 king of Phrygia. Well known for its rock-cut buildings and monumental inscriptions, 'Midas City' was excavated by the French Institute of Archaeology at Istanbul, from 1937 to 1939 under C. H. E. Haspels as field director, and from 1948 to 1951 under the direction of H. Çambel. The first evidence of occupation dates to the Early Bronze Age, indicated by finds of pottery of the period on and east of the citadel, and by an Early Bronze Age cemetery at its base. In the Iron Age, gates with steep approaches gave entry to the citadel, with a ramp on its east side providing access for vehicles. Rock-cuttings and postholes suggest that the citadel was provided with man-made walls of stone, timber, and pisé (rammed mud and clay). Water supplies were accessed by staircases descending through tunnels, perhaps of C8 date, to cisterns at ground level. Rock-cut tombs of uncertain date, with chambers replicating the interiors of houses, were discovered along the eastern side and northern end of the citadel.

The monuments located on the citadel's edges and summit were apparently used for worship and religious ritual. The best known of these is the so-called Midas monument. It is a replica of a Phrygian temple façade, 16 m high, with central door niche, low gabled roof, and a decoration of geometric patterns in relief. There is an open square in front. Of the fifteen Phrygian inscriptions discovered in 'Midas City', one of the most important is a single-line text carved above the roof of this building. Though the precise interpretation of the text is uncertain, its subject is Midas and it may be a dedication to him. The inscription accords him the titles *lavag(e)tes* and *vanax*, which recall the similarly titled highest ranking officials in the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean world. The Midas monument has been dated to C8 on the basis of comparisons between its architecture and decorative elements, and similar features at Gordium. It was almost certainly intended as a place of worship for Phrygia's chief deity, the mother goddess Cybele. A statue of the goddess probably once stood in the door niche of the monument. The form in which she was originally depicted remains unknown. But a later image of her may survive in the lower part of a monumental female figure found on the site. Dated provisionally to the third quarter of C6, she is clad in a chiton and long veil.

From the period of its first settlement in C8, the citadel appears to have experienced no major disruption to its history or culture before its apparent end in the early decades of the Hellenistic age (late C4). Monuments and inscriptions were produced through C7 and C6, and the cult of Cybele probably persisted through the Persian period (C6–4). From C8 onwards, the citadel was very likely the most important religious sanctuary in the Phrygian highlands.

Haspels (1971, *passim*), Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: 1–29), Mellink (*RIA* 8: 153–6).

Midian(ites) Far-ranging Iron Age tribal groups, frequently referred to in *OT* sources, whose homeland seems to have lain in northwestern Arabia, immediately east of the Gulf of Aqaba. Their activities as raiders, caravaners, grazers of flocks, and camel-herders account for their presence in many parts of southern and eastern Canaan in biblical tradition. Among the many *OT* references to Midian, some of the best known are the passages in Exodus, which refer to it as the place where Moses went as a

fugitive from Egypt (2:15), married Zipporah, daughter of the Midianite priest Jethro (2:21), and was appointed by God to lead the Hebrews out of Egypt (3:1–15). Neither the land nor the people is attested in contemporary non-biblical sources.

Mattingly (*HCBD* 682–3), Parr (*OEANE* 4: 25).

Mikhmoret, Tell (map 8) Harbour settlement on the coast of mod. Israel, 8 km north of Netanya, consisting of a mound on the southern headland of a small bay and other areas of occupation spread around the bay. Its history of occupation extends from the Late Bronze Age (attested almost entirely by sherds) to mediaeval times. Excavations have been carried out in various areas of the settlement from the early 1950s, the most substantial being those on and around the southern headland, undertaken initially in 1978 by Y. Porath for the Israel Dept of Antiquities, and continued by the American directors S. M. Paley and R. R. Stieglitz between 1982 and 1984 under the auspices of the Emeq Hefer Archaeological Project. The Iron Age II period of the settlement's existence is also attested mainly by sherds. The excavators comment: 'If any historical importance is to be attributed to these Iron Age finds, it would seem that access to the harbour facility by the inhabitants of the local villages came about with King David's annexation of the Sharon coastal plain at the beginning of C10 and the establishment of a more secure political, social, and economic environment.' A large public building, covering more than 150 sq. m, has been interpreted as a fort, built in the time of Persian hegemony over the region. In 1960, during his excavations on the bay's shore and northern headland, B. J. Isserlin (University of Leeds) uncovered the remains of storage areas that had been destroyed at the end of the Persian period (C4). This, together with evidence of destruction within the abovementioned public building, has been taken to indicate that the settlement in this period was overrun c. 345 in the aftermath of the revolt against Persia by Tennes, king of Sidon (see under **Sidon**).

Porath, Paley, and Stieglitz (*NEAEHL* 3: 1043–6).

Milesia Region in Ionia on the Aegean coast of southwestern Anatolia, of fluctuating size. Its chief city was Miletus, but it also included the oracular sanctuary at Didyma (Branchidae) (Herodotus 1.46, 157), 16.4 km south of Miletus, and the town of Teichiussa (Thucydides 8.26), 26 km southeast of Miletus. The relationship between Classical Milesia and Miletus is perhaps comparable in some respects to that between their Late Bronze Age predecessors, the land and the city of Milawata.

Miletus (Bronze Age **Milawata/Millawanda**) (maps 3, 5) City in southwestern Anatolia, in the region called Milesia by Classical writers. Originally located on the Aegean coast (where it had four harbours), Miletus now lies in a plain 3 km inland. Its history of occupation extends from the late Chalcolithic period (second half of M4) through the Bronze Ages and the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. There was also a later Ottoman settlement on the site. Excavations have been carried out since 1899 by a number of German archaeological teams. The first excavations, directed by T. Wiegand, were interrupted by the First World War. Work resumed under C. Weickert in 1938 was interrupted by the Second World War, but continued under Weickert's direction in 1955 and 1957. Subsequent excavations have been conducted by G. Kleiner, W. Müller-Wiener, V. von Graeve, and

P. Hommel, and are continuing today. Of particular interest are the ongoing excavations by W.-D. Niemeier of the Bronze Age settlements on the site.

In the last two decades, previously unknown Chalcolithic and Early and Middle Bronze Age phases of the site's history (designated as phases I–III) have come to light. Late Bronze Age occupation is divided into three further phases (IV–VI). Evidence for the first three phases has been found primarily in the vicinity of the later temple of Athena, built originally in the Archaic period in the southwest of the site. The Chalcolithic areas of settlement were located on two islands in the Latmian Gulf. Artefacts from the Early Bronze phase (Miletus II) – ceramic ware, figurines, including the head of a Cycladic marble statuette, and decorated spindle whorls – are seen as reflecting the unique position Miletus held between the Aegean and the Anatolian worlds, with the city participating in the intensive commercial activities of the Aegean region already in the second half of M3 (thus Niemeier). The site's commercially valuable strategic location between these worlds, as well as the access it gave to Anatolian metals, no doubt provided settlers from Minoan Crete with their chief incentive for occupying it during the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2000–1650; Miletus III). Minoan occupation in this period (with settlement still located on an island, in the area of the temple of Athena), has been inferred from the finds of Minoan pottery, including domestic ware, and a couple of Minoan-type seals and a seal impression. The domestic ware provides a clear pointer to settlement by those who made and used it, and the seals and sealing are considered by Niemeier to be a possible indication of a Minoan administration. In archaeological terms, the Miletus III phase extended from the Middle Minoan IA to the Middle Minoan IIB period, and ended with Miletus' destruction around the end of the Minoan 'First Palace' period (c. 1650).

