

THE HISTORY OF SEVERAL CITIES OF THE WESTERN PART OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND ACCORDING TO HITTITE SOURCES

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From ancient times the peoples and states of the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor were in cultural and political relations with one another. With the emergence of the Hittite state (18th-13th centuries BC) those relations became more active. The Hittite state took under its control the western parts of the Armenian Highland as well and tried to have more influence in the east. Geographically several Hittite lands were in the contact zone between the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor. In this contact zone there were also several cities that played a significant role in the political, cultural and economic life of the region. Those cities were Sarissa, Kussara, Samuha and Mal(i)tiya.

The city of Sarissa¹ or Saressa was one of the most important centers situated in the east of the Hittite state. There is no mention of it in the “Cappadocian” sources (20th-18th centuries BC)². Instead, it was repeatedly mentioned in the Hittite sources. Different opinions³ were expressed about the location of the city, however, now Hittitologists tend to locate it in the place of the present archaeological site Kuşaklı which is situated in the province of Sebastia (60km south of the city of Sebastia), in the territory of historical Armenia Minor, near the Anti-Taurus Mountains. The archaeological site is situated on a natural hill with a height of 1650m, surrounded with mountains⁴. In one building in the western part of the citadel of the archaeological site an archive of cuneiform inscriptions was discovered (this is the fourth largest Hittite archive, probably composed during the reign of Tudhaliya III or Suppiluliuma I (2nd half of the 14th century BC)). The clay tablets mainly contain information of ritual and oracle character. In the south-eastern part of the citadel of the archaeological site a rather large building has been discovered, which was probably the temple of the Storm God of Sarissa. In the northern part of the

¹ The toponym is probably comprised of the root *šara* (high, above) and the toponym-forming suffix *-issa*. It is likely that the toponyms Sariyana, Sariyanta and Saripiya mentioned in the Hittite sources are comprised of the same root (about the location of these cities see RGTC, VI, S. 350-351).

² During the 20th-18th centuries BC international trade was conducted from Assur to Kanesh (in the territory of future Cappadocia) and other districts of Asia Minor. Assur had founded its trading colonies at the junction point of trade routes, near the sources of raw material, especially in the eastern districts of Asia Minor, where from the city of Kanesh thousands of cuneiform tablets have been discovered. They are an invaluable source for the history of the region of that period. 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.

³ See RGTC, VI, S. 351-352.

⁴ In the Hittite sources there is also information about the mountains of Sarissa, see RGTC, VI, S. 352.

archaeological site another temple building has been excavated⁵. In the southern part of the city a semi-dugout granary was discovered which could contain about 700 tons of grain⁶. Similar granaries were discovered in other Hittite cities as well⁷. Near the north-western gates of the city, outside the city walls there was a large artificial pool. The water flowing from the neighboring mountains was gathered there to satisfy the needs of the city, as well as to irrigate the adjacent sowing areas⁸. There were similar pools in the south-western and south-eastern parts of the city as well⁹. From there the water was supplied to the city through clay pipes. Those pools are the oldest constructions of that kind in the territory of the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor (dated to the 16th century BC). In the mountains near the city a sanctuary with a pool was discovered as well (2.5km south of the city, the so-called pool of Šuppitašuwere)¹⁰. In one of the Hittite texts there is mention of a *huwaši*-sanctuary in the mountains near Sarissa. It was of great importance since the king of Hatti travelled to that place from Hattusa in order to participate in the spring celebration there¹¹. There was also a royal palace (É.LUGAL) in the city. Besides, one of the Hittite inscriptions mentions “the house of the city of Hattusa” in Sarissa (É^{URU}Hatti^{URU}Sarissai), which means the palace of the great king of Hatti in Sarissa¹².

Traces of city walls were found, as well as the four gates of the city. Preliminary archaeological observations show that there were quarters outside the city walls as well.

A great number of stamps were also found in Sarissa. One of them is worthy of particular interest. In the center of it the name of the king Mazitima or Mizitima is written in Luwian hieroglyphic script¹³. So far the unique mention of the name does not make it possible to find out who the person was. It can be supposed that he governed in Sarissa as a vassal of the great king of Hatti.

⁵ Müller-Karpe A., Kuşakli-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; Mielke D. P., *The province center: Kuşakli-Şarişsa. Key sites of the Hittite empire. The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*, 2011, pp. 1043-1044; Wilhelm G., *Combining Textual and Archaeological Evidence of Urban Structures: Hattusa and Sarissa, Mesopotamia*, XLVI, 2011, Firenze, pp. 105-106.

⁶ Mielke D. P., *Die Grabungen an der Südspitze. In A. Müller-Karpe, Untersuchungen in Kuşakli 2000*, MDOG, 133, 2001, S. 237-241.

⁷ Müller-Karpe A., *The Rise and Fall of the Hittite Empire in the Light of Dendroarchaeological Research, Tree-Rings, Kings, and Old World Archaeology and Environment: Papers Presented in Honor of Peter Ian Kuniholm*, Oxford, 2009, p. 5.

