

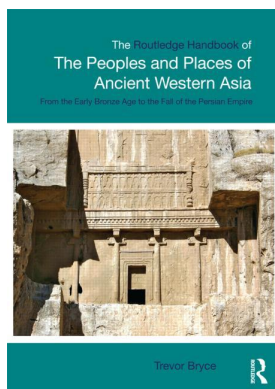
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Habhu (map: Fuchs, 2000: 94) Habhu, attested in Iron Age Assyrian texts, did not refer to a specific land as such but was rather a term used for certain distant, particularly rough and inaccessible mountain regions. According to Fuchs (2000), five distinct Habhu regions can be identified, based on the accounts of military campaigns attested in the Assyrian royal inscriptions from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) onwards. (Fuchs, however, notes that people and sheep from Habhu are attested in administrative documents already in C13.) The five Habhu regions will be described in turn, progressing from southeast to northwest.

(1) The easternmost Habhu region bordered on Karalla to the north, Namri to the south, Zamua/Lullumi to the west, and (presumably) Parsua to the east. It is mentioned in the inscriptions of Adad-nirari II (**RIMA* 2: 148), Ashurnasirpal II (**RIMA* 2: 340), and Sargon II (Fuchs, 1998: 66–7).

(2) A mountain area (or areas) directly east of Assyria, associated with the upper (Greater) and lower (Lesser) Zab rivers and with the lands Kurruru and Musasir. Campaigns to this Habhu region were led by Tiglath-pileser I (**RIMA* 2: 19–20), Ashur-bel-kala (**RIMA* 2: 89), Ashurnasirpal II (**RIMA* 2: 197), and Sargon II (Mayer, 1983: 100). Sargon remarks that the peoples of the lands of Nairi and Habhu called the upper Zab river by the name ‘river Elamunia’.

(3) A region to the north in the Assyrian–Uartian borderlands, associated with the lands Ullubu, Ukku, and Kumme/Qummeni. This area was the target of expeditions by Tiglath-pileser I (**RIMA* 2: 58) and Adad-nirari II. The latter marched there during his operations in the land of Mehru and in defence of the city of Kummum (**RIMA* 2: 144, 152). Shalmaneser III (**RIMA* 3: 69) and Tiglath-pileser III (*Tigl. III* 134–5, 166–7, 182–3) also campaigned in this region, the latter claiming to have annexed Ullubu and Habhu. Finally, a letter addressed to Sargon II from the Treasurer reports that he has been informed that the city of Birate and the whole of the land of Habhu are well (**SAA* I: 45–6, no. 45).

(4) In the Kashiyari (mod. Tur ʿAbdin) mountain region. A campaign was conducted in this region by Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056), who engaged with the Aramaeans (**RIMA* 2: 102). Ashurnasirpal II received tribute from Habhu in 879 while he was stationed in the city of Zazabuha within the Kashiyari mountain range (**RIMA* 2: 209, 249, 259). In a summary of his achievements, Ashurnasirpal claimed to have subdued the lands of Nairi and Habhu, the Shubaru, and the land of Nirbu (**RIMA* 2: 221, 275, 323); by these exploits he helped secure the northern borders of Assyria. Perhaps it was from the inhabitants of this region that Shamash-resha-usur, governor of the land of Suhu in the middle Euphrates region in the first half of C8, brought the honey bees with which he set up an apiculture industry in his city Al-gabbari-bani (**RIMB* 2: 281).

(5) The westernmost Habhu region, also known as ‘Inner Habhu’, was associated

with the lands Alzu and Nairi, the city of Tushhan on the upper Tigris, and the Euphrates bank 'opposite Hatti' (i.e. the eastern bank). Campaigns in this direction were undertaken by Adad-nirari II (**RIMA* 2: 148–9) and Ashurnasirpal II (**RIMA* 2: 210–11, 219, 251, 260).

(H. D. Baker)
Fuchs (2000)

Habiru An Akkadian term (= Sumerian SA.GAZ or SAG.GAZ) meaning 'dust-makers'. It is used in a number of later M3 and M2 western Asian texts to refer to nomadic or semi-nomadic groups of stateless people, comprising refugees, fugitives, social outcasts, and those seeking a life of adventure, living on or outside the fringes of settled societies, and often posing a serious threat to the security of these societies. The term is first attested in C19 texts of the Old Assyrian period, and last appears c. 1200. A connection with the word 'Hebrew' ('ibri in Hebrew) is often assumed. However, 'Habiru' is clearly not an ethnic designation, but rather one which covers a large assortment of persons and groups from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, living for the most part a gypsy-like existence outside organized society. It is possible that the peoples later identified as Hebrews arose out of the Habiru groups, or at least had some indirect connection with them.

The Habiru often appear in the role of mercenaries, and brigands who preyed upon travellers, farmsteads, villages, and small cities. Generally, they seem to have operated in small bands. The motley nature of these bands is indicated by a text from Alalah which refers to the inclusion within a particular Habiru group of a thief, two chariot-eers, two beggars, and a priest of Ishtar. Even in small bands they could terrorize the areas in which they operated. Whole communities were persuaded or forced to join their ranks – the only alternative to being slaughtered or compelled to live in constant terror and impoverishment as their townships and crops were repeatedly plundered and destroyed.

If these bands were united under a common leader, they could constitute a very formidable fighting force. This happened in mid C14 when Abdi-Ashirta, a warlord of the Syrian coastal country called Amurru, succeeded in joining the local Habiru groups into a single force which he used to extend his power over a number of cities and small kingdoms through the Syro-Palestinian coastlands (Bryce, 2003b: 145–53). They frequently appear in the mid C14 Amarna letters as a major threat to the Syro-Palestinian cities and kingdoms which were subject to Egypt (see Moran, 1992: 392, index refs s.v. 'Apiru). Sometimes Habiru groups hired themselves out as mercenaries. In the land of Hatti, a number of them formed auxiliary units which fought in the service of the Hittite king. Sometimes they were employed by a king as labourers on a public works project. The best example of this is provided by an inscription on a prism from the reign of the C17 king Tunip-Teshub (Tuniya), ruler of the northern Mesopotamian kingdom called Tikunani (*Salvini, 1996). The inscription records the employment of 438 Habiru workers, divided into three groups, as a royal labour force. By their very nature the Habiru were of a highly anarchic disposition, and whether serving as auxiliary forces in a king's army or as workers in his labour force, they must have required constant and strict supervision.

*Greenberg (1955), Bottéro (*RIA* 4: 142–7), Loretz (1984).

Habuba Kabira (map 10) Middle Euphrates site in Syria, on the western edge of the Tabqa dam reservoir, consisting of two anc. settlements: (a) the mound Tell Habuba Kabira; (b) the settlement known as Habuba Kabira South, which included a smaller mound now known as Tell Qannas. The site was investigated from 1969 to 1975 by E. Heinrich and E. Strommenger for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft.

Tell Habuba Kabira is an irregular oval mound, c. 230 m in diameter, with a history of occupation extending from the Late Uruk period through the Middle Bronze Age (M4 to early M2). The walled settlement's most notable material remains are those of a temple with open porch, dated on the basis of radiocarbon analysis to the period 2290–2040. The small finds suggest that stone and metal processing were the settlement's main industrial activities. Animal remains indicate that the inhabitants kept cattle, sheep, and goats, and hunted onagers and gazelles. Horses were apparently present during the Middle Bronze Age phase.

Tell Qannas was excavated by a Belgian team under the direction of A. Finet, and was identified as the administrative-religious centre of Habuba Kabira South. The settlement was strategically located on major routes linking Anatolia and northern Syria with Mesopotamia. Its history of occupation is relatively short, spanning the Late Uruk period (M4) and the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (late M4–early M3). Its archaeological significance lies in the fact that it has provided the only large-scale example of Late Uruk residential architecture. Its buildings include houses with large halls flanked by smaller rooms, and in some cases opening onto inner courtyards. The wide range of small finds includes stone vessels, cylinder seals, clay tablets, bullae, pins, and fish-hooks. Industries included stone- and metalworking, lead processing, and pottery production. Originally unfortified, the settlement was later enclosed by a city wall which incorporated numerous towers. Its abandonment early in M3 has been attributed to a blockade of trade routes to the south.

Kohlmeyer (*OEANE* 2: 446–8).

Habur r. (*Khabur*) (maps 2, 7, 10, 13) Tributary of the Euphrates with a large catchment area in northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia. It is generally referred to in two parts, the upper Habur (Habur triangle) and the lower Habur. With its own tributaries and the Balih r. to the west, it converts the northern part of the large grassland and semi-desert region known as the Jezireh into productive agricultural land. The region is archaeologically significant because of the concentration within it of a number of important sites, including Tell Beydar, Tell Brak, Chagar Bazar, Tell Feheriyeh, Tell Halaf, Tell Hamoukar, Tell Leilan, and Tell Mozan. In the Habur triangle, the fertility of the soil combined with good annual rainfall facilitated a marked growth in the urbanization of the region in mid M3, and a relatively high level of prosperity in a number of centres like Tell Leilan and Tell Brak.

The end of M3 is thought to have witnessed a major collapse in settlement in the region, perhaps linked to the demise of the Akkadian empire. The cause of this collapse is hotly disputed – climate change (drought) is one suggestion – as is its extent, since some sites, such as Tell Brak, were continuously occupied throughout the relevant centuries. Other sites, such as Tell Leilan, were resettled early in M2, with a period of decline in later M2. However, major settlements continued to develop and prosper there in the early Iron Age, including the city of Guzana (Tell Halaf), capital of the Aramaean kingdom Bit-Bahiani. In C8 and C7 the Habur region was incorporated into

HADATU

the Assyrian empire, and various major Assyrian settlements were established there, including the Assyrian fortress and administrative centre at Dur-Katlimmu (Tell Sheikh Hamad) on the lower Habur. The western part of the Habur triangle formed part of the province of Guzana, while the eastern part belonged to the province of Nasibina (Nusaybin) (Radner, *RIA* 11: 51–2).

Postgate (*RIA* 4: 28–9), McLellan (*OEANE* 3: 286–8), Akkermans and Schwartz (2003: 259–62, 309–313, 346–50).

Hadar, Tell (map 8) 2.5 ha fortified settlement-mound in the land of Geshur, strategically located on the northeastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, near the main ascent to the Golan Heights, and on the main route from the land of Bashan. Occupation extended through the Late Bronze I and Iron Age I and II periods. Following its discovery and initial survey in 1968, the site was excavated between 1987 and 1995 as part of the Land of Geshur Project conducted by the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University. Its field director was E. Yadin. The earliest settlement (Stratum VI), protected by a fortification wall made up of large boulders, was founded in Late Bronze Age I (C15). Before the end of this period, the settlement was destroyed and abandoned. It was reoccupied in Iron Age I (C12), archaeologically represented by Stratum V. The material remains of this level include a number of stone-lined silos. Stratum IV, dated to C11, marks the highest point in Tell Hadar's development. From this level were unearthed the remains of two large buildings constructed on two terraces. On the upper terrace, a storehouse with three long narrow halls was built, and on the lower terrace there was a tripartite pillared building with a six-roomed granary. A large quantity of pottery was found in the latter, including locally made egg-shaped jars, cooking pots, bowls, and jugs, and imported Phoenician ceramic ware. Destruction of this level was followed by another period of abandonment until a new settlement was built, represented by Strata III to I and extending through C9 and much of C8. Only private dwellings, surrounded by an outer wall, have been unearthed from these strata. This final phase of Tell Hadar's existence ended with its destruction during the Assyrian campaign in Israel conducted by Tiglath-pileser III in 732.

Kochavi (*OEANE* 2: 450–2).

Hadatu (*Arslan Taş*) (map 7) Assyrian Iron Age settlement, covering c. 31 ha, located in the Saruj plain of northern Syria, and consisting of a citadel surrounded by a lower town. The site was excavated in 1928 by a French team led by F. Thureau-Dangin, M. Dunand, and G. Dossin. Hadatu was probably founded by the Assyrians in C9, as a provincial administrative centre of the rapidly developing Neo-Assyrian empire. Excavations revealed the remains of a governor's palace, consisting of three mudbrick building complexes and tiled courtyards. To the east of these, the French team uncovered a basalt and mudbrick building known as the *Bâtiment aux ivoires* ('Building of the Ivories'). It has a black-and-white pebble courtyard, of a kind known also from Til Barsip, and is particularly notable for its rich collection of C8 ivories of various styles, Syrian, Phoenician, and Assyrian among them. The ivories apparently represent tribute paid by Assyrian subject states to the local administration in Hadatu. Basalt lions guarded the city's gate building, which was embellished with relief sculptures depicting hunting scenes and military parades. Another pair of stone lions guarded the entrance to a temple complex, and stone bulls flanked the entrance to the temple itself. Six statues of gods were further important additions to the assemblage of

HADHRAMAUT

sculptures unearthed on the site. Inscriptions in Akkadian, Luwian, and Aramaic were carved on the lions guarding the gate building. These inscriptions enabled the site to be identified as Hadatu. Their author was a man called Ninurta-bel-usur, apparently an early C8 governor of the city. He appears to have been subordinate to Shamshi-ilu, a well-known governor of Til Barsip (Masuwari, Kar-Shalmaneser, mod. Tell Ahmar). Til Barsip lay to the southwest of Hadatu, and may have exercised some sort of regional authority over it.

Later occupation of the site is indicated by a Hellenistic temple built over the remains of the Assyrian palace.

Thureau-Dangin (1931).

Hadhramaut (map 9) One of the six pre-Islamic kingdoms of South Arabia. The other five were Saba (biblical Sheba), Qataban, Ausin, Himyar, and Maʿin. Its rulers are attested by name from C5 onwards, when Hadhramaut was one of the dominant powers in South Arabia, along with Qataban and Maʿin. Its capital was the city of Shabwa. Probably late in C1 CE Qataban was conquered, and subsequently incorporated into the kingdom of Hadhramaut. As in other South Arabian states, Hadhramaut's principal deity was the moon god, here referred to by the name Sin.

van Beek (*OEANE* 2: 452–3).

Hadidi, Tell (Azū) (map 10) Semicircular settlement-mound, 500 m in diameter, located in Syria on the west bank of the middle Euphrates, 110 km east of Aleppo. It lies within the region which was affected by the Tabqa Dam Project and the creation of Lake Assad. Tell Hadidi is predominantly a Bronze Age site, with areas of occupation also in the Roman and early Islamic periods. The site was excavated in 1973 and 1974 by H. Franken for the University of Leiden, and from 1974 to 1978 by R. H. Dornemann for the Milwaukee Public Museum in collaboration with the Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan. First occupied at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, the settlement reached the peak of its development in Early Bronze III and IV, in the second half of M3. Among the Early Bronze Age remains are a number of tombs, including both stone-built chambers and simple shaft-graves. The settlement was fortified by a mudbrick wall. Though occupation continued without apparent interruption into the Middle Bronze Age, the settlement was now much reduced in size and relocated on the western part of the mound. Remains of fortifications and domestic buildings date to this period. Beneath the floors of a number of houses, infant burials were brought to light. The settlement's fortifications were rebuilt in the Late Bronze Age, when occupation again continued without apparent interruption from the preceding Middle Bronze phase. There was some rebuilding and expansion of the settlement during the Late Bronze Age. One of its houses contained a small collection of clay tablets, which provide the city's anc. name, Azū. During the Late Bronze Age the settlement was part of the Mitannian empire. It apparently did not survive the destruction of this empire by the Hittites in the third quarter of C14, and was not occupied again until the Roman period.

Dornemann (1985; *OEANE* 2: 453–4).

Hadnum Middle Bronze Age land in northern Mesopotamia, perhaps to be located on the west bank of the Tigris. Originally allied to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari

(1774–1762), and Ashkur-Adad, king of Karana, it realigned itself with the city of Kurda, which lay in the Jebel Sinjar region of northern Mesopotamia. Apparently in response to this switch of alliance, Haqba-Hammu, adviser to and successor of Ashkur-Adad in Karana, invaded Hadnum with 2,000 troops and captured five of its cities. He also defeated a force from the city of Mardaman, which had come to Hadnum's assistance.

LKM 139, 610 (refs).

Haft Tepe (map 12) Late Bronze Age Elamite site located in southwestern Iran in the region of anc. Susiana (mod. Khuzestan), 10 km southeast of Susa. Its anc. name was probably Kabnak (see below). The site consists of fourteen mounds, extending over an area of more than 30 ha. Excavated by E. O. Negahban between 1965 and 1978, it is largely confined to one level, covering a period of no more than two to three centuries in mid M2. The excavations focused almost entirely on (a) an area designated by Negahban as a tomb-temple complex, which was surrounded by a massive sun-dried brick wall, and (b) to the southeast of it, two terrace-complexes. D. T. Potts believes there is no evidence to indicate that the former served as both a tomb and a temple, and prefers to regard it purely as a royal tomb complex. It is associated with the C14 Elamite king Tepti-ahar, because his name appears in an Akkadian cuneiform text which was inscribed on a stele fragment discovered in the central courtyard. The inscription refers to sacrifices to be made before the chariot of the god Inshushinak and the *saparru*-wagon of King Tepti-ahar. The structure within the walled enclosure is made partly of baked brick (sun-dried brick was generally used elsewhere on the site for less important buildings), and is roughly H-shaped in plan. Its courtyard contains a platform where the stele may originally have been erected. Two large chambers located to the north of the courtyard, and designated as Halls 1 and 2, contained vaulted burial areas where numerous human skeletal remains were discovered. Whether or not the king ever lived in Haft Tepe, or was himself buried in the funerary complex there, remains a matter for speculation.

Of the two complexes lying to the southeast of the tomb complex and built on huge brick terraces, the first (Terrace-Complex I) was the more completely excavated. The excavator suggests that its many-sided brick terrace may have provided a foundation for a ziggurat, palace, or temple. It was surrounded by a number of rooms whose walls were decorated with polychrome paintings on gypsum surfaces. The complex included a craft workshop and pottery kiln, the almost complete skeletal remains of an elephant, and a range of artefacts – figures of ivory, sculpted painted human heads (an Elamite king and queen?), mosaic fragments, and bronze weapons. Potts suggests that the terrace area may have been a temple precinct 'where, on analogy with the great temples of southern Mesopotamia, a wide range of craft activities were concentrated, including pottery, statuary, and other craft production destined to manufacture goods for the gods, the priesthood, and a large number of dependents attached to the temple'. Potts notes that on the mound designated as Haft Tepe B, which lies to the east of the main site, a massive construction was partly revealed in 1976 where an unspecified number of tablets were recovered. Virtually nothing else is known about this mound.

Written records unearthed from what Potts calls the temple complex include cylinder-seals, several hundred seal impressions, and almost 4,000 complete and fragmentary clay tablets. The contents of the tablets, inscribed in Akkadian cuneiform,

range from letters to administrative accounts, texts dealing with omens and extispicy (see glossary), and inventories of sacrificial offerings and precious metals for the manufacture of chariot parts and jewellery. These documents may reflect the activities of a scribal school associated with the temple complex. In one of the seal impressions, a man called Athibu, confidant of the king Tepti-ahar, is called ‘great governor of Kabnak’ – which makes it likely that Kabnak was Haft Tepe’s anc. name.

The city appears to have been destroyed by fire after an occupation lasting no more than two to three centuries. The destruction perhaps occurred in C14, during the course of a devastating campaign conducted in Susiana by the Babylonian king Kurigalzu II (1332–1308). The reappearance of the name Kabnak (as Kabinak) in the record of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal’s conquests in Susiana in 646 may indicate a subsequent Iron Age phase in Haft Tepe’s history.

Calmeyer (*RIA* 4: 39–40), Neghaban (*OEANE* 2: 454–7), D. T. Potts (1999: 196–205).

Haftavan Tepe (map 20) 25 m high mound (500 m in diameter), located in the Salmas plain of northwestern Iran, near mod. Shahpur. Excavations on the site conducted between 1968 and 1975 by C. A. Burney for the University of Manchester revealed M2 and M1 periods of occupation. During the latter period (Iron Age II), Haftavan was incorporated into the Urartian kingdom as part of a network of Urartian settlements which grew up around the northwest corner of Lake Urmia. It became an important administrative centre of the Urartian towns and strongholds in the region. Burney reports that burials at Haftavan during this phase included the bodies of young girls variously wearing an elaborate headdress of coiled bronze tassels, a skull-cap adorned with bronze discs, and a bronze headband. A large range of bronze jewellery was included among the grave goods.

Burney (1970; 1972; 1973; 1975), Zimansky (1998: 263).