Strong Minoan influence is again evident at Miletus in the first of its three Late Bronze Age phases (Miletus IV), almost certainly indicative of a second period of Minoan colonization, beginning early in the Minoan 'Second Palace' period (Middle Minoan III), which followed immediately upon the First Palace period. In the Late Bronze Age, the city apparently still occupied an island location in the area around the later Athena temple site. Minoan settlement is inferred from decorated Minoan-type ceramic ware, from Minoan-type kitchenware, including tripod cooking pots and large quantities of domestic pottery, and from a range of evidence for Minoan cult-practices. A further indication of a Minoan presence is indicated by fragments of frescoes, Minoan in both technique and content, from the wall of a building possibly used for cultic purposes.

The Minoan presence in Miletus survived two destructions of the city, but ended with a third, by fire, in the first half of C15 (Late Minoan II period). Niemeier has suggested that this destruction may have been caused by conquering Mycenaeans. In the subsequent phase (Late Helladic III; Miletus V), Mycenaean culture became dominant, as reflected in Mycenaean-type tombs and the abundance of Mycenaean-type pottery. Much of this pottery was imported from other parts of the Mycenaean world, but the discovery of seven kilns on the site indicates that Miletus itself became a major centre for the production of ceramic ware. The ratio of Mycenaean to local Anatolian pottery is now estimated at c. 95 per cent to 5 per cent. This is clearly indicative of very strong Mycenaean influence, though the excavators believe that the evidence for actual Mycenaean settlement in this period is less conclusive than that for Minoan settlement in the preceding periods.

The site was again destroyed, almost certainly by human agency according to the excavators, in the Late Helladic IIIA2 period or in the transition from Late Helladic IIIA2 to Late Helladic IIIB1. This particular destruction has been associated with a historical event recorded in the Annals of the Hittite king Mursili II (1321–1295). Late Bronze Age Hittite records contain a number of references to a western Anatolian land and city called Milawata (variant Millawanda). Milawata's precise location has long been debated, but there is now compelling (if still circumstantial) evidence to identify it with the land called Milesia in Greek texts, whose chief city was Miletus. Mursili reports that in the third year of his reign he dispatched an expeditionary force against Milawata, in response to its joining an anti-Hittite alliance on the side of the king of Ahhiyawa (almost certainly a Mycenaean kingdom of mainland Greece; see **Ahhiyawa**). According to Mursili, the city was captured and sacked (*AM 36–7).

In its third and final Late Bronze Age phase (Miletus VI), Miletus/Milawata was rebuilt, and for the first time fortified. Its fortifications, which may have extended over 1,100 m, incorporated internal cross-walls and square towers, similar to and very likely modelled upon those of the Hittite capital Hattusa. Mycenaean-type pottery, domestic architecture, and burial practices seem to indicate that the city in this phase of its existence was predominantly a Mycenaean settlement. The burial practices are indicated by a cemetery of the period, located on the hill called Değirmentepe which lies 1.5 km southwest of the temple of Athena site. It contains Mycenaean-type tombs, with dromos (entrance passage) and stomion (doorway), in which a number of Mycenaean-type grave goods were discovered (though their contents also included swords of Hittite type). Mycenaean terracotta figurines, perhaps connected with cultic ceremonies, are adduced as further evidence of Mycenaean settlement. But although Mycenaean elements predominated on the site, there was also a significant admixture of Anatolian elements, indicating that the city was not wholly Mycenaean in character. It may, however, have come under the control of a Mycenaean king in late C14 or early C13, who used it as a base for the expansion of Mycenaean political, military, and commercial interests in western Anatolia. This is deduced from the fact that in mid C13 a Hittite king, probably Hattusili III, wrote a letter to the king of Ahhiyawa (commonly, though misleadingly, referred to as the 'Tawagalawa' letter), acknowledging his sovereignty over Milawata, but complaining that a prominent anti-Hittite insurrectionist had sought and received refuge there when pursued by a Hittite army (*Garstang and Gurney, 1959, 111–14). The immediate outcome of this letter is unknown. But from later Hittite documents, notably the so-called 'Milawata letter' (*HDT 144–6; see Bryce, 2005: 306–8), it would appear that some time during the second half of C13, the Hittites regained sovereignty over Milawata. This was the only known base of Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean authority and activity in Anatolia, and with its loss, Mycenaean influence in the region was at an end.

Material evidence for settlement at Miletus in the centuries immediately following the collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations in C12 is confined almost entirely to pottery fragments on the site of the temple of Athena, until stone-built oval and rectilinear houses of C8 date begin making their appearance in the archaeological record. However, the city figures prominently in accounts of the Ionian migrations from the Greek mainland to the western coast of Anatolia, now dated to the last two centuries of M2. Miletus was the southernmost and most important of the colonies settled by the Ionian migrants. According to Herodotus (1.146), the colonists came

from Athens, and took over the site from its native Carian inhabitants, murdering the adult males, and marrying their widows, sisters, and daughters. Miletus itself subsequently became a great colonizing city, dispatching settlers to found no fewer than ninety cities (according to Greek sources) at numerous locations on the shores of the Black Sea and Hellespont, and along the northern Aegean and Mediterranean coastlands.

During the Archaic period (c. 700–494), the most important part of the city appears to have been located on the summit and slopes of the fortified acropolis now called Kalabaktepe, lying to the south of the later city centre. On the south slope of Kalabaktepe, flat-roofed houses with courtyards were built. An industrial quarter may have been located on the mound. The main feature of the lower town, built on either side of the so-called Theatre Harbour, was the temple to the goddess Athena, one of a number of temples constructed in the city during this period. This area may also have contained the city's commercial centre. To the north the city extended to the harbour, whose entrance is still guarded on either side by lions of Hellenistic date. A sacred way running south from Miletus connected the city with the oracular sanctuary of the god Apollo at Didyma, 16.4 km away.

With an estimated population of 50,000 to 60,000, the city flourished as a centre of trade, commerce, and culture in C7 and C6, notably under the rule of the tyrant Thrasybulus (late C7–early C6). It was the home of several of the most eminent pre-Socratic philosopher-scientists, including Thales, Anaximenes, and Anaximander, and of the famous geographer-historian Hecataeus (fl. c. 500). Hippodamus, the greatest of all Greek town planners, was born here c. 500. Under Thrasybulus, Miletus held out against the armies of the Lydian empire, and retained its independence from Lydian control, as formally acknowledged in a treaty which the Lydian king Alyattes (610–560) drew up with it when the rest of the Ionian cities became part of the Lydian empire (Herodotus 1.22). The city seems also to have maintained a special status when the Lydian empire and all its possessions fell to the Persian emperor Cyrus II c. 546. None the less, it initiated and played a leading role in the Ionian rebellion which broke out against Persian rule in 499. When the rebellion ended with the total rout of the Ionian forces in a naval battle off the nearby island of Lade in 494, the Persians took their revenge on Miletus, following up their victory by blockading, capturing, and sacking the city, massacring or enslaving its inhabitants, and deporting the survivors to Susa. Herodotus (6.18–20) tells the story of the city's destruction. But the disaster may not have been as total as he suggests, for in 479 Milesians are listed among the allied Greek forces who confronted and defeated the Persians in the battle of Mycale (q.v.). In later years, Miletus became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). But it was apparently a reluctant member, for in mid C5 Athens was obliged to place it under the control of a garrison – presumably because it had attempted to break away from the Confederacy. In 412 it did in fact succeed in defecting from Athens to Sparta, and was used by the Spartans as a base for naval operations in the region. However, in 386, by the terms of the 'King's Peace' (see glossary), it was handed over to Persia, and remained under Persian sovereignty until 334, when Alexander the Great campaigned in the region, and took the city by siege (Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.18–19, Diodorus 17.22).