⁸ Hüser A., *Hethitische Anlagen zur Wasserversorgung und Entsorgung. Kuşakli-Sarissa 3*. Rahden: Leidorf, 2007.

⁹ Müller-Karpe A., *The Rise and Fall of the Hittite Empire in the Light of Dendroarchaeological Research*, p. 4.

¹⁰ Müller-Karpe A., *Untersuchungen in Kuşakli 1998*, MDOG, 1999, 131, S. 79-91.

¹¹ Wilhelm G., *Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäuden A. Kuşakli-Sarissa 1*. Rahden: Leidorf, 1997.

¹² Mielke D. P., *Hittite Cities: Looking for a Concept, in Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, 2011, p. 167.

¹³ Müller-Karpe A., *Kuşakli-Sarissa: A Hittite town in the “Upper Land”*, pp. 151-152.

Besides the pottery of Hittite style discovered at the archaeological site, Mycenaean pottery was found as well, which testifies to the fact that the city had trade relations with more remote territories and countries¹⁴.

Thus, Sarissa was a medium-sized Hittite city (which probably had a population of about 5000 people¹⁵), occupying a territory of about 18ha. The archaeological material found makes it possible to note that Sarissa was populated at least since the times of the Hittite Old kingdom (since the 16th century BC). It was partially destroyed in the first half of the 14th century BC (perhaps during the reign of Arnuvanda I), then it was restored during the reign of either Tudhaliya III or Suppiluliuma I. Traces of new destruction, dated to the period of the fall of the Hittite Empire, were discovered in the archaeological site of Sarissa. Probably the city was gradually abandoned already at the end of the 13th century BC. Some structures of the citadel were burnt down during that time which testifies to the fact that the city was attacked and conquered. Later (7th-6th centuries BC) most of the territory of the city was repopulated. Then the settlement was abandoned for good.

In the administrative sense Sarissa was part¹⁶ of the Hittite Upper Land¹⁷, and was closer to the cities of Kussara and Samuha. It was also one of the spiritual centers of Hatti. In the Egyptian version of the part “divine witnesses” of the Hittite-Egyptian treaty (1258 BC) the god Set (Storm) of the city of Sarissa was mentioned¹⁸. We know about the Storm god of Sarissa from other Hittite treaties as well. In the list of gods given in them the Storm god of Sarissa was usually mentioned after the Storm gods of Samuha and Hurma¹⁹. Those cities were mentioned after each other probably because they were close to each other. Besides the Storm god of Sarissa the male and female gods of Sarissa were mentioned as well²⁰.

The city of Sarissa was mentioned also in some Hittite oracle and ritual texts. There is a ritual text, where “the man of the city of Sarissa” is mentioned as a participant of the ritual²¹. In another oracle text about Sarissa the country of Azzi is mentioned²². It

¹⁴ See Mielke D. P., Die Ausgrabung des Nordwest-Tores. In Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 2003, MDOG, 136, 2004, S. 155, picture 13.

¹⁵ Mielke D. P., Hittite Cities: Looking for a Concept, p. 184.

¹⁶ See Siegelová J., Der Regionalpalast in der Verwaltung des hethitischen Staates, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2001, 28.2, S. 193-208; Wilhelm G., *Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A. (Kuşaklı - Sarissa I/I)*, Rahden, 1997.

¹⁷ The Hittite Upper Land was in the north-east of the Hittite Empire. In more detail see Ghazaryan R., *The North-Western Region (the Upper Land) of the Armenian Highland within the Hittite State*, *Fundamental Armenology*, 2015, 2, pp. 8-18.

¹⁸ Singer I., *Hittite Gods in Egyptian Attire: A Case Study in Cultural Transmission, Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature. Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2013, p. 437.

¹⁹ Beckman G., *Hittite diplomatic texts*, Atlanta, 1996, pp. 24, 47, 53, 58, 63, 87.

²⁰ Singer I., *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381)*, Atlanta, 1996, p. 13.

²¹ Wilhelm G., *Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A. (Kuşaklı - Sarissa I/I)*, Rahden, 1997, S. 18-19.

²² One of the most important states of the Armenian Highland in the 14th-13th centuries BC was Azzi, given in Hittite sources also as Hayasa. See Ղազարյան Ռ., Հայաստ. քաղաքական և մշակութային պատմությունը, Երևան, 2009:

mentions the king (probably of Hatti) and the man of the country of Azzi (perhaps the lord)²³. A high-ranking guest from Azzi might have participated in those rituals.

Thus, Sarissa was one of the cities of Upper Land, which was one of the most important north eastern lands of the Hittite Empire. It was rather close to Hayasa and Isuwa – the Armenian Highland's states of that time (16th-12th centuries BC) and it is natural that it had economic relations with the cities of those states. The city of Sarissa was also rather close to Samuha and Kussara - the most important cities in the east of Hatti. Sarissa is one of the best preserved Hittite cities discovered so far and it has provided Hittitologists with a lot of important materials. It is also the highest Hittite city discovered which had great economic significance. The city was also one of the most important military bases of the eastern districts of Hatti, protecting the central districts of Hatti from the threats coming from the east. The main cult center of the Storm god of Sarissa, one of the most important Hittite gods, was also found in the city.

