

THE NORTH-WESTERN REGION (THE UPPER LAND) OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND WITHIN THE HITTITE STATE

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The Upper (or High) Land or Upper Lands¹ 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 Minor². 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 Armenia³. The name Upper is also closely related to the name of Upper Armenia (arm. Բարձր Հայք) mentioned in Armenian sources⁴. 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*⁵ and *Lower*⁶ lands⁷. Such notions about the world and

¹ KUR.UGU^{TI}, KUR (URU)Šarazzi, KUR URU.UGU^{TI}, KUR.UGU^{TI(M)}, KUR.KUR^{MES} UGU^{TI}, KUR^{AN.TA}, KUR URU^{I(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 Halys 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 Երեմյան, Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, Երևան, 1963, էջ 88, 100: Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. 1, Երևան, 1971, էջ 21).

³ About the western borders of the Armenian Highland see Зорбян Л. Н., Орография Армянского нагорья, Ереван, 1979, стр. 14-15, 23-30. Գաբրիելյան Հ., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհ, Երևան, 2000, էջ 14-15.

⁴ Hakob Karnetsi called the toponym Upper Armenia (Karin region (Arm. Կողմն Կարնոյ), Top of the world (Arm. Կատար Երկրի) 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 Երեմյան Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, էջ 44, 106. Հարությունյան Բ., Մեծ Հայքի վարչա-քաղաքական բաժանման համակարգն ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, մաս Ա, 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 Arzaova-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 elītum, 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 country⁸. 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 state⁹.

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 Halys¹⁰.

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, Gakiussa, Tarukku, Parduvata, Hinnarivanda, Ivatallisa, Sapidduva, Takkumita, Kathariya, Gazzapa, Darittara, Tibiya, Tim(mi)na in the Upper Land¹¹. 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 Ikonía). 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 (Egypt) 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, հ. I, գլուխ 2, Երևան, 2013, էջ 37-45).

⁹ According to M. Forlanini the usage of the geographical terms Upper and Lower Lands originated in Kanis 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 k̄arum-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.

¹⁰ For example, Friedrich J., *Der Vertrag des Šuppiluliumaš mit Hukkanaš und den Leuten von Hajaša*, *Staatsverträge des Hatti Reiches in hethitischer Sprache*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, 34, 1930, S. 161; Von Schuler E., *Die Kaškäer*, Berlin, 1965, S. 13; Yakar J., *Beyond the Eastern Borders of the Hittite Empire: An Archaeological Assessment*, *Hittite and other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara, 1992, pp. 507-508; Bryce T., *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. New edition, Oxford, 2005, pp. 47, 149; Müller-Karpe A., *Recent Research on Hittite Archaeology in the "Upper Land"*, *Central-North Anatolia in the Hittite period*, *Acts of the international conference held at the University of Florence (7-9 February 2007)*, Roma, 2009, pp. 109-119 etc.

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” sense¹². A considerable part of the countries mentioned by G. Giorgiadze were Kaskian 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 center¹³. They also located Istitina, Zazisa and Kannuwara within Upper Land¹⁴.

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 Euphrates¹⁵. 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 Sebastia¹⁶. 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 Land¹⁷. But it should be mentioned that they were situated in the territories to the north and north-west of Hattusa¹⁸.

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, Tibiya, Istitina, Upper Land (in the narrow sense) and Hatena comprised Upper Land in

¹² Гиоргадзе Г.Г., К вопросу о локализации и языковой структуре касских 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 Kayalıpınar (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, էջ 85-90). Samuha was mentioned also in the form Sapuha (Keilschrifttexte aus Boğhazköi (henceforth KBo) XLV 179) or Sammaha (KBo III 4 III 48, see also RGTC, VI, S. 337-341; <LS, էջ 85-90)).

¹⁴ Garstang J., Gurney O., The Geography of the Hittite Empire, London, 1959, pp. 32-36.

¹⁵ Մարտիրոսեան Ն., Խարբերդի շրջանները՝ Հայոց հնագույն օրրանը, Խարբերդ եւ անոր ոսկեդէն դաշտը, Նիւ Եորք, 1959, էջ 118:

¹⁶ Քասունի Ե., Նախահայկական Հայաստան: Հայաստանի քննական պատմութիւնը Նորքարային շրջանէն 600 Ն. Ք., Պէրլուք, 1950, էջ 80-81:

¹⁷ Капанцян Гр., Хайаса-колыбель армян, Ереван, 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. *Իսի/ի*) with the cities Dankuwa (Arm. *Մթնի/ի*) and Biteyariga (Pittiyariga, Arm. *Բթայարիգա*). 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 Pittiyariga 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

¹⁹ Хачатрян В., Восточные провинции Хеттской империи, Ереван, 1971, с. 58-60; Ibid, Հայաստանը մ.թ.ա. XV-VII դարերում, Երևան, 1998, էջ 35-36:

²⁰ About this in more detail see Քոսյան Ա., Անի-Կամախը խեթական դարաշրջանում, Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես, 2002, 3, 2002, էջ 225-241.

²¹ Laroche E., Catalogue des textes hittites, Paris, 1971 (henceforth CTH) 214.17. About the location of Arziya, Samuha and Pittiyariga see also ՀLS, էջ 118-119.

²² The sum of the viewpoints on the location of Upper Land see ՀLS, 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)”²³ 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 Kanesh 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 Kanesh 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:

²⁵ About the history of the city-states of Asia Minor of that period see Lewy H., *Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period*, Cambridge Ancient History, vol. I, 1965, Ch. XXIV, pp. 1-29; Orlin L.L., *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia*, The Hague-Paris, 1970; Bryce T., *The Kingdom of Hittites*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 21-37; Barjamovic G., *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, Copenhagen, 2011, etc.