Apart from the Bronze Age remains in the vicinity of the temple of Athena, and the Archaic remains unearthed at Kalabaktepe and Zeytintepe (the latter lay outside the

circuit walls and was the location of a temple of Aphrodite), very little has survived of Miletus' pre-Hellenistic phases. This was due mainly to the Persian devastation of the site in 494, but partly also to the city's extensive redevelopment in the Hellenistic period. Miletus was rebuilt on a grand scale, its new public buildings including a number of temples, two agoras (market-places), a stadium, a bouleuterion (council house, consisting of propylon, colonnaded courtyard, and roofed auditorium), and a theatre. The Delphinium, sanctuary of the god Apollo, was the city's chief religious centre. Miletus became part of the Roman province of Asia in 129. Under Roman rule, the city's grid layout and many of its Hellenistic buildings remained in use. The theatre was considerably enlarged, and is today one of the city's most impressive features. Other noteworthy buildings of the Roman imperial period include an elaborately decorated nymphaeum (fountain-house), and the monumental baths built in honour of Faustina, wife of the C2 CE emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Greaves (2002), Niemeier (2005), von Graeve (2006).

Miqne, Tel see Ekron.

Mira (map 3) Late Bronze Age Hittite vassal kingdom in western Anatolia, one of the Arzawa Lands. The Hittite king Mursili II installed a man called Mashuiluwa on its throne in his fourth regnal year (c. 1318), shortly after conquering and dismantling the neighbouring kingdom of Arzawa 'Minor'. At that time, he probably increased Mira's size by allocating to it a substantial part – if not all – of the territory formerly belonging to Arzawa 'Minor'. He also attached another neighbouring land, Kuwaliya, to Mashuiluwa's kingdom (**HDT* 74). Mira was now almost certainly the largest and potentially the most powerful of the Arzawa Lands. An inscribed and sculptured rock monument in what is now called the Karabel pass, 28 km east of mod. Izmir (see **Karabel**), may have lain on the kingdom's northern frontier. In the south, the frontier probably extended along the coast to the borders of the land of Milawata (Classical Miletus) and perhaps inland along the Maeander valley to the river's headwaters.

In the twelfth year of Mursili's reign, Mashuiluwa staged a rebellion against his Hittite overlord, which was promptly crushed. Mursili deposed the rebel and had him deported to Hattusa. In his place, he installed Mashuiluwa's nephew and adopted son Kupanta-Kurunta as ruler of Mira, binding him to the Hittite crown with a (still extant) treaty (**HDT* 74–82, *Bryce, 2005: 212–14). Kupanta-Kurunta enjoyed a long reign in Mira, during which he appears to have remained loyal to his Hittite allegiance, if we can so judge from one attested instance of his support of Hittite interests in western Anatolia in the reign of Mursili's son and successor Muwattalli II (1295–1272) (*Houwink ten Cate, 1985–6: 39–40). He was still alive and active in the 1260s, following the seizure of the Hittite throne by Hattusili III c. 1267. This is indicated by a letter which the pharaoh Ramesses II wrote to him. The letter was in response to one written by Kupanta-Kurunta, who had asked the pharaoh whether he supported Hattusili or Hattusili's exiled nephew Urhi-Teshub, whose throne Hattusili had seized. Ramesses declared his support for Hattusili (**HDT* 130–1). Mira's last known ruler was a man called Tarkasnawa, who is depicted in the sculpture on the Karabel monument. He occupied Mira's throne in the final decades of C13, during the reign of the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV (*Hawkins, 1998b).

Mishlan (map 10) Middle Bronze Age Yaminite city located in the district of Mari on the west bank of the middle Euphrates. Attested in a number of letters in the Mari archive, particularly from the reign of Zimri-Lim (1774–1762), Mishlan was a prosperous settlement, deriving its wealth both from its commercial activities (in mid C19 its commercial status was equal to that of Mari), and its fertile, well-watered agricultural areas. At the end of the first year of his reign, Zimri-Lim was confronted with a major Yaminite uprising, which he crushed the following year. In the process, he seized the cities of Mishlan and Samanum, which had been the capitals of the chief rebel groups, and demolished their fortifications. Control of Mishlan and its farmlands provided Zimri-Lim with a substantial source of grain production for his kingdom.

Charpin (1989; 2000), *LKM* 617 (refs).

Mishrifeh see Qatna.

Missi (to be distinguished from the Zamuite city **Mesu**, q.v.) M1 district in the southwest corner of Mannaea, northwestern Iran. It lay on the route taken by the Assyrian king Sargon II during his famous eighth campaign in 714 (**ARAB* II 76–7, **Chav.* 338). While in Missi, Sargon met the Mannaeen king Ullusunu in his fortress-city Surdakku. He received from him there supplies of flour and wine for his troops, tribute in the form of horses, cattle, and sheep, and Ullusunu's eldest son as a hostage, supposedly to ensure the son's succession to Mannaea's throne.

Mitanni (Mittan(n)i) (map 3) Late Bronze Age kingdom formed by the end of C16 from a number of small Hurrian states in Upper Mesopotamia, centred on the Habur region. The Egyptians and Canaanites used the West Semitic form Naharina or Naharima to designate the kingdom, which was also known as Hurri. In C15, it became one of the four Great Kingdoms of the western Asian world (the others at that time were Hatti, Babylon, and Egypt), and exercised control over a large expanse of territory extending from northern Mesopotamia through northern Syria and parts of eastern Anatolia. Its first royal capital was the city called Washshukkanni, yet to be located with certainty though commonly identified with the site of mod. Tell Feheriye (q.v.) in the Habur triangle. Later, after the destruction of Washshukkanni in the later C14, Taidu and then Irride were the most important royal seats. In Late Bronze Age texts, the kingdom is also referred to as Hurri and Hanigalbat (q.v.). Mitanni's formidable military might seems to have depended to a large extent on its élite class of warriors called the *maryannu*.

In the course of their expansion west of the Euphrates r., the Mitannians frequently clashed with the kingdom of Hatti, their chief rival for supremacy over the states and petty kingdoms of northern Syria. However, Mitanni's Syrian ambitions also brought it into conflict with Egypt, which similarly sought to extend its territorial enterprises through the Syro-Palestinian regions. The campaigns of the pharaoh Tuthmosis I (1504–1492) took Egyptian arms as far as the Euphrates, temporarily halting Mitannian ventures in the same region. But the shrinkage of Egyptian influence in Syria during Queen Hatshepsut's reign (1479–1458) very likely prompted the first major westward expansion of Mitanni's power across the Euphrates, in the reign of its king Parrattarna (second half of C15). Parrattarna established his sovereignty over the Syrian territories formerly controlled by the kingdom of Aleppo. He installed a man

called Idrimi from Aleppo's royal dynastic line as his vassal ruler in the city of Alalah, and used him as an agent for the extension of Mitannian influence into southern Anatolia, notably the kingdom of Kizzuwadna which lay on the southeastern periphery of Hittite territory.

