

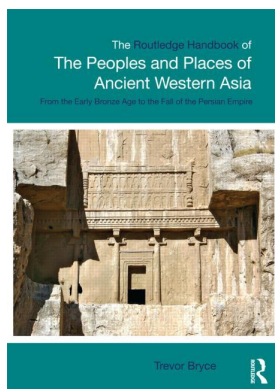
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## **The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia**

### **The Near East from the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire**

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## N

**Nabatu** M1 tribal people, probably of North Arabian origin, located in eastern Babylonia. They are included in the list of thirty-five so-called Aramaean tribes conquered by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III, probably in his first regnal year (745) (\**Tigl. III* 158–9). The Nabatu are very likely to be identified with the Nabayatu tribe, attested in the reign of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668–630/627). It is possible, but by no means certain, that they were forerunners of the Nabataean Arabs of the Hellenistic age, whose chief city was Petra in Jordan.

Lipiński (2000: 448–50).

**Nabul(a)** (Nabulu, Nabur, *Girnavaz*) Late Bronze and early Iron Age city located in the northern Habur triangle, just to the north of Nusaybin. When the Hanigalbatean king Wasashatta rebelled against Assyrian sovereignty, Nabula was among the cities conquered by Adad-nirari I (1307–1275) in the course of crushing the rebellion (\**RIMA* 1: 131). In C11 the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056) fought a battle with the Aramaeans there (\**RIMA* 2: 102). Nabulu was among the twenty-seven cities which rebelled against the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824) towards the end of his reign (\**RIMA* 3: 183). One of two Neo-Assyrian documents excavated at Girnavaz in 1984 mentions the anc. settlement name Nabul, thus vindicating Kessler's proposed location for the city at Girnavaz, 4 km north of Nusaybin (Kessler, 1980: 208–9; Lipiński, 2000: 139 map).

Röllig (*RIA* 9: 31), Lipiński (2000: 110–11, 152), Radner (2006: 299–300).

**Nagar** (Nawar) Bronze Age city and kingdom in the Habur r. region of northern Mesopotamia. The city is probably to be identified with the site of Tell Brak. It is first attested in texts from Ebla, dating to C24, which indicate the kingdom's close commercial links with Ebla. It is also mentioned in texts from mid M3 Tell Beydar. During C24, Nagar appears to have been the most important state in Upper Mesopotamia, its influence extending throughout the Habur region. The city was one of three major urban centres in the region at this time. Remains of the other two are the large mounds Tell Mozan (Urkes) and Tell Leilan (Shehna, Shubat-Enlil). Both cities probably maintained their independence from Nagar, despite the latter's overall dominance of the region. Nagar's own status is uncertain during the Akkadian period (c. 2334–2193). But towards the end of M3, Nagar and Urkes were linked as the two capitals of a Hurrian dynasty, under the rule of a king called Atal-sen.

Middle Bronze Age attestations of Nagar occur in texts from Mari dating to the reign of the Mariote king Yahdun-Lim (1810–1794). The city was apparently the site of a decisive battle between Yahdun-Lim and the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775), but otherwise appears to have been relatively insignificant in this period, when it was under the authority of the city of Kahat. There are no further occurrences of the name Nagar after the Middle Bronze Age (Old Babylonian period), but the city

is probably to be identified with Nawar (or one of the cities so called), which was subject to Mitanni. (On the question of whether there were two cities called Nawar, one north and one south of Kahat, see Matthews and Eidem, 1993: 204–5. They suggest identifying the northern one with the later Nabula.)

Matthews and Eidem (1993), \*Archi (1998), Eidem (*RIA* 9: 75–7).

**Nagiata** Iron Age city in the middle Euphrates region north of the city of Hindanu. During the course of his last recorded campaign in 885, the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884) spent the night in Nagiate on his progress up the Euphrates (\**RIMA* 2: 175). He had to travel through rugged country to reach the city, which lay close to, but does not seem to have been a part of, the land of Laqe. Lipiński believes that Nagiate must refer to the islands in front of Abu Kamal, locating the city at Baguz aš-Šnamali close to the Iraqi–Syrian border, where there are large and small islands near both the right and left banks of the river.

Lipiński (2000: 94).

**Nagibum** Middle Bronze Age city in the south of the Jebel Sinjar, northern Mesopotamia, not far from Andarig. Zimri-Lim, king of Mari (1774–1762), encamped his troops there in preparation for his siege of Andarig (\**LKM* 394). The presence of the Mariote forces at Nagibum prompted an army of Ibal-pi-El II, king of Eshnunna, to raise its siege of the city of Kurda, which lay to the north of Andarig, and proceed towards the Mariote king's encampment, presumably for a military showdown. Before confronting the Mariote army, however, Ibal-pi-El turned north, occupying the city of Shehna/Shubat-Enlil in the kingdom of Apum.

*Mesop.* 202–3.

**Nagidus** (map 4) M1 BCE–M1 CE city on the southeastern coast of Anatolia, in the region of Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera (Rough Cilicia). According to Pomponius Mela (1.77), it was founded by colonists from the island of Samos, which lay off Anatolia's western coast. An island called Nagidussa was associated with it (probably the small island which lies just offshore to the south; *BAGR*W 66 B4). The silver coinage of the city attests to its flourishing existence in C5 and C4. The most notable material remains of the site are those of a fragmentary circuit wall of mixed polygonal and ashlar masonry. It is possible that the city is to be identified with Late Bronze Age Nahita (q.v.).

Bean and Mitford (1970: 191–3), Bean (*PECS* 605).

**Nagila, Tel** (map 8) 4 ha settlement-mound on Israel's coastal plain 28 km east of Gaza. Its history of occupation extends from the Chalcolithic (M4) to the Mameluke period (C16 CE), with a number of gaps in between. The site was excavated in 1962 and 1963 by R. Amiran on behalf of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies in Jerusalem. Fourteen occupation levels were identified. The settlement's Early Bronze Age phase, represented by the remains of mudbrick houses on stone foundations, was followed by a period of abandonment lasting 600 to 700 years before the site was reoccupied in the Middle Bronze Age, c. 1750. The remains of residential architecture, two public buildings, and an elaborate defence system represent the material culture of this, the most prosperous period in the settlement's existence. Only meagre remains survive from Nagila's Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Hellenistic–Byzantine phases.

Amiran and Eitan (*NEAEHL* 3: 1079–81).

**Nagitu** Iron Age city in Elam, probably to be located (according to Frame) on an island in the marshes. Marduk-apla-iddina (biblical Merodach-baladan), the Chaldaean tribal leader who twice occupied the throne of Babylon, sought refuge here in 700, in his flight from the Assyrian king Sennacherib (see under **Babylon, Babylonia**). In 694 the city was captured and looted by Sennacherib's troops.

Frame (*RIA* 9: 80).

**Nagsu** Early Bronze Age Sumerian city in southern Mesopotamia belonging to the city-state of Umma. A military garrison was stationed there.

Lafont (*DCM* : 872).

**Nahita** Late Bronze Age city in southern Anatolia, attested in the fragmentary remains of the Annals of the Hittite king Hattusili III (1267–1237). It appears along with a number of other cities/lands in an account of military action undertaken by Hattusili in the region of the Lukka Lands. Identifications have been proposed with mod. Niğde (where the Iron Age city Nahitiya was located; q.v.) and the Classical city Nagidus (q.v.) on the coast of Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera (Rough Cilicia).

Hawkins (1995: 56), \*Gurney (1997).

**Nahitiya** (*Niğde*) (map 18) Iron Age city in southern Anatolia, probably belonging to the kingdom of Tuwana which lay in the southern part of the region called Tabal. A Luwian hieroglyphic inscription found at Aktaş (formerly Andaval) was authored by a certain Saruwanis who styles himself 'the ruler, the lord of Nahitiya'. This man was apparently a C8 predecessor of Tuwana's king Warpalawas (thus *CHLI*), and his attestation as ruler of Nahitiya appears to indicate that Nahitiya was at this time part of the kingdom of Tuwana.

\**CHLI* I: 514–15.

**Nahlasi** Iron Age city in northern Syria, located in the frontier region between the kingdoms of Arpad (Bit-Agusi) and Hamath. In early C8 these kingdoms were ruled respectively by Artta-shumki (I) and Zakur. Probably in 796, the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III and his commander-in-chief Shamshi-ilu defined, or redefined, the boundary between their kingdoms, stipulating the Orontes r. as the dividing line. Nahlasi and all its associated lands and settlements were allocated to Attar-shumki. The text which records this is inscribed on a stele, now commonly known as the Antakya stele, which was found near the Orontes r. not far from Antakya (\**RIMA* 3: 203–4).

**Naharina** (Naharima) see **Mitanni**.

**Nahur** Northern Mesopotamian city located near one of the tributaries of the Habur r. in the vicinity of mod. Qamishli, attested in a Sargonic itinerary of late M3, as well as in M2 Mari texts and M2 and early M1 Assyrian texts. During the Middle Bronze Age, the city came under the control of Zimri-Lim, king of Mari (1774–1762), and was the centre of one of his kingdom's four administrative districts in the upper Ida-maras (q.v.) region. It figures in a number of letters in the Mari archives (*LKM* 618, refs), which indicate that it was used as a place of assembly by the kings of this region. The assembly was convened there for the kings to renew their allegiance to Zimri-Lim in the presence of their immediate superior Haya-Sumu, king of Ilan-sura (\**LKM* 311,

no. 26.347). Zimri-Lim's hold upon the city seems to have been fairly tenuous, to judge from an urgent letter sent to him by Shaknum, an official of Nahur, begging for troops to prevent the city liberating itself from Mariote control (\**LKM* 311, no. 26.348). In the Late Bronze Age, Nahur was conquered and plundered by the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (1307–1275) (\**RIMA* 1: 159–60). Documents from the reign of Shalmaneser I (1274–1245) refer to a governor of Nahur. And the city (or at least a city called Nahur) may also figure among the conquests of Adad-nirari II (911–891) during a fourth campaign which the king conducted against the Nairi lands (\**RIMA* 2: 149) – but the reading *Nabur* in this passage is uncertain.