The city of Kussara is occasionally mentioned in the trade clay tablets of the old Assyrian period and less often in the period of the Hittite Kingdom²⁴. From Old Assyrian trade tablets we know that in the city existed a special palace - an Assyrian trade station called *Karum*. Kussara plays a central role in the earliest history of the eastern part of Asia Minor and western part of the Armenian Highland, and yet it is one of the least well-attested cities in the Old Assyrian sources (20th-18th centuries BC). Only 26 texts refer to the city and attestations of Kussara alongside other toponyms are even scarcer. The Old Assyrian texts contain little direct evidence about the history of Kussara. Among them there are some texts containing information that Kussara was in war with the Land of Zalpa²⁵ and in close relations with Luhuzattiya²⁶. The city played a relatively unimportant role in international trade according to Old Assyrian texts²⁷.

But Kussara first of all was a city from where originated the dynasty of Hittite kings. Pithana²⁸, the earliest-documented Hittite ruler, was the king of the city of Kussara, and the forerunner of the later Hittite dynasty. He reigned during the 18th century BC. During his reign he conquered the city of Kanesh (Nesa), heart of the Assyrian trading colonies network in the east of Asia Minor and the western part of the Armenian Highland. Pithana came down from Kussara in great force and took Nesa in the night by storm. He seized the king of Nesa, but inflicted no harm on the inhabitants of the city. Instead, he

²³ Wilhelm G., *Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäuden A. (Kuşakli - Sarissa I/I)*, Rahden, 1997, S. 25-27.

²⁴ RGTC, VI, S. 230.

²⁵ RGTC, VI, S. 490-492. The city was probably located near the (Black) Sea.

²⁶ Barjamovic G., *A Historical geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony period*. Copenhagen, 2011, pp. 133-143.

²⁷ Barjamovic G., *op. cit.*, pp. 143-150.

²⁸ The so-called "Anitta Text" (CTH I) is the only historical source about the reign of Pithana and his subjugation of Kanesh. Anitta was son of Pithana. He was the author of the above-mentioned text, which is the oldest known text in the Hittite language (and the oldest known Indo-European text altogether).

made them “*his mothers and fathers*”²⁹. The seat of the Kussaran dynasty was then moved to Nesa, though Kussara appears to have retained ceremonial importance.

Pithana was succeeded by his son, Anitta (18th century BC). He defeated Piyusti, the king of the Hattian state. Anitta conquered the Hattian capital city Hattusa (the future Hittite capital). Then he destroyed the city, “sowed cress” over it, and laid a curse on the site³⁰. Anitta also attacked the city of Zalpuwa/Zalpa, defeated Huzziya, the last its recorded king and recaptured the Kanesan god, thus ending the threat from the north. Next, Anitta turned his attention southwards and defeated the city of Salatiwara³¹ (which lay on a road connecting the kingdoms of Wahsusana and Purushanda (Burushattum in the Old Assyrian merchant tablets)³²) in two campaigns. In the final stage of his campaigns, Anitta marched against the important city of Purushanda. Its king, albeit ruling a widely respected realm, had the wisdom to voluntarily submit to Anitta, bringing gifts including a throne and a scepter of iron³³. Anitta also took the title of “Great King”. His name, together with the name of his father, appears on an inscription on a dagger³⁴ discovered in Nesa.

The establishment of the Kussaran dynasty in Nesa had dramatically altered the political landscape of the eastern half of Asia Minor and the western half of the Armenian Highland (18th century BC). The conquests of Pithana and Anitta had resulted in an extensive unified political structure encompassing the whole of the Marassantiya (Halys) basin north to the Pontic region, and the entire region south of the Marassantiya to Purushanda. Nesa and Kussara were the focal points of this structure³⁵.

It seems, however, that after Anitta his dynasty lost control over its original city-state of Kussara, which passed into the hands of either a collateral branch of the royal family or a rival Hittite clan whose dynasty would found the new Hittite state. Kussara remained one of many city-states in the contact zone of Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland, until the reign of Labarna.

When Labarna³⁶ came to the Hittite throne, he was the ruler only of the city-state of Kussara. In addition to the territories won by Labarna in the south-western part of the Armenian Highland, the Hittites must also have controlled territories located a similar

²⁹ Anitta text: 5-9. Maybe this unique statement meant there were cultural and/or ethnic affinities between Kussara and Kanes. See also Bryce T., *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 35-36.

³⁰ A curse was laid on the site by Anitta: “On its site I sowed weeds. May the Storm-God strike down anyone who becomes king after me and resettles Hattusa.” See Anitta text: 44-51.

³¹ See RGTC, VI, S. 333-334.

³² See RGTC, VI, S. 323-324, 471.

³³ Anitta text, 73-79.

³⁴ The discovery in 1954 of an inscribed dagger in the debris of a large building on the mound at Kültepe (Nesa) seemed to provide material confirmation of the establishment of Nesa as the Kussaran dynasty’s royal seat.

³⁵ See Bryce T., *op. cit.*, pp. 35-40.