Mitannian territorial ambitions received a setback with the resurgence of Egyptian military enterprise under Tuthmosis III (1479–1425), who conducted numerous campaigns of conquest in Syria–Palestine. They suffered subsequently from renewed Hittite military campaigns in Syria under the Hittite king Tudhaliya I/II (early C14). But the Hittite claim that Tudhaliya destroyed the lands of the king of Mitanni is almost certainly an exaggerated one, since Mitanni continued to exercise sovereignty in northern Syria for many years to come. This sovereignty was consolidated by an agreement reached, also early in C14, between the Mitannian king Artatama I and his Egyptian counterpart Tuthmosis IV over a division of territory between them. The Egyptians conceded Mitannian territorial claims in northern Syria, while part of coastal and much of southern Syria were left within the Egyptian sphere of authority. Inland, the division of territory between the two kingdoms lay just to the north of the city of Qadesh on the Orontes r.

The scene was now set for a Hittite–Mitannian showdown over the territories in northern Syria subject to Mitannian overlordship. At this time, the Hittite and Mitannian thrones were occupied respectively by Suppiluliuma I and Tushratta, each of whom had come to power in a royal coup. The contest between the two resulted in the triumph of Suppiluliuma, and the destruction of the kingdom of Mitanni, whose last stronghold, Carchemish, fell to Suppiluliuma in 1327. Tushratta himself was later assassinated, and his son Shattiwaza was eventually installed as a Hittite ally and puppet ruler of the kingdom of Hanigalbat, the much reduced successor of the Great Kingdom of Mitanni. The name Mitanni, however, survived for some centuries after the collapse of the Mitannian empire, and is later attested in the records of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) (**RIMA* 2: 25).

Wilhelm (1989; 1995), Wilhelm/Stein (*RIA* 8: 286–99).

Mizpah (of Benjamin) Biblically attested city on the border between Judah and Israel. The entire Israelite army assembled there for their war against the Benjaminites (Judges 20:1–3). Asa, king of Judah (late C10–early C9), fortified the city during his war with Baasha, king of Israel (1 Kings 15:22). Following the conquest of Jerusalem by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II in 586, Mizpah became a provincial capital of the Babylonian empire. A man called Gedaliah, who was installed there as its governor by Nebuchadnezzar, was assassinated in the city by a Jewish nationalist, Ishmael, son of Nethaniah (2 Kings 25:25).

Most scholars now believe that Mizpah is to be identified with the site Tell en-Nasbeh (see *Nasbeh, Tell en-*) which lies 12 km northwest of Jerusalem. Several interesting correlations can be established between this site and the Mizpah attested in biblical sources. Of particular interest is a seal from Tell en-Nasbeh belonging to a man called Jaazaniah, who is designated as 'servant of the king'. Conceivably, this is the Jaazaniah of 2 Kings 25:23, who was among the army officers who came before the abovementioned Gedaliah. Despite the correlations, the case for equating Mizpah and Tell en-Nasbeh remains circumstantial.

Drinkard (*HCBD* 691), Laughlin (2006: 188–91).

Mizpah (of Gilead) see Gilead (Mizpah of).

Moab (map 8) Region and kingdom in Transjordan, located on the plateau east of the Dead Sea between the countries of Ammon to its north and Edom to its south, and occupying an area of c. 32,000 sq. km. In written sources, it is first attested in the inscriptions of the C13 pharaoh Ramesses II, who conducted campaigns in Moab and Edom, plundering a number of their cities. Across the eastern part of Moab passed the road known as the King's Highway (q.v.), from Damascus to the Gulf of Aqabah. In *OT* tradition, Moses used this road to lead his people through the lands of Edom and Moab (e.g. Numbers 20:17). According to Genesis 19:30–8, Abraham's nephew Lot was the ancestor of the Moabite people.

Archaeological surveys indicate that settlement on the plateau where Moab lay dates back at least to the Chalcolithic period (M6–4). Until the last decades of the Late Bronze Age (late C13–C12), the Moabite region seems to have been only sparsely populated. But from the end of the Late Bronze Age onwards the number of settlements appears to have increased steadily, and fortresses were built along the frontiers. There is no clear indication whether a kingdom of Moab had come into being at this time – i.e. in the early decades of the Iron Age. But such a kingdom is certainly in evidence in Iron Age II, when Moab reached the peak of its urban and political development. Its capital was the city of Dibon. Of particular importance for Moabite history was the discovery there in 1868 of a black basalt stele, commonly referred to as the Moabite Stone. On it appears a 34-line inscription in the Moabite language celebrating the military and building achievements of a C9 Moabite king called Mesha (*CS II: 137–8, **Chav.* 311–16). This provides one of the best-known instances where contemporary historical sources and biblical tradition coincide, for Mesha was already known as a king of Moab from 2 Kings 3:4. The inscription records Mesha's success in establishing his country's independence from Israel, allegedly at the command of Moab's chief god, Kemosh. According to *OT* tradition, the (C10) Israelite king David had conquered the land and made it part of his kingdom (2 Samuel 8:2), after its earlier inconclusive conflicts with David's predecessor Saul (1 Samuel 14:47).

But Moabite independence was relatively shortlived. The Assyrians' western campaigns conducted in 734–732 by Tiglath-pileser III reduced Moab and other lands in Transjordan to Assyrian subject status. This is indicated by contemporary Assyrian texts, which also record the names of four other Moabite kings. During the period of Assyrian overlordship, Moab seems to have enjoyed a relatively peaceful existence, due largely to the protection it received from the Assyrians against predatory nomadic tribes. It is, however, possible that the kingdom was involved in an anti-Assyrian uprising c. 713, during the reign of Sargon II. This is suggested by a fragmentary prism text dating to Sargon's reign. Following the collapse of the Assyrian empire in late C7, Moab became part of the Babylonian empire, against which it mounted an unsuccessful rebellion. After the fall of the empire in Nabonidus' reign (556–539) it became subject to Persia. During the Hellenistic period Moab came under the control of the Nabataeans.

Labianca and Younker (1995), Weippert (*RIA* 8: 318–25), Routledge (2004).

Mopsuestia (Misis, *Yakapınar*) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Cilicia in southern Anatolia, 37 km east of Adana at a strategically important crossing of the Pyramus



Figure 72 Moab from Mt Nebo.

(mod. Ceyhan) r. (*BAGRW* 67 B3). An identification has been suggested with the Iron Age city Pahru (q.v.), attested in records of the C9 Assyrian king Shalmaneser III as the royal capital of Kate, king of Que. According to Classical tradition, Mopsuestia was founded by the legendary Mopsus, who emigrated from western Anatolia to Cilicia and whose name is associated with the foundation of a number of cities in southern Anatolia. In late C6 Mopsuestia became subject to Persia, and remained under Persian overlordship until the campaigns of Alexander the Great in 334. It subsequently came under Seleucid control, and was renamed Seleucea-on-the-Pyramus in honour of the Seleucid king Seleucus IV Epiphanes. The city's material remains, dating almost entirely to the Roman period, include a Roman bridge, theatre, and gymnasium.