Kupper (*RIA* 9: 86–7), \**Mesop.* 298.

**Nairi** (map 20) Mountainous region north of the upper Tigris r., stretching between mod. Diyarbakır and Lake Van and then to the southeast, to the region west of Lake Urmia. It was not a polity in its own right but contained numerous small principalities. Lying just beyond the northern and northeastern borders of Assyria, Nairi is attested primarily in Middle and Neo-Assyrian inscriptions of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age.

In the former period, the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208) conducted a campaign against the fierce tribal groups which inhabited the Nairi lands; he claims to have fought forty kings and then imposed tax and tribute upon them (\**RIMA* 1: 244). Further Assyrian campaigns against Nairi were undertaken by Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076), as recorded in his inscriptions (\**RIMA* 2: 21–2, 34, 52, \**Chav.* 157–60). Tiglath-pileser states that he confronted and defeated a coalition of twenty-three kings (thirty in another account) under the leadership of Senu, king of Dayenu (q.v.). The lands of the coalition included Dayenu, Himua, Paiteru, and Tammu (\**RIMA* 2: 21). Following his victory, Tiglath-pileser plundered the lands and destroyed their cities. He captured their kings but subsequently released them, taking their sons as hostages for their good behaviour, and imposing a large tribute of horses and cattle upon them (\**RIMA* 2: 22). He brought back from the mountains of Nairi obsidian, *haltu* stone, and haematite to be deposited in the temple of the god Adad in Ashur (\**RIMA* 2: 29).

Subsequently, Adad-nirari II (911–891) led at least four campaigns against Nairi (\**RIMA* 2: 148). Between 889 and 886 the region was the object of Assyrian campaigns conducted by Tukulti-Ninurta II (\**RIMA* 2: 171–2, 180). His son and successor Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) carried out further operations in Nairi in his second and fifth regnal years, and received tribute from its kings in the city of Tushhan, which lay north of the Kashiyari range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin) (\**RIMA* 2: 202–3, 209–11).

From the reign of Ashurnasirpal's own son and successor Shalmaneser III, the term Nairi began to be used in a new sense. It was still on one occasion applied to the aforementioned region north of the upper Tigris: in his fifteenth regnal year (844), Shalmaneser marched into the Nairi lands, and erected a statue of himself on a mountain cliff at the source of the Tigris (\**RIMA* 3: 39). However, other passages in Shalmaneser's royal inscriptions indicate that the term now also denoted a specific region to the southwest of Lake Urmia, centred on the land of Hubushkia. Shalmaneser campaigned in this Nairi region in his first regnal year (858), and reports washing his weapons in the 'Sea of Nairi' (most likely Lake Urmia) where he erected an inscribed stele (\**RIMA* 3: 9, 15, 21). His son and successor Shamshi-Adad V (823–811) conducted at least three more campaigns in Nairi (\**RIMA* 3: 183–4). On his third campaign, he crossed

the Greater Zab r. on his way to Nairi, where he received horses from the rulers of Hubushkia, Sunbu, Mannaea, Parsua, and Tauria; later on in the account he lists by name 'all the kings of the land Nairi' (\**RIMA* 3: 184–6). Shamshi-Adad's son and successor Adad-nirari III claims to have conquered the whole of Nairi (\**RIMA* 3: 211–12). Sargon II reports receiving the tribute of Ianzu, king of Nairi, in his fortified city of Hubushkia (*Sargon II* 452 for refs).

In C9 Urartian sources written in Assyrian, Nairi is used to denote Urartu itself, presumably reflecting the absorption of at least part of the former (northern) Nairi lands into the Urartian state. In C7 native Assyrian sources, Nairi is occasionally used in an archaizing manner to denote the province of Amedi (mod. Diyarbakır).

(H. D. Baker)

Salvini (*RIA* 9: 87–91).

**Nami, Tel** (map 8) Coastal settlement-mound in Israel, located on a peninsula 15 km south of Haifa. Remains of Middle and Late Bronze Age occupation have been uncovered there. Similar occupation levels have been unearthed at a site 100 m to the east of the mound, called Nami East. Thick layers of sand separated the levels in both cases. The sites' exposure to harsh elemental forces is held accountable for their shortlived existence. The fact that they were built there in the first place almost certainly indicates that the locations were considered beneficial for international trade. Small finds from the sites reflect trading contacts with Egypt, Crete, Cyprus, and the Mycenaean world. During Late Bronze IIB, changes in sea level leading to higher groundwater levels may have been responsible for the abandonment of Nami East as a living area, and its use in C13 as a necropolis. Many of the cemetery's grave goods were looted in antiquity. But those that escaped the tomb-robber give some indication of the wealth of the local inhabitants, which no doubt they derived from their commercial activities. Large quantities of bronze artefacts and jewellery, and many items of gold, silver, faience, and ivory, testify to an affluent society – especially since these are but the remnants of the original funerary goods plundered by the looters. Artzy, the site's excavator, observed that in the first years of C12, Nami served as an entrepôt for a trade network that combined maritime and desert routes via the valleys to Transjordan and beyond. (It is interesting to note in this respect that the necropolis contained several double-pithos burials similar to those uncovered in the cemetery at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh; q.v.) None the less, storms, sand, sea waves, and shifting sea levels with consequent damage to building foundations eventually prevailed over commercial considerations. Neither Tel Nami nor Nami East outlived its Bronze Age phases (though the tell was partially reoccupied many centuries later in the Byzantine age).

Following surveys in the 1960s and a brief excavation of Tel Nami in 1975 by M. Dothan, a comprehensive, multidisciplinary study of the site was undertaken in 1985 under the direction of M. Artzy for the University of Haifa. It involved geomorphological studies, further archaeological excavation, and land and underwater surveys.

Artzy (1990; *NEAEHL* 3: 1095–8).

**Namri** (Namru, Namar) (map 13) Land located in the region of the upper Diyala valley on the western fringes of the Zagros mountains. Namar is attested as early as M3, in geographical lists dating to the Early Dynastic period (c. 2900–2334). In a

letter from Shemshara (q.v.) of the Old Babylonian period, it figures as a region located between Elam and the kingdom of Nikkum (Niqqu). It is also known from Middle Babylonian inscriptions; one source from this period refers to a governor of Namar and the land Halman.

Namri/Namru is known to us from Assyrian texts of M1, where it appears in a number of campaigns undertaken by Assyrian kings in the region. It is first attested in the Annals of Adad-nirari II (911–891), who reports on a campaign which took him beyond the Lesser Zab r. into the land of the Lullumu (Lullubu), into one of the regions called Habhu in Assyrian texts (see **Habhu** (5)), and into Zamua as far as the passes of Namru (\**RIMA* 2: 148). In 843, Shalmaneser III won a battle against Marduk-mudammīq, king of Namri, plundered his lands, and deported his troops to Assyria. He set up a new king, Ianzu, as ruler of the land in place of Marduk-mudammīq, who escaped capture by fleeing to the mountains (\**RIMA* 3: 40, 67). But Ianzu must have turned against his overlord, for in 834 Shalmaneser conducted a further campaign against Namri, while Ianzu was still king there, capturing, plundering, and destroying its cities (\**RIMA* 3: 67–8). These included Sihishalah, Bit-Tamul, Bit-Shakki, and Bit-Shedi. Ianzu like his predecessor fled to the mountains, as did other refugees, from the havoc inflicted upon the land. But the refugees were flushed out and slaughtered. A further campaign against Namri was led by Shalmaneser's commander-in-chief Dayyan-Ashur in 828 (\**RIMA* 3: 71). In 814 the land joined a military coalition in support of the Babylonian king Marduk-balassu-iqbi in his confrontation with the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V near Dur-Papsukkal (\**RIMA* 3: 188). The Assyrian king Adad-nirari III conducted another campaign against Namri in 797, according to the Eponym Chronicle entry (see glossary) for that year (\*Millard, 1994: 35, \**RIMA* 3: 212).

Continuing unrest and resistance to Assyrian overlordship were no doubt the prompts for further campaigns against Namri and other countries in the vicinity. One of these was conducted by Tiglath-pileser III in the second year of his reign (744) (\**Tigl. III* 164–5); in this account, Namri is numbered among the 'provinces of the mighty Medes'. The new Assyrian king succeeded in asserting his control over the rebel states, and Namri appears to have remained submissive to Assyrian rule until perhaps the early years of the reign of Tiglath-pileser's grandson Sargon II (721–705). Some time during the first half of his reign, Sargon must again have campaigned in the region, for he reports that while he was in Parsua in 714, Namri was among three lands (the other two were Sangibuti and Bit-Abdadani) which sent representatives to him with a substantial tribute payment and a pledge of allegiance – mindful of the devastation he had inflicted upon them in a former year (\**ARAB* II: 76). Namri thenceforth disappears from Assyrian records, and may in fact have been permanently lost to the Assyrians some time prior to the fall of their empire in late C7.

Kessler (*RIA* 9: 91–2).

