The Upper (or High) Land or Upper Lands mentioned in the Hittite sources was situated in the north-eastern part of the Hittite state. It was an important region of Hatti and included those lands, part of which were later mentioned in the sources as Armenia Minor. In the geographical sense a considerable part (mainly eastern) of its territory comprised a part of the Armenian Highland and in this regard its history presents certain interest for the study of the history of the old period of Armenia. The name Upper is also closely related to the name of Upper Armenia (arm. Բարձր Հայք) mentioned in Armenian sources. It should be mentioned that the territory of Upper Armenia province was geographically close to that of Upper Land.

It seems the Hittites viewed their country as Heartland (the capital city Hattusa and its neighbourhood) and Upper and Lower lands. Such notions about the world and their topography are also closely related to the toponym Upper Armenia (KUR Šarazzi, KUR URUUGUTI, KUR KURMEŠ UGUTI, KURAN.TA, KUR URU(E)-LI-TI (see Del Monte G., Tischler J., Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, VI. Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, Wiesbaden, 1978 (henceforth RGTC, VI), S. 293–294). The toponym can also be translated as Highland, Upper country (see Rüster Ch., Neu E., Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus Boğazköy-Texten, Wiesbaden, 1989, S. 228).


2 Armenia Minor included mainly the basins of the rivers Upper Euphrates, Upper Haly and Upper Gayl (Lykus). According to Strabo in the 4th–2nd centuries BC it was a separate kingdom and in the period of its might it reached Trapezund and Parnakia (Strabo, XII, 3, 28). Due to Artashes I’s (189–160 BC) unifying policy its eastern parts passed to the kingdom of Great Armenia. According to “Ashkharatsuyts” (Arm. Աշխարհացոյց) those unified territories comprised a considerable part of Upper Armenia province. Several important rivers of the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor – the Halys, Iris, Gayl, etc. originate from Armenia Minor (see Երևան, Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, Երևան, 1963, էջ 88, 100: Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. 1, Երևան, 1971, էջ 21).


4 Hakob Karnetsi called the toponym Upper Armenia (Karin region (Arm. Կարին կողմին), Higher Armenia (Arm. Վերին Հայք) as well (Յակովբ Կարնեցի, Տեղագիր Վերին Հայոց: Յիշատակարան ԺԷ դարու, Վաղարշապատ, 1903, էջ 9). It is mentioned in “Ashkharatsuyts” that the land was called Upper Armenia simply because of its high location (see Երևան, Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, էջ 44, 106. Հարությունյան Բ., Մեծ Հայքի վարչա-քաղաքական բաժանման համակարգը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, Երևան, 2001, էջ 56-113).

5 E. Forrer was one of the first researchers to address this question. He mentioned that the toponyms Upper and Lower Lands originate from the time of Assurian trading colonies (Forrer E., Forschungen, Bd. 1, T. 1. Die Arzova-Länder, 1926, S. 40 ff.). About the names of Upper and Lower Lands and the history of the problem see also Gurney O.R., The Upper Land, mātum ellitum, Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday, 2003, pp. 119-126.
state existed in other countries as well. Generally, Upper Land was also a territory from where originated and flowed the important rivers of the country. Thus, the Hittite Upper Land can be viewed as a place from where originated the most important river of Hatti - Marassantiya (Halys).

It can be assumed that the Hittites adopted the toponym Upper Land from the Hattians. Anyhow, already at the time of the Old kingdom (17th - 16th centuries BC) the territory of Upper Land was within the Hittite state.

The issue of the location of Upper Land was addressed by a lot of Hittitologists but mainly within the context of the history of Hatti. Most of the specialists located it at the north-east of Hatti, in the upper basin of the Halys.

G. Giorgadze mentioned that Upper Land included the territory situated to the south-east from modern Tokat and to the east of Sebastia, up to Yerznka (Yeriza). In the south it reached Tevrik. He conceptually located the lands Haliva, the Eluriya Mountains, Halila, Halitu, Haspina, Vashaya, Gakiusa, Tarukku, Parduvata, Hinnarivanda, Ivatallisa, Sapidduva, Takkumita, Kathariya, Gazzapa, Darittara, Tibiya, Tim(mi)na in the Upper Land. According to him the toponym Upper Land was

6 Lower Land was situated to the south of the river Marassantiya (Halys) (in the plateau of Ikonia). To its west were the countries of Arzawa, and to the south-east – Kizzuwatna. Lower Land also, just like Upper Land was one of the important spiritual centers of Hatti (see Hutter M., The Lower land, in The Luwians, Leiden-Boston, 2003, pp. 238-250).