Gough (*PECS* 593–4), Bremmer (*OCD* 995), Kupper (*RIA* 8: 269–70).

Mor, Tel (map 8) Small settlement-mound located on the Via Maris (q.v.) on the coast of mod. Israel, 6 km north of Ashdod and probably serving as its port. Excavations were conducted by M. Dothan in 1959 and 1960 for the Israel Dept of Antiquities. Twelve occupation levels were identified, extending from the late Middle Bronze Age through the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Within this time-frame, there were several long intervals when the site was abandoned. Small finds from the first of the levels indicate Middle Bronze Age trading contacts with Cyprus and Egypt. In the Late Bronze Age, Tel Mor was a prosperous settlement, material remains of which are provided by a large building identified as a fortress or storehouse. Its location on the Via Maris was no doubt responsible for its importance in this period. The settlement's destruction in early C13 has been tentatively attributed to one of the campaigns

MORPHOU

conducted by the pharaoh Seti I in Canaan. But shortly afterwards it was rebuilt, with a new Egyptian-style multi-roomed fortress and courtyard complex. Large quantities of Mycenaean, Egyptian, and Cypriot ware found in the fortress are indicative of extensive overseas trading contacts. Dothan suggests that the destruction of this fortress may have occurred within the context of the pharaoh Merneptah's punitive raids against the rebellious cities of the Shephelah (q.v.); alternatively, its destruction may have been due to the Israelite tribes who devastated the coastal plain in that period without settling it. Reoccupation in late C13 or early C12 is attested by a small fort or tower. Egyptian pottery and scarabs among the small finds of this level have suggested to Dothan that an Egyptian governor still resided in the fortress during the reign of the pharaoh Ramesses III (1184–1153).

Following the withdrawal of the Egyptians from the Syro-Palestinian region, Tel Mor, like other coastal sites, was occupied by the Philistines – as indicated by the material culture of its two 'Philistine' levels (IV–III), which consisted mainly of early Iron Age agricultural structures, courtyards, silos, and a range of Philistine pottery. The destruction of level III is generally attributed to the Israelite king David's wars against the Philistines (C10). Abandonment of the site for several generations was followed by resettlement in C8, as represented by the remains of a fortress with casemate walls (level II). The destruction of this level has been attributed to the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705), whose Annals record the king's conquest of Ashdod and its conversion into an Assyrian province. Tel Mor was again abandoned, and Ashdod's port was transferred to the site called Azotos in the Hellenistic period. Tel Mor itself was reoccupied in this period, when it appears to have become a centre of a purple-dye industry. Dothan notes that in the Roman–Byzantine period there was only a poor agricultural settlement on the site.

Dothan (*NEAEHL* 3: 1073–4).

Morphou (map 14) City near the northwest coast of Cyprus. A major settlement was founded there just north of the mod. village at Toumba tou Skourou at the end of the Middle Cypriot period. Following repeated episodes of bulldozing, which destroyed much of the site, excavations by E. T. Vermeule and F. Z. Wolsky for Harvard University from 1971 to 1973 uncovered pottery workshops, houses, and rich chamber tombs of Late Bronze Age date. Several huge stone blocks with ornamental bosses suggest the presence of a monumental building similar to those found in other Late Bronze Age centres, such as Alassa, Citium, and Enkomi. The settlement decreased in importance after C13, but survived until c. 700 when it was finally abandoned.

Occupation in the Morphou area is also indicated at Ambelia, close to the confluence of the Ovgos and Serakis rivers, where material dating from the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period has been found. A small sanctuary of Aphrodite located opposite the earlier settlement at Toumba tou Skourou flourished from Archaic to early Christian times. It has been suggested that 'Morphou' may have taken its name from the cult of Aphrodite Morpho ('the Shapely'), who was also worshipped at Sparta. A nearby necropolis contains tombs ranging in date from the Geometric (C8) to the Hellenistic (C4–2) period. Among the finds in the necropolis was a funerary inscription of C4 date, written in the Cypriot syllabary.

(J. M. Webb)

Nicolaou (*PECS* 595–6), Vermeule and Wolsky (1990).

Mozan, Tell see Urkesh.

Mukish (map 3) Bronze Age region in northeastern Syria, north of Ugarit, first mentioned in tablets of the Ur III period (C21). In C16 it was incorporated into the kingdom of Aleppo, but later became subject to the Mitannian king Parrattarna when the latter established his rule over Aleppo (C15). In the second half of C15 Mukish, along with the states Niya and Ama'u, declared its support for Idrimi – son of Ilim-ilimma, the former king of Yamhad (Aleppo) – during his seven-year exile (see **Alalah**). When Idrimi was subsequently installed by Parrattarna on the throne at Alalah, he was formally recognized as the ruler of these states, no doubt in accordance with the sworn pact which he made with Parrattarna (*Greenstein, 1995: 2426, *CS I: 479). In mid C14, Mukish was among the lands conquered by the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I during his one-year Syrian war (c. 1344) against Mitanni and its subject states (*HDT 43–4). An anti-Hittite alliance which it joined in an attempt to break away from Hittite sovereignty was crushed by a Hittite expeditionary force. Suppiluliuma thereupon handed over a substantial part of its territory to his loyal subject-ally Niqmaddu II, king of Ugarit (*Bryce, 2005: 164–6).

Mulhan (map 10) Middle Bronze Age city in the middle Euphrates region called Suhu(m) which lay south of the kingdom of Mari. It was the northernmost city of Lower Suhum. In 1772, when Suhum was invaded by the forces of Ibal-pi-El II, king of Eshnunna, Mulhan was apparently under the command of a man called Buqaqum, otherwise known as governor of Sapiratum, another city in Suhum. Buqaqum wrote to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari and overlord of Suhum, warning him that unless a relief force arrived he would be forced to evacuate the city and abandon the entire region of Lower Suhum to the enemy (*LKM 384).

Kupper (*RIA* 8: 414), *Mesop.* 197.

Munbaqa, Tall see Ekalte.

Munna Iron Age country located in the upper Diyala/Zagros region in the north-eastern Mesopotamian–northwestern Iranian borderlands, near the lands of Zamua and Allabria. The Assyrian king Shalmaneser III conquered the land during his campaign in the region in his eighteenth regnal year (841) (*RIMA 3: 40). It later appears in the list of conquests of Adad-nirari III (810–783) (*RIMA 3: 212).

Murattash One of the small polities in northeastern Mesopotamia conquered by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) in the second year of his reign (*RIMA 2: 19). The fortified city Murattash, lying east of the Lesser Zab in the Asania and Atuma mountain regions, was captured, plundered, and destroyed in a dawn attack. The nearby land of Saradaush also fell victim to the Assyrians in this campaign.

Murmuriga Late Bronze Age fortified settlement lying to the west of the middle bend of the Euphrates r., within the kingdom of Carchemish. The Hittite viceroy Telipinu, son of Suppiluliuma I, established a winter camp there in 1328, after conducting a military campaign against the countries of Arziya and Carchemish, at that time still subject to the Mitannian king Tushratta. Telipinu left a garrison of

600 troops and a chariot contingent at Murmuriga when he was summoned to Uda in the Hittite Lower Land for a meeting with his father. During his absence, Mitannian forces laid siege to the garrison. It was relieved the following spring when Suppiluliuma dispatched troops to the region in preparation for his final onslaught on Carchemish (**DS* 92, **CS* I: 189–90, **Chav.* 237).

