

THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGION OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND WITHIN THE HITTITE STATE

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Tegarama was one of the important eastern regions of the Hittite Empire. The first information about Tegarama is found in the “Cappadocian (Old Assyrian) tablets” of Kanesh (Nesa) (20th-18th centuries BC). The city had trade relations with a lot of settlements of the region. Some of them (e.g. *Abu(x)uhta*, *Kurušša*, *Tiburziya*) can be located near Tegarama¹. The city was one of the transition trade centers in the region. The trade route that started in Assur passed through Tegarama and reached Kanesh. Perhaps there was an Assyrian trade colony (*karum*) and of the colony’s administration (*bēt kārim*)².

In the sources of Kanesh Tegarama is mentioned as a settlement, but in the Hittite sources it is mentioned both as a land and as a city. For example, in the “Proclamation” of the king of Hatti Telipinu it is mentioned that the king of Hatti, Hantili I (ca 1590-1560 BC) stopped on his way in the city of Tegarama³. In another part of the text it is mentioned that during the reign of Hantili the queen of Sukziya with her family was killed near Tegarama⁴. There is information about Tegarama also in the text of instructions given to the Hittite border commanders⁵ (probably the period of reign of Arnuwanda I (the 1st half of the 15th century BC) where soldiers from Kassiya, Himuwa, Tegarama and Isuwa are mentioned⁶.

In the historical preface of the treaty signed between Suppiluliuma I and Shattiwaza it is mentioned that during the reign of Suppiluliuma’s father Tudhaliya III,

¹ Here is the complete list of the settlements: Abu[x]hta, Apaludana, Apum, Banišra, Buruddum, Durhumit, Haqa, Harranu, Hattum, Hurama, Hurumhaššum, āl-išurrātim, Kakaruwa, Kaneš, Kuburnat, Kurušša, Kuššara, Luhuzattiya, Mamma, Nihriya, Pahatima, Purušhaddum, Sukkli, Supana, Šalahšuwa, Šlatuwar, Šamišuna, Talpa, Tiburziya, Timelkiya, Wašhaniya, Wahšušana, Wilušana, Zalpa, Ziluna, Zukua (Bayram S., *New and Some Rare Geographical Names in the Kültepe Texts*, Archivum Anatolicum, 3, Ankara, 1997, pp. 41-66).

² See Barjamovic G., *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, Copenhagen, 2011, pp. 122-133, n. 376). See also Bilgiç E., *Die Ortsnamen der “kappadokischen” Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens*, Archiv für Orientforschung, 15, S. 36.

³ Van den Hout Th. P. J., *The Proclamation of Telipinu (1.76). The Context of Scripture*, vol. I. Canonical Composition from the Biblical World, ed. Hallo W., Leiden-New York-Köln, 1997, pp. 195. Hoffmann I., *Der Erlaß Telipinus*, Heidelberg, 1984, pp. 20-21.

⁴ See about the location of Sukziya in RGTC, VI, S. 363-364. See also Hoffmann I., *Der Erlaß Telipinus*, S. 22-23; Helck W., *Die Šukziya-Episode im Dekret des Telipinu*, *Die Welt des Orients*, 15, 1984, S. 103-108; Soysal O., *Noch einmal zur Šukziya-Episode im Erlaß Telipinus*, *Orientalia*, 1990, 59, S. 271-279.

⁵ KUB XIII 2 III.

⁶ Goetze A., *An Old Babylonian Itinerary*, JCS, 1953, Vol. 7, № 2, pp. 69; Houwink Ten Cate Ph. H. J., *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire (c. 1450-1380 B. C.)*, Istanbul, 1970, pp. 67, 70.

along with several other lands half of the Land of Tegarama had become enemy with Hatti. The Hittites succeeded in restoring their power in Tegarama and neighbouring lands, but part of the population of the rebel lands left for Isuwa⁷. In the Annals of Suppiluliuma I there is a mention that on his way to the country of Hurri the king of Hatti stopped in the Land of Tegarama where in the city of Talpa he reviewed his troops. In the battle that followed, the Hittites defeated the enemy and the latter escaped to the mountains of the Land of Tegarama⁸. Thus, it is evident that Tegarama was a mountainous country. In the 9th year of the Extended Annals of Mursili II there is a mention that the king of Hatti, being in the Land of Tegarama⁹, had invited a military council there.

Tegarama was also one of the important religious centers of Hatti. There is information about the Storm God, masculine and feminine deities of Tegarama¹⁰.

Thus, as a result of the comparison of the “Cappadocian”, Hittite and Assyrian sources Tegarama can be located in the Upper Euphrates valley, on the right bank of the river, to the north of Kargamis (in the territory of the present archaeological site Jerablus), to the west of Isuwa (Armenian Tsopk), to the south of the Upper Land (north-western part of the Armenian Highland) and to the east of Kanesh. The majority of researchers located Tegarama in the territory of the present-day settlement Gürün¹¹.