7 Old Egypt was considered the “unity” of two countries Upper and Lower Lands (Egypts) and the pharaohs usually bore the title king of Upper and Lower Lands (see The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Oxford, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 305-309; vol. 3, pp. 409-411, 464-470). Here also, as in Hatti, the important river of the country, the Nile, flowed from the side of Upper land.

8 Sargon of Akkad (2334-2279 BC) has a text about the “Mesopotamian” Upper Land. There is information on Upper Land also in Naram Sin’s (2254-2218 BC) inscriptions, e.g. together with Subartu he mentioned Upper lands. By saying Upper Land the Akkadians probably understood the countries to the north and north-west of them from where originated and flowed the two important rivers of Mesopotamia – Euphrates and Tigris (Մովսիսյան Ա., Հայաստանը Քրիստոսից առաջ երրորդ հազարամյակում, Երևան, 2005, էջ 31, 69, 70, 71, 72, 129-131: Ibid, Աքքադի թագավորությունը և Ուրի III հարստությունը, Հայաստանի հարակից երկրների պատմություն, h. I, գլ. 2, Երևան, 2013, էջ 37-45).

9 According to M. Forlanini the usage of the geographical terms Upper and Lower Lands originated in Kanes because of swimming up and down the river Marassantiya. So, the upper basin of the river was Upper Land (Forlanini M., The historical geography of Anatolia and the transition from the kārum-period to the Early Hittite Empire, 2008, in: Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period, Leiden, pp. 57-86). Anatolia here and further – Asia Minor.


11 About Timmina see Քոսյան Ա., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի տեղանունները (ըստ խեթական սեպագիր աղբյուրների), Երևան, 2004 (henceforth <LS>), էջ 97. The author locates the settlement near modern Jimini (east of Yerznka).
mentioned by the Hittites in its “narrow” and “broad” sense. A considerable part of the countries mentioned by G. Giorgiadze were Kaskan territories that were close to Upper Land but they were not directly within that Hittite administrative unit. Anyhow the Hittite sources do not give an opportunity to consider those lands part of it.

In their work “The Geography of the Hittite Empire” J. Garstang and O. Gurney located Upper Land in the basin of the Upper Halys, mentioning Samuha as its administrative center. They also located Istitina, Zazisa and Kannuwara within Upper Land.

The specification of the location of Upper Land is also important in regard to the location of Hayasa (Azzi), since they were neighbours. In this regard it was in the spotlight of Armenologists as well.

N. Martirosyan locates the Upper Land in the area of Armenia Minor and the basin of Upper Euphrates. Y. Kasuni mentions that Upper Land was located in most of the territory of the future Armenia Minor, partly also in the territory of Cappadocia, mainly in the province of present Sebastia. According to G. Ghapantsyan Upper Land was the neighbor of Hayasa, to the west of the Dersim Mountains, in the basin of the Upper Halys river. It bordered on Hayasa in the line Zimara-Karahisar. He also located the lands Turmitta, Pala and Tumanna in Upper Land. But it should be mentioned that they were situated in the territories to the north and north-west of Hattusa.

V. Khachatryan addressed the problem of the location of Upper Land in more detail. He mentions that the name of this country was given by the Hittites in the broad and narrow territorial sense. In the narrow sense the Hittites meant the northern part of the Yerznka valley, and in the broad sense “the Upper lands” occupied a vaster territory. These were the territories lying between Azzi and Samuha, i.e. from the outflow of the Halys up to the Yerznka valley. Then he expresses the opinion that Istahara, Hanhana, Tibil, Istitina, Upper Land (in the narrow sense) and Hatena comprised Upper Land in