Bryce (2005: 177).

Murat Su see **Arsanias r.**

Muru Fortified Iron Age city belonging to the Aramaean kingdom of Bit-Agusi in north-central Syria. Along with Arne and Apparazu, other cities of Bit-Agusi, Muru was captured by the Assyrians during the reign of Bit-Agusi's king Arame (858–c. 834). Arame lost Muru to the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824) while the latter was returning from a successful expedition in southern Anatolia against the kingdom of Que in his twenty-fifth regnal year. Shalmaneser claims that after capturing Muru, he rebuilt its gateways, and also constructed a palace within the city to serve as his royal residence (**RIMA* 3: 68) – an indication that thenceforth the city would be under permanent Assyrian control. Muru has been identified, tentatively, with ʿAin Dara (q.v.), on the right bank of the Afrin r.

CHLI I: 389, Lipiński (2000: 202).

Musanippa see **Muzunnum.**

Musasir (map 20) Small M1 state and city located in northeastern Mesopotamia between the middle course of the Greater Zab r. and the Zagros mountain range, and serving as a buffer zone between Urartian and Assyrian territory. It appears to have been an anc. tribal centre of the Urartian people before the formation of the kingdom of Urartu, and the original cult-centre for the worship of the god Haldi, later to become Urartu's chief deity. In the so-called Kelishin inscription, one of three Assyrian–Urartian bilingual texts found in the region (in this case it was set up in the Kelishin pass between Rowanduz and Lake Urmia), the Urartian king Ishpuini (824–806) and his son and co-regent Minua record their establishment of a new cult-centre at Musasir. Earlier in C9, Musasir appears to have had diplomatic relations with Assyria. This is indicated by the first attestation of it, which records an invitation for its representatives to join the celebrations associated with the consecration of the palace built by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) in Kalhu (Nimrud, biblical Calah), then the Assyrian capital (**RIMA* 2: 293). But several decades later, in 826, Dayyan-Ashur, commander-in-chief of Ashurnasirpal's son and successor Shalmaneser III, undertook a campaign against the land, during which he captured and destroyed its stronghold of Zapparia (Sapparia), along with forty-six other cities of Musasir (**RIMA* 3: 70).

Musasir's frontier location invested it with vital strategic significance in the ongoing conflicts between the Urartians and the Assyrians, as illustrated by events in the reigns of their respective kings Rusa I (732–714) and Sargon II (721–705). Musasir's king, Urzana, had become caught up in these conflicts, and gave his support to one side and then the other, no doubt on the basis of where he felt his best interests lay. In the period prior to Sargon's Urartian campaign in 714, he evidently believed that these lay

with Assyria, and became openly hostile to Rusa. The Urartian king responded by promptly invading his former ally's kingdom. Urzana fled at his approach, seeking refuge in Assyria. But he failed to make good his escape and was apprehended by Rusa's forces, perhaps after he had already reached Assyrian territory. Despite Urzana's actions, Rusa reinstated him in Musasir as an Urartian vassal (**Hcl* 144–50, no. 122). Perhaps soon after, Cimmerian forces invaded Urartu, and the governor of the Urartian province of Waisi called upon Urzana for military support (**SAA V*: 109–10, no. 145). Urzana may well have remained loyal to Rusa during Sargon's Urartian campaign in 714, for on his return journey from Urartu, Sargon suddenly and unexpectedly attacked Urzana's capital, Musasir (**Chav.* 339). The Assyrian clearly rejected any notion that Musasir's apparent status as a sacred city should render it immune from attack. And after Urzana's alliance with Rusa, Musasir could hardly claim that it lay in neutral territory. Appeals to the gods by the city's panic-stricken citizens were of no avail. The city fell without resistance. Sargon then set about plundering it of its enormous wealth. Palace and temple were thoroughly looted, the latter yielding to the conqueror more than 333,500 precious objects. One of the reliefs (now lost) from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad depicted the looting of the palace. Over 1,000 kg of gold and 6,000 kg of silver were included in the spoil. One version of Sargon's Annals reports that when Rusa heard of the sack of Musasir, he took a dagger from his belt and ended his life.

A small group of letters from Sargon's correspondence have been tentatively assigned to the period immediately following Sargon's campaign (*SAA V*: XVII). One of these reports that troops had set out towards Musasir under the command of two Urartian governors (**SAA V*: 72–3, no. 88), another is a letter from Urzana reporting the arrival of these governors in Musasir (**SAA V*: 111–12, no. 147). If the suggested dating of these letters is correct, then Urzana clearly survived the Assyrian capture and plunder of Musasir in 714, and had in fact been reinstated once more as the city's ruler – this time under Assyrian overlordship.

Salvini/Boehmer (*RIA* 8: 444–50).

Mushani Iron Age region within the kingdom of Melid/Malatya in eastern Anatolia, referred to by the Urartian king Sarduri II in his invasion of the kingdom in the second year of his reign (late 760s) (**Kuhr*, 1995a: 556–7). It apparently marked the southern limit of Sarduri's campaign.

CHLI I: 284–5.

Mushki see Phrygia.

Musilanum Middle Bronze Age locality in the district of Talhayum, which belonged to the region called Ida-maras in the Habur triangle of northern Mesopotamia. It was noted for a special type of edible locust (**LKM* 43).

Musri (I) Country east of the Tigris r., attested in M2 and early M1 Assyrian texts. In the earliest known reference to it, the country was conquered by the Assyrian king Ashur-uballit (1365–1330), perhaps in the context of his campaign against the Subarians, as reported by his third successor Adad-nirari I (**RIMA* 1: 132). Following its conquest, Musri was incorporated into the Assyrian kingdom. But a rebellion in the

reign of Shalmaneser I (1274–1245) prompted an Assyrian invasion of its territory and the capture and sack of its chief city, Arinu, which was razed to the ground (**RIMA* 1: 183). Further hostility in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) led to a siege of Arinu, which was lifted when the people submitted to the Assyrians; regular tribute payments were imposed upon them (**RIMA* 2: 23). Other expeditions against Musri are attested in the reigns of Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056; **RIMA* 2: 102) and Ashur-dan II (934–912; **RIMA* 2: 134). The region is certainly associated with the Mt Musri/Musur which is attested in Neo-Assyrian texts. Sargon II claims to have built his new city, Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad), at the foot of Mt Musri, and using the springs there Sennacherib constructed his famous water-supply system for Nineveh.

Musri (2) Iron Age land and city in southern Anatolia or northern Syria. The occurrence of the name in a C8 Aramaic treaty found near Aleppo makes a northern Syrian location more likely, and an identification has recently been proposed with the kingdom called Masuwari (Aramaean Til-Barsip) in Neo-Hittite texts (Makinson, 2002–5). The centre of this kingdom was the city on the site of Tell Ahmar (q.v.), located on the east bank of the middle Euphrates.