**Nappigu** (Nanpigi, *Manbiḡ*) Iron Age city in northwestern Mesopotamia southwest of the confluence of the Euphrates and Sajur rivers (see Lipiński, 2000: 167 map). It was among the cities belonging to the Iron Age kingdom of Bit-Adini which in 856 (when the kingdom was ruled by Ahuni) were attacked and conquered by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III during his military operations in the Euphrates region (\**RIMA* 3: 19). The conquered towns (which included Aligu, Mutkinu, Pitru, and Rugulitu) were assigned new Assyrian names. Nappigu was thenceforth called Lita-Ashur, and a

palace was established there as a royal residence. The military campaigns conducted by Shalmaneser in this year resulted in the total conquest of Bit-Adini and its absorption into the Assyrian empire. Nevertheless, Nanpigi was listed among Tiglath-pileser III's conquests in northern Syria in 738 (*Tigl.* III 102–3, 208–9, 234–5). A stone vessel with an inscription of a Persian king, Artaxerxes, was reportedly found at the site. Lipiński notes that Manbiḡ, the original Aramaic form of the name, means 'spring-site', and Postgate observes that the town was famous in Classical times for its freshwater springs.

Postgate (*RIA* 9: 164), Lipiński (2000: 180).

**Naqarabani** see **Aqarbani**.

**Naqsh-i Rostam** (map 16) Cliff-site in southwestern Iran, 6 km north of Persepolis, containing four rock-cut tombs and a number of reliefs. The reliefs date to the M1 Neo-Elamite, mid M1 Persian, and mid M1 CE Sasanian periods. All four tombs belong to the Persian Achaemenid period (C6–4). The one surviving Elamite relief is largely obliterated by a scene carved over it in the reign of the C3 CE Sasanian king Bahram II. All that remains of the original is the depiction of an attendant who stands behind two seated deities. The Achaemenid period is represented by the tombs, along with the reliefs, of four kings. Only the earliest of these has an inscription, which enables it to be assigned to Darius I (522–486). The uninscribed tombs have been attributed to his successors Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, and probably Darius II. The façade of Darius' tomb, cruciform in shape (copied in the tombs of his successors), contains three registers. The bottom one is blank, the middle one depicts the front of a building – in fact a representation of the façade of Darius' palace at Persepolis – and the top one shows the king standing on a three-stepped podium and praying to the god Ahuramazda before an altar covered in flames. On either side of this scene, members of the royal court are represented – weapon-bearers and robed figures approaching the king to pay him homage. Supporting the platform on which king and god appear are two tiers of human figures, thirty in all, symbolizing all the lands over which Darius held sway. The symbolism is made clear in the tomb's main inscription, in which Darius acknowledges Ahuramazda's beneficence in granting this vast empire to him, as reflected in the personifications of the realm's thirty lands. The tombs were intended for the burial of the king and his closest family members. Darius' tomb contains a 19 m long corridor which gives access to three burial chambers, each with three burial cists intended for the reception of sarcophagi containing the deceased. All these spaces were carved out of the living rock. The cists were sealed with heavy stone lids.

A stone tower standing opposite the tombs and now known as the Kaba-i Zardusht closely resembles the so-called 'prison of Solomon' tower (*Zendan-i Suleiman*) at Pasargadae (q.v.), and presumably served the same purpose – whatever that was.

Eight rock reliefs were carved on the cliff-face during the Sasanian period.

Schmitt (1987; 1991), Seidel (*OEANE* 4: 98–101; *RIA* 9: 165–8).

**Nasarum** Middle Bronze Age city in southern Babylonia. In 1808 the city fell to Larsa's king Rim-Sin (along with Pi-naratim; q.v.), the year after he had defeated a coalition of enemy forces, including Uruk, Isin, and Babylon.

Charpin (*DCM* 724), *Mesop.* 113.

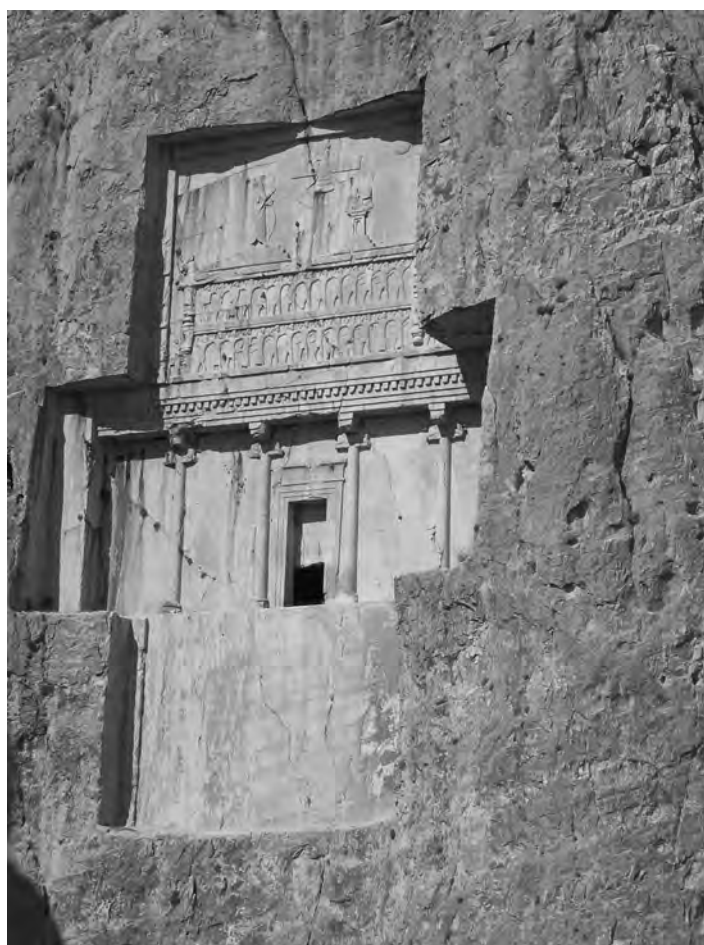




*Figure 75* Naqsh-i Rostam, tombs of Darius I and Xerxes.

**Nasbeh, Tell en-** (map 8) 3 ha settlement-mound in southern Palestine, 12 km northwest of Jerusalem. Occupation dates initially to the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze I periods (the remains of which include tombs and several cave-dwellings), followed by a gap of many centuries before the site was resettled in the Iron Age. Excavations were conducted by W. F. Badè over five seasons between 1926 and 1935 for the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California. Important work on the stratigraphy of the site was subsequently carried out by J. Zorn. Various identifications with biblically attested cities have been proposed for Tell en-Nasbeh. The most favoured is with Mizpah of Benjamin (see **Mizpah**), which lay on the border of Judah and Israel.

The site's earliest Iron Age level, probably of C12 date, is represented by Philistine and local pottery sherds, numerous cisterns and silos cut into the rock, and a wine press. Iron Age II houses uncovered on the site may have had their origins in this earlier period. The Iron Age II town was protected by a casemate wall, 660 m long and incorporating eleven towers. An outer and inner gate complex provided access to the settlement within the walls. The domestic structures of this level, with two or three long rooms (or a long room and a courtyard) and a broadroom across the back, were rebuilt and strengthened several times. Olive oil presses and storage facilities found in six of the buildings indicate the use of some of them for industrial purposes. Most houses had their own cisterns, and some were two storeys high. The settlement also extended outside the walls, as indicated by the remains of houses and agricultural installations in the extra-mural 'suburban' area. On the ridge north and west of the mound, the town's



*Figure 76* Naqsh-i Rostam, close-up of Xerxes' tomb.

Iron Age cemetery was located; four of the tombs contained a total of almost 1,600 grave goods. Among the small finds from the site were numerous inscribed objects – ostraca, weights, and scarabs, a cylinder seal, and seal impressions. The most important of the seals belonged to a man called Jaazaniah, who is designated as 'servant of the king'. It has been suggested that this man is to be identified with the Jaazaniah of 2 Kings 25:23, who was among the army officers who came before Gedaliah, the Babylonian-appointed governor at Mizpah.

If Tell en-Nasbeh is in fact Mizpah, then the period of Neo-Babylonian domination (C6), when Mizpah became a provincial administrative centre of the Babylonian empire, was the most important phase in the site's history. The larger, more spacious dwellings of this period, including what may be a 'palace' building with paved, central courtyard, and the new orientation of the buildings, are seen as reflecting a change in the settlement's purpose from that of a border fortress to a minor provincial capital (thus Zorn). Remains of walls, two small kilns, fragments of late C6 to early C5 Greek

pottery, and twenty-four seal impressions – all dating to the post-Babylonian period – make clear that settlement at Tell el-Nasbeh continued well into the Persian period (C6–4). There is also evidence (albeit meagre) of later occupation, during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods.

Zorn (*NEAEHL* 3: 1098–102). See also Zorn's website, [www.arts.cornell.edu/jrz3/index.htm](http://www.arts.cornell.edu/jrz3/index.htm).

**Nasibina** see Nisibis.

**Nawar** see Nagar.

**Neandria** ([map 5](#)) M1 city in the Troad, northwestern Anatolia, located to the south of Troy on a ridge c. 500 m above sea level. The city is first attested in C5 as a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). In 399 it was among the cities assigned by the Persian satrap Pharnabazus to the governorship of a woman called Mania, after the death of her husband, Zenis. Following Mania's death, it came under the control of the Spartan military commander Dercylidas (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.1.16). In 310 Alexander the Great's former general, Antigonos, amalgamated Neandria with the nearby city of Antigoneia, later called Alexander Troas, and transferred its population there.