---

12 Гиоргадзе Г.Г., К вопросу о локализации и языковой структуре каскских этнических и географических названий, Переднеазиатский сборник, 1961, 1, стр. 165-179.
13 The city was mentioned already in “Cappadocian” texts and had commercial relations with Kanes. The majority of the researchers now locate Samuha at the archaeological site Kayalipinar (is situated on the northern bank of the river Halys, about 55km to the south-west of Sebastia) (see Müller-Karpe A., Recent Research on Hittite Archaeology in the “Upper Land”, Central-North Anatolia in the Hittite Period. pp. 109-117). The city was also one of the most important spiritual centers of Hatti (about the pantheon of Samuha see Haas V., Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1994, S. 578-580; <LS, т. 85-90>). Samuha was mentioned also in the form Sapuha (Keilschrifttexte aus Boğhazköy (henceforth KBo) XLV 179) or Sama (KBo III 4 III 48, see also RGTC, VI, S. 337-341; <LS, т. 85-90>).
15 Մարտիրոսյան Ն., Խարբերդի շրջանները՝ Հայոց հնագույն օրրանը, Խարբերդ եւ անոր ոսկեղէն դաշտը, Նիւ Յորք, 1959, էջ 118:
16 Քասունի Ե., Նախահայկական Հայաստան: Հայաստանի քննական պատմութիւնը Նորքարային շրջանէն 600 Ն. Ք., Պէյրութ, 1950, էջ 80–81:
17 Կապանցյան Գր., Խայասա-կոլեբել արման, Երեվան, 1956, стр. 37, 62, 63, 127:
18 About the location of those lands in more detail see RGTC, VI, S. 297-298, 437-438, 442-444.
the broad sense. Of those Hatena with the city Kummaha was situated in the Euphrates valley, from the bend up to the Yerznka area. And the latter is Hahani (Arm. Խախ) with the cities Dankuwa (Arm. Մթնի) and Biteyariga (Pitiiyariga, Arm. Բթայառիճ). Istitina was directly to the east of the Yerznka up to the outflow of the Euphrates. Zazisa was one of the settlements of the Istitina province which is Zaza of the Erzurum region. And its city Arziya is the medieval Armenian Artsn, not far from Erzurum. The settlement Kannuwara was situated in the territory of Istitina and was located at the site of the medieval settlement Kan in the Erzurum region19. Thus, according to the author Upper Land included the regions of Yerznka and Erzurum and mainly corresponded to the territory of medieval Upper Armenia.

Judging from the Hittite sources Upper Land included a greater territory and was situated to the west of Kummaha (Kamakh). The latter was mentioned in the Hittite sources as a separate territorial unit which later probably passed from Hayasa under the Hittite rule, and there is no information on its being within Upper Land20. And “Upper lands” could simply mean that the region included several “lands”. It is also less likely that the Hittite city Arziya was at the site of medieval Armenian city Artsn since Artsn was close to Karin and the Hittite Arziya was connected to Pitiiyariga and Samuha by the river and Samuha was on the bank of the river Halys21.

A. Kosyan also addressed the problem of the location of Upper Land. He located it between the Upper Euphrates and the Upper Halys22.

To sum up, it can be mentioned that the researchers share the same opinion mentioning that Upper Land was situated in the north-east of Hatti, bordered on the countries Kaska and Hayasa. Their opinions mainly differ in the issues concerning the territorial coverage of Upper Land and its settlements.

We believe that although the Hittite sources do not give an opportunity to precisely draw the borders of Upper Land (especially because the Hittite-Kaskan north-eastern borderline always changed), it is definite that it was mainly in the upper basin of the river Halys and included mainly the territory from Zile (Zela) to Kamakh, in the north reaching the valley of the river Gayl (Lykus) and the territory of the Eastern Pontic mountains (where it bordered with the Kaskian tribes) and in the south - Tegarama.

In the 2nd millennium BC the Early Bronze Age, Shengavitian culture of the Armenian Highland penetrated into the territory of the Upper Land, i.e. it was part of the spiritual, material and cultural, as well as statehood development area of the Armenian Highland, as “since 3400s BC, during this period of cultural unity including about one