Hahhum (Hahha) Late Bronze Age city on the upper Euphrates. It was attacked by the Hittite king Hattusili I (1650–1620) during his second Syrian campaign (**Chav.* 221). After encountering fierce resistance from its defenders, Hattusili captured, plundered, and torched the city, then harnessed its king, along with the king of Hassuwa (another city conquered by Hattusili), to a transport wagon.

In a recently published letter addressed to Tuniya (Tunip-Teshub), ruler of the northern Mesopotamian kingdom Tikunani, Hattusili called upon Tuniya to support his attack on Hahhum (**Salvini*, 1996: 112–14). This is undoubtedly the same military operation referred to above. Tikunani and Hahhum very likely shared borders, and may well have been hostile to each other. Referring to an earlier era, Hattusili claims that the (C24) Akkadian king Sargon had fought a battle against troops from Hahhum when he crossed the Euphrates; but he had done no harm to the city itself.

A number of identifications have been proposed for Hahhum, including mod. Samsat and Lidar Höyük. In suggesting the latter, Liverani (1988) sought to link the archaeologically attested destruction of the site around this time with Hattusili’s destruction of Hahhum (but see Gurney, 1992: 217).

**RGTC* 6: 61–2, **Bryce* (2005: 76–80).

Hajar Bin Humeid (map 9) 4 ha oval-shaped settlement-mound located 255 km northeast of Aden on a major caravan route leading northwards to Gaza. Excavations

directed by W. F. Albright for the American Foundation for the Study of Man in 1950 and 1951 revealed eighteen occupation strata extending from C11 to C2–4 CE. Hajar Bin Humeid was a small farming community, with a population estimated at between 600 and 1,200. The community's income was no doubt partly derived from tolls imposed on the caravans passing through it. Small finds on the site, including imports from Egypt, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia, provide material evidence of its involvement in international trading activities. The excavators concluded that its existence was a peaceful one, since there is no trace of fortifications or of violent destruction at any stage in the site's history. An important result of the excavations was the development by G. W. van Beek (one of the site's excavators) of the first pottery chronology for pre-Islamic South Arabia. The period covered by this chronology extends from c. 1100 to 200 CE.

van Beek (*OEANE* 2: 457–8).

Hakpis(sa)/Hakmis(sa) (map 3) Late Bronze Age Hittite city in north-central Anatolia, perhaps near mod. Çorum. The city's importance was greatly enhanced in C15 when the cults of the holy city of Nerik, then under Kaska occupation, were transferred there. In early C13, the Hittite king Muwattalli II made Hakpis the capital of the northern part of the Hittite homeland. He installed his brother Hattusili (later King Hattusili III) as ruler of the region, using Hapkis as his base, with the intention of strengthening the kingdom's northern defences, and recovering the territories lost to the Kaska peoples (**CS* I: 201). Hattusili apparently fulfilled all his objectives. He subsequently commanded a contingent from Hakpis in the battle of Qadesh (1274), and on his return from Syria resumed kingship in the city, installing as queen there his new wife, Puduhepa (**CS* I: 202). After Muwattalli's death, the growing tensions between Hattusili and the new king, Urhi-Teshub, his nephew, erupted into open conflict when Urhi-Teshub removed from his uncle control of Hakpis and Nerik (**CS* I: 203). The conflict ended when Hattusili overthrew Urhi-Teshub and seized his throne. Some time after assuming kingship, Hattusili appointed his son, the future King Tudhaliya IV, as governor of Hakpis.

Haas (*RIA* 4: 48–50), **RGTC* 6: 65–7.

Halab (Halap, Halpa) see Aleppo.

Halaf, Tell (Guzana, biblical Gozan) (maps 7, 13) Settlement-mound located in northwestern Mesopotamia at the headwaters of the Habur r., with two main periods of occupation – the Pottery Neolithic period (M6–5), and the Iron Age (late M2 through the early centuries of M1). Following his preliminary survey of the site in 1899, M. von Oppenheim directed German excavations there from 1911 to 1913, and again in 1927 and 1931. In 2006, a new joint Syrian–German campaign was initiated under the direction of Lutz Martin (Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin), Mirko Novák (University of Tübingen), Joerg Becker (University of Halle), and Abd al-Masih Bagdo (Directorate of Antiquities, Hassake) (see www.smb.spk-berlin.de/smb/sammlungen/details.php?lang=en&objID=23&p=7). The site's rich assemblage of decorated polychrome ceramic ware dating from mid M6 to M5, as well as other distinctive features such as its architecture, has led to the definition of the 'Halaf period'. Remains of this cultural/chronological assemblage have been unearthed on many contemporary northern

HALAF, TELL

Mesopotamian sites. It followed on from the Samarra period and was succeeded by the Ubaid.

The Iron Age settlement consisted of several levels extending from C12 to C7. By the end of M2 it had become a substantial city, dominated by its square, fortified citadel, on which a number of large public buildings were erected. Inscriptions from the site, and elsewhere, indicate that the city was called Guzana (*OT* Gozan), and was the capital of the Aramaean state Bit-Bahiani. It reached its peak during the reign of King Kapara (probably second half of C9), son of Handianu, who resided in an impressive palace in the city's northwestern sector. The palace was of the *bit bilani* type (see glossary). Inscriptions indicate that it served also as a temple. It was accessed by a monumental gateway embellished by three monumental caryatid statues with guardian sphinxes. The palace's outer wall featured a number of carved orthostats, depicting hunting and ritual scenes, warriors, a wide range of animals including lions, a panther, bulls, gazelles, and various hybrid mythological creatures. Many if not all of the orthostats were reused from an earlier building phase. The assortment of treasures which came to light in the ruins of Kapara's palace, including gold, silver, and ivory artefacts, give an indication of Guzana's power and prosperity in this period.

The rise of the Neo-Assyrian kingdom early in M1 ensured that the status which Guzana enjoyed as the seat of an independent Aramaean state would soon come to an end. In 894 the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II marched upon Guzana, seat of Bit-Bahiani's then ruler Abi-salamu, and entered the nearby city of Sikanu. He received there a substantial tribute from Abi-salamu (**RIMA* 2: 153). The region was annexed to Assyria by Ashurnasirpal II (883–859), though even after that it continued to be governed by a local dynasty and to enjoy a relatively high degree of independence. This is evident from the bilingual inscription of its governor, Hadd-yit'i (Assyrian Adad-it'i), found at Tell Feheriye (q.v.). Hadd-yit'i's father Shamash-nuri is thought to be the man who was Assyrian eponym official for the year 866.



Figure 41 Tell Halaf.

In 808, the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III had to conquer Guzana anew. From then on, the names of a number of Assyrian governors of Guzana appear in the Assyrian eponym lists (see glossary) down to the end of the reign of Sargon II in late C8. A so-called northern palace apparently built during the period of Assyrian domination probably served as the governor's residence. In fact, an archive belonging to a governor called Mannu-ki-mat-Ashur, Assyrian eponym official for the year 793, was excavated at the site. It contained letters to him from the Assyrian king, and from a number of high officials.

In *OT* tradition, Gozan was one of the cities to which the Israelites were deported after the capture of Samaria (2 Kings 17:6 etc.). Occupation of the site during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Islamic periods is indicated by a small number of excavated remains from these periods.

von Oppenheim (1933), Lipiński (1994: 2000: 119–33), Kuhrt (1995a: 397–8), Dornemann (*OEANE* 2: 460–2). Re the bilingual inscription referred to above, see Abou Assaf *et al.* (1982), Kuhrt (1995a: 397–8), Bordreuil (*OEANE* 2: 301), Radner (*RIA* 11: 51).

Hala Sultan Tekke (map 14) Bronze Age city near the southeast coast of Cyprus in the region of mod. Larnaca. Although it is today located on the shores of the Larnaca Salt Lake, in antiquity it was probably accessible via a navigable inlet from the sea, providing a sheltered harbour. Founded c. 1600 in the Middle Cypriot III/Late Cypriot I period, the town was one of the largest in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, and appears to have had a flourishing existence until its destruction, probably twice in C12 (c. 1190 and 1175). There was some reoccupation in the remaining decades of C12, at the end of which the site was abandoned until the Hellenistic period when partial resettlement took place. Originally excavated by a team from the British Museum in 1897 and 1898, the site was most recently investigated by P. Åström for Göteborg University, Sweden, from 1971 to 1983.

The city's prosperity had already been demonstrated by the British excavations, which brought to light Late Bronze Age tombs, dating before 1200, containing imported pottery and a wealth of gold, silver, bronze, ivory, and faience grave goods. These finds pre-date the C12 settlement uncovered by the Swedish excavations. Features of this later settlement include a broad main street, 4–5 m wide, and housing complexes consisting of rooms surrounding a central courtyard. A large rectangular building has been identified as a shrine. Hala Sultan Tekke's wealth was no doubt largely due to its copper-producing activities, reflected in the finds of copper-working installations and tools. Part of its wealth seems also to have been due to its craft industries in precious and semi-precious materials, as reflected in the production of gold and silver jewellery and in evidence for ivory-working. Quantities of fish bones, and lead and stone weights apparently used in fishing-nets, suggest a local fishing industry as well. The city's involvement in international trading activities is indicated by finds of pottery from the Aegean (Mycenaean and Minoan), Anatolian, and Syro-Palestinian regions. Of particular interest from the last of these regions is a silver bowl bearing a West Semitic cuneiform inscription. Dried Nile perch, amulets, and scarabs were imported from Egypt.

Åström (1986; *OEANE* 2: 462–3).

Halicarnassus (*Bodrum*) (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria on the southwestern coast of Anatolia, founded c. 900 by settlers from the city of Troezen in the Argolic peninsula of the Peloponnese (southern mainland Greece). Though a Doric city in origin, Halicarnassus had a substantial Carian population, to judge from the names of many of its citizens. By C5 its culture had become strongly Ionian in character, reflected in the Ionic dialect used in the city's inscriptions and also by the Greek historian Herodotus, who was a native of Halicarnassus. Along with the rest of Caria, the city became subject to Persia c. 540, but was under the immediate authority of a local Carian dynasty. One of the rulers of this dynasty, Queen Artemisia I, personally commanded a Carian contingent which joined the Persian king Xerxes in his invasion of Greece in 481, and participated in the battle of Salamis the following year (Herodotus 8.68–9, 87–8). Following the repulse of Persia, Halicarnassus became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Towards the middle of C5, the city was ruled by a grandson of Artemisia, the tyrant Lygdamis II, who was later expelled by his subjects.

Halicarnassus experienced its greatest development in C4 when the Carian satrap Mausolus (377–353) shifted the seat of his administration there from Mylasa. The city was substantially rebuilt under his regime, and protected by a wall almost 7 km in length. This wall encompassed a number of villages inhabited by people of Carian ('Lelegian') stock, thus significantly increasing the indigenous element in the city's population. Great public buildings now adorned the city, the most spectacular of which was the so-called Mausoleum, later to be ranked among the seven wonders of the anc. world. It was begun by Mausolus himself and completed after his death by his sister-wife and successor, Artemisia II. Artemisia proved an effective ruler of the city, repelling a Rhodian attack on it, and following up her success by attacking and capturing the city of Rhodes (Vitruvius 2.8.14–15). Other members of Mausolus' family line continued to rule in Halicarnassus after Artemisia's death until the city fell to Alexander the Great in 334, after a long siege (Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.20.2–3, 23.1–5). Following Alexander's death it was subject to a succession of rulers, beginning with Ada, youngest sister of Mausolus (she was reinstated by Alexander who was 'adopted' by her), until it was declared a free city by the Romans in 190. In 129 it came under direct Roman rule.

Very little of the anc. city survives, apart from a substantial section of the city walls and a few remains of the theatre (in early C19, it was still relatively well preserved) on the slope of the acropolis. This was because the mod. city of Bodrum was built over the top of it. However, a fairly detailed picture of the city is presented by Vitruvius in his ten-volume treatise on architecture. Unfortunately, of the buildings described by Vitruvius, which include a shrine and colossal statue to the god Ares, a temple of Aphrodite and Hermes, and the palace of Mausolus, the only surviving material belongs to the Mausoleum. Some of the Mausoleum's sculptures, notably the statues of Mausolus and Artemisia II, are now in the British Museum. The site of the Mausoleum was the object of a number of campaigns conducted by Danish teams, from 1966 onwards, under the direction of K. Jeppesen. Subsequent excavations on the site have been conducted by the Museum of Bodrum, sometimes in collaboration with the Danish Halicarnassus Expedition. Though the Mausoleum was demolished by the Crusaders, a description by Pliny the Elder (36.30–1) enabled Jeppesen to make a reconstruction of it, probably with a high degree of accuracy. Measuring

38.25 m × 32.5 m at its base, the funerary structure was built on a 25 m high podium surrounded by two bands of sculptures and supporting a colonnade of 9 × 11 Ionic columns. On top of this was a pyramid-shaped roof consisting of twenty-four marble steps surmounted by a chariot drawn by four horses (a *quadriga*). The tomb-chamber was cut into the rock below the building. The total height of the building, including the *quadriga*, is estimated to have been almost 49.6 m. For a recent study of its reliefs, see B. F. Cook (2005).

Bean (1971: 101–14), Pedersen (*OEANE* 2: 463–5), Berg Briese and Pedersen (2005).

Halif, Tel (Arabic *Tell Kbuweilifeh*) (map 8) 3 ha settlement-mound located in the Judean hills of southern Palestine, midway between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean coast, to the east of the plain of Philistia and bordering on the Negev desert to the south. Halif has long been equated with biblical Ziklag, but more recently an identification with the biblical Judean city of Rimmon has been suggested. The site is strategically located on a major route passing from Egypt through Gaza to Hebron via the Judean hills. Its history of occupation, on the mound and its lower eastern terrace, extends from the Late Chalcolithic Age through succeeding habitation levels to the period of Arab occupation, with intervals of abandonment especially from the end of the Early Bronze Age through the Middle Bronze Age. Exploration and excavation of the site began in the 1950s and continued periodically until 1989. Sponsoring bodies have included the Israel Dept of Antiquities and the Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem. From 1976 until 1993 the study of the site and its surrounding region, in what was called the Lahav Research Project, was undertaken by a consortium of American scholars and institutions under the direction of J. D. Seger of Mississippi State University.

Seventeen archaeological strata have been identified. The earliest of these, dating to the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze I periods (c. 3500–2900, represented by Strata XVII–XVI), indicate various stages in Halif's development into a prosperous and important village-centre. The earliest stratified remains were found on a terrace to the northeast of the mound, where evidence emerged of cave-dwellings (which ended when their roofs collapsed). Stratum XVI featured well-built rectangular houses with mud-brick walls. The site was apparently abandoned at the end of Early Bronze I, and then reoccupied in Early Bronze III (represented by Strata XV–XII), when a fortified settlement was built on the mound. Following violent destruction of this settlement c. 2500, three successive unfortified towns were built, each of which appears to have ended in destruction. The site was then apparently abandoned until resettlement took place in the Late Bronze Age, beginning in late C16. Several substantial settlements and several destructions are reflected in the archaeological strata (XI–VIII) of this period. Correlations between these levels and the history of the period remain matters for speculation, though almost certainly they are linked with the waxing and waning of Egyptian authority in the Syro-Palestinian region. Surprisingly, Halif appears to have remained unwallled throughout its Late Bronze Age phase. For at least part of this phase, it probably served as a trading station on the route between the coast and the Judean hills. In Stratum VIII the site was substantially redeveloped, so that it now functioned, through C13, as a large storage complex, very likely as a local grain collection and redistribution centre for the Egyptian administration.

Halif's Iron Age I (Stratum VII) culture evolved, without any apparent break, from

its final Late Bronze Age phase. Iron Age II was a period of significant growth and development on the site, beginning in early C9 and represented archaeologically by Stratum VI. The city was now defended by a casemate wall system and stone-covered glacis (see glossary). An Iron Age cemetery, with rows of tombs cut into the limestone, was discovered on the slope of a hill facing the mound's southwest side. Despite its fortifications, the Iron Age II settlement came to a violent end in the final years of C8, its destruction very likely due to the campaigns of the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 701. There was some immediate reoccupation of part of the site, but probably only briefly, by squatters who had survived the settlement's destruction and escaped deportation by the Assyrians. Further evidence of reoccupation is found in Stratum V, dating to the Persian period (C6–4), and also in Stratum IV, which belongs to the Hellenistic period. Strata III–II provide indications of a prosperous settlement in the Roman and Byzantine periods, with occupation continuing into the Arab era (Strata II–I).

Sejer (*NEAEHL* 2: 553–9).

Halizones Legendary northern Anatolian people, first appearing in Homer's *Iliad* as the easternmost of Troy's allies (*Iliad* 2.856–7). According to Homer, who refers to their land as 'the birthplace of silver', they came from a distant place called Alybe, unknown outside Classical legendary tradition. For some scholars, the names Halizones and Alybe call to mind the river Halys and a people called the Chalybes. In a tradition recorded by Strabo (12.3.19–20), Alybe is directly linked with Chalybe (q.v.), the land of the Chalybes. Strabo appears to locate this land on the southern coast of the Black Sea, but to the east of the Halys r. A link is sometimes suggested, implausibly, between the Halizones of Classical tradition and the Late Bronze Age Hittites.

Halpa (1) see Aleppo.

Halpa (2) Iron Age city and district of the Neo-Hittite kingdom Kummuh in southeastern Anatolia. The Urartian king Sarduri II refers to Halpa in his Annals as one of the royal cities which he captured from Kushtashpi, king of Kummuh, c. 750 (**Hcl* 123–4, no. 103 §9). A few years later, Tiglath-pileser III, king of Assyria, claims to have won a victory over an Urartian–Arpad military coalition between Halpa and the neighbouring district of Kishtan (743). The coalition was led by Sarduri and Mati'ilu, ruler of the Aramaean kingdom of Bit-Agusi, and included Kushtashpi among its members (**ARAB* I: 272–3, 276, 281, 287, 292; **Tigl. III* 100–1). Kushtashpi apparently offered his submission to Tiglath-pileser, and later appears among the Assyrian king's tributaries.

CHLI I: 332.

Halule Site on the Tigris r., perhaps near Baghdad, where the Assyrian king Sennacherib fought a battle in 691 against a coalition of Zagros peoples, Elamites, Chaldaeans, Aramaeans, and Babylonians (**Sennach.* 42–7, 88–92). There were heavy casualties on both sides, and the outcome of the battle is uncertain. Although the Assyrians claimed to have won a resounding victory, a Babylonian Chronicle states that the Elamite and Babylonian armies forced the Assyrians to retreat (**ABC* 80). But any success the coalition forces may have achieved was of short duration. In the following year, the Assyrians returned to the site and erected a stele there before advancing upon

Babylon and placing it under siege. By this time, the Babylonians had lost the support of their Elamite allies. Babylon was captured in 689 and its king, Mushezib-Marduk, was taken prisoner and deported to Assyria.

Levine (1982: 48–51).

Halys r. (*Kızıl Irmak*, ‘Red River’) (maps 2, 3, 4) Classical name for Anatolia’s longest river (c. 1050 km). Its source is near the Turkish border with Armenia, and it empties into the Black Sea northwest of mod. Samsun after describing a great southward curve through the north-central region of the Anatolian plateau. The Classical name means ‘Salt River’. According to Herodotus (1.74), the Lydian king Alyattes fought a battle with the Median king Cyaxares (the so-called ‘battle of the eclipse’) on the banks of the river (585); the battle was followed by a treaty which established the Halys as the boundary between Lydian and Median territory (but see under **Medes**). Subsequently, the river formed the dividing line between the Lydian and the Persian empires, respectively ruled by Croesus and Cyrus II. Croesus led his forces across the river and fought a battle with Cyrus (the ‘battle of Pteria’, spring of 546; Herodotus 1.76), which ended inconclusively but marked the beginning of Cyrus’ onslaught upon and destruction of Croesus’ kingdom.

In the Late Bronze Age the Halys r. defined what was effectively the core territory of the kingdom of Hatti. In Hittite texts the river is called the Marassantiya.

Halziluha M1 country in northern Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of the Aramaean state of Bit-Zamani. (Lipiński’s interpretation of the name as Hals-Eluha, ‘District of Eluha(t)’ (2000: 150) is unlikely since Eluha(t) (q.v.) was not located in the region.) Halziluha was subject to Assyrian overlordship, and had apparently first been settled with an Assyrian population by the C13 Assyrian king Shalmaneser I. This is mentioned by a later Assyrian king, Ashurnasirpal II, in his report of a rebellion staged against him in 882 by the country’s ruler, Hulaya, who attempted to capture the nearby Assyrian stronghold, Damdammusa (**RIMA* 2: 200–1). An expeditionary force led by Ashurnasirpal crushed the rebellion and destroyed Hulaya’s chief city, Kinabu. The rebel leader was captured and flayed alive, and his skin was draped over Damdammusa’s walls.