³⁶ This king was regarded by his successors as the founder of the royal dynasty, and his name was assumed as a title by each king on his accession, though for his lifetime only, not after death. There are no surviving records from his reign, the one major source being the later Proclamation of Telipinu, well over a century after his death (see Hoffmann I., *Der Erlaß Telipinus*, Heidelberg, 1984, S. 12-13).

distance to the north of Kussara, at that time the center of the Hittite kingdom. This may have been the result of a series of northern campaigns conducted by Labarna³⁷. Hattusili I (ca 1650-1620 BC), recognized as one of the first Hittite kings, referred to himself as “man of Kussara”, but moved his capital from there to Hattusa (from which he likely took his name). It is clear, however, that even after the capital was moved, Kussara retained some importance, as it was there that Hattusili called a council on his own succession. As the expression “Man of Kussara” suggests, Hattusili probably began his reign in Kussara. The major document of Hattusili’s reign is commonly referred to as the *Testament*. While Hattusili’s *Annals* are one of our chief sources of information on his military exploits, the *Testament* provides us with important details about the internal political affairs of the Hittite kingdom during his reign³⁸. Perhaps Hattusili I spent his final days there, in the city of his ancestors³⁹. He also declared his grandson Mursili the next king of Hatti in Kussara.

Hattusili I and Hattusili III (1267-1237 BC)⁴⁰ mentioned the origins of the Kings of the land of Hatti as Hattusili I styled himself: “*man of Kussara . . . Great King Tabarna, Hattusili the Great King, King of the land of Hatti*”. No other town or land was ever mentioned by the King of Hatti as the origin of his dynasty. There is no information on Kussara in later Hittite sources.

The borders of Kussara are unknown and the old city of Kussara has not been found, though several proposals for its location have been advanced. In the Old Assyrian trade texts it is mentioned that Kussara had closer relations with the cities of Hattum, Hurama, Luhuzattiya, Salahsuwa, Samuha, Tegarama, Timelkiya⁴¹. All these settlements were to the east and north-east of Kanesh (Nesa)⁴². The Hittite sources offer little help in locating Kussara. Apart from the well-known text of Anitta, the city is never mentioned in any geographical context in the Hittite texts. Divergent suggestions regarding the location of Kussara have been proposed: B. Landsberger located it in “the nearest proximity of Hattusa”⁴³, S. Alp identified it with the present day Acemhöyük⁴⁴ at the Lake Tatta⁴⁵, J. Lewy advocated for its location near Comana Cappadociae or at Kemer on the Plain of Elbistan (Albistan - in the north-eastern part of Cilicia)⁴⁶, and J. Garstang and O. Gurney saw the present day Alişar as an “extremely plausible”

³⁷ Bryce T., op. cit., pp. 64-66.

³⁸ CTH, 4-8.

³⁹ See about the history of his reign in: Burney Ch., *Historical Dictionary of the Hittites*, 2004, pp. 107-110. Bryce T., op. cit., p. 86.

⁴⁰ See Otten H., *Die Apologie Hattusilis III. Das Bild der Überlieferung*, Wiesbaden, 1981, S. 4-5.

⁴¹ Barjamovic G., op. cit., pp. 143-144.

⁴² Barjamovic G., op. cit., pp. 133-188.

⁴³ Landsberger B., *Über den Wert künftiger Ausgrabungen in der Türkei*, *Belleten*, 1939, 3, S. 213.

⁴⁴ The name of the place was most likely Purushanda/Purushattum. The site was an Assyrian trading colony, or *Karum*.

⁴⁵ Alp S., *Hitit çağında Anadolu coğrafyası; Bazi atilimler ve yeni umutlar*, 1990, ICH 1, s. 21-24.

⁴⁶ Lewy J., *Old Assyrian evidence concerning Kuşşara and its Location*, *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, 1965, 2, pp. 305-315.

candidate⁴⁷. T. Bryce, meanwhile, suggested: “the city of Kussara probably lay to the south-east of the Marassantiya river basin in the Anti-Taurus region, on or near one of the main trade routes from Assyria and perhaps in the vicinity of modern Şar (Comana Cappadocia)”⁴⁸. M. Forlanini says that Kussara was located between Hurama and Tegarama, to north of Luhuzattiya and probably on a crossroad leading towards north, to Samuha (located in the province of Sebastia)⁴⁹. G. Barjamovic says that Kussara was situated on the route to Kanesh, between Hurama and Samuha⁵⁰. We agree with the viewpoints that Kussara was situated in the region of the Anti-Taurus Mountains, in the western part of the Armenian Highland, to the west of Tegarama, to the north-east of Kanesh, in the territory to the south of Samuha.

Thus, Kussara was the main political center of the western part of the Armenian Highland. Kussara attained its highest status during the later Colony period (20th-18th centuries BC) when it was the seat of the dynasty of Pithana and his son Anitta, before shifting their center of power to Nesa (Kanesh). Hittite military and political power was first built up in Kussara, although there was no blood line linking Anitta with Hattusili I and his successors. Hattusili I was based in Kussara, though soon established his new center of government on the ruins of Hattusa. Defensively strong, Hattusa was strategically badly sited by comparison with Kussara, for purposes of access to north Syria and Mesopotamia. Playing a significant role in the Assyrian colony period and the period of the Old Hittite Kingdom Kussara probably declined and was abandoned already in the period of the Middle Hittite Kingdom.