22 The sum of the viewpoints on the location of Upper Land see <LS, էջ 90-91.
thousand years (during several hundred years the largest part of the Armenian Highland was included in the “Shengavitian culture” which was the heart of the “Kur-Araksian cultural congeniality”) and the cultural processes in ancient Armenia were signified by unification. At the same time different districts of Asia Minor, already from the half of the 3rd millennium BC had also entered the age of early statehood, city-states had emerged, also mentioned in the Mesopotamian sources. Among them prominent were Kanes or Nesa (present Kültepe archaeological site (Arm. Zrzort) 24 21 km to the north-east of Kesaria), Purushanda, Zalpa, Kussar, Ankuwa, Hattusa, etc. Due to the Assyrian colonial trading system being expanded in the direction of Asia Minor in the late 20th century BC the above-mentioned cities established close relations with the Mesopotamian world25. During the first half of the 2nd millennium BC international trade was conducted from Assur to Kanes and other districts of Asia Minor. Assur had founded its trading colonies on the key points of trade routes closed to the sources of raw material, particularly in the eastern districts of Asia Minor (mainly in the territory of future Cappadocia)26. In the “Cappadocian” texts of this period, as well as in the sources of the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom (17th-16th centuries BC) the toponym Upper Land was not mentioned. We get information about the Hittite Upper Land only from the sources of the period of the Hittite Middle and New Kingdom (15th-13th centuries BC). In spite of all this, in the Hittite sources there is information already from the period of the Old Kingdom about the settlements situated in Upper Land.

The toponym Upper Land is first mentioned in the Hittite sources in the texts of Tapikka (present Mashat)27. The latter present letters sent from the Hittite city

23 Ավետիսյան Պ., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի հնամշակութային միջավայրի ձևափոխումների հիմնական միտումները վաղ բրոնզի դարում, Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես, 2012, 2, էջ 5-6:
24 Մարտիրոսեան Ն., Խարբերդի շրջանները` Հայոց հնագոյն օրրանը, էջ 92:
26 According to the “Cappadociam” texts in Asia Minor two types of trading settlements were created by foreign traders: karum (Akk. karum, literally: “cape”, “haven” - colony that had some autonomy in the given city) and wabartum (Akk. wabartum - trade point, station). The center of all the foreign trading communities was the karum of Kanes. See Lewy H., Notes on the Political Organization of Asia Minor at the Time of the Old Assyrian Texts, Orientalia, 1964, vol. 33, f. 2-3, pp. 181-198; Яковская Н.Б., Торговая обшина Каниша и свободный рынок (Малая Азия XV в. до н.э.), Древняя Анатолия, Москва, 1985, стр. 228-242.
27 See Alp S., Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük, Ankara, 1991; see also Քոսյան Ա., Նոր նյութեր Խեթական տերության և Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի փոխհարաբերությունների մասին, Սբանանումը և Մրցակից իրավիճակը և պղութակները (henceforth UƯƯƯ), 2001, XX, էջ 233-245. There is a mention of the Upper Land in the texts 18 (Mşt. 75/61), 24 (Mşt. 75/18), 42 (Mşt. 75/26), 71 (Mşt. 75/111), 96 (Mşt. 75/79). Especially interesting is the text Maşat N 96. There the addressee of the Hittite king is some high official in Tapikka who (or another person) is ordered to go to the Upper Land and carry out mobilization. It is not clear from the text whether these preparations were aimed at organizing a campaign against Hayasa or not. The expression “establish order” in Hayasa given there can be interpreted both as a campaign, and as an absence of desire in that country to provide troops to the Hittite king. It can be assumed that first of all the Hittite official was to mobilize troops in the
Tapikka\(^{28}\). The information they render is dated to the period after the events described in the text KUB XXIII 72\(^{29}\), i.e. the events took place during the reign of Tudhaliya III (first half of the 14\(^{th}\) century BC)\(^{30}\). This is the period when, taking advantage of the temporary weakness of Hatti, several neighbouring countries probably simultaneously made attacks on the Hittite state. The capital city of Hatti had been conquered by the Kasks and Azzi country had attacked and invaded “all the Upper lands and made Samuha the border”\(^{31}\). It is not clear whether Azzians had invaded the city or it was simply close to the territories invaded by them. However, probably after a short while the Hittites either took back Samuha, or Azzians taking the trophy, retreated to their country, leaving the territory of Upper land. Anyway, for Tudhaliya III and prince Suppiluliuma it soon became the base from which they started the process of restoring Hatti’s power and territorial integrity\(^{32}\). Thus, Samuha was temporarily the capital city of the Hittite state, limited to the territory of Upper Land. From Samuha the Hittite king campaigned also towards Kummaha (Kamakh) where he gave a battle against Karanni, king of Hayasa. The country Kummaha which later once again came under the Hittite rule, neighboured Isuwa (from the south) on the one hand and on the other hand - Hayasa\(^{33}\). Prince Suppiluliuma also managed to make resettlements in the territories conquered back from the Kasks. It can be assumed that first of all the territory of the Upper Land was meant\(^{34}\).