There are significant remains of Neandria's fortifications, which include recessed gates and eleven towers, dating back to C6 and C5. Houses of the Archaic (C7–6) and Classical (C5–4) periods have also been uncovered, and the site of a stadium has been identified, between the C5–4 houses and the city wall. A number of necropoleis have been found, with interments made between terracotta slabs, in pithoi, in slab caskets, and in monolithic and slab sarcophagi. A sanctuary of Zeus is attested in inscriptions, and the remains of a temple of Apollo have been discovered, whose columns were surmounted with Aeolian (proto-Ionic) capitals. Coin issues of the city, mostly in silver and featuring the head of Apollo, are dated between 430 and 310.

Bonacasa (*PECS* 613).

**Neapolis** (*Limassol*) ([map 14](#)) City on the south coast of Cyprus, whose remains now lie largely beneath the mod. city. There is evidence for occupation beginning by at least C8 (with indications of a Late Bronze Age settlement to the north of Limassol) and continuing until the Byzantine period, when the city perhaps reached the peak of its development. In this last period, it was also known as Theodosias or Theodosiana.

Nikolaou (*PECS* 613–14).

**Negev** (*Negeb*) ([map 8](#)) Name (meaning 'dryness' in Hebrew) given to the southern part of Judah, and now constituting the largest region of mod. Israel. It consists of three sub-regions, 'each with climatic, geologic, and topographical peculiarities that influence the type of settlement it attracted and the course of its history' (Cohen). Cohen defines the sub-regions as: (1) the northern Negev, whose most prominent area is the Beersheba basin, which flourished in the Chalcolithic period; (2) the Negev highlands, where settlement flourished in the Early Bronze Age, the Iron Age, and the Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine periods; (3) the eastern Negev, the Arabah, which flourished principally in the Iron Age, Nabataean, Roman, and early Arab periods. The region as a whole has been described as 'forming an inverted triangle with its base roughly following a line from Gaza past Beersheba to the Dead Sea. The line then runs through

the Wadi Arabah to the Gulf of Aqabah at Elath, and from there northwestward to Gaza' (Drinkard). Numerous surveys and excavations conducted in the Negev, particularly since mid C20, have thrown much light on the region's history and archaeology.

Human occupation dating back to the early Palaeolithic period had become quite extensive by the end of this period. During the Neolithic Age a number of settlements emerged, which in the Chalcolithic Age became increasingly widespread, with the Beersheba basin being the area of most intensive occupation. There were further increases in the number, size, and sophistication of settlements in the Early Bronze Age, as illustrated primarily by the fortified city of Arad. During the Iron Age, especially Iron Age II, many new villages and fortress-settlements were established through the whole Negev region. The fortresses were located particularly in Judah's southernmost areas, to protect the frontiers. Fortresses and other settlements were also built under Persian overlordship during the Persian period (C6–4). Beersheba served as an important centre of the Persian administration, as attested by ostraca with Aramaic inscriptions.

Despite the dry, parched nature of much of the Negev, there were many places within it where wells, springs, and oases provided sufficient water to support permanent human settlement. And despite the ruggedness of the region (particularly its central and southern parts), its location was such that several major north–south routes traversed it (e.g. one from Jerusalem and Hebron to Beersheba). The Via Maris (q.v.), passing from Egypt to Mesopotamia via Palestine and Syria, skirted its western edge. After the fall of Judah, and during the period of the Hebrews' Babylonian exile, the Negev came under the control of the Edomites. Through the Edomite period the population remained relatively small. But the Nabataean occupation of the region, during the Hellenistic period, resulted in an increase in the number of settlements as well as in the overall population. This was very largely the outcome of Nabataean commercial enterprise. To facilitate their spice trade with India and southern Arabia, the Nabataeans established a network of caravanserais and way-stations along the routes in the Negev, notably along the 'frankincense and myrrh route' which linked Gaza, near the Mediterranean coast, with Petra.

Drinkard (*HCBD* 745–6), Cohen (*OEANE* 4: 120–2).

**Nemed-Ishtar** Late Bronze and Iron Age city in the middle Euphrates region, to the south of the Jebel Sinjar. Nemed-Ishtar is attested as a provincial capital in a Middle Assyrian tablet excavated at Tell er-Rimah. It was among the cities and lands governed by Nergal-erish (Palil-erish) on behalf of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (810–783) (\**RIMA* 3: 209). The cities included Ana-Ashur-uter-asbat (= Pitru), Anat, Apku, Dur-Duklimmu (= Dur-Katlimmu), Kar-Ashurnasirpal, Mari, and Sirqu (= Terqa). The lands included Hindanu, Laqe, Qatnu, Rasappa, and Suhu. The Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705) instructed his official Nabu-udammīq (Assyrian Nabu-de'iq) to extract cedar and cypress saplings from the land, presumably for replanting in other parts of his kingdom (\**SAA* I: 177, no. 227). See also **Dur-Ishtar**. Streck (*RIA* 9: 208).

**Nemed-Tukulti-Ninurta** Iron Age Assyrian city in northern Mesopotamia, so named by Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884). It is uncertain whether it was a new

foundation, or an earlier settlement with a different name, refounded and renamed by Tukulti-Ninurta. The city's location is unknown, but its existence is attested by an inscription on a stone slab discovered at Nineveh (\**RIMA* 2: 179–80). The inscription provides a summary of Tukulti-Ninurta's military exploits.

**Nemetti-Sharri** Iron Age city in eastern Babylonia. In 813 the Babylonian king Marduk-balassu-iqbi fled there from his fortified city of Gannanate when the latter fell to the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V. Nemetti-Sharri was placed under siege by Shamshi-Adad, who breached its defences but apparently failed to capture it. Instead, he ravaged the surrounding countryside (\**RIMA* 3: 190). Marduk-balassu-iqbi survived the Assyrian onslaught but was later captured, possibly in the city of Der (see *Der* (3)).

**Nenassa** Middle and Late Bronze Age city in central Anatolia, probably located just below the southern bend of the Halys (Hittite Marassantiya) r. In the Assyrian Colony period (C20–18) (see glossary), it lay on a caravan route passing from Assyria through Washaniya and terminating in Purushanda in south-central Anatolia. Early in the Hittite Old Kingdom, Nenassa was one of the lands which the first Hittite king, Labarna, assigned to his sons to govern (early C17) (\**Chav.* 230). It was also among the lands that rebelled against Labarna's (probable) successor Hattusili I, and the first of the rebel cities to resubmit to Hattusili on the approach of his army (\**Chav.* 220). In the reign of Tudhaliya III (first half of C14), it was the southernmost city to be occupied by the enemy forces which swept through the Hittite homeland (\**Bryce*, 2005: 146).

Wilhelm (*RIA* 9: 211).

**Neo-Hittites** Mod. term used to designate the Iron Age successors of the Late Bronze Age Hittites. The peoples so called inhabited the kingdoms and states which arose in southern and eastern Anatolia and northern Syria after the collapse of the Hittite empire, the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Hatti, in early C12. For the most part, the Neo-Hittite states were located within Hatti's former subject territories, particularly in the Taurus region and northern Syria, where the name Hatti continued to be used throughout the Iron Age, as attested in Neo-Assyrian, Urartian, and Hebrew texts. Some of the Neo-Hittite centres had their origins in Bronze Age cities and states; others appear to have been new foundations. All of them, however, preserved in modified form – for almost 500 years in some cases – many Hittite cultural traditions. In a number of the Neo-Hittite centres, these traditions were passed on directly by the Late Bronze Age inhabitants of these centres to their Iron Age successors.

Continuity is also illustrated by family links between the Bronze Age Hittite royal dynasty and a number of the Neo-Hittite rulers. Thus Talmi-Teshub, who was viceroy at Carchemish during the reign of the last Hittite king Suppiluliuma II, and great-great-grandson of Suppiluliuma I, was succeeded by his son Ku(n)zi-Teshub, whose grandsons were kings of Melid (see *Arslantepe*). Kuzi-Teshub's title 'Great King' probably reflects his perception of himself as the legitimate successor of the 'Great Kings' of Late Bronze Age Hatti, though his kingdom extended over no more than part of the eastern territories of the former Hittite empire – along the west bank of the Euphrates from mod. Malatya through Carchemish to Emar.



*Figure 77* Neo-Hittite relief from Malatya, depicting battle between the storm god and the dragon Illuyanka.

It is very likely that a number of groups from the old homeland, particularly the elite elements of Hittite society, found a new home for themselves in Carchemish. The continuity in Bronze Age Hittite cultural traditions in the Neo-Hittite world may well have been due partly to their preservation by these groups, who sought to maintain in their new environment whatever they could bring from their old. Carchemish was the most important of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Formerly a viceregal centre of the Hittite empire, it had survived the upheavals at the end of the Bronze Age relatively unscathed, despite Ramesses III's claim that it was one of the victims of the Sea Peoples' attacks. But it was not to continue for long in the form in which Kuzi-Teshub inherited it. Perhaps even in his lifetime it began to follow the pattern of fragmentation into smaller units that occurred elsewhere in the western Asian world. Other important Neo-Hittite kingdoms included Gurgum (mod. Maraş), Hamath (mod. Hama), Kummuh (later Commagene), Melid (mod. Arslantepe), and Til-Barsip (mod. Tell Ahmar).

While these and other Neo-Hittite states had many cultural features in common, they were never closely united politically. Their relative cultural coherence was also progressively weakened, as illustrated by the gradual replacement of the Luwian language (the Luwian hieroglyphic script now completely superseded the old cuneiform script in written records), originally the dominant language in the Neo-Hittite states, with Phoenician and Aramaic. Many of the distinctive features of the Neo-Hittite civilization began to yield to Aramaean influence as the Aramaean presence became ever more prominent in the region. And the more distinctive features of traditional Hittite art and architecture were increasingly modified by their intermixture with Syrian and Assyrian elements. (Specific examples of Neo-Hittite art and architecture are discussed under the headings of individual kingdoms and cities of the Neo-Hittite world.)