One of the most important administrative and spiritual centers of the north-eastern part of the Hittite state was the city of Samuha⁵¹, which is mentioned from the pre-Hittite and Hittite periods. According to the “Cappadocian tablets” Samuha had active trade relations with the trade centers of the region: Kanesh (Nesa), Luhuzattiya, Karahna and other cities⁵². There was a station (*wabartum*) of Assyrian merchants in Samuha.

⁴⁷ Garstang J., Gurney O., The geography of the Hittite Empire, London, 1959, p. 63. But Alişar is now considered the site where the Hittite city Ankuwa was situated. See also Barjamovic G., op. cit., p. 144.

⁴⁸ Bryce T., op. cit., pp. 35-36.

⁴⁹ Forlanini M., The historical geography of Anatolia and the transition from the Karum period to the Early Hittite Empire, OAAS, volume 3, Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period, p. 81, n. 116. See also the map on page 120 in Michel C., La correspondance des marchands Assyriens du XIX^e S. AV. J.-C. Da l’archivage les lettres commerciales et privées, La lettre d’archive, Supplément 9, 2008. In that map Kussara was located to the south of Samuha, in the region of the Anti-Taurus Mountains.

⁵⁰ Barjamovic G., op. cit., p. 146.

⁵¹ According to G. Ghapantsyan the name of the city is comprised of Asianic sam(m)- “cane” + -ha (cf. Arm. shamb (շամբ)), i.e. the name of the city can be translated as Cane Field (Капанцян Гр., Хайаса-колыбель армян, Ереван, 1948, стр. 62). S. Petrosyan considers that in the toponym Samuha we can find the word “*samha” meaning “lion” in one of the old Arian dialects, and this was reproduced in the Hittite language in the form Šamuḫa (Պետրոսյան Ս., Սամուխայի Մայր դիցուհու պաշտամունքի ակունքները, ՊԲՀ, 2004, 1, էջ 170).

⁵² Barjamovic G., op. cit., p. 136.

According to the “Cappadocian” sources Samuha was one of the trade centers of wool and tin at the beginning of the II millennium BC⁵³.

Later Samuha was repeatedly mentioned in other Hittite sources as well. During the period of the Hittite state Samuha prospered both as an administrative and spiritual center.

One of the first references to the city is found in the text⁵⁴ of the Hittite king Telipinu (second half of the 15th century BC), where several cities, among them Samuha, were mentioned.

Another important source concerning Samuha is the text called “River Navigation”⁵⁵. It is a letter delivered to the Hittite king from some official. The text probably referred to the period of the New Kingdom (14th-13th centuries BC). According to that Hittite source goods were delivered from Pittiyariga⁵⁶ to Samuha by boats (or rafts). As a transit city Arziya is mentioned⁵⁷.

Samuha was also the temporary political center of Hatti during the reign of Tudhaliya III (ca 1360-1344 BC) when a considerable part of the territory of Hatti (including Hattusa, the capital city of Hatti) was either conquered or was out of control of the king of Hatti and he had to move to Samuha⁵⁸ with his court. According to Hittite sources Azzi (Hayasa) had probably attacked and invaded “all the Upper lands and made Samuha a border”⁵⁹. It is not clear whether the Azzians had conquered the city or it was simply close to the territories conquered by them; the fact is that during that period the north-western border of Hayasa (Azzi) reached the farthest districts of the Armenian Highland to the west, up to the upper basin of the river Halys. But in a short time the Hittites either took back Samuha or the Azzians retreated taking the trophy and leaving the territory of Upper Land. Anyway, for soon, during the reign of Tudhaliya III and prince Suppiluliuma, Samuha became the base from where they started the process of restoring the strength and territorial integrity of Hatti⁶⁰. Actually Samuha

⁵³ Lassen A. W., *Wool Trade in Old Assyrian Anatolia*, *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, 2010, 42, pp. 159-179; Barjamovic G., *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, p. 15; Bobokhyan A., *Kommunikation und Austausch im Hochland zwischen kaukasus und Taurus, ca. 2500-1500 v. Chr.*, Band 1, *BAR International Series* 1853, 2008, S. 69.

⁵⁴ KBo III 1 21 (Hoffmann I., *Der Erlaß Telepinus*, Heidelberg, 1984, S. 40-41).

⁵⁵ KUB XXXI 79 (CTH, 214.17. See also Garstang J., Gurney O.R., *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, London, 1959, pp. 33-36; Cornelius F., *Geographie des Hethiterreiches*, *Orientalia*, 1958, 27, S. 373-374; Lebrun R., *Samuha foyer religieux de l'empire Hittite*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976, pp. 217-218; Քոսյան Ա., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի տեղանունները (ըստ խեթական աղբյուրների), Երևան, 2004 (henceforth <LS>), էջ 118-119 և այլն).