Then the Upper Land was mentioned during the reign of Suppiluliuma I (1350-1322 BC). The king of Hatti had signed a treaty with Hukkana, lord of Hayasa\(^{35}\). In the

\(^{28}\) Probably the city was also in the Upper Land (about Tapikka see RGTC, VI, S. 402). It was about 150 km far from Hattusa (see Alp S., Remarques sur la géographie de la region du Haut Yeşil-Irmak d’après les tablettes Hittites de Mașat-Höyük, Florilegium Anatolicum, Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche, Paris, 1979, pp. 29-35; Klinger J., Das Corpus der Mașat-Briefe und seine Beziehungen zu den Texten aus Hattuša, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie, 1995, 85, S. 74-108; Mielke D.P., The Border City: Mašat Höyük-Tapikka. Key sites of the Hittite empire: Ch. 48. The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia: 10.000-323 B.C.E., 2011, pp. 1045-1054 etc.). It was also the residence of the commander of the border forces (BĒL MADGALTI). Tapikka was also known by the name Tapaggas (see Barjamovic G., A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period, pp. 258, 273).

\(^{29}\) The text presents an agreement signed between the Hittite king Arnuwanda I and countries of the Upper Euphrates basin (Isuwa, Pahhuwa, Zuhma, Maldiya, etc.). There presented are the events of the anti-Hittite riot of several countries of the Upper Euphrates on the eve of signing the agreement (Gurney O.R., Mita of Pahhuwa, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1948, 28, pp. 32-48. About the text see also ĖLS, ſ 114-116).

\(^{30}\) The chronology of the Hittite kings is given according to Bryce T., The Kingdom of Hittites, Oxford, 2005, p. XV.

\(^{31}\) KBo VI 28 6-15 (CTH 88).


\(^{33}\) Քուսյան Ա., Անի-Կամախը խեթական դարաշրջանում, Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես, 2002, 3, є 237.

\(^{34}\) Güterbock H., op. cit., 3, p. 91.

treaty Suppiluliuma does not ignore the fact that Hayasa still keeps the lands conquered from Hatti (Upper Land - R. Gh.), and that in Hukkana’s country there were captured subjects of the Hittites, so one point of the treaty obliged Hukkana to return them and leave the conquered Hittite territories. There is mention about it in the text of Suppiluliuma as well, where the name Upper Land was given next to Hayasa. It is mentioned that Hayasa had taken hostile actions against Hatti. This is probably the period when the king of Hatti was busy with the war against Mittani36.

There is information about the Upper Land also in the annals of Suppiluliuma’s son Mursili II37. To ensure the safety of the Upper Land was one of the main directions of Mursili II’s activity. In the second year of his “Ten-year” annals the king again had to establish order in Upper Land. He had to do the same in the seventh year as well when the troops of Tibiya38, as well as Hayasa39 had attacked the Upper Land and plundered it. Mursili II mentioned that during the reign of his father (Suppiluliuma I) Pihhuniya, the lord of the country Tibiya, had attacked the Upper Land when Suppiluliuma was in the country Mittani, had advanced to the city Zazisa and invaded the city Istitina. Bringing the argument that Pihhuniya had refused to return the captives who were subjects of the Hittites, Mursili II started a war against the country Tibiya. During the war the Hittite troops not only succeeded in conquering the whole country Tibiya, but also taking Pihhuniya captive. According to the events of the eighth year of Mursili’s annals, hearing about the campaign planned by Mursili, the Hayasians sent an ambassador to him and agreed to fulfil the requirements of the king of Hatti40. Mursili II postponed the campaign for some time, however the next year he again demanded to return the trophy, but was rejected by Anniya, king of Hayasa41. The latter wanted to exchange captives and refused to return the Hittite captives until he got back his former subjects42. Moreover, taking advantage of the favourable opportunity that Mursili II was in the south of Hatti, the Hayasians attacked in the direction of the Upper Land, invaded the city Istitina and besieged the Hittite city Kannuwara. Headed by the general Nuwanza one Hittite army rushed to the aid of the city Kannuwara. In the battle under the city Kannuwara the