Hamadan see **Ecbatana**.

Ham(a)ranu M1 tribe and city in Babylonia, located east of the Tigris r. and perhaps in the environs of the Diyala r. Its population was a disruptive force in its region, conducting raids into northern Babylonia, attacking caravans, and on one occasion capturing a messenger in the service of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705) while he was accompanying one of the caravans on a royal mission. A number of Hamaranu tribespeople were surrounded and massacred by Sargon’s eunuchs and provincial governors after they had sought refuge in the city of Sippar; they had been robbing the caravans of the Babylonians (**Sargon II* 332). References are made in Assyrian texts to at least two cities of the Hamaranu, including Ganata, perhaps the city of Gannanate (q.v.) in the Diyala region. Hamaranu was also the name of what was probably the tribe’s chief city. It was plundered, along with the city of Rabbilu, by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) (**ABC* 71), and later

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conquered and destroyed by Sennacherib during his campaign against Elam in 693/692 (**Sennach.* 40).

Lipiński (2000: 442–4).

Hamath (I) (*Hama*) (map 7) City located on the Orontes r. in central Syria, 146 km south of Aleppo, dominated by a 45 m high tell, 400 m × 300 m in area, which in M1 constituted the citadel of a more extended settlement. Its history of occupation extends from the Neolithic period (M6 or earlier) to the present day. Thirteen archaeological phases have been identified (from phase M in the Neolithic period to phase A in the mediaeval period), divided into forty-two levels. The site was excavated by a Danish team, sponsored by the Danish Carlsberg Foundation, between 1931 and 1938. Its Bronze Age phases, J, H, and G, reflect the development of a relatively densely populated urban society, which produced a wide range of artefacts, including distinctive ceramic vessels and figurines, metal and stone artefacts, cylinder and stamp seals, and ivory and bone inlays. Texts from the mid M3 archive discovered at Ebla contain the earliest written references to Hamath, whose name in these texts appears in the form Amatu. In the Late Bronze Age (in phase G), the narrow streets of the city's earlier phases gave way to more spacious living conditions. Imported goods from Cyprus and the Mycenaean world attest to the city's involvement in international trading activity in this period. However, J. D. Hawkins observes that the name Hamath does not occur in M2 sources (*contra* the suggestion that it is attested in the Middle Bronze Age Egyptian Execration texts and the records of the C15 pharaoh Tuthmosis III), which may indicate that 'it was not one of the main urban centres but rather lay in the territory of another state, perhaps that of Tunip' (*CHLI* I: 399).

By the early years of M1, Hamath had become the capital of a large and important Iron Age kingdom of the same name, thenceforth frequently attested in both biblical and Assyrian sources. In biblical tradition, its earliest known king is Toi (Tou), who sent his son Joram to King David to congratulate him on his victory over a common enemy, Hadadezer, ruler of the Aramaean kingdom of Zobah (2 Samuel 8:9). If historically valid, this event can be dated to c. 980. During the first part of its Iron Age existence, Hamath was under Neo-Hittite rule. In Assyrian sources, the earliest reference to the kingdom dates to the reign of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884). Tukulti-Ninurta's successor-but-one, Shalmaneser III (858–824), names a number of towns belonging to Hamath (**RIMA* 3: 23), only one of which, Qarqar on the Orontes r. (see below), can be confidently located. The Levantine kingdom probably reached its greatest extent during the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) who lists nineteen districts belonging to it (**Tigl. III* 60–3). Lipiński (2000: 298) describes its territory as extending from the Syrian steppe to the Mediterranean, and from the lower Orontes r. and the region southwest of Aleppo to a line running from Batrun to Gebel al-Garbi, with the addition of the Biqa' valley. Hawkins (1982: 389) suggests that the land of Luash (Lugath, Luhuti) (q.v.) may already have formed the northern province of Hamath by the reign of Shalmaneser III, or even earlier.

Material remains of the capital in this period, phases F and E in archaeological terms, include cemeteries (featuring cremation burials) lying to the south and west of the citadel, a complex of large, apparently public buildings surrounding an open courtyard and accessed via a fortified monumental gateway, and a temple to the

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Figure 42 Hama.

goddess Baʿalat. The temple is attested in several Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, referred to below. The excavators have dated the building complex to C10–9. Lion sculptures of Hittite type flanked the entrances and staircases of several buildings, but apart from these, sculptural remains dating to this period are relatively meagre. Smaller finds include stamp and cylinder seals, carved ivories, a gold-plated statuette of a seated god, about twenty cuneiform tablets and fragments, and a number of graffiti written in Aramaic. The remains of what was once an imposing building with buttressed façade are probably those of a royal palace. The building's ground-floor remains include an entrance court and a large number of storage rooms, with jars for grain, wine, and oil. Though the structures and sculptures of phases F and E are clearly of Hittite type, the complex on the mound is sometimes misleadingly referred to as the 'Aramean citadel'.

We know from Assyrian texts of a king of Hamath called Irhuleni (853–845), one of the leaders of an anti-Assyrian coalition of states which confronted the Assyrian army led by Shalmaneser III at Qarqar on the Orontes r. in 853 (**RIMA* 3: 23). The outcome of the confrontation was apparently inconclusive, for in later years (849, 848, 845) Shalmaneser III had to engage in further conflicts with the same coalition. He seems eventually to have won over Irhuleni to an Assyrian alliance, by diplomacy rather than by brute force. Irhuleni can be equated with the Hamathite king Urhilina, who identifies himself in several of his Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions as the son of Paritas, and the builder of a city (perhaps, Hawkins suggests, the Neo-Hittite predecessor of Apamea on the Orontes) and a temple of the goddess Baʿalat (**CHLI* I: 405). In

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another of his inscriptions Urhilina records his dedication of a granary to the goddess (**CHLI* I: 410). In a slightly later inscription, dated to c. 830, Urhilina's son Ur(a)tamis (Rudamu) claims credit for building a fortress, which may indicate a refortification of Hamath city during Uratamis' reign (**CHLI* I: 413). Uratamis is also the addressee of a letter which was amongst the cuneiform tablets found on the Hamath citadel. The letter's author was Marduk-aplar-usur, ruler of the middle Euphrates state of Suhu (*Parpola, 1990).

The next attested Hamathite king is Zak(k)ur, who features in an early C8 Aramaic inscription carved on a stele and discovered at Tell Afis, c. 110 km to the north of Hamath (*Lipiński, 2000: 254–5, **CS* II: 155, **Chav.* 307–11). The stele records Zakur's victory over a coalition of enemy forces, led by Bar-Hadad, king of Damascus, after these forces had blockaded him in the city of Hatarikka, capital of the province of Luash. The king claims that divine intervention rescued him from the siege, though very likely the gods had Assyrian support! By this time, Neo-Hittite rule had come to an end in Hamath. Zakur, who acceded to the kingdom's throne c. 796, was one of the first, if not the first, of a line of Aramaean rulers who now held sway in the kingdom. It is possible that the seat of their dynasty was located not in Hamath city but in Hatarikka. In any case, their rule was comparatively shortlived. Hamath's last known king, Yaubidi (Ilubidi), led a rebellion involving a number of Syrian kingdoms against the Assyrian king Sargon II soon after his accession (721) (**CS* II: 293, 295, 296). Sargon crushed the rebellion, and Yaubidi was captured and flayed alive. The kingdom of Hamath now became a province of the Assyrian empire. In the aftermath of its conquest, a number of Assyrians and other colonists were settled there (**CS* II: 294), and a number of Hamath's former subjects were deported to other parts of the Assyrian realm (including Samaria, according to 2 Kings 17:24, to replace the Israelites). Hamath city was probably sacked and put to the torch, an event which is almost certainly reflected in the conflagration which brought phase E of the site to an end. Thenceforth, written information about the land of Hamath is confined to a few literary sources, and to a reference in a Neo-Babylonian chronicle (no. 5) to the conquest of the whole of Hamath by the Babylonian crown prince Nebuchadnezzar (**ABC* 99, **CS* I: 468); this followed Nebuchadnezzar's crushing victory over the Egyptian forces at Carchemish (605). The new administrative capital was now very likely located elsewhere, perhaps in the city of Hatarikka.

After its destruction, Hamath city apparently remained unoccupied for the next few centuries, until the Hellenistic period when Syria came under the rule of the Seleucid dynasty. A new, well-planned settlement (phase D), rectangular in layout with streets running north–south and east–west, was built on top of the Iron Age city. Credit for building the new city seems to belong to the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164), whose name is reflected in the city's new name, Epiphaneia. During the Roman imperial period habitation gradually spread from the mound to the valley below. The site was conquered by the Arabs in C7 CE, but continued to be occupied until its destruction by the Mongols during their invasion of Syria in 1260.

Levine (*RIA* 4: 67–71), Klengel (1992: 212–13), Dornemann (*OEANE* 2: 466–8), *CHLI* I: 398–423), Lipiński (2000: 249–318).

Hamath (2) Late Bronze Age city, probably to be located in Transjordan not far from Pella. During the reign of the pharaoh Seti I (1294–1279), it joined forces with

Pella for an attack upon the Egyptian subject cities Beth Shean and Rehob. On a stele discovered in Beth Shean, Seti records the relief of the city (presumably Rehob was also relieved) by an Egyptian army which he dispatched against the attackers (*Faulkner, 1947: 36).

Hamidiya, Tell (map 2) Settlement-mound in northwestern Mesopotamia, covering an area of c. 20 ha., with evidence of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age occupation. Excavations which began here in 1938 were continued by M. Wäfler from 1984 onwards. Wäfler explored a massive three-level palace, 250 sq. m in area, with walls preserved up to a height of 14 m. The earliest palace phase belongs to the Late Bronze Age, with evidence also of a later Neo-Assyrian phase. A large number of ivories dating to the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824) were discovered in this phase. Following its Assyrian occupation, Tell Hamidiya was again settled in the Hellenistic and Parthian eras.

Wäfler's proposed identification of the site with Taidu (1) (q.v.) has been rejected by Guichard (1994) in favour of an identification of the latter with Tell Farfara. An identification between Hamidiya and the city of Kahat (q.v.), attested in Middle and Late Bronze and Iron Age texts, has also been proposed.

Eichler and Wäfler (1989–90; 1985–2003).

Hamoukar, Tell Large settlement-mound at the eastern end of the Habur triangle of Upper Mesopotamia, in what is now the far northeastern part of Syria. Excavations were initiated in 1999 by M. Gibson of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, as co-director in partnership with the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities, with further seasons in 2000 and 2001. The excavations were resumed in 2005 with C. Reichel of the Oriental Institute and S. al-Quntar of the Syrian Dept of Antiquities as American and Syrian co-directors respectively (see <http://www-news.uchicago.edu/releases/05/051216.hamoukar.shtml>). Tell Hamoukar covered c. 15 ha in the Late Chalcolithic (= Northern Middle Uruk, c. 4000–3500) and the Late Uruk phases (c. 3500–3000), and subsequently expanded following a break in occupation to reach c. 105 ha in the late Ninevite 5 period (see under **Nineveh**). Throughout much of M3, the settlement maintained (or perhaps even exceeded) this size until its abandonment around early M2. Subsequent, limited occupation is attested only for early M1, and then again in the Seleucid and also in the early Islamic era (c. C7 CE).

The excavators have suggested that Late Uruk period Hamoukar was the site of a colony founded by a southern Mesopotamian or southwestern Iranian city-state, comparable to contemporary settlements such as Tell Brak and Habuba Kabira South. During the 2005 excavation season, evidence was recovered of a great battle which took place c. 3500; over 1,200 sling bullets were found *in situ* in association with collapsed walls, as were large clay balls probably used as missiles. Large quantities of southern Uruk pottery were found in pits dug into the destruction levels, supporting the excavators' idea that southerners gained control of the settlement following the battle.

(H. D. Baker)
Gibson *et al.* (2002).

Hamsha Middle Bronze Age city within the land of Zalmaqum in northern Mesopotamia, near mod. Harran. Asdi-takim, an anti-Assyrian rebel in the region,

launched an attack upon the city in the spring of 1778. But he called it off after receiving news that a relief force dispatched by Ishme-Dagan, the Assyrian viceroy at Ekallatum, was coming to Hamsha's relief (**LAP0* 16: 129, no. 31). Charpin suggests that Asdi-takim's assault on the city may have been the first indication of the general uprising in Zalmaqum which prompted the campaign undertaken there by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I, probably in the summer and autumn of 1778 (see under **Zalmaqum**).

Mesop. 180–1.

Hana Name attested in Middle and Late Bronze Age texts, and used originally to designate a semi-nomadic Amorite tribal population in the middle Euphrates region. The people or peoples so called were already settled in this region before the reign of Yahdun-Lim, king of Mari (1810–1794), who reports conquering seven kings of Hana and annexing their lands (**RIME* 4: 603). These lands became part of the kingdom of Mari, and the title 'king of the land of Hana' was incorporated into the titlature of the Mariote king. From letters in the Mari archives, particularly those dating to the reign of Zimri-Lim (1774–1762), it is clear that Haneans played an important role in Mari's military forces, taking part in the Mariote king's campaigns both in Babylonia and northern Mesopotamia, as well as providing personnel for surveillance operations, military escorts, and garrison duties. However, the majority of the Hanean population appear to have lived a traditional pastoral lifestyle, maintaining their tribal organization under local sheikhs.

The kingdom of Mari came to an end with its destruction by the Babylonian king Hammurabi in 1762. Following Hammurabi's death in 1750 and the loss of Babylonian control over Mari and its surrounding territory, a small kingdom arose around the city of Terqa (mod. Tell Ashara), located 70 km north of Mari. It is today referred to as the kingdom of Hana since two of its rulers designated themselves in their titlature as 'king of Hana'. The royal seat and administrative centre of the kingdom was located either in Terqa, or alternatively in a city called Biddah. The territory over which it held sway was much the same as that formerly controlled by Mari, particularly the region lying between the Habur and middle Euphrates rivers. Its history was apparently a brief one, belonging to the second quarter of M2 and spanning the last part of the Middle and the first part of the Late Bronze Age. Scholars commonly refer to this as the 'Hana period'. The names of ten kings of Hana are attested in this period (**RIME* 4: 723–34). It has been concluded that they were eventually subject to Mitannian sovereignty, on the basis of references to the Mitannian kings Parrattarna and Saushtatar in the Terqa texts. But it is very likely that the kingdom of Hana was originally independent of any foreign control.

After the fall of Mitanni to the Hittites in the third quarter of C14, the land of Hana came under Assyrian sovereignty. In C13 it is listed among the thirty-eight districts and cities which the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208) brought under Assyrian control (**RIMA* 1: 273). A C11 king of Hana called Tukulti-Mer is known to us from a dedicatory inscription discovered at Sippar (**RIMA* 2: 111). He is thought to be identical with the Tukulti-Mer who was king of Mari in the same period and was defeated by the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056) (**RIMA* 2: 89).

Though originally used in Middle Bronze Age texts to designate an Amorite tribal population, the term Hana appears to have lost its ethnic significance, at least in

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textual attestations, by the end of the Middle Bronze Age. It came to be used as a generic term for any nomadic or pastoralist group and also, to judge from references to Hanean soldiers in texts from Alalah and Larsa, for a particular type of soldier. 'Hanean soldiers' are also mentioned many centuries later in a fragmentary Babylonian chronicle text (no. 8) of the Persian period (**ABC* 112); at this time the term perhaps designated regions west of Babylonia in general (*RGTC* 8: 151).

Kupper (*RIA* 4: 74–6), Rouault (1984), Buccellati (1988), Lion (*DCM* 365), *LKM* 29–36, 582–4 (refs).

Hanat see *Ana(t)*.

Hanhana Late Bronze Age Hittite city in north-central Anatolia, identified by some scholars with İnandıktepe (q.v.). Hanhana was a regional administrative centre of the Hittite Old Kingdom, and a cult centre for the worship of the god Telipinu and the storm god. It was among the northern homeland cities and countries depopulated by Kaska incursions during the Old Kingdom, and later resettled, in C13, by the Hittite prince Hattusili (later King Hattusili III) when he was given sovereignty over the region by his brother King Muwattalli II (1295–1272) (**CS* I: 201). See also **Hakpis(sa)** and **Turmitta**.

**RGTC* 6: 76–7.

Hanigalbat (**Haligalbat**, **Habi(n)galbat**) A partly political, partly geographical term, attested as one of the names by which the Hurrian Late Bronze Age kingdom of Mitanni, whose homeland lay in northern Mesopotamia, was known. To judge from a Neo-Assyrian copy of an Old Babylonian oracular tablet, Hanigalbateans were among the enemies of the last Old Babylonian king, Samsu-ditana, at the end of his reign (c. 1595) (**CTN* IV 63, cited *Mesop.* 382). The Hittite king Muwattalli II (1295–1272) refers to the conquest of Hanigalbat, along with the land of Aleppo, by one of his ancestors, Tudhaliya I/II (late C15 or early C14) (*Bryce, 2005: 140). Hanigalbat was also the name by which the C14 Mitannian king Tushratta referred to his kingdom in his correspondence with the pharaoh Amenhotep III (e.g. **EA* 20:17).

Following Tushratta's defeat by the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I, c. 1340, the Mitannian empire was dismembered; much of it was absorbed into Hatti, and what was left of it was subsequently known as the kingdom of Hanigalbat. The territory which it covered extended through northern Mesopotamia westwards from the Tur 'Abdin to the Euphrates r., across the upper reaches of the Habur and Balih rivers. Initially, this rump kingdom was ruled by Tushratta's son Shattiwaza, who was allied by treaty to Suppiluliuma and his son Sharri-Kushuh (Piyassili), viceroy at Carchemish (**HDT* 42–54). Though nominally an independent ruler, Shattiwaza was in fact a puppet of the Hittite king, whose backing had ensured his succession in Hanigalbat as a close partner of Sharri-Kushuh.

Probably some time after Hanigalbat provided troops for the Hittite army in the battle of Qadesh (1274) its king, Shattuara I, made an attack upon the re-emerging kingdom of Assyria, which was rapidly filling the power vacuum east of the Euphrates left by the Hittite destruction of the Mitannian empire. The attack appears to have been unprovoked, but it may in fact have been a pre-emptive strike by Shattuara designed to forestall Assyrian aggression against his kingdom. If so, his initiative backfired. The Assyrian king at the time, Adad-nirari I (1307–1275), retaliated by

seizing Shattuara and taking him to Ashur. After extracting a promise of allegiance from him, Adad-nirari reinstated him on his throne, as his vassal (**RIMA* 1: 136, **Chav.* 143–4). Despite Hanigalbat's previously close relationship with Hatti, the Hittites apparently did not challenge this action by Assyria. However, increasing tensions between Hatti and Assyria in the reign of the Hittite king Urhi-Teshub (1272–1267) may have encouraged Shattuara's son and successor Wasashatta to establish his independence from Assyrian sovereignty by rebelling against Adad-nirari. He may well have hoped for support from Hatti in this enterprise. But if so, the Hittites again failed to respond, and Wasashatta's rebellion was ruthlessly crushed by Adad-nirari, who captured his royal city Taidu and ravaged his land (**RIMA* 1: 136, **Chav.* 143–4). Thereupon Adad-nirari withdrew Hanigalbat's vassal status, annexed it to Assyrian territory, and established a royal residence in Taidu. None the less the spirit of resistance continued to smoulder in Hanigalbat, and Wasashatta's son and successor Shattuara II staged a further rebellion, against Adad-nirari's son and successor Shalmaneser I (1274–1245). Once more the Assyrians were victorious. Shalmaneser made a concerted attack upon the rebel kingdom, and firmly re-established his rule over Hanigalbat and all other territories in northern Mesopotamia to the east bank of the Euphrates (**RIMA* I: 183–4).