The storm god was the most prominent of the Neo-Hittite deities, though he may have owed this prominence as much to his importance in the western Asian world in general as to his status as one of the chief gods of the Bronze Age Hittite pantheon. At Hamath, his worship was shared with the Semitic goddess Ba'alat. There were temples to both deities in the city. At Carchemish, Kubaba had been the city goddess from at



Figure 78 Neo-Hittite stele depicting the goddess Kubaba.

least the Old Babylonian period (early M2). She continued to be one of the city's most important deities in the Neo-Hittite period as well.

Assyrian imperial expansion west of the Euphrates led to the eventual disappearance of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, through their incorporation into the Assyrian empire. The last of the kingdoms fell to Sargon II between 717 and 708.

Hawkins (1982; \*CHLI I), Collins (2007: 80–90).

**Nerabu** M1 city belonging to the western Aramaean kingdom of Bit-Agusi in north-central Syria. It is attested in inscriptions of the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) (\**Tigl. III* 146), and is perhaps to be located to the southeast of Aleppo.

Lipiński (2000: 203).

**Nerebtum** (*Ischbalî*) (map 10) Central Mesopotamian city attested in Middle Bronze Age texts, located in the Diyala valley 25 km southwest of Eshnunna, and near the city of Tutub (Tell Khafaje). Its site, now known as Ischali, was one of four major tells in the valley – the other three were Tell Asmar (Eshnunna), Khafajeh, and Tell Agrab. It was excavated by a team from the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, between 1934 and 1936. In mid C19 Nerebtum was among the cities which lost their independence to the kingdom of Eshnunna when Eshnunna's king, Ipiq-Adad II,

extended his authority over the Diyala valley. Nerebtum had until this time been under the control of a local king called Sin-abushu. The city's principal deity had been the god Sin, but Ipiq-Adad re-dedicated Nerebtum to his own patron deity, the goddess Ishtar-Kititum, and built a temple for her worship in the city (\*CS II: 254). Nerebtum was later seized by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775) from his Eshnunnite counterpart Dadusha or the latter's successor Ibal-pi-El II (1779–1765). Ibal-pi-El apparently regained control of Nerebtum, but it was among the cities in the region destroyed by the Elamites following their capture of Eshnunna in 1765. A war between Nerebtum's king Hammidashur and Sumu-numhim, king of Shadlash (location unknown), was concluded by a peace treaty (\*Greengus, 1979: 74–7, no. 326; \*Wu Yuhong, 1994b), whose terms included an agreement on the prices to be paid for the ransoming of prisoners-of-war.

\*Greengus (1986), Miglus (*RIA* 9: 211–14), *Mesop.* 97–100.

**Nerik** One of the most important cult-centres of the Late Bronze Age Hittite kingdom, dedicated to the worship of the storm god and located somewhere near the northern frontier of the Hittite homeland. A possible identification with the settlement-mound at Oymaağaç (q.v.) has recently been suggested. Nerik was captured by the Kaska people in the reign of the Hittite king Hantili II (C15), and though a later Hittite king, Mursili II (1321–1295), made a pilgrimage there to celebrate the festival of the storm god, it was not fully restored to Hittite control until the reign of Urhi-Teshub (1272–1267). The task of rebuilding the city was successfully undertaken by Urhi-Teshub's uncle, the future king Hattusili III (\*CS I: 202), who became chief priest of the storm god there. Nerik was one of Hattusili's two major power-bases in the northern part of the Hittite homeland, where Urhi-Teshub's father and predecessor Muwattalli II had appointed him as king. The other was his administrative centre at Hakpis. Growing tensions between Hattusili and Urhi-Teshub culminated in Urhi-Teshub's removal of both Nerik and Hakpis from his uncle's control. This sparked off a civil war, which ended in victory for Hattusili and his seizure of the Hittite throne (\*CS I: 203).

Haas (1970; *RIA* 9: 229–31), Cornil and Lebrun (1972), \**RGTC* 6: 286–9, Gurney (1992: 214–15).

**Nesa** see **Kanesh**.

**Nigimhu** M2 mountain land in the Zagros region, close to the eastern frontiers of Assyria. The Assyrian king Arik-den-ili conducted a campaign against it in late C14, destroying its crops. Nigimhu's king, Esini, apparently retaliated, launching an attack on Assyrian territory with a contingent of thirty-three chariots. This prompted a further campaign by Arik-den-ili who placed Esini under siege in his city of Arnuna, and took the city by storm (\**RIMA* 1: 126). As far as can be determined from the fragmentary text which reports these events, Esini surrendered to Arik-den-ili, and swore allegiance to him. Adad-nirari I, son of Arik-den-ili, declared that his father conquered the entire land of Nigimhu, and also Turukku, Qutu, and the land of Kadmuhu and its allies (\**RIMA* 1: 132).

Streck (*RIA* 9: 312).

**Nihriya** (maps 3, 10) M2 settlement (and region) in northern Mesopotamia, possibly



to be identified with Kazane Höyük on the west bank of the upper Balih r. (Charpin, *Mesop.* 181, following an idea of J. Miller). During the Assyrian Colony period (C20–18) (see glossary), Nihriya lay on the caravan route for Assyrian merchants travelling between Ashur and Kanesh, and is known to have housed a *karum* (trading-station) itself, as well as a palace. Later on, it fell within Mari's sphere of influence. In the Mari archives, it is attested in the context of military operations conducted in 1778 by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I and his son Yasmah-Addu, viceroy at Mari, in the region called Zalmaqum (\**LAP0* 17: 56–7, no. 477) which lay immediately to the south (if the abovementioned identification is correct). During the Middle Assyrian era, an Assyrian commander-in-chief is attested as governor of Nineveh, Katmuhu, and Nihriya.

According to a royal letter from Ugarit, probably sent to the king of Ugarit by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208) (or perhaps his father, Shalmaneser I), the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV formed an alliance with the local rulers and fortified the land of Nihriya against the Assyrians (\**RS* 34.165, rev. 6–13). When Tudhaliya refused a demand from Tukulti-Ninurta to withdraw his troops from the region, the Hittite and Assyrian forces clashed in a major battle somewhere between Nihriya and the Assyrian base at Surra. The result was, apparently, a resounding Assyrian victory. I. Singer suggests (1985) that this episode is to be identified with Tukulti-Ninurta's military defeat of the forty kings of Nairi, as recorded in his royal inscriptions (*RIMA* 1: 272, 275–6). However, this interpretation, and the implied identification of Nihriya with Nairi, is not universally accepted.

Subsequently, Nihriya was absorbed into the Hurrian-dominated realm. It has been suggested that Nihriya may be identical with Nihiriane, mentioned in an inscription of the C8 Urartian king Sarduri II as a royal city located in the province of Arme. However, since Arme was situated in the upper Tigris region, near Shubria, an identification of Urartian Nihiriane with Nihriya can only be sustained if Nihriya is located not in the upper Balih r. region but rather to the east, in the vicinity of Diyarbakır. (Some scholars have in fact preferred to locate Nihriya to the north or northeast of Diyarbakır.) Note also that if the location of Nihriya in the upper Balih r. region is accepted, then its identification with Nairi is certainly excluded.

(H. D. Baker)

Streck (*RIA* 9: 314–15).

**Nikasamma** M1 Assyrian province in western Iran near the land of Parsua. It was among the Assyrian subject territories in the region which rebelled against Sargon II (721–705) in the early years of his reign. Sargon conducted a campaign against the rebel states in 716, in the course of which he captured six of Nikasamma's cities and added them to the territory of Parsua, one of the few Assyrian provinces which had remained loyal to him (\**ARAB* II: 29).

**Nimrud** (Assyrian **Kalhu**, biblical **Calah**; the name *Nimrud* comes from the *OT* king Nimrod) ([map 13](#)) Settlement located on the east bank of the Tigris r. in northern Mesopotamia, 30 km southeast of Mosul. Though the site was already occupied in the Halaf and Ubaid periods (M6 onwards), and continued to be inhabited until at least mid M1 CE, it is known mainly as an Iron Age Assyrian city and an early royal capital of the Neo-Assyrian kingdom. Excavations have concentrated primarily on Iron Age

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Kalhu. The first were undertaken by A. H. Layard, from 1845 to 1847 and from 1849 to 1851. These brought to light large parts of several palaces, most notably the so-called Northwest Palace built by the C9 king Ashurnasirpal II. Layard explored the palace's state apartments, along with a number of its stone reliefs and colossal winged-bull statues guarding the entrances. He also carried out excavations in the Ninurta and Ishtar temples, two of the nine temples which Ashurnasirpal claims to have built in the city. One of Layard's most important finds was the famous black obelisk of Shalmaneser III (858–824), discovered in front of the so-called Central Building (probably another temple built by Ashurnasirpal II), and now in the British Museum. Subsequent excavations on the site were conducted first by Layard's former assistant H. Rassam for the British Museum (1877–9) and, after a long interval, by M. E. L. Mallowan (1949–58), D. Oates (1959–62), and G. Orchard (1963) for the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. In more recent years, the site has been excavated, successively, by a Polish team under the direction of J. Meuszyński (1974–6), an Italian team under the direction of P. Fiorina (1987–9), and a team from the British Museum under the direction of J. Curtis and D. Collon, beginning in 1989. Since 1956, the Iraq Dept of Antiquities has worked periodically on the site.