Several references to Musri occur in the texts of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824). It is the name, for example, of one of the participating states which fought against Shalmaneser in the battle of Qarqar (q.v.) in 853 (**RIMA* 3: 23), and of the country which sent Shalmaneser a tribute consisting of a range of exotic animals – including a rhinoceros(?), elephants, monkeys, apes, and a water buffalo (**RIMA* 3: 150). The former may well have been a Syrian country; the latter is commonly (though not universally) identified with Egypt (see Bunnens, 2006: 90, 92). (Musri was the name by which Egypt was commonly known in the western Asian world.)

Nashef (1982), Kessler (*RIA* 8: 497), Bunnens (2006: 88–96).

Mussian, Tepe (map 12) Settlement-mound encompassing an area of c. 14 ha, located on the Deh Luran plain (q.v.) in southwestern Iran, c. 90 km north west of Susa. It is the largest site on the plain. The site was excavated by J. E. Gautier and G. Lampre on behalf of a French mission to Iran in 1905, and briefly re-examined by E. Carter and J. Neely in 1969 during a survey of the Deh Luran plain. Tepe Khazineh and Tepe Ali Abad are other sites lying close to Tepe Mussian and commonly grouped with it under its name.

Tepe Mussian's history of occupation begins with a village settlement in M6 (late Neolithic), which continued until mid M4 (Chalcolithic period). The site was abandoned in the Uruk and subsequent Proto-Elamite periods (c. 3500 to 2800), but entered into a vigorous new phase c. 2800, when it grew rapidly in size, becoming the most important Early Bronze Age site on the Deh Luran plain. A distinctive feature of this period in the site's history is an assemblage of polychrome pottery, datable to the middle centuries of M3 (from perhaps as early as 2800 to c. 2400), and including large numbers of small jars painted black and red on a buff-coloured background with depictions of animal, plant, and geometric motifs. Archaeological surveys point to a population decline in the Deh Luran plain during the last centuries of M3, which inevitably affected Tepe Mussian. This became particularly marked during the early centuries of M2, and by the middle of M2 the site had been abandoned. There are very few architectural remains from any period of the site's existence, and no indication as to

MUTALU

whether or not the settlement was ever fortified. Its anc. name is unknown, though an identification with the Elamite city of Urua (Arawa) has been suggested.

Gautier and Lampre (1905), de Miroschedji (*OEANE* 5: 186–7).

Mutalu Small Middle Bronze Age town in Babylonia, c. 25 km northeast of Kish (**RIME* 4: 658–9). Inscribed bricks found at mod. Ishan Dhahak tell of the building of the wall of Mutalu by a local ruler.

Mesop. 106.

Mutamutassa Late Bronze Age country in western Anatolia, within or near the territory of the Lukka Lands. It was among the countries captured by the renegade Hittite vassal Madduwatta during his campaigns in western Anatolia (early C14) (* *HDT* 158).

Mutiabal (Mutebal) Land/population group in northern Babylonia, centred on the city of Kazallu, and inhabited by a southern group of the Mutebal tribe. It is attested in Middle Bronze Age Mesopotamian texts, which record Mutiabal's hostilities with the kingdom of Larsa in C19, its involvement as a Babylonian subject state in Babylon's war with the Elamites (mid C18), and in this context its ill-fated rebellion against the Babylonian king Hammurabi (1792–1750). Subsequently it was one of the regions which revolted against Hammurabi's successor, Samsu-iluna. For further information on its activities, see under **Kazallu**. A northern Mesopotamian group of Mutebal are attested in the Mari archives from the reign of Zimri-Lim (1774–1762).

LKM 17, 61–3, 589 (refs).

Mutkinu Iron Age city in northwestern Mesopotamia, strategically located near an important river-crossing on the east bank of the Euphrates near its confluence with the Sajur. Tell Hamis near Qubba, 5 km east of Til-Barsip, has been suggested as a possible location. The city was established c. 1100 by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I, but during the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1013–973) an Aramaean king seized control of it, along with the city of Pitru which lay on the the Euphrates' opposite bank. For the next 150 years Mutkinu remained under Aramaean control, becoming one of the cities in the Euphrates region attached to the Iron Age kingdom of Bit-Adini. In 856, when the kingdom was ruled by Ahuni, these cities were conquered by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III. Following the restoration of Mutkinu to Assyrian control, Shalmaneser resettled it (as also Pitru) with an Assyrian population (**RIMA* 3:19).

Lipiński (2000: 163–8).

Muzunnum City in northwestern(?) Syria, first attested in the Middle Bronze Age Mari archives. It subsequently appears in the list of Syrian place-names recorded by the C15 pharaoh Tuthmosis III (in the form *M-d-n*), and in a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of Uratamis, a C9 king of Hamath (in the form Musanipa). Lipiński proposes a location c. 30 km southwest of Aleppo. The city is possibly to be identified with the site of Tell Maraq. Its name is of Hurrian origin.

Lipiński (2000: 249–50, 298).

Mycale, Mt Located on the Aegean coast of Anatolia north of Miletus, on a headland jutting out towards the island of Samos and overlooking the city of Priene

MYLASA

(*BAGRW* 61 E2). At the foot of the mountain, in the sanctuary of the god Poseidon Heliconius, representatives of the member states of the Ionian League assembled to formulate common policy (Herodotus 1.148) (see **Panionium**). In 479 the Mycale promontory provided the setting for the final land and sea engagement between the Persians and allied Greek forces, in the aftermath of Xerxes' abortive invasion of the Greek mainland. The battle resulted in the destruction of the Persian army and fleet (Herodotus 9.96–107). In Greek sources, Mycale is first attested in Homer (*Iliad* 2.869) as part of the Carian homeland at the time of the Trojan War.

Mykoi see **Maka**.

Mylasa (*Milas*) (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria, southwestern Anatolia. The city is first attested in C7 when its ruler, Arselis, supported the Lydian Gyges' successful attempt to seize the throne of Lydia (c. 685). With the fall of the Lydian empire to



Figure 73 Mt Mycale, with temple of Athena (Priene) in foreground.

MYNDUS

the Persian emperor Cyrus II c. 546, Mylasa along with the rest of Caria came under Persian control. In 500 its ruler was a man called Oliatus (Herodotus 5.37). Some time after the Greek defeat of the Persian forces in 479, Mylasa became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). It returned to Persian control in 386, in accordance with the terms of the 'King's Peace' (see glossary). In this new period of Persian domination, Mylasa became the capital of Caria, under the immediate authority of a local ruling family called the Hecatomnid dynasty (Strabo 14.2.23). Mausolus (c. 377–353), the third ruler of this dynasty, probably shifted the capital to its location at mod. Milas from an original location at Peçin Kale, 5 km to the south. The remains of a temple on the latter site may be those of the temple of Carian Zeus, referred to by both Herodotus (1.171) and Strabo (14.2.23). Later in his reign, Mausolus made Halicarnassus (mod. Bodrum) his capital. Along with other cities subject to Persia, Mylasa was liberated by Alexander the Great in 334. Following Alexander's death, Mylasa was subject first to the Ptolemies, then to the Seleucids, and then to the Rhodians. Under Roman rule it became an important administrative centre of the province of Asia.

The city's Hellenistic and Roman remains include several temples (it once contained three temples dedicated to the god Zeus), a well-preserved arched gateway into the city (whose walls have now disappeared), a theatre, and numerous tombs. The finest of the tombs is a two-storeyed structure probably of C2 or C1 date, bearing a resemblance to, and perhaps influenced by, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.

Bean (1971: 31–44; *PECS* 601–2).