²⁶ According to the “Cappadocian” 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 Kanesh. 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; Янковская Н.Б., *Торговая община Каниша и свободный рынок (Малая Азия XIX 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 երկրների փոխհարաբերությունների մասին, Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ (henceforth ՄՄԱԵԺ), 2001, XX, էջ 233-245. There is a mention of the Upper Land in the texts 18 (Mšt. 75/61), 24 (Mšt. 75/18), 42 (Mšt. 75/26), 71 (Mšt. 75/111), 96 (Mšt. 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

Tapikka²⁸. The information they render is dated to the period after the events described in the text KUB XXIII 72²⁹, i.e. the events took place during the reign of Tudhaliya III (first half of the 14th 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 integrity³². 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, neighbored Isuwa (from the south) on the one hand and on the other hand - Hayasa³³. 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 meant³⁴.

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 Hayasa³⁵. In the

Upper Land, then go to Hayasa and then return to Tapikka, mobilize new troops from there and wait for the Hittite king.

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 région du Haut Yeşil-Irmak d'après les tablettes Hittites de Maşat-Höyük*, *Florilegium Anatolicum, Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris, 1979, pp. 29-35; Klinger J., *Das Corpus der Maşat-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: Maşat 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 <LS, էջ 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).

³² Güterbock H., *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Mursili II*, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1956, 2, pp. 63-67; Bryce T., *The Kingdom of Hittites*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 147-148.

³³ Քոսյան Ա., Անի-Կամախը խեթական դարաշրջանում, Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես, 2002, 3, էջ 237:

³⁴ Güterbock H., *op. cit.*, 3, p. 91.

³⁵ Friedrich J., *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache*, 2 T., S. 124-129; Carruba O., *Die Hajasavertäge Hattis*, *Documentum Asiae Minoris*, Wiesbaden, 1988, S. 59-75 (CTH 42).

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); Grelais J.-P., Les Annales Decennales de Mursili 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 refuge 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 Kaskian 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 Kanesh. Another time the Kasks attacked and made a border of their invasions the settlements Karahna⁴³ 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 Kaskian tribes (Ishupita, Marista, Hissasapa, Katapa, Hanhana, Darahna, Hattena, 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's⁴⁴ king⁴⁵. 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 Kaskian 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 south⁴⁶. 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 Maşat-Texte*: in R.M. Boehmer&H. Hauptmann (eds.). *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien*, Festschrift 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 Kaskian 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 settlements⁴⁷.

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-Tesub⁴⁸ 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 territories⁴⁹. 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 well⁵⁰.

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 mentioned⁵², i.e. one of the hunting places of the kings of Hatti was in the Upper Land. Besides, the text⁵³, 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.

⁴⁹ Otten H., op. cit., pp. 22-27; Bryce T., *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford, 2005, p. 235.

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 ÇLS, Էջ 137.

⁵² KBo XI 40 (CTH 682.2.B). See also Hawkins J.D., *Tudhaliya the Hunter*, *The Life and Times of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV*. Proceedings of a Symposium held in Honour of J.De Roos, 12-13 December 2003, Leiden, 2006, p. 53.

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 king⁵⁴.

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 cities⁵⁶. Probably after the fall of the Hittite Kingdom the territory of the Upper Land was invaded by the combative Kaskian 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 Land⁵⁷. 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 (LU^{MES} GAL). In one of the oracle texts (CTH 582; <LS, ʔ 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 u 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; <LS, ʔ 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; <LS, ʔ 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.

⁵⁵ One of the important settlements of Upper Land was Sarissa too (about Sarissa see RGTC VI, S. 351-352). It was situated in the territory of the archaeological site Kuşaklı, about 50 km south of Sebastia (in more detail about the excavations in the archaeological site and about the city Sarissa see Wilhelm G., *Die Tontafelfunde der 2. Ausgrabungskampagne 1994 in Kuşaklı*, MDOG, 1995, 127, S. 37-42; *Ibid*, *Die Keilschriftfunde der Kampagne 2001 in Kuşaklı*. In: Andreas Müller-Karpe, *Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 2001*, MDOG, 2002, 134, S. 342-351; Müller-Karpe A., *Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 1992-94*, MDOG, 1995, 127, S. 5-36; *Ibid*, *Kleinkönige und Großkönige. Sarissa - eine hethitische Stadt im östlichen Zentralanatolien*. *Blick in die Wissenschaft*, 1996, 8, S. 58-67; *Ibid*, *Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 1999*, MDOG, 2000, 132, S. 311-353; *Ibid*, *Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 2000*, MDOG, 2001, 133, S. 225-250; *Ibid*, *Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 2001*, MDOG, 2002, 134, S. 331-351; *Ibid*, *Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 2002*, MDOG, 2004, 136, S. 103-135; *Ibid*, *Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 2003*, MDOG, 2004, 136, S. 137-172; *Ibid*, *Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 2004 und 2005*, MDOG, 2006, 138, S. 15-42; MIELKE, D.P., *Die Akropolis der hethitischen Stadt Kuşaklı-Sarissa*. *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie*, 1999/2000, 16, S. 91-110; *Ibid*, *Kuşaklı-Sarissa. Kultort im Oberen Land*. In *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich. Das Volk der 1000 Götter*, S. 176-189, Bonn, 2002; *Ibid*, *Kuşaklı-Sarissa: A Hittite Town in the "Upper Land"*. In *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History. Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, 2002, pp. 145-155; *Ibid*, *The province center: Kuşaklı-Şarişša. Key sites of the Hittite empire*. *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*, 2011, pp. 1042-1045 etc.).

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 Kaskian 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 Meild (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).