The Assyrian city of Kalhu was probably founded in early C13, in the last century of the Late Bronze Age, and to judge from C13 Assyrian texts, quickly became important.



*Figure 79* Nimrud, guardian figure, palace of Ashurnasirpal II.

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But its status as a royal capital was due to Ashurnasirpal II, whose major building programme in the city included massive new fortifications c. 7.5 km long, nine temples, and at least five palaces, the most important of which is the Northwest Palace referred to above. Four vaulted tombs were discovered beneath the palace by Iraqi archaeologists. Richly endowed with a range of gold jewellery and other valuable funerary goods, they are thought to have been the burial places of several Assyrian queens. In the so-called Governor's Palace, a major archive of administrative tablets was discovered. The most important of the temples was that of the god Nabu. The temple contained a large tablet archive, whose contents included a wide range of religious, ritual, and literary texts. The palaces and a number of the temples were built on Kalhu's citadel. Located in the city's southwest corner, the citadel encompassed an area of c. 20 ha, and had its own defensive wall. At its greatest extent, the greater walled city covered an area of c. 360 ha. Excavations in its southeast corner brought to light another large enclosure, some 30 ha in extent and separated by a wall from the rest of the city. Within the enclosure was a 5 ha palace complex, built originally by Shalmaneser III and subsequently renovated as a Review Palace or arsenal by the C7 Assyrian king Esarhaddon. The excavators have dubbed it 'Fort Shalmaneser'. It is an elaborate, multi-function complex, containing not only storerooms but also a block of state apartments. Most notable among its small finds, which included thousands of ivories, is a bronze and iron model of a turreted fortress on wheels, and the throne-base of Shalmaneser carved with scenes depicting events from his reign, with accompanying inscriptions.

Kalhu ceased to be Assyria's royal capital when Sargon II (721–705) shifted the royal seat to his new city, Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad). It none the less continued to be one of the Assyrian empire's most important cities, under the administration of a regional governor, and was extensively renovated by Sargon's grandson and second successor,



*Figure 80* Nimrud, Assyrian hunting scene.

Esarhaddon. In the period 614–612 it was one of a number of Assyrian cities destroyed by the Medes during the empire's final years. There is evidence of some occupation in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Achaemenid eras (C6–4), and during the Hellenistic period several small settlements were built in the southeastern area of the citadel.

Postgate and Reade (*RIA* 5: 303–23), Reade (1982a), Curtis (*OEANE* 4: 141–4), Oates and Oates (2001).

**Nina-Sirara** (mod. *Zurghul*) One of the three major Early Bronze Age Sumerian cities constituting the city-state of Lagash in southern Mesopotamia (the other two were Girsu and Lagash). It consists of a settlement-mound covering c. 65 ha. The only excavations conducted there (in late C19) were those of the German archaeologist R. Koldewey, who concluded, wrongly, that the site was a necropolis. (He drew a similar mistaken conclusion about Lagash, mod. Al-Hiba.) Like Girsu and Lagash, Nina-Sirara has produced some evidence of occupation during the Ubaid and Uruk periods. The main occupation, however, dates to the Early Dynastic and immediately post-Akkadian periods. Construction work at the city was carried out by the rulers Enannatum I and Gudea, including a temple for the goddess Nanshe.

Matthews (*OEANE* 2: 406–9, s.v. Girsu and Lagash).

**Nineveh** (biblical *Ninua*; *Mosul*) (maps 10, 13) Extensive settlement with lower town dominated by two high citadel-mounds, called Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus, located on the east bank of the Tigris r. in northern Mesopotamia, within the mod. city of Mosul. Though it has a history of almost continuous occupation from M7 to the mediaeval period, Nineveh's main periods of occupation belong to the Bronze and Iron Ages, particularly from the Late Bronze Age onwards when it was an Assyrian city. The site was visited by the Spanish rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in C12 CE, and subsequently by a series of travellers, including C. J. Rich who mapped it in 1820. Following some preliminary diggings on Kuyunjik by P.-É. Botta, the French consul at Mosul, excavations of the site were undertaken by a series of British teams, directed firstly by A. H. Layard (1846–51) and finally by R. C. Thompson (1927–32). Thompson's work included an investigation of the site's prehistoric levels, conducted by M. E. L. Mallowan, which provided the first early pottery sequence for northern Mesopotamia. More recent excavations have been conducted by the Iraqi Dept of Antiquities and Heritage (1941, 1966–8), and by the University of California at Berkeley under the direction of D. Stronach (1987–90).

During the first half of the Early Bronze Age (c. 3000–2500), a substantial settlement grew up on the site, the so-called Ninevite 5 settlement, named after the northern Mesopotamian culture/period first defined on the basis of level 5 of the Nineveh deep sounding. The city may already have become an important cult-centre of the goddess Ishtar in this period. The longstanding renown of her temple in Nineveh is attested by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775), who claims to have been the first ruler to renovate the temple since the reign of the C23 Akkadian king Manishtushu (\**RIMA* 1: 51–4). However, the city is best known for its progressive development under the rulers of the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods. From at least early M1, a substantial lower city developed to the north of the mound. This was greatly expanded in the reign of Sennacherib (704–681), who transferred the Assyrian royal capital to Nineveh from its previous location at Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad), the city built by his father Sargon II. Nineveh now covered an area of c. 750 ha. It was fortified by massive

crenellated double walls, which extended over a distance of 12 km. At least fifteen gates provided access to the city through these walls. The most impressive of these was the so-called Nergal Gate, which was guarded by two winged colossi and faced southwards towards the Kuyunjik mound, where Sennacherib's palace was located. Lofty columns supported on the backs of striding bronze lions were one of the palace's most striking features.

Sennacherib's successors Esarhaddon (680–669) and Ashurbanipal (668–630/627) continued with a building programme on Nebi Yunus, where Sennacherib had established an arsenal. But overall building activity in the city was more limited than it had been in Sennacherib's reign. None the less, the so-called North Palace built by Ashurbanipal towards the northern end of Kuyunjik ranks as one of the greatest of all Assyrian architectural achievements. The splendid relief sculptures from the palace, epitomized by a famous lion-hunt scene, represent Mesopotamian art at its highest level. Another famous scene which depicts a royal park and elaborate irrigation system has contributed to the theory, proposed by S. Dalley (1994), that Nineveh not Babylon was the setting of the famous 'Hanging Gardens'. Within the palace, a library was discovered, consisting of two large chambers stacked with 24,000 cuneiform clay tablets. Its wide range of contents, including chambers of literary texts which were gathered from all parts of the empire and whose originals in some cases dated back centuries before the foundation of the Neo-Assyrian kingdom, provide us with one of our most valuable sources of information on Mesopotamian history and culture.

The destruction of the city in 612 by a Babylonian–Median military alliance delivered the final death blow to the Assyrian empire. Several literary sources attest to this destruction. The first is a Babylonian Chronicle (no. 3; see glossary) which reports that Nineveh fell after a three-month siege to the Babylonian king Nabopolassar (626–605) (\**ANET* 303–5, \**ABC* 90–6, \**PE* 30–2, no. 10), who allegedly held court in the royal palace. Rather more meagre information is provided by the Greek historian Herodotus, who refers to the advance upon the city (which he calls Ninus) by the Median army under the command of its king, Cyaxares (625–585) (1.103), and the Median capture of the city (1.106). (Herodotus promises to give details of this event elsewhere, but never gets around to doing so.) Diodorus (2.27) claims that the city fell (to the Median leader Arbaces) only after it had been besieged for more than two years, and then only when part of its walls had been destroyed by an inundation of the Euphrates (i.e. the Tigris).

Nineveh figures frequently in biblical sources, beginning with Genesis 10:11–12, where it appears as one of the cities founded by Noah's great-grandson Nimrod. Other biblical passages note that it was the royal seat of Sennacherib (2 Kings 19:36, Isaiah 37:37), and also the place where he was assassinated by his sons (2 Kings 19:37).

Russell (1996), Stronach (*OEANE* 4: 144–8), Reade/Veenhof (*RIA* 9: 388–434).

**Nippur** (Duranki, *Niffar/Nuffar*) (maps 11, 17) City serving as a major religious centre in south-central Mesopotamia, 150 km southwest of Baghdad. The site's history of occupation extends from early M6 to c. 800 CE, with periods of abandonment in between. Its history of excavation begins with a cursory two-week investigation by A. H. Layard in 1851, and proceeds, after four seasons on the site by the Babylonian Expedition between 1888 and 1900, through excavations conducted between 1948 and 1962 by teams from the University of Pennsylvania and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and continued by the Oriental Institute from 1963 to 1990.

Nippur reached the peak of its development in M3, growing in size throughout the millennium until it finally covered an area of 135–150 ha. It achieved a special status as Mesopotamia's most important religious centre. Here was the site of the Ekur, the temple of the supreme Mesopotamian deity Enlil. But the city never seems to have been ruled by kings who had secular ambitions, seeking to establish political and military dominance over their Mesopotamian neighbours. Rather, its special sacred character, and no doubt its political neutrality, prompted many M3 rulers of both Sumer and Akkad to seek divine endorsement for their regimes there. Resources for many of the city's public building projects, including its temples and fortifications, along with a stream of costly gifts for the temples, were provided by external benefactors, both states and individual kings. Undoubtedly M3 Nippur was a highly prosperous city, with well-endowed secular and sacred establishments.