Myndus (map 5) M1 city in Caria, southwestern Anatolia, located 18 km west of mod. Bodrum (Halicarnassus). The original city, which was founded by Lelegian colonists, probably lay some 3 km southeast of the later city, on the hilltop site now called Bozdağ. Remains of a circuit wall can still be seen there. This first city was a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary) in C5. Its annual contribution of one-twelfth of a talent to the Confederacy's treasury was a relatively small sum, giving clear indication of the city's lack of importance at this time. Then in C4 Mausolus, ruler of Caria, decided to enhance the city's status. He did so by refounding it in a new location and rebuilding it on a much grander scale. The site he chose for this enterprise is now called Gümüslük. Its excellent harbour was no doubt a major factor in Mausolus' choice of the site. The new city was protected by a wall 3.5 km long, a large part of which still survives. The effectiveness of Myndus' defence system was put to the test within a couple of decades of its refounding, when the city came under attack from Alexander the Great. It stood the test well, for Myndus was one of the very few cities in Alexander's campaigns of conquest that successfully resisted the Macedonian's attempts to capture them.

Bean (1971: 116–19; *PECS* 602).

Myous (map 5) Classical Greek city located on the Aegean coast of Anatolia in the region of Ionia, a few km north of Miletus. In Classical tradition it was founded by a certain Cydrelus, bastard son of Codrus, a legendary king of Athens (Strabo 14.1.3). Myous was one of the twelve members of the Ionian League (see **Panionium**). In the 460s, the city was allegedly given by the Persian king Xerxes to the Athenian Themistocles after the latter had fled his homeland and sought refuge in western Anatolia (Strabo 14.1.10). Xerxes' purpose in presenting Themistocles with the city

was, according to Strabo, to keep him supplied with fish. Myous subsequently became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Strabo also reports that due to the silting up of the Maeander r., the city lost its location on the sea. It also lost its independence, and subsequently its population, to Miletus. The site's scanty remains include parts of the foundations of two temples, one dedicated to the god Dionysus and dating back to mid C6, and the other a temple of Apollo Terebintheus, the city's chief deity.

Bean (1966: 244–6; *PECS* 602–3).

Myra (map 15) M1 BCE–M1 CE town in Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, 20 km west of mod. Finike. Monuments, coins, and inscriptions in the epichoric language date occupation of the site back to at least C5. A number of the inscriptions appear on the rock-cut tombs (though only a small minority of these are inscribed) which are carved in two groups, a western and an eastern group, into the cliff-face located to the west of the Roman theatre. The first and more impressive group consists predominantly of house-type tombs (i.e. tombs which replicate the main features of Lycian house-façades), but also includes more rudimentary burial chambers and a few structures whose façades are modelled on Greek temples, similar to the temple tombs at Telmessus in western Lycia and Caunus in Caria. A number of the tombs are embellished with relief carvings. The warrior motif sometimes features in these reliefs as elsewhere in Lycian relief sculptures. Two warriors carrying shields are depicted on one tomb, and on another a man is reclining on a couch with his wife sitting beside him and three warrior-like figures, perhaps his sons, standing to his left. In typical Lycian fashion, the tombs are intended for multiple burials, and contain couches, cut into the rock within the tomb-chambers, for the reception of the deceased. They are closed by sliding doors of stone, most of which have long since been smashed. One of the most noteworthy of the funerary monuments is the so-called Painted Tomb, a house-type structure on which appears a relief scene depicting eleven life-size human figures. The central figure is a reclining, bearded man who raises a wine-cup. The other figures are probably members of his family. While the overall interpretation of the composition is unclear, it may represent a scene from everyday family life rather than a funerary scene – thus nurturing an illusion that life after death continues as it did before death. The carvings were originally painted in red, blue, yellow, and purple colours, but practically all traces of paint have now disappeared.

Myra was among Lycia's largest and most important cities. During the period of the Lycian League, which operated from C2 BCE until C4 CE, it was one of six League members which had the privilege of three votes in the assembly – the highest number of votes that could be assigned to any League member.

Apart from the Lycian tombs, the most noteworthy material remains on the site date to the Roman period. These include the theatre, referred to above, and a granary with an inscription over the door which associates the building with the early C2 CE emperor Hadrian. In C4 CE Myra was the seat of the bishopric of (St) Nicholas, the remains of whose church are located at the western end of the village of Demre, 3 km from the Lycian site.

Bean (*PECS* 603–4; 1978: 120–30).

Myrina (map 5) City on the coast of Aeolis in western Anatolia, 37 km south of Pergamum. According to Greek legendary tradition, it was founded by an Amazon

MYRINA



Figure 74 Myra, rock-tombs.

queen called Myrrhine/Myrina (Diodorus 3.54–5). In C5 it was a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary), and assessed at the relatively high sum of one talent as its annual contribution to the Confederacy. According to Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.1.6), the Persian king (doubtless Xerxes) handed the cities Myrina and Grynium over to a Greek called Gongylus from the city of Eretria on the island of Euboea, as a reward for Gongylus' support of Xerxes' campaign against Greece in 481. (Gongylus had been exiled from his homeland for his treachery.) Nothing else is known of Myrina's history prior to the Roman imperial period. In 17 CE it was destroyed by earthquake and rebuilt with the assistance of the Roman emperor Tiberius. A large necropolis of over 4,000 graves was excavated between 1880 and 1882, but nothing of these can be seen today. Inscriptions and grave goods, including hundreds of terracotta figurines, date the necropolis to the late Hellenistic period.

Bean (1966: 106–10; *PECS* 604).

MYSIA

Mysia (maps 4, 5) M1 country located in northwestern Anatolia south of the Troad and extending to the Aegean coast, opposite the island of Lesbos (Herodotus 1.160). Strabo (12.4.4–5) located its northern limits between Bithynia and the mouth of the Aesepus r. in the Troad; it also shared a border with Phrygia. The Trojan Catalogue in Homer's *Iliad* (2.858) lists a contingent from Mysia, led by Chromis, among Troy's allies in the Trojan War. Mysia probably covered much of the territory occupied in the Late Bronze Age by the Arzawan kingdom called Seha River Land, though its boundaries fluctuated throughout its history. In Greek tradition, Mysia was close enough to Troy for the Greeks to land on its coast and begin plundering it, in the mistaken belief that they had actually reached Troy itself. Telephus, heir of the Mysian king Teuthras, succeeded in killing many of the invaders before he was finally driven into flight by Achilles. Herodotus claims that the Mysians were originally emigrants from Lydia (7.74), that the eponymous kings Lydus and Mysus were brothers (1.171), and that the Mysians were among the Anatolian peoples conquered by the Lydian king Croesus in C6 (1.28). A contingent of Mysians under the command of Artaphrenes, son of Artaphrenes, is listed by Herodotus (7.74) among the forces assembled by Xerxes for his invasion of Greece in 481. In 395 the Spartan king Agesilaus II invaded Mysia, with the intention of pressuring the Mysians into joining his campaign for the liberation of the Anatolian Greeks from Persian sovereignty (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 21.1–3, 5–6; 22.1–3 = *PE 374–5, no. 39). Some of the Mysians chose to join his army. But when others launched an attack on his forces, they were ambushed and suffered heavy casualties. Their alleged treachery prompted Agesilaus to carry out further reprisals against them.