According to the testimony of prophet Ezekiel, Home of Torgom, which is the Biblical version of the name Tegarama, was located near the country of Gomer (Gamirk-Cappadocia)¹², which also confirms the truthfulness of the above-mentioned location. Probably the cities of Lahuwazantiya and Talpa were part of the Land of Tegarama as well.

It is likely that already during the reign of Hattusili I (the 2nd half of the 17th century BC) the territory of Tegarama formed part of the Hittite Kingdom in order to ensure the rear of the king of Hatti when he made a campaign to Northern Syria. It is most likely that since that period Tegarama formed part of the Hittite Kingdom before its fall. Tegarama also occupied a strategically important position. From there the routes led to the western districts of the Armenian Highland, Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia.

Later the kingdom of Melid emerged (one of the so-called Neo-Hittite states)¹³ in most part of the territory of the Land of Tegarama. The city-state of Melid¹⁴ formed part

⁷ Beckman G., *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta, 1996, pp. 38-39.

⁸ Güterbock H.G., *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his Son, Mursili II*, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1956, 10, p. 93.

⁹ KBo IV 4 III 19-22 (Götze A., *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, 1933, S. 38 (AM), S. 124-125).

¹⁰ KUB VI 45 II 66f. = 46 III 32f.; KBo XII 140 Rs. 8.

¹¹ It is in the Province of Sebastia. There are other views, for example J. Miller believes that Tegarama can be located to the west of Malatya as well (see Miller J., *Anum-Hirbi and His Kingdom*, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2001, 28, p. 69, n. 9).

¹² Bible. *The Prophecy of Ezekiel* 38.

¹³ Bryce T., *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms*. Oxford, 2012, pp. 98-110; Косян А., *Лувийские царства Малой Азии и прилегающих областей в XII-VIII вв. до н.э. (по иероглифическим лувийским источникам)*, Ереван, 1994.

of the Land of Tegarama in the 2nd millennium BC and was one of the most important eastern keypoints of the Hittite Kingdom. This city acquired larger importance after the fall of the Hittite Kingdom. It was near the Melas River, a tributary of the Upper Euphrates. It has been identified with the modern archaeological site Lion-hill (Arslantepe¹⁵, 7km north-east of modern Malatya city¹⁶).

The long distance trade route of the Old Assyrian Colony period (20th-18th centuries BC) involved also the region of Malitiya. In fact, if we look at the geographical names mentioned in the historiographical texts that describe the military expeditions led by the Hittite kings of the Old Kingdom against the Hurrians, we find mention of some cities that we can locate close to Malitiya. The Annals of Hattusili I speak of the conquest and destruction of the city Alha¹⁷ that might have been located close to Malitiya. His texts indicate that the land Henzuta was in some way involved in the military operations of the Hittites on the occasion of their campaigns against Syria and we know that Henzuta was close to Isuwa¹⁸. Armatana was also located close to Malitiya¹⁹. Therefore, it is not surprising that the region east of Tegarama, that is the area of Malitiya and Isuwa, was involved in some of the military expeditions of Hattusili I (ca 1650-1620 BC) and Mursili I (ca 1620-1590 BC) as well. Besides, we can mention that the Hittite cultural influence appeared in Malitiya already during the period of the Old Hittite Kingdom. However, the Hittite kings were not able to maintain such a region under Hittite sovereignty after the death of Mursili I. In fact in the decree of king Telipinu, in the list of storage depots that were inside Hatti at the time of this king, we do not find any city that we can locate in the region of Malitiya. This might be taken as a proof that Telipinu had no more control over that region, but it should also be mentioned that this list is very fragmentary²⁰.

In the “Cappadocian” texts, as well as in the sources of the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom (17th-16th centuries BC) the toponym Malitiya was not mentioned. The city was

¹⁴ See about Mal(i)tiya in RGTC VI, S. 257-258. See also Garstang J., Gurney O.R., *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, p. 34; Burney Ch., *Arslantepe as a Gateway to the Highlands: a Note on Periods VI A - VI D*. in M. Frangipane - H. Hauptmann - M. Liverani-P. Matthiae - M. Mellink (eds.), *Between the Rivers and over the Mountains. Archaeologica Anatolica et Mesopotamica Alba Palmieri Dedicata*, Roma, 1993, pp. 311-317.

¹⁵ Arslantepe (arслан=lion and tepe=hill) gets its name from the lion statues excavated at the archaeological site.