During the first half of M2 the city's fortunes declined, due, it is thought, to a combination of politico-economic and environmental factors. It may have been abandoned almost entirely for a period of three centuries, between late C18 and the end of C15, before it received a fresh lease of life in C14 under the kings of the Kassite dynasty. Occupation continued through the remainder of M2 and through much of M1 until it again appears to have been abandoned for a time in mid C2. In C11 it was among the Babylonian cities which were afflicted by the Aramaean and Sutean invasions of southern Mesopotamia during the reign of the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (1069–1048) (\**ABC* 180–1, \**RIMB* 2: 73).

Though the worship of Enlil was Nippur's primary focus, the city contained the temples of a number of deities. The most notable of these temples was dedicated to the goddess Inanna. It has a sequence of twenty-two levels, extending from the middle Uruk through the late Parthian period. Its three levels of M3 Early Dynastic temples (IX–VII) produced a rich assemblage of sculptures and clay sealings. A further sequence of temples, extending from the end of the Ur III dynasty (late M3) through the Neo-Babylonian period, may have been dedicated to the healing goddess Gula, wife of Ninurta. Other buildings unearthed at Nippur include a ziggurat (see glossary), private houses dating to C19 and C18, a C13 palace built during the period of Kassite rule in Babylonia, and a so-called Court of Columns dating to late C3. Housing of the Neo-Babylonian and later periods has also been found. The city wall was rebuilt in C7.

Of great importance among the archaeological finds are 12,000 cuneiform clay tablets. The contents of large numbers of these are economic or lexical in nature. But they also include copies of the great majority of Sumerian literary compositions. The tablets were found mainly in private houses, and range in date from the Old Babylonian through the Kassite and later periods. Nippur was a centre for scribal education in the Old Babylonian period.

Ellis (1992), Zettler (*OEANE* 4: 148–52), Klein/Stol/Streck/Gibson, Hansen, Zettler (*RIA* 9: 532–65).

**Nirbu** Region attested in Iron Age Assyrian texts, located in the midst of the Kashiyari mountain range (mod. Tur 'Abdin). The name means 'the Pass' or 'the Land of the Pass(es)' in Assyrian. In 882 the region was invaded and conquered by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (\**RIMA* 2: 201–3). Liverani (1992: 37–9) believes that Nirbu is a generic appellation, probably referring to the plateau of the Kashiyari range. He also suggests that Urumu (q.v.) is another name for the same region.

(H. D. Baker)

**Nirdun** Iron Age kingdom in the Nairi lands, north of the Kashiyari range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin) of northern Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of Tushhan and to the southeast of that city. In 882 the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II received tribute from Labturu, ruler of the land of Nirdun, while staying in the city of Tushhan (\**RIMA* 2: 202, 243). In 879 he again campaigned in the Nairi lands, conquering Madara, a fortress of Labturu. He went on to Tushhan, where he received tribute from Nirdun, and then proceeded to destroy sixty cities of Labturu at the foot of the Kashiyari range (\**RIMA* 2: 209, 250, 259). Lipiński notes that Labturu’s name is certainly not Semitic, and may in fact be Urartian in origin.

(H. D. Baker)

Liverani (1992: 40), Lipiński (2000: 140, 154).

**Nisaya** M1 district in Media, western Iran. It was the location of a fortress called Sikayauvatish, where in 522 the Persian military commander Darius overthrew and killed Gaumata, the ‘false Bardiya’, pretender to the Persian throne, before seizing the throne for himself (\**DB* 11–13).

**Nishtun** Iron Age city located in one of the regions called Habhu in Assyrian texts (see **Habhu** (2)). It was among the cities of Habhu which were conquered by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II in his first regnal year (883) (\**RIMA* 2: 197–8). After Ashurnasirpal had flushed out the defeated troops from their mountain refuges, he took prisoner Bubu, grandson of the city ruler of Nishtun, and flayed him alive in the city of Arbil, draping his skin over the city walls.

**Nisibis** (Assyrian **Nasibina**, *Nusaybin*) (map 13; see also maps in Lipiński, 2000: 113, 139) Predominantly Iron Age northern Mesopotamian city, located in the region of the upper Habur r., in the southern foothills of the Kashiyari range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin), within the territory of the former Late Bronze Age country called Hanigalbat. It lay on an important route linking northern Mesopotamia with the countries to the west. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari II claims to have conquered its king, Nur-Adad, from the Aramaean Temanite tribe, in two successive years, 901 and 900 (\**RIMA* 2: 149). However, his victories appear not to have been conclusive, and he was obliged to conduct a further campaign against Nisibis in 896. On this occasion the city fell to him after a siege. It was annexed to the Assyrian empire, along with other cities in the region, and Nur-Adad and his troops were taken to Assyria as hostages (\**RIMA* 2: 151). Nisibis also figures in the last recorded campaign of Adad-nirari’s son and successor Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884), as a place where Tukulti-Ninurta encamped his troops following his operations in the middle Euphrates region (\**RIMA* 2: 177). Nasibina was incorporated into the Assyrian empire in the first half of C9 as part of the Province of the Commander-in-Chief (see glossary), and then became an independent province in 852 following the conquest of Bit-Adini (Radner, *RIA* 11: 52). A number of letters have survived from the correspondence addressed by Taklak-ana-Bel, governor of Nisibis in late C8, to the Assyrian king Sargon II (\**SAA* I: 183–93, nos 235–49). In 612 the city was attacked and plundered by the Neo-Babylonian king Nabopolassar (\**ABC* 94, \**PE* 31, no. 10).

Nisibis then disappears from records until its re-emergence in the Hellenistic period, when it was for a time part of the Seleucid empire and briefly renamed Antioch

Mygdonia. However, its original name was later restored, and in C2 and C1 it became, successively, part of the Parthian and Armenian empires. Documentary sources attest to its continuing existence in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Wiesehöfer (*OCD*: 1046), Streck (*RIA* 9: 185–6).

**Niya (Nii)** (maps 3, 6) Late Bronze Age kingdom in northern Syria, east of the Orontes r. In C16 it was one of several lands – including Ama’u (Amae) and Mukish – which were absorbed by the expanding kingdom of Aleppo. Subsequently, Niya established its independence from Aleppo, but shortly afterwards became a subject state of the kingdom of Mitanni (C15). In the second half of C15, Niya, Ama’u, and Mukish declared their support for Idrimi, the former king of Yamhad (Aleppo), during his seven-year exile (see **Alalah**). When Idrimi was subsequently installed by the Mitannian king Parrattarna on the throne at Alalah, he was formally recognized as the ruler of these states, no doubt in accordance with the treaty which he concluded with Parrattarna (cited in his inscription: \*Greenstein, 1995: 2426, \*CS I: 479). In his one-year Syrian war (c. 1344), the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I seized control of all Mitanni’s subject states between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean coast (as far south as the Damascus region), including Niya (\**HDT* 43).

Klengel (1992: 151–6).

**Norşuntepe** (map 2) Settlement-mound in eastern Anatolia on the upper Euphrates r., 26 km southeast of mod. Elaziğ, with occupation levels extending from the Chalcolithic period through the Bronze and Iron Ages. Its final Chalcolithic phase shows close connections with the Uruk culture of southern Mesopotamia. During the Early Bronze Age, the settlement was fortified, and by the end of this phase of its existence a major building complex, perhaps a ‘palace-centre’, had been constructed. Copper production is in evidence on the site during the Chalcolithic period, and bronze production by the end of the Early Bronze Age. Destruction by fire has left little trace of the Middle and Late Bronze Age occupation levels; there are a few remains of rectangular and multiple-roomed dwellings belonging to the former and latter respectively, and a range of ceramic ware. In the Late Bronze Age Norşuntepe lay in the region called Išuwa in Hittite texts. During this period, it was fortified by a stone casemate wall, typical of the defensive architecture of a number of contemporaneous Anatolian sites. The regular layout of streets within the fortifications indicate some degree of town planning. Settlement continued through the early and middle Iron Ages, and in the latter period the site came under strong political and cultural influence from the kingdom of Urartu. In the middle Iron Age it lay within the frontiers of the Urartian kingdom, and was finally abandoned with the fall of this kingdom in late C7. The site was excavated from 1968 to 1974 by H. Hauptmann for the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, as part of the Keban Dam Rescue Project.

Hauptmann (*RIA* 9: 596–604).

**Notium** (map 5) M1 Greek city located on the Aegean coast of Anatolia, 55 km south of Smyrna. It lay near Colophon and was often closely associated with this city, serving as its harbour. In fact, in the Hellenistic period Notium was called Colophon on the Sea, or New Colophon. Thucydides (3.34) reports that refugees from Colophon settled in Notium around the time of the second Peloponnesian invasion of Attica (i.e.



c. 430). Notium had earlier become a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Its small annual contribution to the Confederacy's treasury, one-third of a talent (cf. Ephesus which contributed six talents), reflects its relatively low status and income-producing capacity at this time.

The city extended over two summits of a hill overlooking the sea, and was enclosed by a fortification wall of Hellenistic or earlier date. Other material remains, which belong mainly to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, include a temple of Athena, two agoras, a council house, and a theatre.

Bean (1966: 185–90; *PECS* 629), E. Akurgal (1973: 133–6).