This effectively ended Hanigalbat's existence as a coherent political entity. But the region over which it had held sway was to preserve the name Hanigalbat for some centuries to come. In the first of two references he makes to Milidia (see *Arslantepe*), the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) calls it a city of the land of Hanigalbat (**RIMA* 2: 22). (He later refers to it as a city of the land of Hatti, a general name applied to northern Syria and the Taurus region during the Iron Age; **RIMA* 2: 43.) In Assyrian texts from late M2 onwards, Hanigalbat appears as a land occupied by Aramaean peoples. It is referred to as such by the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056) (**RIMA* 2: 102). Adad-nirari II conducted six campaigns in the land of Hanigalbat between 901 and 894 (**RIMA* 2: 149–51, 153), and his successor-but-one Ashurnasirpal II received tribute from the rulers of Hatti and from the kings of Hanigalbat during his campaign in the same region in 882 (**RIMA* 2: 203). Hanigalbat again appears in records relating to the Assyrian king Esarhaddon's accession year (681). Rebel forces who had gathered in Hanigalbat subsequently joined Esarhaddon as he returned from his place of refuge to claim the Assyrian throne (**Borger*, 1956: 44).

von Weiher (*RIA* 5: 105–7), *RGTC* 5: 117–18.

Hanusa see Hunusu.

Hanzat Middle Bronze Age royal city in northern Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of Harran, attested in the Mari texts from the reign of Zimri-Lim (1774–1762). It was at this time part of the land of Zalmaqum (which consisted of a number of principalities), and was ruled by a king called Yarkab-Addu. Qattunan's governor, Zakira-Hammu, reports that 2,000 Zalmaqean troops belonging to Yarkab-Addu had arrived in his city, apparently en route to Mari for service with Zimri-Lim (*LKM* 96, *438).

Hapalla (map 3) One of the Late Bronze Age Arzawa Lands, located in central-western Anatolia close to the Hittite buffer zone called the Lower Land. It is first attested c. 1400 among the Hittites' enemies in the west (**HDT* 158–9), and though

the Hittites subsequently claimed it as subject territory, their hold on it remained tenuous. It continued to defy Hittite authority until a campaign by the Hittite commander Hannutti (c. 1350) left it in ruins and largely depopulated (*Bryce, 2005: 151). The country survived this devastation, and subsequently became a Hittite vassal kingdom. Its vassal status is attested in a treaty which its ruler Targasnalli concluded with the Hittite king Mursili II (1321–1295) in the early years of Mursili's reign (**HDT* 69–73).

Otten (*RIA* 4: 111), **RGTC* 6: 79–80.

Hapisna see Hupisna.

Harada see Har(r)adum.

Harana The name of a mountain and at least two western or southwestern Anatolian cities attested in Late Bronze Age Hittite texts.

Otten (*RIA* 4: 113), *RGTC* 6: 83–4.

Harbe (1) (Harbu) (map 10) City attested in Middle Bronze and Iron Age texts, located in the middle Euphrates region called Suhu(m), south of the kingdom of Mari and a day's march north of the city of Idu (mod. Hit). It lay in Lower Suhum, whose capital was Yabliya.

The city is first attested in the period of heightened tensions between the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775) and the Babylonian king Hammurabi (1792–1750), when persons originating from Harbe became involved in hostilities with Babylonian troops near Idu. In 1782, Harbe threw its gates open to 8,000 troops belonging to Dadusha, ruler of Eshnunna, when he invaded Suhum, apparently for a second time. Dadusha went on to conquer all of Lower Suhum, but subsequently made peace with Shamshi-Adad. Later on, Suhum was subject to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari (1774–1762), though Hammurabi disputed with him possession of the cities Harbe, Yabliya, and Idu (**ARM XXVI/2*: 366–7, 449), which lay in the frontier region between Babylonia and Mari. Hammurabi eventually conceded control of the first two cities, but not Idu, to Zimri-Lim when he shared out with him the territories of Suhum following the retreat of the Eshnunnite forces from the region in 1770.

The Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II encamped his forces at Harbu during the course of his last recorded campaign (885) which took him through the middle Tigris and Euphrates regions (**RIMA* 2: 174).

LKM 611–12 (refs; cited there as Harbe 2), *Mesop.* 162–3.

Harbe (2) Middle Bronze Age city in the land of (northern) Yamutbal, attested in correspondence from the reign of Zimri-Lim, king of Mari (1774–1762). Possession of the city was apparently contested by Atamrum, king of Andarig, and Hammurabi, king of Kurda. At Zimri-Lim's instigation, a peace was negotiated between Atamrum and Hammurabi, in accordance with which Hammurabi conceded Harbe and its surrounding territory to Atamrum, after removing its inhabitants and resettling them in Kurda.

LKM 120, 611 (refs; cited there as Harbe 1).

Harbe (3) see *Chuera, Tell*.

Harbu see Harbe (1).

Harhar (map 13) M1 city and region located in the upper reaches of the Ulaya r. in the central western Zagros highlands. It is first attested in Assyrian records in the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, who in 835 captured and looted the city and set up a stele there, during a campaign against the kingdom of Namri and other cities and countries in the region (**RIMA* 3: 68). Harhar subsequently became subject territory of the Assyrian empire, though probably on more than one occasion it joined other states and cities in defying Assyrian authority. This is implied by its appearance in the list of conquests of Adad-nirari III (810–783) (**RIMA* 3: 212). Whether or not it remained submissive to Assyrian overlordship after this remains unknown. But early in the reign of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705), Harhar declared its allegiance to Dalta, ruler of the kingdom of Ellipi which bordered Harhar to the southeast, after expelling its own ruler who had remained loyal to Assyria. Sargon eventually took action in 716, in the course of his sixth campaign, which had taken him to Mannaea and the land of Nairi. He marched upon the city of Harhar, laid siege to it, and captured it. Its ruler Kibaba was removed from power and replaced by Sargon's own appointee. Sargon renamed the city Kar-Sharrukin (the 'quay' of Sargon), and increased the size of its territory by adding to it six border regions which he had conquered, probably to serve as a buffer against Ellipi (**ARAB* II: 29). The city thenceforth became an important centre of the Assyrian administration in the Zagros region. (For letters to Sargon from his officials in Kar-Sharrukin, see **SAA* XV: 56–73, nos 83–110). Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib consolidated its position with his conquest of Ellipi. After annexing part of Ellipi's territory, Sennacherib made Elenzash the capital of the reduced kingdom, under its new name Kar-Sennacherib, and placed it under the immediate authority of the governor of Harhar (**Sennach.* 28–9).

Levine (*RIA* 4: 120–1).

Haria Mountain land to the southwest of Lake Van, near the country of Paphu, attested in the records of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076). Tiglath-pileser reports a campaign against Haria in the second year of his reign, in conjunction with a second campaign which he conducted against Paphu (**RIMA* 2: 18). He claims to have conquered, plundered, and burnt twenty-five of Haria's cities.

Haridi see Har(r)adum.

Harna (or Hir/Kin/Murna – thus Grayson) Iron Age country bordering on the land of Mannaea in mod. Iranian Kurdistan. Its capital was Masashuru. In 829 Dayyan-Ashur, commander-in-chief of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, invaded the country following his conquest of Mannaea (**RIMA* 3: 70). At that time Harna was ruled by a certain Shulusunu. Dayyan-Ashur captured Masashuru, along with other cities in its environs, but spared the lives of the king and his sons. He restored Shulusunu to his land, and imposed upon him a tax and tribute payment of teams of horse.

Haror, Tel (map 8) 16 ha settlement-mound in the western Negev desert, 25 km northwest of Beersheba. A 1 ha upper tell rose 10 m above the mound. Excavation of

the site was carried out by a team from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev under the direction of E. D. Oren, from 1982 to 1992. Human occupation dates back to the Chalcolithic–Early Bronze I period (late M4–early M3), followed after a gap of c. 1,000 years by continuous occupation from the Middle Bronze Age (early M2) to the Persian period (C6–4). The main architectural features of the Middle Bronze Age town are (a) a defence system, consisting of earthen ramparts and deep fosse; (b) a large temple complex, whose courtyard *favissae* (see glossary) contained the bones of sacrificial animals, including sheep, goats, birds, and puppies; and (c) a large public building, thought to be a courtyard-style palace. Cult-vessels, including cylindrical stands with large bowls on top, and votive objects from the temple, the latter including horned animals and snakes and incense stands, reflect Canaanite cult and religion. The Late Bronze Age city (Late Bronze I–III) seems to have been much smaller than its predecessor, its most significant remains being those of what, according to the excavator, may have been a large patrician house. The layout of this building included large pebbled courtyards, a plaster-layered square water reservoir, and a number of rooms for storage and other domestic purposes, while the contents included a rich assemblage of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery, and Egyptian-style cups and bowls.

During the Iron Age the site was heavily fortified, as indicated by its well preserved Iron Age II–III citadel. Also well preserved is a series of storehouses, with long-halled magazines erected on mudbrick platforms. The citadel and the buildings within it have been dated to mid or late C8. Oren suggests that the citadel was built under Assyrian authority, perhaps in late C8 by Sargon II, as part of Assyria's overall military and political organization in southern Philistia and on the border with Egypt. Its destruction a century or so later is perhaps to be attributed to an Egyptian military expedition to Philistia under Egypt's Saite kings. There was much re-levelling of the Iron Age site to make way for reoccupation in the Persian period, on the site's upper tell. Imported Greek and Cypriot wares figure among the finds from this level.

Oren (*NEAEHL* 2: 580–4; *OEANE* 2: 474–6).

Har(r)adum (Harada/Haridi, *Khirbet ed-Diniye*) (map 10) Middle Bronze and Iron Age city located on the middle Euphrates r., 90 km downstream from Mari, in the upper part of Suhu(m) between Ana(t) and Hindanu(m). The site was excavated between 1981 and 1988 by a team of French archaeologists led by C. Kepinski-Lecomte. The small, square (c. 100 m × 100 m) city, enclosed by a mudbrick wall with corner bastions, was densely occupied with streets laid out according to a regular grid (for a plan of its layout in this period, see *DCM* 740).

Harradum is first attested in the reign of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775). Following Shamshi-Adad's death and the seizure of the Assyrian viceregal throne at Mari by Zimri-Lim (1774–1762), Ibal-pi-El II, king of Eshnunna, proposed to the new Mariote king that Harradum should mark the boundary between their territories. Zimri-Lim rejected the proposal – primarily, it seems, because it gave the Eshnunnites access to the land of Suhum. Control of Suhum's territory was contested by both kings. Following Zimri-Lim's death, the region in which Harradum lay was seized by the Babylonian king Hammurabi (1792–1750). Within the context of consolidating his control over the middle Euphrates region, Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna (1749–1712) rebuilt Harradum as a small fortified city and installed his son as its ruler. The excavators of the site believe that its chief role may have been that

of a merchant-colony, fortified by a military garrison, which controlled the route between Babylonia and Syria. Charpin, however, suggests that Samsu-iluna actually moved Harradum to this site, noting that no earlier levels have been excavated that might be attributed to the city's occupation during the times of Shamshi-Adad and Zimri-Lim (*Mesop.* 354–5). He believes that the city's role had more to do with military strategy, and that Samsu-iluna's rapid rebuilding of it was part of the preparations he undertook for his campaign against Terqa (1723). Terqa lay north of Mari, and was the capital or one of the major centres of the kingdom of Hana. Harradum remained part of the Babylonian kingdom until its destruction by enemy forces in 1629, during the reign of the Babylonian king Ammi-saduqa.

Harradum is identical with the Neo-Assyrian city Harada/Haridi in the land of Suhu. The Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II encamped his forces there during his progress up the Euphrates on his last recorded campaign (885) (**RIMA* 2: 175). During a campaign in 878 to put down an uprising by the peoples of Suhu, the land of Laqe, and the city of Hindanu, the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II crossed the Euphrates at Haridi, on rafts made of goatskins (**RIMA* 2: 214).

Joannès (1992), Kepinski-Lecomte (1992), *Mesop.* 354–5 (with refs).

Harran (maps 10, 13) Settlement-mound in northwestern Mesopotamia, located 44 km southeast of mod. Urfa on one of the major east–west commercial and military routes linking northern Mesopotamia with Syria. Its name means ‘journey’, ‘caravan’ in Akkadian. Harran's history of occupation extends from the Early Bronze Age (M3) to the mediaeval period. Archaeological soundings have produced material remains from the Early Bronze Age and Neo-Babylonian period, but excavations have concentrated mainly on the site's Islamic levels.

First attested in tablets from Ebla (C24), Harran appears in a number of C18 texts found in the city of Mari. During the reign of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775), it was the capital of a large province extending westwards across the Euphrates to the frontiers of the kingdom of Yamhad in northern Syria. In the reign of the Mariote king Zimri-Lim (1774–1762), it was the seat of a small principality, ruled by a king called Asdi-takim, within the land of Zalmaqum (**LKM* 438–9). In C16 it came under the domination of the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni, and subsequently fell to the Hittites when they destroyed the Mitannian empire in the third quarter of C14. According to the treaty which the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I drew up with Shattiwaza, son of the former Mitannian king Tushratta, Harran surrendered to a joint expeditionary force led by Shattiwaza and the Hittite viceroy Sharri-Kushuh (Piyassili) on their way to the Mitannian capital Washshukkanni (**HDT* 50). But when a re nascent Assyria began rapidly filling the political vacuum east of the Euphrates left by the destruction of the Mitannian empire, Harran faced the prospect of a new overlord. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (1307–1275) and his son and successor Shalmaneser I (1274–1245) both claimed to have conquered the city and its region (the former in his campaign against Wasashatta, king of Hanigalbat, who rose up against him; **RIMA* 1: 131). In fact, Harran appears to have remained relatively independent of Assyrian rule, though Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) and his son and successor-but-one Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056) conducted raids and hunts in its territory. The former reports killing ten elephants in the land of Harran and the Habur r. region, and capturing four alive (**RIMA* 2: 26). At this time Harran may already have

been occupied by large numbers of Aramaeans. Ashur-bel-kala records a campaign against the Aramaeans in the region, claiming to have plundered their territories from the land of Mahiranu to the city of Shuppu (Rupu) of the land of Harran (**RIMA* 2: 102).

There is no doubt that by early M1 Harran had come under firm Aramaean control, before being annexed to the Neo-Assyrian empire in the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824). At this time, following the conquest of Bit-Adini, Harran was incorporated into the newly formed Province of the Commander-in-Chief (see glossary) which had its capital at Til-Barsip. In C8, however, the province was probably divided into the provinces of Til-Barsip and Harran. Radner (*RIA* 11: 46, 54) has suggested that this reorganization may lie behind the drawing up of the so-called ‘Harran Census’, a group of tablets listing rural estates and their dependent peoples which may be dated to the reign of Sargon II (**SAA* XI: 122–45, nos 201–20).

In the last years of the Assyrian empire, late C7, and after the fall of the Assyrian capital Nineveh, Harran provided a final place of refuge for the Assyrian court, during the brief reign of Ashur-uballit II (612–610). The city was abandoned when news came of the approach of the Median and Babylonian armies, who thoroughly pillaged it. With the failure of Ashur-uballit’s attempt, assisted by the pharaoh Necho II, to regain the city in 609, the Neo-Assyrian kingdom was effectively at an end. Harran was captured by the Babylonian king Nabopolassar, and occupied by one of his garrisons (**ABC* 95, **PE* 31, no. 10). But a few years later, when relations between the Babylonians and the Medes deteriorated, the city came under Median control. In mid C6 the Babylonian king Nabonidus re-established Babylonian authority over it, and rebuilt there the temple of the moon god Sin (**CS* II: 311, **PE* 56, no. 6, **PE* 76, no. 23), at a time when the Medes were distracted by a revolt against their king, Astyages, staged by the up-and-coming Persian king Cyrus II. Harran continued to exist under Persian sovereignty, but its importance was now greatly diminished, and it remained relatively insignificant until the Islamic period.

The important role played by Harran in western Asian affairs for much of its history, particularly in the Old Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian periods, must have been due very largely to its important strategic location, providing as it did a major route of access for northern Mesopotamian merchants and military forces into northern Syria. But it also achieved great significance as a centre of worship for the moon god Sin. During the reign of the C18 Mariote king Zimri-Lim, Sin’s temple had the status of a confederate sanctuary for the Yaminite tribes living in the region. Four centuries later, the god was among the deities invoked in the treaty which the Hittite king Suppiluliuma drew up with Shattiwaza of Mitanni, and he continued to feature prominently in the religious life of the city during the period of Neo-Assyrian rule. His temple was restored by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668–630/627) – its ruins may lie below the later mosque – and even in the Babylonian period, the god continued to be revered, despite the opposition of the priesthood of the Babylonian god Marduk. The mother of Nabonidus was a devotee of the god.

In *OT* tradition Abraham’s father, Terah, settled his family in Harran after they had left Ur, originally with the intention of going to Canaan (Genesis 11:30–1). Abraham lived there until he was seventy-five (Genesis 12:4). His name is still commemorated in the region by a spring called the lake of Abraham.

The name Harran reappears in the Hellenized form Carrhae, the city near which a

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Roman army under the command of M. Licinius Crassus was annihilated by the Parthians in 53.

Postgate (*RIA* 4: 122–5), Villard (*DCM* 367–9).

Harrania Iron Age country located in the region of southeastern Anatolia–north-western Iran. It was one of the lands from which Dayyan-Ashur, commander-in-chief of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, received tribute during his campaign in the region in 828 (**RIMA* 3: 70). Other lands which paid him tribute at this time included Shashganu and Andia, and the city of Gaburisu.

Harrua Iron Age city in southern Anatolia belonging to the kingdom of Que. The Assyrian king Sargon II reports that it was among the cities of Que which he captured in his seventh regnal year (715), after they had previously fallen into the hands of the Mushkian-Phrygian king Mita (Greek Midas) (**ARAB* II: 7).

Hartuv (map 8) Early Bronze I site in the northern Shephelah, Israel, extending over c. 3 ha. Excavations were carried out in 1985 and 1988 by P. Miroshedji and A. Mazar for the French Research Centre in Jerusalem and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The site's main architectural feature was a public building complex, which included a central courtyard with rooms on at least three sides, and a broad hall whose monumental entrance had two monolithic door jambs made of stone blocks. The excavators noted the uniqueness of this latter structure, and in general the rarity of such a complex in the Early Bronze Age. They suggested that it served as the community's joint religious and secular centre. The abandonment of the site may, in their view, be related to the emergence of urban life in Canaan during Early Bronze I.

Mazar and Miroshedji (*NEAEHL* 2: 584–5).

Haruha Iron Age city located in the middle Euphrates kingdom of Masuwari (see *Abmar, Tell*). It was built by Hamiyatas, one of the attested C9 kings of Masuwari.

Bunnens (2006: 94).

Hasanlu (map 20) Settlement located immediately south of Lake Urmia in the Solduz plain of northwestern Iran (Azerbaijan province). It consists of a central 'Citadel Mound', and an 'Outer Town' located on a flanking low terraced mound. Ten levels of occupation have been identified, the earliest dating back to the Late Neolithic period, the latest to the Islamic period. The most important levels are those of the Iron Age – V to IIIB. V covers the period c. 1450–1250 (Iron Age I in western Iran); IV, with three sub-levels (C–A), extends from c. 1250 to 750 (Iron Age II); IIIB (Iron Age III) ends c. 600.

The most substantial excavations on the site were those carried out by R. H. Dyson Jr from 1956 to 1978 for the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. They concentrated on level IVB, dating to C9, when Hasanlu was an important city of the Mannaeen civilization (see **Mannaea**). The principal architectural feature of this level was an assemblage of apparently two-storeyed public buildings with columned halls. Of the surviving artefacts from IVB, the most outstanding is a large gold bowl, which is decorated with mythological scenes featuring heroes in battle and gods riding

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in chariots. Other small finds included weapons and armour, horse-trappings (e.g. bits and bridles), personal ornaments, tools, cylinder seals and sealings, and thousands of objects made of a wide range of materials including glass, amber, ivory, shell, wood, ceramic, and precious and commodity metals. Though no tablets were found, the excavators unearthed some fragments of stone artefacts with names indicating contacts with both the Assyrian and the Elamite worlds. The unfortified Mannaeen settlement was destroyed by the Urartians c. 800. It was subsequently rebuilt by the Urartian king Minua (805–788), who transformed it into an Urartian fortress defended by substantial walls. The Urartian phase of the site's existence (IIIB) ended with the fall of the Urartian kingdom c. 600. There are remains of reoccupation in the Persian (IIIA) and Hellenistic (II) periods, followed by a long period of abandonment before the site was reoccupied in Islamic times (I).

Heimpel (*RIA* 4: 128–31), Dyson and Voigt (1989), Dyson (*OEANE* 2: 478–80).