⁵⁶ See about Pittiyariga in <LS>, էջ 80-81:

⁵⁷ The word Arziya- in the Hittite language means granary, shed, grain store (see Tischler J., *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*, Innsbruck, 2001, S. 25). This can mean that from ancient times the city was populated with people speaking Nesian and was one of the important trade centers in the region.

⁵⁸ Bryce T., *The Kingdom of Hittites*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 148-153.

⁵⁹ KBo VI 28, ԴԿ 6-15 (CTH 88).

⁶⁰ 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*, pp. 147-148.

temporarily was the capital city of the Hittite state which was enclosed in the territory of Upper Land. In fact it was also the headquarters of the Hittite army. Samuha was also mentioned in the “Annals”⁶¹ of Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322 BC) who followed Tudhaliya III, as well as in the fifth year of the “Ten year” annals⁶² of Mursili II (1321-1295 BC).

Samuha also played an important role during the struggle for the throne between Mursili III (Urhi-Tesub) (1272-1267 BC) and his uncle Hattusili. According to Hattusili's autobiographical text the goddess Istar from Samuha demanded Mursili II to send his younger son Hattusili to serve her as a priest. The king of Hatti did that. Hattusili connected all of his further actions with Istar's patronage and divine support. According to the above-mentioned text, during the reign of Muwattali II (1295-1272 BC) Hattusili was appointed governor-vice-roy of Upper Land and the neighbouring territories. But Mursili III deprived him of that position. And this attitude of the great king of Hatti resulted in hostility between the two and a war started between Hattusili and Mursili which mainly took place in the territory of Upper Land. During the war Mursili III left the city of Marassantiya and took shelter in Samuha which once again temporarily became the residence of the king of Hatti. Hattusili sieged (according to Hattusili's figurative expression he had closed Mursili III in Samuha as “a pig in a barn”) and then seized the city and dethroned his nephew. The victorious Hattusili was declared great king of Hatti⁶³.

After the fall of the Hittite Empire (the end of the 13th century - the beginning of the 12th century BC) there is no mention of the city of Samuha.

Now let us turn to the question of location of Samuha. As mentioned above, the Hittite text KUB XXXI 79 describes the transportation of goods by the river between the cities of Pittiyariga, Arziya⁶⁴ and Samuha. This text gives the impression that the city was located on the bank of the river. It is said that the river was shallow in some places and the boats could overturn. The goods were transported to a larger boat in Samuha. Since the text is damaged it is not clear where the goods were to be taken from there⁶⁵. The existence of a river road from Pittiyariga to Samuha has a great significance from the point of view of these three cities being on the bank of the same river and besides, this can give an opportunity to find the approximate location of a lot of other settlements

⁶¹ Güterbock H. G., *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his son, Mursili II*, pp. 63-64.

⁶² KBo III 4 III 48. The city was given here in the form Samaha. See RGTC, VI, S. 337-341. RGTC, VI/2, S. 136. <LS, ʔ 85-90. The city was mentioned in the form Sapuha as well (see e.g. the text devoted to “Istar of Fields” (KUB XXX 56: <LS, ʔ 141).

⁶³ See Otten H., *Die Apologie Hattusilis III*, Wiesbaden, 1981, S. 117.

⁶⁴ Arziya could not have been in the place of the medieval city Artsn since it was located in the upper unnavigable part of the Western Euphrates. Besides, Artsn was near the city of Karin the territory of which was part of Hayasa in that period.

⁶⁵ Lebrun R., *Samuha, foyer religieux de l'Empire hittite*, pp. 217-218; Gurney O. R., *The Upper Land, mātum elūtum*, in G. Beckman et al (eds.) *Hittite Studies in Honour of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Winona Lake, 2003, pp. 123-124. The text KBo IV 13 also mentions Pittiyariga, Arziya, Samuha and other settlements, which testifies to the fact that these cities were actually close to each other and had close relations since ancient times.

mentioned in other texts with those cities. For a long time the navigable river mentioned in the text was identified with the Euphrates and the above-mentioned cities were looked for in the territory between the upper streams of the Euphrates to Malatiya. However, the Hittite sources do not clearly mention on the bank of which river exactly Samuha was located. The “Cappadocian” sources do not give a solution to this problem, but it is evident that the city was located near the cities of Karahna and Hurama⁶⁶. Karahna was close to Tapikka which was clearly situated in the place of the present archaeological site Maşat-höyük [about 20km to the south of the city of Zile (Zela)]. In regard to the location of the city, of great importance is Hattusili III’s text where it is mentioned that during the war with his nephew the latter left the city of Marassantiya [on the bank of the river of the same name (Marasantiya=Halys)] and took shelter in Samuha⁶⁷. In one part of the text KBo I 58 (II 4^l -5^l) Samuha immediately follows Sarissa. Moreover, in Hittite international agreements, when gods were called to witness, the Storm god of Samuha was usually mentioned immediately after the Storm god of Sarissa.