**Nuhashshi lands** (Nuhasse) ([maps 3, 6](#)) Middle and Late Bronze Age region of northern Syria, east of the Orontes r. The name first appears in the archives of Mari and Alalah (level VII) (C18 and C17 respectively). The Mari texts indicate that at the time of their composition the northern part of Nuhashshi belonged to the kingdom of Yamhad, and the southern part to the territory of Qatna. In C15 Nuhashshi was among the lands and cities conquered by the pharaoh Tuthmosis III during his eighth Syrian campaign. Later Hittite texts referring to the 'kings of Nuhashshi' indicate that the region was then (if not before) divided among a number of principalities or small kingdoms. Their rulers may have formed some kind of confederation in which one of them served as a *primus inter pares*. In early C14 Nuhashshi became embroiled in territorial disputes with the kingdom of Aleppo, and called upon both Mitanni and Hatti for support (Bryce, 2005: 141). By mid C14 it had become subject to Mitanni, then ruled by Tushratta. But prior to his 'one-year Syrian war' against Mitanni and its subject kingdoms (c. 1344), the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I concluded an alliance with one of the Nuhashshi kings, Sharrupshi (*\*HDT* 54–5). It seems that Sharrupshi subsequently abandoned his Hittite ties, and the region as a whole remained strongly hostile to Hatti until Suppiluliuma comprehensively defeated the forces of Tushratta, and established Hittite control over all the northern Syrian principalities formerly subject to Mitanni. The Nuhashshi lands now provided Suppiluliuma with a convenient base for menacing Egyptian subject territory in southern Syria, and negotiating with disloyal Egyptian vassal kings, who were persuaded or coerced into switching sides to Hatti.

In the reign of Suppiluliuma's son and (second) successor Mursili II (1321–1295), the people of Nuhashshi rose in rebellion against Hittite overlordship and urged other lands to join them (*\*PRU* IV: 54–5, *\*Bryce*, 2005: 199–201). Their action was apparently prompted by the news of the death of Sharri-Kushuh (Piyassili), Hittite viceroy at Carchemish (c. 1313). Mursili responded by dispatching an armed force to the region under the command of the Hittite prince Kurunta, who restored Hittite control over Nuhashshi after destroying its crops and laying siege to its cities (*\*CS* II: 88–9). Nuhashshi later figures in the so-called Apology of the Hittite king Hattusili III. Around 1267, Hattusili seized the throne from his nephew Urhi-Teshub after a brief civil war, and exiled him to Nuhashshi (*\*CS* I: 203). It was there that the deposed king began his bid to regain his throne, secretly communicating with Babylon and Assyria, before fleeing to Egypt where he sought the protection and backing of the pharaoh Ramesses II.

Klengel (1992: 151–6; *RIA* 9: 610–11).

**Nulia** Iron Age city belonging to the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Pat(t)in (Assyrian

Unqi) in northern Syria. It was captured by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III during his campaign against the cities of northern Syria in his first regnal year (858) (\**RIMA* 3: 17).

*CHLI* I: 362.

**Numha** Amorite population group, attested in the Middle Bronze Age Mari texts, living in the hill country of northern Mesopotamia. Some of the Numha population inhabited the kingdoms of Karana and Kurda, located in the Jebel Sinjar region, and Ekallatum to the southeast. Numha troops figure frequently in the conflicts recorded in the Mari archives during Zimri-Lim's reign (1774–1762), sometimes on the side of Mari, sometimes in actions hostile to it. The assembly called by the Kurdaite king Hammurabi in Kasapa (see **Kasapa** (1)) consisted of Numha people.

*LKM* 17–18, 590 (refs).

**Nurrugum** Middle Bronze Age city and country located in northern Mesopotamia. According to J. Eidem (1985: 101, with n. 84), the country so called extended north of Ekallatum along the banks of the Tigris and included Nineveh. In his view, Nurrugum city probably lay east of the river. D. Oates, however (1968: 31, 39), placed it west of the river, in the region of the Jebel Sinjar. In the early decades of C18, Nurrugum was conquered by Ishme-Dagan, elder son of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I and viceroy of Ekallatum. Subsequently the country became one of the administrative districts of the Old Assyrian kingdom, probably with Nurrugum city as its centre. Its governor was a man called Shashsharanum, who had served in the Assyrian campaign against Qabra and Nurrugum. Large numbers of recruits from Nurrugum were conscripted into the ranks of Shamshi-Adad's military forces. Fugitives arriving in Mari from Nurrugum were to be shared between Ishme-Dagan and his brother Yasmah-Addu, Assyrian viceroy in Mari.

\**LAP0* 18: 206, no. 1034 (= \**LKM* 280); 270–2, no. 1089, *Mesop.* 170.

**Nush-i Jan Tepe** (map 13) Small fortified Iron Age Median site (c. 100 m × 40 m) in western Iran, 70 km south of Hamadan (anc. Ecbatana). Built on a 30 m high outcrop of rock, primarily, it seems, as a religious centre, the site was established in mid C8 and abandoned c. 600. Excavations were carried out by D. Stronach for five seasons, between 1967 and 1977, on behalf of the British Institute of Persian Studies. The four main buildings brought to light in these excavations were identified as a central so-called 'fire temple' (C8), a 'fort', a western temple, and a columned hall (C7) perhaps used for ceremonial purposes. The complex was enclosed within a circular buttressed brick wall. Features of the architecture of the site, whose walls are preserved to a height of 7 m, include internal staircases and ramps to upper floors, mudbrick struts for arches and vaults, recessed buttresses and façades, and in the columned hall, stone bases which once supported wooden columns. This last feature is found at a number of Iron Age Iranian sites, including Hasanlu, Godin Tepe, and Baba Jan Tepe. It foreshadows one of the typical characteristics of later Persian Achaemenid architecture. The building identified as a fort included what was apparently a guardroom, four storage magazines, and arrow-shaped apertures in the buttress-reinforced walls. A silver hoard was unearthed on the site during the excavations. Many objects in this hoard are apparently of pre-Median origin.

With its commanding position overlooking the Malayer-Jowkar plain, Nush-i Jan Tepe has been interpreted as the headquarters of a Median ruler, with provision made for a retinue of nobles and royal guards. The buildings within the complex appear to have been designed exclusively for administrative, cultic, or defence purposes. There is no trace of a lower settlement on the plain. Dandamaev and Lukonin suggest that the structure of the settlement as a whole explains to some degree the character of the early Median state.

The site's monumental buildings were abandoned by early C6, followed by 'squatter occupation' during the first half of the century. Nush-i Jan's history of settlement has been influential in reshaping, in recent times, scholarly perceptions of the development, nature, and extent of the so-called Median empire (see under **Media**).

Stronach and Roaf (1978), Stronach (1985b; *RIA* 9: 624–9), Dandamaev and Lukonin (1989: 64–7).

**Nuzi** (*Yorgan Tepe*) (map 10) Site in northeastern Mesopotamia, consisting of a main mound (200 m × 200 m) and several smaller mounds, 10 km southwest of mod. Kirkuk. Occupation on the main mound began in the late Halaf period (M5) and continued until the Late Bronze Age (mid–late M2), when the site was under Mitannian and subsequently Assyrian domination. There was also some later occupation on a small scale during the Neo-Assyrian and the Parthian and subsequent early Sasanian periods (C3 BCE–C3 CE). The site was excavated by E. Chiera (1925–8), R. H. Pfeiffer (1928–9), and R. F. S. Starr (1929–31), with sponsorship provided by the Iraq Museum (initially), the American Schools of Oriental Research, the Fogg Art Museum, and the Harvard Semitic Museum. Twelve archaeological strata were identified. During M3 the settlement was called Gasur, as indicated by tablets found on the site dating to the Akkadian period (c. 2334–2193). The 222 tablets from this period are primarily business documents.

In the Late Bronze Age the settlement, now called Nuzi, experienced its most important and most prosperous phase, when it was an eastern provincial town of the Mitannian empire under the immediate authority of the city of Arrapha (mod. Kirkuk). At this time, it had a predominantly Hurrian population. Though relatively small, Nuzi was a thriving community, as indicated by its so-called palace and temple complex on the main mound, its finely constructed public buildings around this complex, and the residential quarters which were found in several sectors of the site. Wealthy landowners and administrative officials occupied houses outside the walled settlement. The 'palace' contained over one hundred rooms and courts, was supplied with a drainage system, had marble paving, and was decorated with wall-paintings reflecting Egyptian and Aegean influence. But well appointed though this complex was, the term 'palace' is considered to be a misnomer, since no reference is ever made to a king of Nuzi. The complex is more likely to have been the residence of a local governor, answering to the ruler installed at Arrapha.

The site also produced a range of fine, distinctive pottery, now known as Nuzi ware, typified by a white, often geometric pattern painted on a dark background. A number of such pieces were found in Babylonia and northern Syria, so that together with the contemporaneous glazed wares and glass and faience items found in Nuzi, it established the material assemblage for what is called the Nuzi period. But Nuzi is best known today for the large quantities of clay tablets which were unearthed from the site's Late Bronze Age phase, especially from Stratum II, and are dated roughly between mid C15

## NUZI

and mid C14. A total of over 5,000 tablets came from both public and private archives, and bear the seal impressions of their authors. Their contents include contracts, legal records, letters, and ration and personnel lists. They thus provide important information on the activities of a wide cross-section of the population of Nuzi and its surrounding areas, and valuable insights into Nuzi's social, economic, legal, and religious institutions. A number of the texts refer to Arrapha's royal family, and the city's principal temples. Written in a distinctive Akkadian dialect, with an admixture of Hurrian names, the tablets have been seen as indicative of declining socio-economic conditions in the region during the period of their composition. This is reflected in the references they make to an increase in military activity in the region, and to a decrease in the grain surplus and an increase in debts and litigation, with the wealth of the region being concentrated in the hands of a progressively smaller number of people.

The destruction of Nuzi in late C14 was probably due to the Assyrians who became the new power in northern Mesopotamia after the fall of the Mitannian empire.

Maidman (1995), Stein (*OEANE* 4: 171–5), Wilhelm/Stein (*RIA* 9: 636–47).