Hashabu Late Bronze Age city in the Biqa' valley, Lebanon, attested in the records of the C15 pharaoh Tuthmosis III's Syro-Palestinian campaigns and also in the mid C14 Amarna correspondence (**EA* 174). An identification has been proposed with the large settlement-mound called Tell Hašba, whose remains indicate that it was a relatively important city in the Late Bronze Age, with occupation continuing into the Iron Age.

Lipiński (2000: 321 map, 329 with refs).

Hassuwa Late Bronze Age city in northern Syria, probably to be located in the region north of Carchemish. An army from Hassuwa supported by troops from Aleppo confronted and was destroyed by the Hittite king Hattusili I in a battle at Mt Atalur (Adalur) during the king's second Syrian campaign (mid C17); subsequently Hattusili marched on the city, plundered it, and put it to the torch (**Chav.* 220–1). The city of Hahhum (Hahha) suffered a similar fate, and the kings of both cities were harnessed to a transport wagon, used presumably to convey the spoils of conquest back to Hattusa. In the following century, the Hittite king Telipinu (1525–1500) conducted against the cities of Hassuwa, Zizzilippa, and Lawazantiya the first of a number of campaigns in his bid to regain Hittite territories lost in the reigns of his predecessors. Hassuwa was conquered and destroyed (**Chav.* 231).

Güterbock (*RIA* 4: 137).

Hatallu Iron Age Aramaean tribe in southern Mesopotamia. The earliest reference to it dates to the reign of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (810–783) when the king's commander-in-chief Shamshi-ilu laid waste a number of tribal lands, including that of the Hatallu (**RIMA* 3: 232). (The other tribal lands listed here are those of the Utu, the Rupu, and the Labdudu.) In mid C8 Ninurta-kudurri-usur, governor of the land of Suhu on the middle Euphrates, received an appeal from Adad-da'anu, governor of the neighbouring land of Laqe, for assistance against a force of 2,000 Hatallu tribesmen from the Sarugu and Luhuaiaa clans (q.v.), who were at that time plundering Laqe (**RIMB* 2: 292). When he heard reports that the Hatallu were planning to set upon his own land as well, Ninurta-kudurri-usur attacked and annihilated the enemy force while it was still in Laqe territory. He captured and killed their leader, Shama'gamni, then stripped off his skin and displayed it in front of the gate of Al-gabbari-bani, one of Suhu's cities (**RIMB* 2: 292–302).

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Lipiński locates Hatallu's territory in the steppe to the southwest of Assyria proper, noting that a governor of Ashur province complains in a letter to the governor of Nimrud that the latter's subjects have set fire to the steppe, destroying grazing in his own area as far as the lands of Sutu and Hatallu. The letter is probably to be dated to the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), who included the Hatallu in his account of the Aramaean tribes which he conquered (**Tigl. III* 158–9, Lipiński, 2000: 441–2).

Lipiński (2000: 425–8).

Hatarikka (Hadarik, Aramaic Hazrek, *OT* Hadrach, *Tell Afis*?) Iron Age city in northwestern Syria, capital of the region called Luash, which was incorporated into the kingdom of Hamath by the Hamathite king Zak(k)ur c. 796. On a stele with Aramaic inscription discovered at Tell Afis in 1903, Zakur records his victory over a coalition of enemy forces, led by Bar-Hadad, king of Damascus, after these forces had blockaded him in Hatarikka (**CS* II: 155, **Chav.* 307–11). Afis may in fact be the site of Hatarikka (see *Afis*, *Tell*). Zakur was one of the first, if not the first, of a line of Aramaean rulers who held sway in the kingdom of Hamath, and it is possible that the seat of their dynasty was located in Hatarikka. Following the suppression of a rebellion in northern Syria by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III c. 737, Hatarikka was organized as an Assyrian province (**Tigl. III* 186–7). A letter dating to the reign of Sargon II (721–705) refers to the king's installation there of a certain Ilu-mushezib, a baker of Bel-emuranni (**SAA* I: 134, no. 171). Assyrian texts record campaigns against Hatarikka by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser IV (782–773), and by his successor Ashur-dan III in 765 and 755. For further information on the city, see **Hamath**.

Hawkins (*RIA* 7: 160–1).

Hatatirra Iron Age city belonging to the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Pat(t)in (Assyrian Unqi) in northwestern Syria. It is mentioned in the Annals of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) as one of the cities where Tiglath-pileser resettled deportees from other parts of his kingdom (**ARAB* I: 276, **Tigl. III* 66–7). Other cities in Patin to which Tiglath-pileser assigned deportees included Huzarra, Irgillu, Kulmadara, Kunalia, Tae, and Tarmanazi.

CHLI 1: 362.

Hatenzuwa (Hatinzuwa) Late Bronze Age country in northern Anatolia, in the region of the Kaska lands. It apparently lay a considerable distance north of Hittite territory, for the Hittite king Mursili II (1321–1295) claimed not only to have conquered it, but to have been the first king of Hatti to have reached it since the Old Kingdom ruler Telipinu a century earlier (**AM* 164–5). Mursili's son Hattusili III also credited his own son, the future king Tudhaliya IV, with its conquest during Tudhaliya's extensive campaigns, while still a youth, in Kaska territory (**RGTC* 6: 102–3).

Hatip (map 3) Fortified Late Bronze Age Hittite site, located 17 km southwest of mod. Konya in southern Anatolia. It is best known for the discovery there, in 1993, of a late C13 rock-cut relief and hieroglyphic Luwian inscription. The relief depicts a striding god wearing a horned peak cap and short tunic, and armed with bow, dagger, and lance. The accompanying inscription reads *Kurunta, the Great King, [the Hero], the*

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son of [Mu]watalli, the Great King, the Hero. It is possible that the monument is a northern boundary-marker of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa, where Hattusili III had installed Kurunta as local ruler. For the possible significance of the title ‘Great King’ as applied to Kurunta in this inscription, see Bryce (2007).

Dinçol (1998).

Hattena (Hatina) Late Bronze Age Hittite city in northern Anatolia, located not far from the holy city of Nerik, and a centre for the worship of the storm god. It is perhaps to be identified with Classical Sebastopolis (*BAGRW* 87 B4), mod. Sulu Saray (thus Garstang and Gurney, 1959: 14). The city contained a royal residence, which the king may have used fairly regularly in the course of his religious pilgrimages. In C13 Hattena was among the cities and lands, depopulated by enemy incursions, which the Hittite king Muwattalli II 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 also **Hakpis(sa)** and **Turmitta**).

**RGTC* 6: 101–2.

Hatti (map 3) The name initially used of the north-central region of Bronze Age Anatolia thought to be the homeland of the pre-Indo-European Hattic people. A kingdom called Hatti may first have arisen in the region during the second half of the Early Bronze Age (M3). Evidence for its existence comes from a well-known text which records a rebellion of seventeen rulers against the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (c. 2380–2325), including a king of Hatti called Pamba (Bryce, 2005: n. 7, refs). But the tradition is a late attested one (c. 1400), and its historical authenticity has been questioned. In the Middle Bronze Age, Hatti was one of several kingdoms, sometimes called *mātu* in the Assyrian merchant texts, which dominated the central Anatolian region during the Assyrian Colony period (C20–18) (see glossary). Its capital, Hattus (on the site of the later Hittite capital Hattusa), held sway over a number of cities and communities. A fragmentary text records a rebellion which some of them staged against Hattus (*Larsen, 1972). Subsequently, a king of Hatti called Piyusti joined in a military alliance against Anitta, king of the city of Nesa, which lay just south of the Halys r. (mod. Kızıl Irmak, Hittite Marassantiya) (**Chav.* 217). Seeking to extend his power through north-central Anatolia, Anitta conquered the lands lying within the Halys basin, and in the process destroyed Hatti’s capital Hattus and declared its site accursed (**Chav.* 218).

In the Late Bronze Age, ‘Hatti’ was regularly used as a general term to designate the kingdom of the people we call the Hittites, and more specifically, the homeland of the Hittites within the Halys r. basin. The population of Late Bronze Age Hatti consisted of a number of ethnic groups, including elements of both the early Hattic population of the region as well as later Indo-European groups who had begun settling in central Anatolia by the end of M3. The ‘Hittites’ always referred to themselves as the ‘people of the Land of Hatti’. That is, they identified themselves not by an ethnic term but by the region in which they lived, using a name which may already have been in currency for many centuries, or even millennia. Contemporary foreign rulers also referred to the great Anatolian-based power as the kingdom of Hatti. Even after the kingdom’s fall in C12, the name Hatti survived through the early centuries of M1, during the period of the so-called Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Assyrians,

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Urartians, and Hebrews continued to refer to Syria and the Taurus region as ‘the Land of Hatti’.

Singer (1981), Cogan (2002), Bryce (2005: 12–15).

Hattusa (*Boğazköy/Boğazkale*) (map 3) Middle and Late Bronze Age city in north-central Anatolia, 160 km east of Ankara. Originally called Hattus, the city was founded by an indigenous north-central Anatolian people called the Hattians, c. 2000. In the Assyrian Colony Period (Middle Bronze Age; C20–18) (see glossary), Hattus is attested as the seat of a kingdom which traded with the Assyrian merchants. It was destroyed in mid C18 by Anitta, king of Nesa, who declared the site accursed (**Chav.* 218), and thus never again to be resettled. But early in C17 it was rebuilt, and called Hattusa, by one of the first Hittite kings, probably Hattusili I (1650–1620). Thenceforth, it was the royal capital of the fledgling kingdom of Hatti. Dominated by its acropolis (mod. Büyükkale) where the royal palace was built, Hattusa in its first Hittite phase was small (approx. 62 ha) and vulnerable to attack, for it lacked adequate defences. Indeed it was fortunate to survive the century that followed the reign of Hattusili I. In this period, the kingdom became seriously weakened by internal struggles over the royal succession and was almost annihilated by outside forces, especially the Hurrians. King Telipinu (1525–1500) brought new stability to Hatti (**Chav.* 231–4), and in the reign of one of his C15 successors, Hantili II, a wall 8 m thick was built around the capital. It included many of the features of later Hittite fortification architecture, including postern gates and corbelled tunnels through the walls.

But these fortifications failed to save Hattusa from invaders, very likely the Kaska tribes, who captured, sacked, and burned it during the reign of Tudhaliya III



Figure 43 Hattusa, citadel.

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Figure 44 Hattusa, postern gate.

(1370?–1350) (*Bryce, 2005: 146). The city was rebuilt after the repulse of the invaders, probably by Tudhaliya's son and successor Suppiluliuma I (1350–1322), who made it the centre of the most powerful kingdom in western Asia. For a brief period, however, Hattusa lost its capital-city status. This was due to Suppiluliuma's grandson and third successor, Muwattalli II (1295–1272), opponent of Ramesses II in the battle of Qadesh, who shifted the capital south to a land called Tarhuntassa. Hattusa was now assigned to the authority of the king's chief scribe, Mittannamuwa (*CS I: 200, *Bryce, 2005: 231–2). But Muwattalli's son and successor Urhi-Teshub (1272–1267) re-established it as the capital, and so it remained until the kingdom's fall early in C12.

The German Archaeological Institute has conducted excavations at Hattusa since 1907. The earliest campaigns were directed by H. Winckler, who identified the site as the Hittite capital from information contained in one of the tablets unearthed there. (It was part of the text of a treaty between the kings of Hatti and Egypt.) Subsequent campaigns have been carried out by K. Bittel, P. Neve, J. Seeher, and currently A. Schachner. One of the city's remarkable features was its substantial redevelopment during the last two centuries of its existence. The area which it encompassed was increased to 185 ha by a massive expansion to the south, more than doubling Hattusa's original size. It was protected by impressive fortifications, extending over a total distance of 5 km. The main casemate wall reared up on an earth rampart to a height of 10 m, punctuated by towers at 20 m intervals along its entire length. Before it was a second

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curtain wall, also with towers built in the intervals between those of the main wall. The fortifications extended to the northeast, spanning a deep gorge and enclosing within the city limits a mountain outcrop now called Büyükkaya. Access to the city was provided by a number of gateways, the most impressive of which were decorated by monumental relief sculptures – the so-called Sphinx, Lion, and ‘King’s’ (or ‘Warrior-God’s’) gates.

The original city, containing the royal acropolis and Great Temple (which was dedicated to the storm god and the sun goddess of Arinna), is now commonly referred to as the Lower City, and the later extension as the Upper City. Neve’s excavations of the latter brought to light the foundations of twenty-six temples, increasing to thirty-one the city’s known temples. This makes it clear, Neve claims, that Hattusa had the character of a sacred and ceremonial city. He sees the layout of the whole city as symbolizing the cosmic world-form of the Hittites, with the palace as the earthly world, the temple-city as the godly world, and the cult-district lying in between as providing the passage from the transient to the eternal.

Neve attributed Hattusa’s substantial redevelopment to its third last king Tudhaliya IV (1237–1209), though the inspiration for this grand new city may have come from his father, Hattusili III. But Neve’s successor Seeher argued against this attribution. On the basis of radiocarbon dating, analysis of pottery and other stratified finds, and the dating of *in situ* inscriptions by stylistic criteria, Seeher believes that parts of the Upper City were already occupied, and fortified, by late C16 or early C15, and that



Figure 45 Hattusa, lion gate.

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Figure 46 Hattusa, 'King's' gate.

many of the finds in the Upper City should be dated no later than C14. Yet he concedes that Tudhaliya may well have contributed significantly to the city's final development. And given the strong emphasis Tudhaliya placed on religious reforms throughout his realm, it is not unlikely that many, perhaps the majority, of the temples in the Upper City were constructed on his orders.

Tens of thousands of tablet fragments, from the capital's palace and temple archives, provide our chief source of written information on the history and civilization of the Hittite world. In 1986 an intact bronze tablet was unearthed near the city's so-called Sphinx Gate. Its 352 lines of text throw important new light on both the political geography and the history of the kingdom in the last decades of its existence (**HDT* 114–24, **CS* II: 100–6). Other recent finds in the capital include an archive of over 3,500 seal impressions (discovered in 1990 and 1991), which provide much important information about the genealogy of members of the royal dynasty, and a cult complex (discovered 1988) on the city's so-called Südburg, just south of the royal acropolis

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(*Hawkins, 1995). The complex consists of two chambers, one of which is embellished with reliefs of a deity and a king called Suppiluliuma, and inscribed with a text in the hieroglyphic script. It dates to the reign of the last known king, Suppiluliuma II (1207–). More recently, Seeher's excavations brought to light eleven underground grain-pits on Büyükkaya on the city's northeastern extremity, and behind the so-called 'postern wall' on the southwest of the Lower City, an above-ground storage complex with mudbrick walls, consisting of two parallel rows of sixteen chambers each (Seeher, 2000). On the basis of radiocarbon and pottery analysis the former have been dated to C14–13, the latter to late C16–early C15. The granaries had a total capacity of almost 8,000 tonnes of grain, mostly barley, enough to feed annually tens of thousands of people, both within and beyond the capital. Seeher also discovered five water reservoirs, the 'southern ponds', on the plateau in the Upper City. Up to 8 m deep, four of these were rectangular in shape, one circular. Built in C15, and probably fed by springs located on higher ground nearby, they must have provided the city with a large part of its water supply – but only for a relatively short period. Due to silt accumulation, the reservoirs were abandoned by the end of C15, as indicated by the discovery of numerous pottery sherds in the fill of Pool 1 dating to c. 1400. The sherds include what appear to have been broken cult-containers, among which were a number of long, thin, spindle-shaped bottles – probably libation vessels.

Hattusa along with much else of the empire over which it ruled collapsed in the early decades of the C12. But its end may not have been as abrupt as was once believed. Though there is evidence of violent destruction by fire, at least part of which can be attributed to enemy attack, Seeher believes that such an attack occurred only after the city had been partly abandoned. Evidence from the last period of Hattusa's existence



Figure 47 Hattusa, granaries.

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indicates that most of its valuable possessions, at least anything that was portable, were systematically removed before the city fell (Seeher, 2001). The king, his family, and the royal court may well have escaped to a safe place of refuge, taking their most important items, including official records, with them. The rest of the population were left to fend for themselves. When Hattusa was finally taken over and scavenged by bands of marauders, it may already have been in an advanced state of decay.

From early in the Iron Age, the site was reoccupied by native Anatolian ‘squatters’, and by C9 (beginning of the middle Iron Age) a significant settlement had been established there. Fortification of Büyükkale in the the first half of C7, accompanied by a decrease in the population of the ‘Lower City’, has been interpreted as a possible response to a Cimmerian invasion. The culture of the middle and late Iron Age settlement displays a number of Phrygian characteristics, including the cult of the Phrygian mother-goddess Cybele. The name of the Iron Age city is unknown. The former generally accepted identification with the M1 Cappadocian city Pteria would be excluded by the more recent identification of this city with Kerkenes Dağ, which lay 40 km to the southeast (but for the most recent argument against the identification of Pteria with Kerkenes Dağ, see Rollinger, 2003a: 322–6). The site continued to be inhabited through the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.

A major project in recent years has been the reconstruction of part of the fortifications in the Hittite Lower City. A full-scale replica of 65 m of the inner wall,



Figure 48 Hattusa, reconstructed wall.

incorporating two towers up to 12 m high, has been completed in the vicinity of the Great Temple.

Neve (1993), Bryce (2002: 230–56), Seeher (2002; 2006a; 2006b).

Haurani M1 city belonging to the western Aramaean kingdom of Bit-Agusi in north-central Syria. It is attested in a list of cities conquered by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) (**Tigl. III* 146–7), and is perhaps to be identified with mod. Hawwar, 15 km west of Aleppo.

Lipiński (2000: 203).

Hayasa see *Azzi*.

Hayat, Tell el- (map 8) Bronze Age village located in Transjordan 2 km east of the Jordan r., with four settlement phases extending through the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. Following three preliminary surveys of the site between 1939 and 1976, excavations were carried out by S. Falconer and B. Magness-Gardiner from 1982 to 1985. Their identification of the settlement as a sedentary Canaanite farming hamlet in its Middle Bronze Age IIA–C phase is supported by skeletal remains of domesticated farm animals, and evidence of a range of fruit-bearing orchards and grain crops. The focal point of the settlement was a mudbrick temple surrounded by an enclosure wall. Four stratified layers of the temple were brought to light, corresponding to the four phases of the settlement's history. There is also evidence of pottery and metal workshops, the latter producing a range of tools, weapons, and figurines.

The preliminary surface surveys indicated the possibility of some reoccupation of the site during the Iron Age and Persian periods.

Falconer and Magness-Gardiner (1989).

Hazazu (*ʿAzaz*) Iron Age city belonging to the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Pat(t)in (Assyrian Unqi) in northern Syria, first mentioned in the texts of the Assyrian kings Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) and his son and successor Shalmaneser III (858–824). When Ashurnasirpal invaded the kingdom during his western campaign in 870, he led his troops to Hazazu, and after receiving tribute from the city (gold and linen garments), crossed the Apré r. (mod. Afrin), and advanced upon Patin's capital, Kinalua (Kunulua), where its ruler, Lubarna, submitted to him without resistance (**RIMA* 2: 217). Shalmaneser captured Hazazu in his first regnal year, during his campaign against the cities of northern Syria (**RIMA* 3: 17, 25, 141). Patin's throne was then occupied by a successor of Lubarna called Sopalulme. Hazazu may have been the first Patinite city encountered by an enemy crossing the kingdom's frontiers from the north. The Eponym Chronicle entry (see glossary) for the year 804 records an attack on Hazazu in that year, during the reign of Adad-nirari III. Hazazu was subsequently incorporated into the neighbouring kingdom of Bit-Agusi, appearing in a list of Bit-Agusi's cities conquered by Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) (*Tigl. III* 146–7).

Hawkins (*RIA* 4: 240).

Hazor (*Tell el-Qedah*) (map 8) Urban settlement in Palestine, mod. Israel, located 14 km north of the Sea of Galilee. It consists of a 12 ha upper city built on a mound (the acropolis), and a 70 ha lower city; the former has a history of occupation from the Early Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period, the latter was occupied during the Middle

and Late Bronze Ages. Written references to Hazor appear in the Mari archives (C18), and in various later Egyptian sources, including Tuthmosis III's list of conquests (C15), the Amarna letters (mid C14) (see glossary), and the so-called Papyrus Anastasi I text, attributed to the pharaoh Ramesses II (C13). Hazor also appears in numerous *OT* sources, in the context of the Israelite conquest and occupation of Canaan (e.g. Joshua 11:10–13, Judges 4–5). After preliminary soundings by J. Garstang in 1928, the site was excavated by Y. Yadin as director of the James A. de Rothschild Expedition, from 1955 to 1958 and from 1968 to 1972, on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, and the Anglo-Israel Exploration Society. Excavations were resumed in 1990 by A. Ben-Tor on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Complutense University (Madrid), and the Israel Exploration Society, and continue to the present day (see <http://unixware.mscc.huji.ac.il/~hatsor/>).