In historiography Samuha is usually located in the province of Sebastia, in the place of the archaeological site near the present day settlement Kayalıpınar (the toponym can be translated as “rocky source”). A. Müller-Karpe was the first to suggest the location of Samuha in the place of the above-mentioned archaeological site⁶⁸, on the bank of the river Halys, not far from the archaeological site near the present day Kuşaklı (Sarissa)⁶⁹. The archaeological site of Kayalıpınar⁷⁰ occupies about 20 hectares. It is on the northern bank of the river Halys, about 45km to the south-east of Sebastia⁷¹. During the excavations of the archaeological site artifacts, dated to the period of the Middle and Late Bronze Age were discovered. During the excavations traces of a large building were discovered as well. It was destroyed and restored several times. It was probably a palace⁷² or a temple. Inscriptions were also discovered

⁶⁶ Barjavovic G., *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, pp. 151-154.

⁶⁷ KBo VI 29 II 18-20.

⁶⁸ Müller-Karpe A., *Kayalıpınar in Ostkappadokien. Ein neuer hethitischer Tontafelfundplatz*, MDOG, 132, 2000, S. 355-365.

⁶⁹ See also De Martino S., *Şamuha*, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, band 12, 1/2, 2009, pp. 1-2:

⁷⁰ The archaeological site was mistakenly located in eastern Cappadocia whereas it is in the territory of Armenia Minor, in the western part of the Armenian Highland. About the western borders of the Armenian Highland see Зограбян Л. Н., *Орография Армянского нагорья (опыт орографического анализа морфоструктуры)*, Ереван, 1979, стр. 14:

⁷¹ See also Yakar J., Gürsan-Salzman A., *Archaeological Survey in the Malatya and Sivas Provinces - 1977*, Tel Aviv, 6, 1979, p. 39ff; Ökse A. T., *Sivas İli 1992 yüzey araştırması. XI. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara 24-28 Mayıs 1993, 1994, s. 244; Ökse A. T., *Sivas İli 1997 yüzey araştırması. XI. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Tarsus 25-29 Mayıs 1998, 1999, s. 472.

⁷² The Hittite text KBo XLV 179 also testifies to the existence of the palace in Samuha. The text, composed as an instruction, enumerates “the servants of the king of Isuwa”, “the people of the palace of Sapuha (=Samuha)”, the city of Watarusna, etc. See <LS, §2 132.

in the archaeological site⁷³. Besides, a text of a spiritual ritual nature was found⁷⁴. It describes a ceremony connected with the cult of Istar - "the divine mistress". The place where the ceremony was held was one of the cult centers of Istar. It was an important place since the king also participated in the ceremony⁷⁵. In Hatti the main place of worship of the goddess Istar was the city of Samuha located, just like the archaeological site, on the bank of the river⁷⁶. The ritual text dated back to the Middle Hittite period⁷⁷ and is an additional basis for locating Samuha at the place of the present day Kayalıpınar. In the archaeological site clay stamps were discovered⁷⁸. During the excavations a piece of limestone (with a height of 1.2m and width of 95cm) was found and there was a relief image depicting a woman sitting on the throne⁷⁹.

Samuha was one of the most important spiritual centers of Hatti where besides Istar other gods were worshipped as well. The gods of Samuha were also repeatedly mentioned in different Hittite treaties as witness gods⁸⁰. At the same time Istar was the protector goddess of many members of the royal family. Thus, as a child Hattusili III was sent to serve the goddess Ishtar. He also sent his son Tudhaliya to serve the goddess Istar⁸¹. There are prayer texts of Hittite kings, as well as lists of gods where Samuha and its gods were mentioned⁸².

In the texts of the period of the last Hittite kings (Arnuwanda III, Suppiluliuma II) there is no mention of Samuha. It is likely that the city was destroyed by the Kasks during the fall of the Hittite Empire since later the Kasks were mentioned in the territories south of Upper Land, near the countries of Melid (future Malatiya) and Tabal (future territory of Cappadocia).

Thus, Samuha was one of the most important administrative and spiritual centers of the north-eastern part of the Hittite state and geographically it was in the western part of the Armenian Highland. After the fall of the Hittite Empire there is no more mention of the city of Samuha.

The city of Malitiya is one of the most important ancient settlements of the Armenian Highland. The city was near the Melas River, a tributary of the Upper Euphrates. It has been identified with the modern archaeological site Lions' hill⁸³ (7 km

⁷³ Müller-Karpe A. et al., Untersuchungen in Kayalıpınar 2005, MDOG, 138, 2006, S. 227-231.

⁷⁴ Müller-Karpe A., Kayalıpınar in Ostkappadokien Ein neuer hethitischer Tontafelfundplatz, MDOG, 132, 2000, S. 361.

⁷⁵ See <LS, § 149:

⁷⁶ Müller-Karpe A., Kayalıpınar in Ostkappadokien Ein neuer hethitischer Tontafelfundplatz, S. 355-365.

⁷⁷ Müller-Karpe A. et al., Untersuchungen in Kayalıpınar 2005, S. 212.

⁷⁸ Herboldt S., Alkan M., Ein scheibenförmiges Hieroglyphensiegel im Sivas Museum, ArchAn, 2000, 4, S. 89-98. Müller-Karpe A., Kayalıpınar in Ostkappadokien Ein neuer hethitischer Tontafelfundplatz, S. 355-365.