36 Güterbock H., 4, p. 114.
37 CTH 61; Götze A., Die Annalen des Muršiliš, MVAG, 1933, 38 (henceforth AM); Grelois J.-P., Les Annales Decennales de Muršili II (CTH 61.1), Hethitica, 1988, IX, pp. 17-145; Ղազարյան Ռ., Մուրսիլի II-ի «Տասնամյա» տարեգրությունը, Երևան, 2013:
38 It was situated in the area of the Eastern Pontic Mountains and bordered on the Upper Land. See RGTC, VI, S. 425-426.
39 The troops of Hayasa had attacked the countries Istitina and Dankuwa (see AM, S. 94-98).
40 AM, S. 102-103.
41 Mursili II sent letters to Hayasa (Azzi) demanding Anniya to return the Hittite subjects who had found refugee in Hayasa since the reign of Suppiluliuma I and the captives taken from the Hittite countries Istitina and Dankuwa. Getting Anniya’s refusal Mursili II attacked the border city Ura of Hayasa-Azzi but no information on its outcome has reached us. However, later the Hittite king had to make a campaign to Hayasa-Azzi once again (Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğhazköi (henceforth KUB) XIV 17 III 1-24).
42 AM, S. 102-107.
Hayasians were defeated. During the last years of the reign of Mursili the Upper Land was totally under the Hittite rule.

On the eve of the war against Egypt Mursili II’s successor Muwatalli II (1295-1272 BC) moved the capital city of Hatti to Tarhuntassa, which was in the south of Asia Minor. There were mainly two reasons for this undertaking. The king wanted to make his residence Tarhuntassa which was much closer to the territory of Syria, because from there it was easy to lead the expected war against Egypt. But a more grounded reason for taking this step was probably the permanent Kaskan threat to Hattusa. When Muwatalli left Hattusa the Kaskan tribes attacked the northern districts of Hatti. The regions of lands of Pishuru, Daistipassa, Ishupita and Marista were destroyed. Then the Kasks managed to cross the river Marassantiya and reach Kanes. Another time the Kasks attacked and made a border of their invasions the settlements Karahna and Marista as well. Thus, the territory of the Upper Land had appeared in the center of these attacks. But the king’s brother Hattusili was able to throw back the Kasks and restore the Hittite supremacy in the north of Hatti. In order to neutralize the dangerous pillaging invasions of the Kasks the king’s brother, Muwatalli gave Hattusili the whole border region neighbouring their territories, as well as the Upper Land. In the given territories a special militarized zone was organized. From west to east it stretched from about modern Merzifon to Kamakh including a number of key regions neighbouring the Kaskan tribes (Ishupita, Marista, Hisasasa, Katapa, Hanhana, Darahna, Hattusa, Durmitta, Pala, Tumanna, Gassiya, Sappa, the country of the river Hulana). Muwatalli also assigned Hattusili governor of the Upper Land instead of Arma-Tarhunta, dynasty representative Zida’s son; and Hakm(p)isa’s king. This could mean that all these lands and cities included in this vicariate were called the Upper lands since before that some of them were not known as such. It can be noted that in the administrative sense the Upper Land had extended its territories and now covered a larger area. The assignment of the dynasty members as governors of the Upper Land emphasized the importance of that region for Hatti and the fact of that position being prestigious. Thus, the Hittite king tried to find the solution to the Kaskan problem by creating a border kingdom. Now there was no threat to the central districts of the Hatti, and Muwatalli started to freely act in the south. Hattusili continued the policy of his predecessors

43 The city Karahna was also in Upper Land. It was mentioned already in the “Cappadocian” trade texts. The city was also one of the important Hittite spiritual centers (in more detail about this see Haas V., Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion, S. 423, 434, 450 ff. About the location of Karahna see RGTC VI, S. 177-180; RGTC, VI/2, S. 66; Alp S., Die Lage der hethitischen Kultstadt Karahna im Licht der Mašat-Texte: in R.M. Boehmer&H. Hauptmann (eds.). Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens, Festchrift für Kurt Bittel (Mainz am Rhein), 1983, S. 43-46).