Little is yet known of the Early Bronze Age settlement on the mound, though Yadin observed that the ceramic ware recovered from its various levels points to close connections with Syria. Hazor remained a relatively insignificant city at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, but with the spread of settlement to a new lower city in Middle Bronze Age II, it grew to become one of the most important cities of Canaan. Yadin dated the development of what he called 'greater Hazor' to mid C18. (There is, however, some disagreement about the precise chronology of Hazor's Middle Bronze Age development.) The remains of residential dwellings, a series of temples, and part of a huge building complex, probably a palace, were unearthed within the city of this period, which was protected by a moat and by a huge earthen rampart penetrated by two city gates. Strong Syrian influence is reflected in a number of the city's architectural features.

After suffering violent destruction at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, Hazor was rebuilt in the Late Bronze Age, and during this period reached the highest point of its development. By mid C14 it had become the largest city in Canaan. But it also suffered several catastrophic reverses during its Late Bronze Age phase. Its destruction by the pharaoh Seti I early in C13 marked the second occasion on which it had been devastated by enemy onslaught during this phase. And within a century of Seti's conquest, the city was again destroyed – on this occasion, according to Yadin, by the Israelites, as recorded in the book of Joshua. Yadin believed that the meagre remains of the first Iron Age occupation of the site (C12–11) reflects Israelite settlement, which was at that time still semi-nomadic in character.

Subsequently, in C10, Hazor once again achieved the status of a major urban centre, which reached its peak in C9. Lipiński (2000: 350–1) proposes that Malaha (q.v.), referred to as 'a royal city of Hazael (king of Damascus)' by the C9 Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, is the early Aramaic name of Hazor. Hazor's initial development in early M1 used commonly to be attributed to the Israelite king Solomon, but with revised thinking putting the status of the so-called 'United Monarchy' in doubt, it is possible that it should be more correctly attributed to Omri or Ahab, and would be a development of C9 rather than C10. Once again, the city was fortified, by casemate walls penetrated by a six-chambered gate. But at its greatest extent it was still much smaller than its Middle and Late Bronze Age predecessors, since it did not go beyond the limits of the original upper city on the mound. Settlement throughout the Iron Age seems to have been confined to the mound.

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Aramaean kings were allegedly responsible for the destruction of Hazor on two later occasions, before the city fell victim to an earthquake in mid C8. It was once more rebuilt, but enjoyed only a brief new lease of life before it was again destroyed in 732, on this occasion by the Assyrians. Subsequently, a series of citadels was built on the acropolis over a period of several centuries, before the site was permanently abandoned during the Hellenistic period.

Yadin/Ben-Tor (*NEAEHL* 2: 594–606), Ben-Tor (*OEANE* 3: 1–5; reports in *IEJ* from 1992, vol. 42 onwards), Ben-Ami (2001).

Hazrek see **Hatarikka**.

Hebron (map 8) Canaanite city located on the West Bank in the southern hill country of Judah, southern Palestine. It is frequently attested in *OT* sources, according to which its original name was Kiriath Arba (Genesis 23:2, Joshua 20:7), probably meaning ‘fourfold city’. There is no certain attestation of the city outside biblical sources, though there may be a reference to it in the Medinet Habu inscription of the C12 pharaoh Ramesses III. Its importance in *OT* tradition stems partly from its association with the Hebrew patriarchs, but is due in large measure to its close links with King David, who settled in the city with his two wives after Saul’s death, and was anointed king there (2 Samuel 2:1–4). For seven years and six months, Hebron was the capital of his kingdom (2 Samuel 5:5, 1 Chronicles 3:4). It was here too that David’s son Absalom began his revolt against his father (2 Samuel 15:7–10).

The biblically attested city is now commonly identified with the site called by the Arabic name El-Khalil, which lies 30 km southwest of Jerusalem. Excavations were conducted from 1964 to 1966 by an American expedition under the direction of P. C. Hammond, and subsequently from 1983 to 1986 by a team from Tel Aviv University under the direction of A. Ofer. Further excavations, on the northern side of the mound, were begun in 1999, by E. Eisenberg. According to Numbers 13:22, Hebron was founded seven years before Zoan (Greek Tanis) in Egypt, which was settled in the Middle Bronze Age (early M2). But El-Khalil’s archaeological history extends back to the Chalcolithic period (M5–4), and continues through the Bronze and Iron Ages, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic periods. The city was destroyed by fire in Early Bronze III, resettled for a time, and then abandoned until Middle Bronze IIB. The substantial fortified city of this later period may have been a Hyksos settlement. A clay tablet inscribed with Akkadian cuneiform, which records animals (probably for sacrifice), and contains what may be the name of a king, has been seen as an indication of Hebron’s role as an administrative centre of its region, perhaps the region’s capital.

The city was abandoned during the Late Bronze Age, of which there are only meagre remains, and resettled in the Iron Age. According to Ofer, it reached the peak of its development between C11 and the end of C10. Five *lamelekh* seal impressions (see glossary) on storage jar handles are among the most significant finds of the Iron Age phase. The city subsequently declined in importance, and was apparently completely abandoned during the Persian period (C6–4). There was a Hellenistic settlement on the site, in the valley at the foot of the mound, which appears to have had a relatively flourishing existence under subsequent Roman domination – initially, at least. On two occasions during the Roman period, there is evidence of violent destruction.

Occupation continued through the Byzantine period, before the site was finally abandoned under the Ottomans.

Ofer (*NEAEHL* 2: 606–9), Negev and Gibson (2001: 223–4).

Hellespont (map 19) Narrow strait separating the Troad region of northwestern Anatolia from the southeastern edge of the European continent. According to Greek mythology, the name, which literally means ‘Helle’s sea’, came about when Helle, the daughter of the Theban king Athamas, fell to her death in the strait while fleeing from her stepmother on the back of a winged, golden-fleeced ram. The strait is now known as the Dardanelles. This name also derives from Greek mythology. Dardanus was the son of Zeus and the ancestor of the kings of Troy.

Because of its highly important strategic location, providing as it does a sea passage from the Aegean Sea to the Black Sea via the Propontis (mod. Sea of Marmara), the Hellespont has figured prominently in both military and commercial operations in anc. as well as in more recent times. However, its strong counter-winds and counter-currents make it unlikely that it was used by large sailing vessels before M1, when the Greeks began building fifty-oared ships called penteconters.

Gschntzer (*BNP* 6: 110).

Heraclea Pontica (*Ereğli*) (map 4) M1 BCE–M1 CE Greek city in northern Anatolia, located on the south coast of the Black Sea in the region of Bithynia. It was founded c. 558 by colonists from Megara and Boeotia in mainland Greece. The territory they occupied formerly belonged to a people called the Mariandyni, whom they reduced to serfdom. Heraclea became the most important city on the Black Sea coast between Byzantium and Sinope. In late C6 it founded colonies of its own, at Callatis and Chersonnesus on the western and northern coasts (respectively) of the Black Sea, as well as a number of trading-posts westwards along the Black Sea’s southern coast. It became very active in sea-trading enterprises, particularly in the Black Sea region. In 364, a certain Clearchus established a tyranny in the city, which continued after his assassination in 353/352 through three male successors of his family line. The third of these, his son Dionysius, expanded his territories, as did his wife Amastris, who became ruler of the city after her husband’s death in 305. In particular, she extended her control eastwards, in the process amalgamating four cities – Sesamos, Tios, Kromna, and Kytoros – into a single polity with its nucleus at Sesamos, now renamed Amastris. (For these cities, see *BAGRW* 86 C2.) After Amastris was assassinated by her sons, the city came under the control of Lysimachus, one of Alexander the Great’s generals (to whom Amastris had been briefly married after Dionysius’ death). Following his death in 281, a democratic government was instituted in the city.

Strabo 12.3.1–6, Wilson (*PECS* 383), Broughton/Mitchell (*OCD* 684), Strobel (*BNP* 6: 151–2).

Heraclea under Latmus Carian city in origin, located on the slope of Mt Latmus, in the Aegean coastal area of southwestern Anatolia, 25 km west of Miletus (see *BAGRW* 61 F2). According to Strabo (14.1.8), the city was originally called Latmus. Though lying within the region settled by Ionian colonists in late M2, it seems to have maintained a strong indigenous element in its population and culture, which only gradually gave way to Greek influence. In C5 the city became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). In mid C4 it was captured by the Carian ruler

Mausolus, who changed its name from Latmus to Heraclea, and was probably responsible for the relocation of the city on a new site to the west. At least part of the reason for the shift may have been the silting up of the gulf, by the Maeander r., on which Heraclea originally lay. Virtually nothing of the original city survives. The new city was endowed with splendid (and still well-preserved) fortifications over a distance of 6.5 km. Sixty-five towers were incorporated into the walls. There is some uncertainty as to whether these walls were built by Mausolus, or some decades later by Lysimachus, one of Alexander the Great's successors. Laid out in part on a Hippodamian grid plan (see glossary), new Heraclea enjoyed a flourishing existence, probably because of its maritime trading activities, through the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Remains of all three periods are still visible on the site. In Greek mythological tradition the city is associated with the story of Endymion, a handsome young shepherd who was seduced by the moon goddess Selene.

MacDonald (*PECS* 384–5).

Hesban, Tell (biblical **Heshbon**) ([map 8](#)) Iron Age, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine town located on the Transjordanian plateau 19 km southwest of Amman. Excavations were carried out by Andrews University, Michigan, for five seasons between 1968 and 1976 under the direction of S. H. Horn and L. T. Geraty successively, and for a sixth season, in 1978, by the Baptist Bible College, Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania, under the direction of J. Lawlor. The most recent excavations have been those directed by B. J. Walker, Grand Valley State University, and Ø. S. LaBianca, Andrews University. Archaeologists who had previously visited the site identified it with biblical Heshbon, frequently attested in *OT* sources. According to Numbers 21:26–30, Heshbon was captured from the Moabites by the Amorite king Sihon, who made the city his capital. But this information is difficult to square with current archaeological evidence. In *OT* tradition, Sihon belongs to the period of the Israelite conquests (Numbers 21:21, Joshua 12:2), which, if they have any historical basis, date to C12. Hesban has revealed only a few scattered remains belonging to or before this period. At best, the site was at that time occupied by no more than a small village. Nineteen occupation levels were identified, the first four spanning the Iron Age (c. 1200–500).

Remains from the Iron Age site are very fragmentary, though the settlement's growth can be traced through four archaeological strata from a small unfortified agrarian village (level 19: C12–11) to a relatively prosperous town, probably built around a fort (level 16: C7–6) (thus Geraty). Ostraca found in a reservoir (probably built in level 17: C9–8) and bearing inscriptions in the Ammonite language and script suggest that the town was at this time firmly (back?) under Ammonite control. Before the end of C6 it was violently destroyed, and then abandoned until its reoccupation in the late Hellenistic period. In this and the Roman period, it was called Esbus. In C1 it came under Herod the Great's control, and may have been used by him (Geraty suggests) as a border fort against the Nabataeans.

LaBianca (1989), Geraty (*NEAEHL* 2: 626–30).

Hesi, Tell el- ([map 8](#)) Settlement in Israel, located near the border of the Shephelah and the Negev desert, consisting of a 10 ha terrace and 1.5 ha mound at its northeast corner. Its history of occupation extends from the Chalcolithic to the Hellenistic period, except for a period of abandonment in the Middle Bronze Age. Excavation of

the site was first undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund under the direction initially of W. F. M. Petrie, in 1890, and subsequently of F. J. Bliss in 1891 and 1892. Subsequent excavation was conducted from 1970 to 1983 by the Joint Archaeological Expedition affiliated with the American Schools of Oriental Research. The first major period of occupation occurred during the Early Bronze Age when the settlement extended across the entire terrace and was surrounded by a mudbrick wall, within which were discovered the remains of domestic and industrial installations. Meagre results were obtained from the Middle and Late Bronze Age levels. During C9, in Iron Age II, the city was confined to the mound and fortified by a casemate wall system. A 7 m high platform was constructed on the summit of the acropolis to enhance the settlement's defence capabilities. On top of the platform, a large courtyard building was constructed, and subsequently, above this building, several smaller residential structures. In the first half of C5, during the Persian period, another large platform was built. This provided the base for the construction of a small citadel, which consisted of casemate walls surrounding a central courtyard. Fargo suggests that in this period Hesi may have served as a depot and storehouse for the Persian military while they were engaged in raids into Egypt.

Fargo (*NEAEHL* 2: 630–4).

Hilakku (maps 13, 18) M1 kingdom in southern Anatolia (the name is attested in Assyrian texts), bordering upon the kingdom of Que (called Hume in Neo-Babylonian texts), which lay to its east, and the kingdoms of the Tabal region which lay to its north. It extended over much of the territory of Classical Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera ('Rough Cilicia'). Hilakku constantly resisted attempts by Assyrian kings to impose their sovereignty upon it. In 858, under their respective kings Pihirim and Kate, Hilakku and Que sent contingents to join an alliance of northern Syrian states against the new Assyrian king Shalmaneser III during the first of his nineteen campaigns west of the Euphrates. The alliance proved no match for Shalmaneser's army, and was decisively defeated (**RIMA* 3: 10, 16–17). Shalmaneser conducted a campaign against Que in 839 (**RIMA* 3: 55, 58, 67), and two further campaigns into its territory in 834 and 833 (**RIMA* 3: 67–8). He apparently made no attempt during these campaigns to invade Que's western neighbour Hilakku, which lay in a more remote and much less accessible region.

Nevertheless, in the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser V (726–722) or his successor Sargon II (721–705), both Hilakku and Que became Assyrian provinces. Hilakku was assigned by Sargon to Ambaris (son of the former king of Tabal), who after a period of exile in Assyria had been repatriated by Sargon, installed as ruler of the Tabalic kingdom Bit-Burutash, married to Sargon's daughter, and given Hilakku as a dowry (**ARAB* II: 11). When Ambaris was deposed by Sargon in 713 (for the circumstances, see **Tabal**), Hilakku, along with Bit-Burutash, was placed under direct Assyrian rule. Rebellions against Assyria under Sargon's successors, beginning with his son Sennacherib (704–681), ensured that the spirit of anti-Assyrian resistance remained strong in the Anatolian kingdoms. Sennacherib probably succeeded in reasserting Assyrian authority over Que, but Hilakku repeatedly resisted Assyrian attempts to dominate it, even though Sennacherib's successor Esarhaddon claimed to have subdued its rebellious population (**ARAB* II: 206–7). Certainly by the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–630/627) Hilakku had regained its independence from any form of

Assyrian control, though early in his reign Ashurbanipal received an embassy from its king, Sandasarme (Houwink ten Cate, 1965: 26).

In Neo-Babylonian texts, the country attested as Pirindu (Piriddu) corresponded largely, if not entirely, to the kingdom of Hilakku. Its capital was probably Ura (see **Ura** (1)). Kirshu, another royal city of Pirindu, lay 'six double-hours' from Ura. It appears to have been an important base of Pirindu's ruling dynasty. A text from Nebuchadnezzar II's reign refers to prisoners taken from Pirindu in the king's thirteenth year (592/591). Several years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar in 562, his successor-but-one, Neriglissar (560–556), conducted a campaign against a king of Pirindu called Appuashu (557/556) (**ABC* 103–4, **Chav.* 417–18). Hostilities between Pirindu and Babylon may have arisen over control of Hume (Que in Assyrian texts). Neriglissar advanced to Hume, where he inflicted a defeat on Appuashu's troops after a failed attempt by the latter to ambush him. He then pursued Appuashu into his own kingdom, capturing his royal cities Ura and Kirshu, and also the island fortress of Pitusu where 6,000 troops were stationed. He proceeded next to Sallune (Classical Selinus; *BAGRW* 66 A4), the westernmost city on the Cilician coast. From there he marched to the borders of Lydia before returning home.

Houwink ten Cate (1965: 17–18, 28, 43), Hawkins (*RIA* 4: 402–3; *CHLI* I: 43–4), Streck (*RIA* 10: 572–3).

Him(m)e (Himu) Late Bronze and Iron Age country located in the borderlands between northeastern Mesopotamia and northwestern Iran, within the territories inhabited by the Lullubi (Lullumu) tribal groups. It is first attested in the record of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I's accession year (1275), as one of eight lands belonging to the country Uruatri (var. Uratri; see under **Urartu**) which Shalmaneser conquered, allegedly destroying fifty-one of their cities and carrying off their population and property (**RIMA* 1: 183). The other lands were Bargun (or Mashgun), Halila, Luha, Nilipahru, Salua, Uatqun, and Zingun. Shalmaneser's claim that Uruatri had rebelled against him at the beginning of his reign implies that these lands had previously been subject to Assyrian overlordship. In a campaign against one of the regions called Habhu in Assyrian texts (see **Habhu** (2)), Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) fought troops from several countries, including Himme (**RIMA* 2: 19). His successor-but-one Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056) conducted at least two campaigns against the country (**RIMA* 2: 88, 92–3, 94). On the second of these he used his infantry to lay siege to, capture, and destroy the city of Uruniash, which was in the heart of the mountains and inaccessible to his chariots. Bargun (Mashgun) is also mentioned within the context of these campaigns.

Him(m)e/Himu is perhaps to be identified with Himua (q.v.), attested in Late Bronze Age Hittite and Assyrian texts.

Klengel (*RIA* 4: 411).

Himua Northern Mesopotamian country first attested in the reign of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I (early C14) among the lands whose temples had been sacked by the Kaskan peoples from the Pontic region (*Bryce, 2005: 142). The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) lists it among the Nairi lands which he conquered during his campaigns against Nairi beginning in his third regnal year (**RIMA* 2: 21, 37, 52). Himua is perhaps to be identified with Him(m)e/Himu (q.v.), a Late Bronze and Iron Age country attested in Assyrian texts from the reigns of Shalmaneser I, Tiglath-pileser I, and Ashur-bel-kala.

Hindanu (Hinzanu, Giddan) (map 7) Iron Age city and state located on the west bank of the middle Euphrates between Laqe to the north and Suhu to the south. Hindanu is first mentioned in the context of a campaign conducted by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) against the land of Suhu (**RIMA* 2: 43). The Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911–891) received tribute from it on his progress through the middle Euphrates region, as did his son and successor Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884) during his last recorded campaign in 885 (**RIMA* 2: 154, 175). Tukulti-Ninurta's son and successor Ashurnasirpal II also received tribute payments from the city on a campaign which he conducted in the Habur r. region in his first regnal year (883), and on a second expedition four years later when he encamped his troops near the city (**RIMA* 2: 200, 213). Subsequently Hindanu and Laqe joined with Suhu in an anti-Assyrian coalition, probably with the encouragement of Bit-Adini and Babylonia (c. 877). Ashurnasirpal crushed the coalition's forces, then set about destroying their cities and deporting large numbers of their populations (**RIMA* 2: 214–15).

Several decades later, Hindanu joined in a widespread revolt against Shalmaneser III (858–824), initiated by the king's son Ashur-da'in-apla. The rebellion continued into the early regnal years of Shalmaneser's son and successor Shamshi-Adad V (823–811) before it was finally crushed (**RIMA* 3: 183). Hindanu now apparently remained submissive to Assyrian rule. In the reign of Shamshi-Adad's son and successor Adad-nirari III (810–783), it was among the lands in the middle Euphrates region assigned to Nergal-erish (Palil-erish), governor of the province of Rasappa (**RIMA* 3: 209, 211). The Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705) sought to curb raiding activities by nomadic Arab groups in the middle Euphrates region by assigning them grazing rights in Hindanu, between the Wadi Tharthar and the land of Suhu (**SAA* I: 74, no. 82). In 648, during the reign of Ashurbanipal, Hindanu was governed by a certain Belshunu, the Assyrian eponym (see glossary) for the year. The people of Hindanu and Suhu are attested as paying tribute to the Babylonian king Nabopolassar as he marched up the Euphrates in his tenth year (616) on his way to Assyria, though later in that year he took the people and gods of Hindanu to Babylon (**ABC* 91, **PE* 30, no. 10). For further attestations of Hindanu among Assyrian toponyms, see Parpola (1970: 163–4). Hindanu is mentioned in Neo-Babylonian and Persian tablets (its governor is attested in a tablet from the reign of Darius II).

Postgate (*RIA* 4: 415–16).