¹⁶ The origin of the name of the modern town of Malatya is obviously connected with the ancient Hittite toponym preserved through the centuries: Assyrian Melid, Urartian Meliteia, Aramaic mlz, Luwian Malizi, Greek Melitene and Latin Melita. The etymology of the Hittite name is debatable, since the correspondence with the word melit, Luwian mallit, which means “honey” is only hypothetical. See Archi A., *Malitiya-Meliddu: Arslantepe nelle fonti scritte*. In Frangipane M. (ed.), *Alle origini del potere. Arslantepe, la collina dei leoni*, Electa, Milan, 2004, p. 173.

¹⁷ Modern Akçadağ, in the territory of the former settlement Argas or Arka.

¹⁸ About the location of Henzuta see Քոսյան Ա., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի տեղանունները (ըստ խեթական սեպագիր արձրությունների), Երևան, 2004, էջ 57:

¹⁹ About the location of Armatana see RGTC, VI, S. 38-39.

²⁰ Hoffmann I., *Der Erlass Telipinus. Texte der Hethiter 11*, Heidelberg, 1984.

mentioned in the Hittite sources as either Malitiya or Maldiya²¹. The Hittite name of Malitiya is documented only in seven Hittite cuneiform texts²². The texts can be attributed to the period of the New Hittite Kingdom (15th-13th centuries BC). In the Hittite sources the city (^{URU}Maldiya) was first mentioned in the so-called text “Misdeed of Mita of Pahhuwa” (KUB XXIII 72 Rs.37’), dated to the period of the reign of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I (1st half of the 15th century BC). The treaty KUB XXXI 103 is contemporary with Mita’s text and connected to it; the people of Malitiya swear their loyalty to the King of Hatti together with the people of Pahhuwa. In this treaty any contact with the Hurrians is prohibited and this is understandable since we know that in this period Mittani and Hatti were contending for the south-western regions of the Armenian Highland and mostly for Isuwa²³. The tablet KBo XVI 42²⁴ can also be attributed to the period of the New Hittite Kingdom. The author of this text inspected the region of the Upper Euphrates: the following geographical names were mentioned: Isuwa; Malitiya; Manzana; [He]nzuta. He also interrogated the people of some cities concerning the political situation of the area. Three other Hittite tablets that mention the city Malitiya belong to the 13th century BC. KBo XVIII 24 is a letter written by a Hittite king (whose name has not been preserved (most likely Hattusili III (1267-1237 BC)²⁵) to the Assyrian king [Salmanassar I (1263-1234 BC)]. This text quotes the previous letter sent by the Assyrian court, where the Assyrian king had suggested the king of Hatti to send a Hittite official to inspect Malitiya. All this indicates that the position of the city had a strategic significance for the interests of the two states²⁶. KBo XXII 264 is an oracle text²⁷, where the possibility that the Assyrian king might reach Malitiya is questioned; it could be contemporary with the letter KBo XVIII 24. Both documents refer to the political friction between Assyria and Hatti after the Assyrian conquest of Mittani. KUB XL 80 tablet preserves some of the depositions collected by the court in a case that involved several Hittite high dignitaries of the time of Hattusili III and also the king of Isuwa Ali-Sarruma; the city is mentioned here in a fragmentary passage (^{URU}Ma-al[-di-ya])²⁸. Lastly KUB XXIII 69 is a small fragment of only seven lines and none of them is complete; the name

²¹ See RGTC, VI, S. 257-258. The similarity of Maldiya to the toponym Malazziya is not well-grounded since the latter was most likely in the north-east of Hatti, close to the territories populated by the Kaskian tribes (the East Pontic mountains) (See Alp S., *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*, Ankara, 1991, S. 23).

²² De Martino S., *Malatya and Işuwa in Hittite texts: New elements of discussion*, *Origini*, XXXIV, 2012, p. 375.

²³ About the history of Isuwa see Hawkins J. D., *The Land of Işuwa: The Hieroglyphic Evidence*. In: Alp, S. and Süel, A., eds. *Acts of the III International Congress of Hittitology*, Çorum, September 16-22, 1996. Ankara, pp. 283-295. Քոսյան Ա., Իսուվան (Մոփք) մ.թ.ա. XIII-XII դարերում, Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես, 1997, 1, էջ 177-192:

²⁴ See Klengel H., *Nochmals zu Işuwa*. *Oriens Antiquus*, 15, 1976. - S. 85-86. De Martino S., *Malatya and Işuwa in Hittite texts: New elements of discussion*. *Origini*, XXXIV, 2012, pp. 375-376.

²⁵ See Mora C., Giorgieri M., *Le lettere tra i re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Hattuša*. S.A.R.G.O.N., 2004, pp. 88-89.

²⁶ Manuelli F., *Arslantepe. Late Bronze Age. Hittite influence and local traditions in an Eastern Anatolian Community*. *Arslantepe*, vol. IX, Roma, 2013, p. 416.

²⁷ Sakuma Y., *Neue Kenntnisse hethitischer Orakeltexte 2*, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 36, 2009, S. 293-318.