44 See RGTC, VI, S. 65-67.

45 Otten H., Die Apologie Hattusilis III, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten (henceforth StBoT), 24, S. 6-15.

46 Anyhow, in the battle of Kades of 1274, among other countries that participated in the battle from the Hittite side, the land of Kaska was also mentioned. This can only prove that at that time some Kaskan tribes were subject to Hatti, or mercenary Kask soldiers took part in the battle, which is more likely.
Suppiluliuma and Murisili by carrying out resettlements in the Upper lands and restoring the destroyed or abandoned settlements.\(^{47}\)

Muwatalli was followed by his son Mursili III (Urhi-Tesub) (1272-1267 BC), and the years of his reign passed in conflict with his uncle Hattusili. In the texts describing the relations between Hattusili and Urhi-Tesub\(^{48}\) there is also information about Upper Land. Mursili III sent to the Upper Land Arma-Tarhunta’s son Sippaziti, who had been called back from exile, probably promising him the position of governor there. All this was certainly directed against Hattusili. A war started between Hattusili and Urhi-Tesub which mainly went on in the territory of the Upper Land. During the war Urhi-Tesub left the city Marassantiya (on the bank of the river of the same name) and found refuge in Samuha, which once again became the residence of the king of Hatti. Hattusili besieged Samuha and made Urhi-Tesub surrender, after which the victorious Hattusili was declared great king of Hatti (1267-1237 BC). During this confrontation several Kaskian tribes also supported Hattusili in exchange for the right to live in the Hittite territories\(^{49}\).

Thus, the Upper Land served as a ground for Hattusili to seize power. In one of the Hittite texts the resettlement of the abandoned territories (probably the Upper Land) of Hatti is described as well. Some migrants from Azzi are mentioned as well\(^{50}\).

There is a letter received from Hattusili III’s son prince Tudhaliya (future king Tudhaliya IV (1237-1209 BC))\(^{51}\), where recounted are the military actions in the Upper Land which was attacked by the enemies (the part containing the name of the enemy is damaged). Then it is said that “he (probably the enemy - R. Gh.) approached the city Samuha”. It can be assumed that the enemies were either the Kasks or the Hayasians. The events took place during the reign of Hattusili III, but it is not clear in which period of his reign.

During the reign of Tudhaliya IV who followed Hattusili, the mountains of the Upper Land where the king hunted, were mentioned\(^ {52}\), i.e. one of the hunting places of the kings of Hatti was in the Upper Land. Besides, the text\(^ {53}\), where the king of Hatti instructs the governors of border districts to take precautionary measures against the countries Azzi, Kaska and Lukka, is dated back to the time of Tudhaliya IV. Thus, during that period the two countries which were direct neighbours of the Upper Land were still considered dangerous for Hatti. It is likely that there were intrusions into the territory of the Upper Land as well.

---

\(^{47}\) Otten H., op. cit., pp. 16-21.

\(^{48}\) CTH 81; 85.


\(^{50}\) KBo XII 53+KUB XLVIII 105 21 (Archi A., Klengel H., Ein hethitischer Text über die Reorganisation des Kultes, Altorientalische Forschungen, 1980, 7, S. 143-157).

\(^{51}\) KUB XIX 23 (CTH 192). See also <LS, 1g 137.


\(^{53}\) KUB XXVI 12 II 12-15.
Tudkhaliya IV is the last Hittite king from whose reign we have received dated information about the Upper Land. No information about the Upper Land has reached us from the period of the next kings of Hatti - Arnuwanda III and Suppiluliuma II. There are several Hittite texts as well, where the Upper Land is mentioned but due to absence of data it is difficult to date those texts to the period of reign of a certain king.54

After the fall of the Hittite Kingdom (about 1180s BC) the Hittite, the Upper Land was no more mentioned in the sources. J. Yakar considers that even before abandoning Hattusa the Hittites had already lost control not only over many western and northern districts of the country but also over Sarissa55, Tapikka and other important cities.56 Probably after the fall of the Hittite Kingdom the territory of the Upper Land was invaded by the combative Kaskan tribes. Intrusions by Hayasa in that direction were possible as well. Nevertheless, later the Assyrian sources mentioned about the country Kasku, to the south of the Upper Land.57 Thus, the territory of the Upper Land (12th-8th centuries