Hindaru M1 Aramaean tribe in southeastern Babylonia, first attested in a letter from Nippur, mid C8 (**Nippur* IV: 62–3, no. 13, line 6), and 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). Four sheikhs of the land of Hindaru are said to have submitted at Dur-Abi-hara to the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705), who imposed tax and tribute payments upon them (*Sargon II* 329). The Hindaru were among the tribes subjugated by Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib (**Sennach.* 25, 43, 49, 54, 57). Further references to them are found in letters from Sargon's reign (**SAA* XVII: 84, no. 92, 127, no. 146).

Lipiński (2000: 455–8).

Hinduwa Late Bronze Age city in southwestern Anatolia, nominally subject to Hatti; = Classical Candyba in Lycia? For its rebellion against Hittite rule, see *Dalawa*.

**HDT* 156–7.

Hiranu see *Umalia*.

Hirim(m)u Iron Age fortress-city east of the Tigris r., originally belonging to Babylonia, but incorporated, along with the fortress-city Harutu (*Hararatu*), into the northeastern frontier territory of the Neo-Assyrian kingdom by King Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884) (**RIMA* 2: 180). His achievement was emulated by his son and successor Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) (**RIMA* 2: 309). Both cities were later attacked and destroyed by the Assyrian king Sennacherib (704–681) (**ABC* 77).

Röllig (*RIA* 4: 418).

Hiritu(m) Southern Mesopotamian city attested in the Middle Bronze Age Mari archives. It was located on the east bank of the Irnina r., a tributary of the Euphrates, not far from Sippar. After being incorporated into the Babylonian empire by Hammurabi (1792–1750), the city was caught up in the conflicts between Elam and Babylon, and was for a time besieged by an Elamite army (1764). But the Elamites abandoned their siege without taking the city when they were defeated in a battle with the forces of a Babylonian–Mariote coalition (Zimri-Lim, king of Mari, was at that time Hammurabi’s ally). Their defeat at Hiritum effectively brought to an end the Elamites’ offensive in the region, and marked the beginning of their withdrawal from Babylonia.

The city is very probably identical with M1 Hiritu ‘in the province of Sippar’, the site of a battle between the Assyrian army of Ashurbanipal and the rebel forces of his brother Shamash-shum-ukin in the latter’s sixteenth year as ruler of Babylon (652) (Frame, 1992: 289–92; Cole and Gasche, 1998: 16–23).

*Lacambre (1997), *LKM* 103–8, *459–61, *478–9, *Mesop.* 223–4.

Hishamta Mesopotamian city attested in the Middle Bronze Age Mari archives, located in the middle Euphrates region in the district of Terqa. It was one of the cities from which Terqa’s governor Kibri-Dagan recruited troops for his army during the reign of the Mariote king Zimri-Lim (1774–1762), who was overlord of the region. Zimri-Lim appointed the city’s chief officials, including its mayor. Though formerly enjoying a status equivalent to that of Terqa – at the time Mari’s throne was occupied by Yahdun-Lim (1810–1794) – Hishamta had by Zimri-Lim’s reign greatly declined in importance. Its palace had now but one inhabitant, an old woman; it was proposed to relocate her to Terqa or Suprum.

LKM 612 (refs), *Mesop.* 267.

Hissashapa Late Bronze Age country in northern Anatolia, and a centre for the worship of the storm god. The Hittite king Mursili II (1321–1295) held a review of his troops in the city prior to one of his campaigns into Kaska territory (**AM* 172–5). Subsequently, Hissashapa must have been among the northern Hittite cities and countries ravaged by enemy incursions, for it was one of the depopulated lands which Mursili’s son and successor Muwattalli II assigned to his brother Hattusili (later King

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Hattusili III) when he appointed him ruler of the northern part of the Hittite homeland (*CS I: 201). See also **Hakpis(sa)** and **Turmitta**.

Otten (*RIA* 4: 428–9), **RGTC* 6: 111–12.

Hit (Id(u), Itu) (map 10) Middle Bronze and Iron Age city located in the Middle Euphrates region on the west bank of the Euphrates in the region called Suhu(m). The anc. settlement probably lies beneath the mod. city of Hit, and has yet to be excavated. First attested in the C18 archives from Mari, Hit was famous as a source of bitumen. It also had important religious associations, and was particularly noted as a place where river ordeals were carried out (**ARM XXVI/1*: 527–8, no. 249). Located as it was on the frontier between the territories of the Babylonian king Hammurabi (1792–1750) and the Mariote king Zimri-Lim (1774–1762), it was a cause of contention between the two rulers. Both claimed possession of it, along with two other cities in the region, Yabliya and Harbe (**ARM XXVI/2*: 364–7, no. 449). In the interests of maintaining peace with Babylon, Zimri-Lim consulted with his officials as to whether he should cede Hit to Hammurabi, and also sought advice from the gods by means of divination (**ARM XXVI/1*: 326–7, no. 160). The gods' advice, provided by oracles, was clear: he should not give up the city to the Babylonian. But Hammurabi remained adamant, declaring that he needed possession of Hit for its bitumen and pitch, which he used to caulk his ships (**ARM XXVI/2*: 390–3, no. 468). The Babylonian and Mariote kings failed to reach agreement on who had the right to Hit, and control of the city was to resurface as a contentious issue five years later. For the time being, however, the kings maintained their uneasy alliance, and it seems that Hammurabi finally conceded Hit along with Yabliya and Harbe to Zimri-Lim while Rapiqum, downstream from Hit, was confirmed as a Babylonian possession.

Hit re-emerged in late C12 as a fortified city on Assyria's southern frontier. The Assyrian king Ashur-resh-ishi I (1132–1115) won a military victory there over the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I (1126–1105). During the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076), Idu is attested as one of the provinces sending contributions to Ashur. Following the Aramaean incursions, the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911–891) re-established Idu and nearby Zanu as Assyrian frontier-posts (**RIMA* 2: 149). His son and successor Tukulti-Ninurta II encamped his forces there during his last recorded campaign (885) which took him through the middle Tigris and Euphrates regions, near one of the bitumen sources (**RIMA* 2: 174). According to Herodotus (1.179), bitumen was transported from the river near the city (he calls both the city and the river Is) to Babylon, a journey of eight days, where it was used in the construction of Babylon's walls; he was, however, writing long after the event. Under the name Itu, the city is occasionally mentioned in Neo-Babylonian sources (*RGTC* 8: 184).

Postgate (*RIA* 5: 33), Lackenbacher (1988), Michel (*DCM* 388–9), *LKM* 613 (refs), van de Mierop (2005: 69–72).

Hittites (map 3) Mod. name assigned to the peoples of the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Hatti, whose homeland lay in north-central Anatolia. These peoples consisted of a number of ethnic groups from different parts of the western Asian world, speaking a range of languages. However, the official chancellery language of the kingdom was of Indo-European origin, and was called Nesite. Indo-European Nesite may not have been the most widely spoken language in the Hittite homeland, let alone the kingdom at large. But its use may reflect the ethnic origins of the royal dynasty which established

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the foundations of the Hittite kingdom in the first half of C17. This dynasty maintained its control over Late Bronze Age Hatti, with several brief interruptions, throughout the 500 years of the kingdom's existence. Its ancestral home appears to have been a city called Kussara, probably located in the anti-Taurus region of south-eastern Anatolia. But by mid C17 the city of Hattusa, destroyed in the previous century, was rebuilt and became the dynasty's new capital. Hattusili I (1650–1620), one of the first Hittite kings, is generally credited with this achievement.

The Hattians were another of the ethnic components of the Hittite population. Hattians are the earliest identifiable occupants of north-central Anatolia, their association with the region perhaps extending back thousands of years. Their language, which survives in a few passages in Hittite texts, may have died out early in the Hittite period, but many of their traditions and customs became integral features of Hittite society. The Hittite population probably also included a significant Luwian component; the Luwians were another Indo-European group, which spread over large areas of western and southern Anatolia during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Hatti's homeland population was constantly swelled by thousands of deportees brought back from many parts of the western Asian world in the aftermath of military conquest. The deportees were rapidly absorbed within the Hittite population, and seem to have enjoyed significant legal rights. At no stage in Hittite history is there any sense of ethnic discrimination. All those who lived within the core region of the Hittite kingdom called themselves, without distinction, the people of the land of Hatti.

Hittite history is generally divided into two periods. Though the distinction is a somewhat arbitrary one, and scholars disagree on when one period ended and the next began, we can for convenience' sake regard the Old Kingdom as extending from early



Figure 49 Double-headed eagle, symbol of Hittite military power, from Alaca Höyük.

C17 to c. 1400, and the New Kingdom from c. 1400 to early C12. The peak of the Old Kingdom period occurred during the reigns of Hattusili I and his grandson and successor Mursili I (1620–1590). These kings conducted extensive military campaigns in Syria (**Chav.* 219–22) and (in the case of Hattusili) Mesopotamia. Mursili's crowning military achievement was the conquest, in a single campaign, of both Aleppo and Babylon (**Chav.* 230). But his assassination a few years later plunged Hatti into a period of turmoil, characterized by numerous struggles for the royal succession. These left the kingdom in a weak and divided state, exposing it to invasions by its enemies and indeed bringing it close to extinction, until a king called Telipinu (1525–1500) managed to reunify the kingdom under his authority. In an attempt to prevent further contests for the Hittite throne, Telipinu laid down formal rules for the royal succession, and established a set of procedures for enforcing them. The measures he took are recorded in a document commonly known as the 'Proclamation of Telipinu' (**Chav.* 228–35), which also reports Telipinu's military successes in regaining a number of the territories lost to Hatti in the reigns of his predecessors. But it was not until the early C14, when King Tudhaliya I/II embarked on a series of campaigns both in western Anatolia and northern Syria, that Hatti could once more claim the status of one of the Great Kingdoms of the western Asian world.

Its chief rival at this time was the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni, whose rulers had been building a formidable empire of subject states stretching through northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria into eastern Anatolia. Both Hatti and Mitanni sought to establish their control over the regions which lay between their homelands. But before Hittite–Mitannian rivalry came to a head, the Hittite kingdom was once more plunged into crisis, in the reign of Tudhaliya III, when the homeland was invaded and occupied by enemy forces attacking from all directions (**Bryce*, 2005: 146). The Hittite capital was captured and destroyed. Its royal family managed to escape and set up residence-in-exile in a city called Samuha, which lay to the east. From there, Tudhaliya and his son Suppiluliuma staged a comeback, dislodging the enemies from the homeland and in some cases pursuing them into their own countries, destroying their forces there, and laying waste their territories.

With the death of Tudhaliya c. 1350, Suppiluliuma (I) became the new ruler of the Hittite world, after the assassination of the rightful heir, his brother Tudhaliya the Younger. Once on the throne, Suppiluliuma set his sights upon destroying the kingdom of Mitanni. By achieving this objective (**Chav.* 241–4) he made Hatti the most powerful kingdom in western Asia. Hittite subject territory in Syria–Palestine now abutted that of Egypt, and tensions began mounting between the two Great Kingdoms. Already Hittite and Egyptian armies had clashed in the region of Qadesh on the Orontes r. during the reign of the boy-pharaoh Tutankhamun, while Suppiluliuma still occupied the Hittite throne (**Chav.* 237). Shortly afterwards Tutankhamun died (1327), and when a Hittite prince sent to Egypt to marry his widow was killed on the journey, Suppiluliuma, holding the Egyptians responsible, retaliated by attacking Egyptian subject territory in southern Syria. Large numbers of prisoners-of-war were taken back to the homeland. They brought with them a plague which ravaged the Hittite homeland for the next twenty years (**Chav.* 259–66). One of its victims was Suppiluliuma himself.

The showdown between Hatti and Egypt came in 1274, when their armies clashed in a major battle near Qadesh, under their respective commanders Muwattalli II and

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Figure 50 Hittite axe.

Ramesses II. (For an earlier engagement at Qadesh between Muwattalli and Ramesses' father Seti I, see under **Qadesh**.) The battle itself ended in a stalemate, but the Hittites were the ultimate victors in terms of their territorial gains at Egypt's expense. Hittite territory now extended well into Syria–Palestine, to the region north of Damascus. Tensions between the two kingdoms continued in the years which followed the battle, until a treaty was drawn up, in 1259, between Ramesses and the then Hittite king Hattusili III, brother of Muwattalli (**Chav.* 244–8). The treaty, which was cemented thirteen years later by a royal marriage alliance, marked the end of any further (known) hostilities between Egypt and Hatti.

The treaty may have been prompted in part by an ominous new development east of the Euphrates – the re-emergence of Assyria in the wake of the destruction of Mitanni. A military confrontation between a Hittite army led by Hattusili's son and successor Tudhaliya IV and the forces of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I resulted in a devastating defeat for the former, c. 1230 (see **Nihriya**). Tudhaliya's kingdom was also being plagued by unrest in a number of his subject territories, as well as by threats posed by pretenders to the throne from rival factions within his own family. His father and predecessor Hattusili III had seized the throne from his nephew

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Urhi-Teshub, son of Muwattalli (*CS I: 202–3). The deposed king had been sent into exile in Syria, but constantly sought assistance from foreign powers, especially from the pharaoh Ramesses II, to get his throne back. Ramesses, however, gave his support to the usurper, and subsequently to his son Tudhaliya. Urhi-Teshub never succeeded in regaining his throne. But his (half-?)brother Kurunta, who had apparently also supported Hattusili and Tudhaliya, was awarded rule over the prestigious appanage kingdom Tarhuntassa in southern Anatolia. One of the most important recent discoveries from the Hittite capital Hattusa is a bronze tablet containing the text of a treaty drawn up by Tudhaliya with Kurunta as ruler of Tarhuntassa (**Chav.* 270–5, *CS II: 100–6). It is possible that Kurunta may have eventually made his own bid for the Hittite throne, using Tarhuntassa as his base (see further under **Tarhuntassa**).

In spite of the establishment of an ‘eternal peace’ with Egypt, the last decades of C13 were marked by signs of increasing instability within the Hittite kingdom. A range of factors have been suggested for the kingdom’s decline, including severe food shortages, pressure from outside forces, and factional strife among rival branches of the royal family. Early in C12, during the reign of Tudhaliya’s son and second successor Suppiluliuma II, the kingdom collapsed, never to rise again. This occurred within the context of the general upheavals associated with the end of the Bronze Age and the decline, collapse, and disappearance of a number of the kingdoms and cities of the age. The defining event which marked the end of the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Hatti was the abandonment and destruction of the royal capital Hattusa (see under **Hattusa**). But remnants of Hittite civilization and the peoples who shared in it survived for some centuries to come. This was particularly the case in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria, which from late M2 onwards provided a homeland for the so-called Neo-Hittite kingdoms (q.v.).

There are a number of references to Hittites in *OT* sources, in the forms *Het*, *ba-hittî*, *Hittîm*, and *hittiyot*. What connection, if any, do the biblical Hittites have with the Hittites of the Late Bronze Age world? In one of the most recent discussions of this question, Singer (2006) distinguishes between two broad categories of biblical Hittites – ‘inland’ Hittites and ‘outland’ Hittites. References to the former in the *OT* indicate that they were a small Canaanite tribal group living in the hills of Palestine. On the other hand, there are five passages in which a much more extensive role is assigned to the Hittites. In these passages, the masculine plural form *hittîm* refers to the ‘kings of the Hittites’ or ‘the land of the Hittites’. For example, in Joshua 1:4, the Hittite land is described as extending from the desert to Lebanon, and from the great river, the Euphrates, to the Great Sea on the west (i.e. the Mediterranean). There can be no doubt that the references in these passages are to the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of Syria and southeastern Anatolia. Singer discusses at some length the question of whether there is a connection between the so-called ‘inland’ and ‘outland’ Hittites. On the assumption that there is in fact no connection, he provides an explanation as to how the term ‘Hittite’ came to be applied to the Canaanite group. Most recently, Collins has discussed afresh the question of whether the biblical Hittites were linked with the Hittites attested in Late Bronze Age sources. She concludes that the former can in fact be identified with the latter, but not specifically with the Hittites living in Anatolia. ‘Rather, the biblical authors had in mind those peoples living in Hittite-controlled areas directly to their north (in northern Palestine and Syria) who did not qualify

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already as Canaanite or Amorite, whatever their individual ethnic affiliation might have been' (Collins, 2007: 212).

Gurney (1990), Klengel (1999), Bryce (2002; 2005), Singer (2006), Collins (2007), Freu (2007).

Hivites In biblical tradition, one of the tribal groups occupying the hill country of central Palestine (other groups were the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Canaanites, and Jebusites) (e.g. Exodus 3:8, 13:5, 23:23, 33:2). A number of biblical passages seem to indicate that the Hivites were identical with, or a branch of, the population group called the Horites (cf. e.g. Genesis 36:2, 20, 29). Outside *OT* sources, there is allegedly a reference to the Hivites (in the form *hwt*) in a topographical list of the C13 pharaoh Ramesses II (Görg, 1976), and a connection has also been suggested with the Iron Age country Que in southern Anatolia (Quwe → *Huwe → Hebrew *hiwwi*). A certain Awarikus is attested as king of Que in C8. In the Luwian version of a Phoenician–Luwian bilingual inscription found at mod. Çineköy (q.v.) within the region of Que, Awarikus calls his kingdom Hiyawa, an aphaeresized form of the name Ahhiyawa, which is used in a number of Late Bronze Age Hittite texts probably in reference to the contemporary Greek world. It has been suggested that the Hebrew form *hiwwi* derives from *Hiyawa* (see Collins, 2007: 201 with refs in n. 15).

Roberts (*HCBD* 436).

Hiyawa see Ahhiyawa, Que.

Horites In biblical tradition, a tribal group inhabiting Mt Seir in the region of Edom, south of the Dead Sea. It has been suggested that the group may have been a relic of the late Bronze Age Hurrians (q.v.) known from Hittite, Egyptian, and Akkadian texts. But despite the similarity of the names, there are no convincing grounds for linking the two peoples. A number of *OT* passages seem to indicate that the Horites were identical with, or a branch of, the Hivites (q.v.). The Horites are not attested outside biblical sources.

Roberts (*HCBD* 436).

Hubushkia ([maps 13, 20](#)) M1 royal city and country in the land of Nairi in mod. Kurdistan, to the south or west of Lake Urmia. Locations for it have been proposed on the upper course of the Greater Zab r. or further to the southeast in the Zagros mountain region (Salvini, 1995b: 43, Medvedskaya, 1997). Our information about Hubushkia comes primarily from Neo-Assyrian texts. After the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824), the names Hubushkia and Nairi seem to be used synonymously in these texts.

Hubushkia is first attested during a campaign in the Nairi lands by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884) (**RIMA* 2: 180). Subsequently, Hubushkians were among the peoples conquered by Tukulti-Ninurta's son and successor Ashurnasirpal II (**RIMA* 2: 197) during a campaign which he conducted in his first regnal year (883). So too at the beginning of his reign, Shalmaneser III maintained Assyrian pressure on the region by conducting the first of a series of campaigns there. He destroyed the city of Hubushkia by fire, then ruled by a certain Kakia (also said to be king of the Nairi lands), and claims to have burnt one hundred other cities in its environs (**RIMA* 3: 8, 14). This particular campaign ended with Shalmaneser's defeat of the king of Nairi and

his advance to the ‘Sea of Nairi’ (most likely Lake Urmia), where he erected an inscribed stele (**RIMA* 3: 8–9). Shalmaneser’s campaigns in his third year again took him into Hubushkian territory, where he stormed, captured, and destroyed the stronghold Shilaia (**RIMA* 3: 21). In 844 he mounted a further brief campaign against Hubushkia, and in 829 and 828 operations against the country were conducted by his commander-in-chief Dayyan-Ashur. On these last two occasions, Hubushkia avoided destruction when its ruler, Datana, handed over tribute to the Assyrian (**RIMA* 3: 70). Shalmaneser’s grandson Adad-nirari III conducted four campaigns against Hubushkia, in 801, 791, 785, and 784. In 715 its ruler, Ianzu, sent tribute to the Assyrian king Sargon II during the latter’s campaign in Urartian territory (**ARAB* II: 29).

Hubushna see Hupisna.

Hudubilu Iron Age city on the middle Euphrates, north of Idu (mod. Hit). The Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II encamped his forces there during his last recorded campaign (885) which took him through the middle Tigris and Euphrates regions (**RIMA* 2: 174).