²⁸ De Martino S., *Malatya and Işuwa in Hittite texts: New elements of discussion*, p. 376.

of the city is preserved, but unfortunately we cannot infer any other information concerning the content of this document.

In the last decades of the Hittite Empire Malitiya is not mentioned in the Hittite texts. After the fall of the Hittite Empire (ca 1180 BC), from the 12th to 7th centuries BC, the city became the center of the independent so-called Neo-Hittite state²⁹. After the fall of the Hittite state the first mention of the city of Melid (Hittite Malitiya) refers to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria (1114-1077 BC), when on his return from the campaign to the “lands of Nairi”, he received tribute from the king of Melid, Allumari in 1112 BC.

Here Melid is called a city of the “Great country of Hatti”³⁰. And subsequently, reporting on the campaigns in the area of the right bank of the Upper Euphrates, the Assyrian and Biainian (Urartian)³¹ kings mention the country of Hatti (Hate/Hatinili), which in most cases corresponds to the territory of the kingdom of Melid³². The city continued to prosper until the Assyrian king Sargon II (722-705 BC) sacked the city in 712 BC. In the Annals of Sargon II it was considered to be the royal residence of the land of Kammanu. There is a mention of the city in the Bible as well³³.

Archaeological records complement the cuneiform texts in which Malitiya or Maldiya is attested³⁴. The site (Malitiya/Melid/Melitene) is an artificial mound, approximately 30m high and covering a surface of 4ha, formed by the overlapping deposits of many occupations, built for millennia in the same place. The archaeological site was occupied without interruption at least from the 5th millennium BC until the 4th to 6th centuries AD. Shengavitian (3400-2000 BC) culture included the region of Malitiya as well³⁵. Lion-hill was in fact one of the main proto-state centres at the end of the 4th millennium BC, and one of the “poles” of “urbanisation”³⁶. The degree of influence

²⁹ See Bryce T., *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms*. Oxford, 2012, pp. 98-110.

³⁰ See Grayson A. K., *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*. II, Wiesbaden, 1976, I, 32.

³¹ See Арутюнян Н. В., Корпус урартских клинообразных надписей, Ереван, 2001, стр. 514-515. In these sources the city is given in the forms URU Meliteani, URU Melite(i)alhi/e KUR-ni.

³² Косян А., Лувийские царства Малой Азии и прилегающих областей в XII-VIII вв. до н.э., стр. 17-29. See also Քոսյան Ա., Ուշխեթական Մելիդ պետությունը, Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների, 1984, 6, էջ 62-70:

³³ “The wool from the Militei” (to the city of Tyre in Phoenicia). The Bible (*Ezekiel: 27*).

³⁴ About the archaeological excavations in the territory of Malitiya see Manuelli F., Foreign influences and local tradition in the Iron Age pottery production from Arslantepe. Evidence from the new excavations of the Neo-Hittite levels. *Mesopotamia*, XLV, 2010, Firenze, pp. 71-84; Manuelli F.; Malatya-Melid between the Late Bronze and the Iron Age. Continuity and change at Arslantepe during the 2nd and 1st Millennium BCE: Preliminary observations on the pottery assemblages. In K. Strobel, ed., “Empires after the Empire. Anatolia, Syria and Assyria after Šuppiluliuma II (ca 1200-800/700 B.C.)”, Firenze, 2011, pp. 61-85; Manuelli F., A view from the East. Arslantepe and the central Anatolian world during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages: Interactions and local development. *Orini*, XXXIV, 2012, pp. 361-374.

³⁵ Bobokhyan A., *Kommunikation und Austausch im Hochland zwischen Kaukasus und Taurus*, ca. 2500-1500 v. Chr., Band 1, BAR International Series 1853, 2008, S. 24.

³⁶ Alvaro C., Frangipane M., Liberotti G., Quaresima R., Volpe R., *The Study of the Fourth Millenium Mud-Bricks at Arslantepe: Malatya: Preliminary Results*. Proceedings of the 37th International Symposium on Archaeometry, 13th-16th May 2008, Siena, Italy, Berlin, 2011, pp. 651-656. See also Di Nocera G. M., *Metals and Metallurgy. Their place in the*

exerted by the Hittite world at Lion-hill during the Late Bronze Age was high being manifested in every aspect of the material culture.

Owing to its unique geographical position Malitiya was a connecting link between Asia Minor, the Armenian Highland, Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria.

The Upper Euphrates valley is perfect for the analysis and understanding of the nature of the contacts between Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland especially during the Late Bronze and Iron Age periods. The abovementioned lands (for example the Upper Land, Tegarama) formed a sort of a cultural and political border between the Hittite territories and the lands of the Armenian Highland: Hayasa, Isuwa (Tsopk), etc. during the Late Bronze Age.