54 For example an inventory text of the items donated to the goddess Istar has been preserved [KBo XVI 83 (CTH 242)], where mentioned are the noblemen of the Upper Land (LÜMEŠ GAL). In one of the oracle texts (CTH 582; <vLS>, 149) the “man from Azzi (=the king)” and the Upper Land are mentioned as well (8th century BC). In one of the texts describing the Hittite rules it is mentioned that formerly the soldiers of a number of Hittite cities (Tamalkiya, Zalpa, Tashiniya, Hatra, Manda, Sala and Himmuwa) were exempt from duties called šahhan և luzzi. One of the ancestors (Karunuwa) of the scribe (Hanikuili) recording the text is mentioned and he originated from Upper Land (CTH 291; Hoffner H.A., The Laws of the Hittites, Leiden-New-York-Köln, 1997, p. 98; <vLS>, 125). The text conditionally called “River navigation” is a letter (KUB XXXI 79 (CTH 214.17). See also Cornelius F., Geographie des Hethiterreiches, Orientalia, 1958, 27, S. 373-374; <vLS>, 118-119) sent to the Hittite king by some official. The text depicts the delivery of bread from Pittiyariga to Samuha by boats. Here the territory of Upper Land is described, but it is not mentioned. The text probably concerns the period of the New Kingdom.


56 Yakar J., Dating the Sequence of the Final Destruction/Abandonment of LBA Settlements: Towards a better Understanding of Events that led to the Collapse of the Hittite Kingdom, BYZAS, 2006, 4, pp. 33-51.

57 The advancement of the Kasks in the 7th century BC probably had a wider geographical coverage and stretched from the southern coast of the Black Sea to Northern Mesopotamia. Those campaigns, as before, had a more pillaging nature. In one of the texts the king of Assyria Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) gives the list of those people who had brought him presents from different countries. Among numerous Dadilu from Kaska is mentioned as well.
BC) is likely to have temporarily appeared under the control of the Kasks.

The history of the Upper Land was part of the history of Hatti. It was in the north-eastern part of the Hittite Kingdom and was one of the most important political, spiritual and economic regions of Hatti, a peculiar “vicariate”, which occupied a strategic position in the north-west of the Armenian Highland and the north-east of Asia Minor. It had key importance for the Hittite Kingdom as well in the sense of protection from the countries Hayasa or Kaska or of starting military operations against them.

In conclusion, the Upper or Higher Land mainly included the territory which later became known as Armenia Minor. That is, in the geographical sense a considerable part of its territory was part of the Armenian Highland and from that viewpoint its history is also part of the history of the old period of Armenia. It can be assumed that the Hittites adopted the toponym the Upper Land from the Hattians. Anyhow, already during the Old Kingdom (17th-16th centuries BC) the territory of the Upper Land was within the Hittite state. The main river of Hatti, Marassantiya (Halys) originated and flowed in the Upper Land mentioned in the Hittite sources and the name of the region is conditioned by the circumstance of going up the river and getting to its headwaters. The Hittite sources do not allow to precisely mark the borders of the Upper Land (especially because the Hittite-Kaskian north-eastern borderline always changed), it is definite that it was mainly in the upper basin of the river Halys and included mainly the territory from Zile (Zela) to Kamakh, in the north reaching the valley of the river Gayl (Lykus) and the territory of Eastern Pontic mountains (where it bordered with the lands of the Kasks) and in the south - Tegarama. After the fall of the Hittite Kingdom (about 1180s BC), the Hittite Upper Land was no more mentioned in the sources. It is likely that the territory of the Upper Land was temporarily invaded by the combative Kaskan tribes. The name of the Upper Land is also closely related to the name of Upper Armenia mentioned in the Armenian sources. The territory of Upper Armenia province was geographically close to that of the Upper Land or probably was also part of it.

*Translated from Armenian by S. E. Chraghyan*

The country Kaska was mentioned near the countries Meld (future district of Malatia) and Tabal (future territory of Cappadocia). At that period the Kasks had founded a political unit to the south-east from the great bend, however the scarce information on it does not allow to form an opinion about its state structure and political-and-economic relations with neighbours (Ղազարյան Ռ., Կասկա երկիրն ըստ սեպագիր աղբյուրների, ՄՄԱԵԺ, 2007, XXVI, էջ 61-62).