Huhnur (map 12) Bronze Age city in western Iran, located between Susa and Anshan within the territory of Elam. First attested in texts of the Ur III period (C21), it has been identified from an inscription of Amar-Sin (2046–2038), third of the Ur III kings, with Tappeh (Tol-e) Bormi, near modern Ram Hormuz (Nasrabadi, 2005). Early in the Ur III period, Huhnur was among the eighty-one cities and regions which Puzur-Inshushinak, the last king of Awan’s ‘second dynasty’ (according to the Susa King List), claims to have conquered (**DaK* 323; cf. Zadok, 1991: 227). It was also conquered by Amar-Sin and subsequently by Ibbi-Sin (2028–2004), last king of the Ur III dynasty, who went ‘with massive power’ to Huhnur and other cities in the region during his ninth regnal year. References are made to a ‘king of Huhnuri’ in C14 texts discovered at Haft Tepe (located 10 km southeast of Susa), which lay northwest of Huhnur.

RGTC 2: 768, D. T. Potts (1999: 332, index refs), Nasrabadi (2005).

Hulaya River Land Late Bronze Age country in southern Anatolia (probably to the southwest of mod. Konya), subject to Hatti. It was among the territories lost to the Hittites some time after the assassination of the Hittite king Mursili I (c. 1590), but regained by Telipinu (1525–1500), who located one of the Hittites’ grain-storage depots there (*Hoffmann, 1984: 42–3). During the reign of Muwattalli II (1295–1272), the Hulaya River Land was incorporated as frontier territory into the newly created land of Tarhuntassa (Bryce, 2005: 453, n. 27). It provided troops and chariots for the Hittite army until exempted from this obligation by Hattusili III. This is indicated in a treaty which Hattusili drew up with Tarhuntassa’s appanage king Ulmi-Teshub (**HDT* 109–10), identified by most scholars with Hattusili’s nephew Kurunta. Hattusili’s son and successor Tudhaliya IV also drew up a treaty with Kurunta, the famous bronze tablet discovered at Hattusa in 1986, in which he redefined the boundaries of Tarhuntassa and listed the cities belonging to Tarhuntassa’s incorporated territory of Hulaya River Land (**HDT* 114–15, **CS* II: 100–1). Tudhaliya also reconfirmed

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in this treaty the Hulaya River Land's exemption from providing chariotry and infantry for the Hittite army (**HDT* 120, **CS* II: 104).

Hulun Iron Age city located to the south of Lake Van in eastern Anatolia. It lay on the route of the campaign conducted by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II in his first year (883) against the lands to the northeast of Assyria (**RIMA* 2: 197). Ashurnasirpal advanced from Mt Kurruru to the interior of one of the regions called Habhu in Assyrian texts (see **Habhu** (2)), via the pass of Hulun. Liverani locates the pass in the Hakkari mountains.

Liverani (1992: 25).

Hulzu City located in the Kashiyari range (mod. Tur 'Abdin) in northern Mesopotamia, attested in the records of the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056). Ashur-bel-kala conquered it during one of his campaigns against the Aramaeans (**RIMA* 2: 102).

Hume see **Que**.

Hunusu (Hanusa?) Fortified city of Qumanu, a land attested in Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Assyrian texts, in the borderlands between northeastern Mesopotamia and northwestern Iran. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) reports his conquest and destruction of the city after defeating and annihilating an army mustered from the entire land of Qumanu (**RIMA* 2: 24, 34). Hunusu may be identical with Neo-Assyrian Hanusa. The waters of Hanusa were among those brought to Nineveh by the aqueduct which Sennacherib constructed at Jerwan, according to the text inscribed on some of its stone blocks. Hanusa is perhaps to be identified with mod. Hinnis, close to Bavian at the head of the artificial watercourse (Jacobsen and Lloyd, 1935: 21)

Hupapanu M1 city and district in southeastern Elam (southwestern Iran). It was one of the Elamite lands in which the people of the Chaldaean tribe Bit-Yakin (q.v.) sought refuge, fleeing Babylonia with the Babylonian king Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan) after the latter's defeat by the Assyrian king Sennacherib (see under **Babylonia**). In 694 Sennacherib 'crossed the sea in Hittite [i.e. Syrian] ships' and conquered the lands of Hupapanu, Nagitu, Hilmu, and Billatu, which he refers to as 'provinces of Elam' (**Sennach.* 38–9, **ABC* 78). He destroyed the cities of these lands, and then deported both their occupants and the Bit-Yakinite refugees to Assyria. Hupapanu later appears in a letter sent to the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal by his commander-in-chief Bel-ibni in southern Babylonia. This was in 649, during the conflict between Ashurbanipal and his brother Shamash-shum-ukin, Ashurbanipal's appointee to the throne of Babylon (see under **Babylon**).

Dietrich (*RIA* 4: 501).

Hupis(h)na (Hapisna, Assyrian Hubishna/Hubushna, Hubushnu, Classical Cybistra) (map 18) Late Bronze and Iron Age country in southern Anatolia. It lay in the region which the Hittites called the Lower Land, more specifically within the area of the Classical Tyanitis. Its chief city is probably to be identified with the site at Karahöyük near mod. Ereğli. According to the Hittite 'Telipinu Proclamation' (see

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glossary), Hupisna was among the cities or countries which the early C17 Hittite king Labarna conquered, thereupon appointing his sons to govern them (**Chav.* 230). It subsequently appears in the context of campaigns undertaken by the mid C16 Hittite king Ammuna in his attempts to re-establish Hatti's authority in subject states which had rebelled against its rule. After the collapse of the Hittite kingdom in early C12, Hupisna/Hubushnu became one of the states constituting the southern territories of the region called Tabal in Assyrian texts. Shalmaneser III of Assyria marched against it in 836 following his military operations in northern Tabal (**RIMA* 3: 79). At this time, its ruler was a man called Puhame. During the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), Hupisna was ruled by a certain U(i)rimme, who is listed among Tiglath-pileser's five tributary-kings of Tabal (**Tigl. III* 68–9, 108–9). In 679 the Assyrian king Esarhaddon fought a battle against the Cimmerians here, defeating the Cimmerian leader Teushpa (**ARAB* II: 206).

Kessler/Levine (*RIA* 4: 500–1), **RGTC* 6: 117–19.

Huradu Iron Age royal city of the Chaldaean tribe Bit-Dakkuri in southern Mesopotamia. When the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III invaded the land of the Bit-Dakkuri during his second Babylonian campaign (850), he spared Huradu after Adinu, the tribe's ruler, voluntarily submitted to him and paid a substantial tribute (**RIMA* 3: 31).

Hurban (Ur(u)ban) Middle Bronze Age city in the region of Upper Suhum on the middle Euphrates south of Mari, between the cities Harradum and Hanat. In the reign of Zimri-Lim, king of Mari (1774–1762), the city was threatened by troops from Eshnunna whose ruler, Ibal-pi-El II, contested control over the region with Zimri-Lim. On this occasion the Eshnunnaite forces withdrew when confronted by an army of Mariote troops assembled under the command of Zimri-Lim's representative Kibsi-Adad.

LKM 613 (refs).

Hurra Late Bronze Age city in western Mesopotamia, located in the kingdom of Hanigalbat. When Hanigalbat's ruler Wasashatta rebelled against Assyrian sovereignty, Hurra was among the cities conquered by the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (1307–1275) as he crushed the rebellion (**RIMA* 1: 136).

Hurran Middle Bronze Age city in the middle Euphrates region, close to the city of Dur-Yahdun-Lim. Attested in the Mari archives (**LKM* 184), it is perhaps to be identified with Iron Age Haranu, a Laqean settlement, and with mod. Tell Handal on the east bank of the Habur r. near its confluence with the Euphrates.

Lipiński (2000: 93).

Hurrians (map 3) A large group of peoples, of uncertain origin, who from late M3 onwards began to spread through northern Mesopotamia, northern Syria, and eastern Anatolia. The Kura-Araxes region in Transcaucasia and eastern Anatolia have both been proposed as their original homeland. A common language, called Hurrian in written records, and common onomastic features, gave a loose cultural coherence to these peoples, enabling scholars to identify the various regions where they settled or with which they came in contact. The Hurrian language survives mainly in cuneiform

inscriptions (though there are also a small number of texts in the alphabetic script of Ugarit), the longest of which is a letter in the mid C14 Amarna archive, written by the Mitannian king Tushratta to the pharaoh Amenhotep III (*EA 24). The language itself is not related to the Indo-European or the Semitic language groups, nor indeed to any other known language, with the possible exception of Urartian.

Hurrian states already existed in C23, for in this period they were incorporated into the Akkadian empire by Naram-Sin (2254–2218). After the empire's fall, Hurrian-speaking peoples established a number of small principalities through northern and eastern Mesopotamia. They were conquered by Shulgi (2094–2047), second ruler of the Ur III dynasty, during his triumphant military campaigns through the northern and eastern border regions of his kingdom. Large numbers of the conquered peoples who were taken as prisoners-of-war bore Hurrian names. In Anatolia, Hurrians make their first attested appearance as traders during the Assyrian Colony period (Middle Bronze Age; C20–18; see glossary), as illustrated by Hurrian names in the colony texts. By the end of C16 a number of small states with predominantly Hurrian populations had been amalgamated into a single political federation called the kingdom of Mitanni.

In the Late Bronze Age, Hittites and Hurrians fiercely contested control over the territories of northern Syria and eastern Anatolia, even before the creation of the Mitannian state. The Hittite king Hattusili I (1650–1620) was forced to cut short a campaign in Arzawan territory, western Anatolia, because of a Hurrian invasion of his homeland (**Chav.* 220), perhaps in retaliation for Hattusili's attacks on Hurrian states in northern Syria and eastern Anatolia. And Hattusili's successor Mursili I was attacked by Hurrian troops as he returned home from his conquest of Babylon c. 1595 (**Chav.* 230; see Bryce, 2005: 416, n. 10). Yet again, in the reign of Mursili's assassin and successor Hantili I (1590–1560), Hurrians invaded the Hittite homeland, roaming through it and plundering it at will (**Chav.* 230). In southern Anatolia, the state of Kizzuwadna was probably created under Hurrian influence in C16, and contained a substantial Hurrian element in its population.

Long after the Hurrians had ceased to be a significant political power in western Asia, notably after the destruction of the Mitannian empire by the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I (1350–1322), many elements of Hurrian culture survived and flourished, particularly in the Hittite world. This is evident from Hurrian literary and religious traditions, preserved for us in Hittite texts and visual representations. Hurrian deities and religious practices were adopted with particular enthusiasm in C13 by Hattusili III and his Hurrian queen, Puduhepa, and subsequently by Hattusili's son and successor Tudhaliya IV. All three played a leading role in promoting the Hurrian pantheon in the Hittite world. This is most graphically illustrated by the parade of male and female deities, in Hurrian garb and with Hurrian names, carved on the walls of the Hittite rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya.

Rulers with Hurrian names were still in evidence in northeastern Mesopotamia in C12. Indeed, Hurrian elements appear to have persisted in this region until at least mid M1.

Edzard, Kammenhuber/Mellink (*RIA* 4: 507–19), Wilhelm (1989; 1995).

Hursama One of the Late Bronze Age Hittite cult-centres in northern Anatolia destroyed by the Kaska people during the reign of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I in

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early C14. Other cult-centres in the region which suffered similar destruction in the same period included Nerik, Kastama, Serisa, Himuwa, Taggasta, and Kammama.

*ANET 399, Otten (*RIA* 4: 521), *RGTC 6: 126–7.

Hüseyindede Late Bronze Age Hittite cult-centre in northern Anatolia, located 30 km north of mod. Çorum. Excavations begun in 1998, under the direction of T. Yıldırım, T. Siparhi, and İ. Ediz, revealed the thickly plastered walls of what has been interpreted as a cult-building, dating apparently to the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom (C17–15). The building may have been dedicated to the worship of the storm god. Siparhi has also been investigating other closely linked Hittite sites at Fatmaören and Boyalı Höyük.

Burney (2004: 132); reports (in Turkish) by T. Yıldırım and T. Sipahi in *KST* from vol. 22, 2000, onwards.

Hu(wa)rsanassa Late Bronze Age country in western Anatolia, within or near the territory of the Lukka Lands. It was among the lands captured by the renegade Hittite vassal Madduwatta during his campaigns in western Anatolia (early C14). Attarimma and Suruta appear immediately before it in the list of Madduwatta's conquests (**HDT* 58). The three countries again appear together at the beginning of the Hittite king Mursili II's reign (1321), when they apparently joined an anti-Hittite rebellion in the west. Mursili responded by conducting a campaign against his western enemies during his third regnal year. In the course of this campaign, troops from Huwarsanassa, Attarimma, and Suruta fled before him and sought refuge in the kingdom of Arzawa Minor (**AM* 52–3, 58–9, **CS* II: 85).

Otten (*RIA* 4: 521–2).

Huzaza Iron Age city located in the Biqa^ʿ valley, Lebanon, attested in letters addressed to the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705) (e.g. **SAA* I: 136, no. 175). In the latter decades of C8 it was incorporated into the Assyrian empire as part of the province of which nearby Soba was the chief city. An identification has been proposed with Tell Gazza, a 250 m × 150 m settlement-mound in the central Biqa^ʿ valley 5 km north of Kamid el-Loz (q.v.). During Sargon's reign, Arab merchants had engaged in trade with the city, and Sargon accused its governor Bel-liqbi of



Figure 51 Cylinder seal of Hittite king Mursili II.

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turning the city into a merchant-town. There were apparently restrictions on its rights to engage in trade. The king was particularly concerned at reports that the city was selling iron to the Arabs. Bel-liqbi protested that the only goods sold to these people were grapes and copper (*SAA I: 140–1, no. 179). Iron was sold only to deportees.

Lipiński (2000: 319, 327).

Huzirina (probably = *Sultantepe*, Classical **Hostra**) (map 2) Settlement-mound of predominantly Iron Age date (though there are earlier, unexplored Bronze Age levels), 40 m high and 100 m in diameter, located in northwestern Mesopotamia 15 km east of mod. Urfa. Huzirina's name is known to us from Assyrian texts. Its identification with the site of Sultantepe is generally though not universally accepted (Lipiński, 2000: 112–14). It was one of the major cities, along with Harran and Dur-Qipani, of the Assyrian Province of the Commander-in-Chief (see glossary).

Excavation of Sultantepe was conducted in 1951 and 1952 by N. Gökçe on behalf of the Hittite Museum at Ankara and S. Lloyd for the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Temples of the divine couple Zababa and Baba and the goddess Ishtar, and probably also a temple dedicated to the moon god, were erected on the site. A monumental entrance portico, whose remains are indicated by enormous basalt column bases, gave access to a walled enclosure on the summit where a number of public buildings were located. During the first season's excavations, a large hoard of tablets was brought to light, all except three unbaked. By the end of the second season, a total of c. 400 tablets and fragments had been unearthed. The three baked tablets consisted of a mathematical, an economic, and a medical text. All the other tablets were religious (hymns, prayers, and incantations), literary (including a version of the epic of Gilgamesh), medical, astronomical, or lexical in character. The excavators noted that the building outside which the tablets were found had the character of a private house, which came to be known as the 'House of Qurdi-Nergal'. The colophons of several of the tablets refer to Qurdi-Nergal, a priest of the gods Zababa and Baba, as the recipient of the tablets. Whether or not the house in question actually belonged to this man remains uncertain.

The Assyrian king Adad-nirari II records his capture of Huzirina during a campaign in Hanigalbat in 899 (*RIMA 2: 149–50). His successor, Tukulti-Ninurta II, encamped his forces there during his last recorded campaign (885) (*RIMA 2: 177). Tukulti-Ninurta's own son and successor Ashurnasirpal II visited Huzirina on his 866 campaign, and received there tribute from a number of lands, including Qipanu, Kummuhu, and Azallu (*RIMA 2: 219). Huzirina joined a widespread revolt against the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824), initiated by the king's son Ashur-da'in-apla towards the end of Shalmaneser's reign. The rebellion continued into the early regnal years of Shalmaneser's son and successor Shamshi-Adad V before it was finally crushed (*RIMA 3: 183).

Huzirina was destroyed and abandoned at the end of the Neo-Assyrian period. Its destruction was probably due to the Scythians and the Babylonians who ended the existence of the nearby city of Harran in 610. It remained virtually unoccupied through the succeeding Babylonian and Persian periods. There was, however, reoccupation by mid C2, in the Hellenistic period, represented by modest domestic architecture, and occupation continued through the Roman imperial period until C2 or C3

CE. In this last phase of its existence the settlement appears to have been confined to the area surrounding the base of the mound.

Lloyd and Gökçe (1953), Postgate (*RIA* 4: 535–6), Gurney (1998).

Hydae (Kydae) (*Damlıboğaz*) (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria in southwestern Anatolia, 7 km west of Mylasa (mod. Milas). In C5, the city was a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary), and in the Hellenistic period was part of a sympolity with Mylasa. The discovery on the site of a handmade jug dating to M3 suggests much earlier periods of occupation. Among the meagre Classical remains of the city are a circuit wall, several rock-tombs, and a very poorly preserved temple possibly dedicated to Apollo and Artemis.

Bean (1971: 49–50; *PECS* 399).

Hydis(s)us (*Karacabisar*) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria, southwestern Anatolia, 20 km south of Mylasa (mod. Milas) (*BAGRW* 61 F3). Its origins date back at least to C5 when it is attested as a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary), paying an annual tribute of one talent. Remains of its fortifications are of early Hellenistic date. Other remains, including an agora and a theatre, date to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Coin issues from the latter period have also been found.

Bean (*PECS* 399–400).

Hyksos The name used of a line of Asiatic rulers who emerged from the Syro-Palestinian population group which settled in the Egyptian Delta during the Egyptian Middle Bronze Age. Some scholars believe that the immigrants were the cause of the breakdown of political control which brought the Egyptian Middle Kingdom to an end in mid C17. They may well have been a significant contributing factor. The name ‘Hyksos’ is a Greek rendering of the Egyptian term *ḥkꜣw kꜣsꜣwt*, which means ‘rulers of foreign countries’. For perhaps as much as a century (c. 1650–1550) the Hyksos dominated Egypt. After first ruling from Memphis, they subsequently took up residence at Avaris (mod. Tell el-Dabʿa) in the eastern Delta. In the process, they reduced to vassal status the enfeebled Egyptian thirteenth dynasty, and its fourteenth dynasty offshoot in the Delta. The Hyksos thus became Egypt’s fifteenth dynasty, one consisting of four or more foreign kings. Thebes in Upper Egypt finally emerged as a centre of resistance to them. Installed there, shortly after the Hyksos had subjugated the thirteenth dynasty, was a line of local kings constituting the seventeenth dynasty, following upon an earlier line of Theban rulers constituting the sixteenth dynasty. Kamose, the last of the seventeenth dynasty kings, launched a series of attacks on the Hyksos, wresting from their control all territory south of Memphis and carrying out a lightning raid on the seat of the foreigners’ power in Avaris. This paved the way for the campaigns of his brother Ahmose. Ahmose captured Avaris, drove the Hyksos back to the lands whence their ancestors had come, inflicted further defeats upon them there, and reunited the whole of Egypt beneath his sway, becoming in 1550 the founder of the Egyptian New Kingdom.

**ANET* 173–5, Wolf (*RIA* 4: 537–9), Redford (1992: 98–122).

Hyope Attested by the C6–5 Greek geographer Hecataeus as a city of the people called the Matieni (q.v.). C. Sagona proposes a location in one of the valleys above the Kara Su in eastern Anatolia, most likely the Tortum valley.

C. Sagona, in Sagona and Sagona (2004: 48–9).

HYRCANIA

Hyrcania (map 16) M1 central Asian country, attested in both Persian and Classical sources, located south of the Caspian Sea, northwest of Parthia, and perhaps originally part of the land of Media prior to the conquests of the Persian king Cyrus II (559–530). According to Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 1.1.4), Hyrcania voluntarily changed allegiance to Cyrus in the course of these conquests. But in the widespread rebellions against Cyrus' third successor Darius I at the beginning of his reign (522), it joined with Parthia in support of Phraortes, the rebel Median pretender to the Persian throne. Darius routed the forces of Phraortes at the battle of Kurundu in Media, while the Hyrcanian and Parthian rebel forces were crushed by Darius' father Hystaspes, satrap of Parthia, in battles fought at Vishpauzatish and Patigrabana (8 March and 12 July 521, respectively) (*DB 35–7). Thirty years later, in 481, a contingent of Hyrcanians under the command of Megapanus were among the forces assembled by the Persian king Xerxes for his invasion of Greece (Herodotus 6.92).

Vogelsang (1988).