⁷⁹ Müller-Karpe A., Recent Research on Hittite Archaeology in the "Upper Land", Central-North Anatolia in the Hittite Period. New perspectives in light of recent research. Acts of the international conference held at the University of Florence (7-9 February 2007). Roma, 2009, pp. 112-114.

⁸⁰ Beckman G., Hittite Diplomatic Texts, Atlanta, 1996, pp. 63, 77, 80, 81. See also <LS, § 122-124, 137, 139:

⁸¹ Imparati F., Apology of Hattusili III or designation of his successor, Fs. Ph. H.J. Houwink ten Cate, 1995, pp. 143-157.

⁸² See Garstang J., Gurney O.R., The Geography of the Hittite Empire, London, 1959, p. 7. See also <LS, § 113-114:

⁸³ Arslantepe (*arslan=lion and tepe=hill*) gets its name from the lion statues excavated at the archaeological site.

north-east of modern Malatya city⁸⁴) in the south-western part of the Armenian Highland⁸⁵.

The city was mentioned in the Hittite sources as either Malitiya or Maldiya⁸⁶. In the “Cappadocian” texts, as well as in the sources of the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom the toponym Malitiya was not mentioned. But the long distance trade route of the “Old Assyrian Colony” period 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 (2nd half of the 17th century BC) speak of the conquest and destruction of the city Alha⁸⁷, that might have been located close to Malitiya. The texts of this king inform 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 Isuwa⁸⁸. Armatana was also located close to Malitiya⁸⁹. Therefore, it is not surprising that the region east of Tegarama (modern Gürün), i.e. the area of Malitiya and Isuwa, was involved in some of the military expeditions of Hattusili I and Mursili I (ca 1620-1590 BC) as well. Besides, 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 Mursili I’s death; 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 on such a region, but it should also be mentioned that this list is very fragmentary⁹⁰.

The Hittite name of Malitiya is documented only in seven Hittite cuneiform texts⁹¹, which can be dated to the New Hittite Kingdom. In the Hittite sources the city [URU]Maldiya) was first mentioned in the so-called text “Misdeed of Mita of Pahhuwa”

⁸⁴ The origin of the name of the modern town of Malatya is obviously connected to the preservation of the ancient Hittite toponym through the centuries: Assyrian Melid, Urartian Meliteia, Aramaic mlz, Luwian Ma-li-zi, Greek Melitene, Latin Melita. The etymology of the Hittite name is debatable, since the correspondence with the word melit, Luwian mallit, that means “honey” is only hypothetical. Similarly, the name of Maldiya/Malitiya is not certainly connected to any Old Assyrian toponym. See Archi A., Malitiya-Meliddu: Arslantepe nelle fonti scritte. In Frangipane M. (ed.), *Alle origine del potere. Arslantepe, la collina dei leoni*, Electa, Milan, 2004, p. 173.

⁸⁵ Ալպոդաճեան Ա., Պատմութիւն Մալաթիոյ Հայոց, Պէյրոս, 1961.

⁸⁶ 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 (East Pontic mountains) (See Alp S., *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*, Ankara, 1991, S. 23)

⁸⁷ Modern Akçadağ, in the territory of the former settlement Argaus or Arka.

⁸⁸ About the location of Henzuta see <LS, էջ 57.

⁸⁹ About the location of Armatana see RGTC, VI, S. 38-39.

⁹⁰ Hoffmann I., *Der Erlass Telipinus. Texte der Hethiter 11*, Heidelberg, 1984.

⁹¹ De Martino S., Malatya and Işuwa in Hittite texts: New elements of discussion. *Origini*, XXXIV, 2012, p. 375.

(KUB XXIII 72 Rs.37')⁹², dated to the period of the reign of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I (the 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-eastern regions of the Armenian Highland and mostly for Isuwa (Arm. Կօփք)⁹³. Also the tablet KBo XVI 42⁹⁴ can be dated to 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 is not preserved (most likely Hattusili III⁹⁵) to the Assyrian king [Salmanassar I (1263-1234 BC)]. This text quotes a previous letter sent by the Assyrian court, where the Assyrian king invited the king of Hatti to send a Hittite official to inspect Malitiya. All this shows that the city was at a strategic point between the interests of the two states⁹⁶. KBo XXII 264 is an oracle text⁹⁷, 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 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-Sarruma⁹⁸; the city is mentioned here in a fragmentary passage (^{URU}Ma-al[-di-ya]). Lastly KUB XXIII 69 is a small fragment of only seven lines and none of them is complete; the name 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 texts. However, the relations between Hatti and Assyria still continued to be worrying along the eastern Hittite border during the late 13th century⁹⁹. This is especially clear from the

⁹² The text presents an agreement signed between the Hittite king Arnuwanda I and the countries of the Upper Euphrates basin (Isuwa, Pahhuwa, Zuhma, Malitiya, 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, p. 32-48. About the text see also <LS, էջ 114-116.

⁹³ About the history of Isuwa see Hawkins J. D., *The Land of Išuwa: The Hieroglyphic Evidence*. In: Alp, S. and Süel, A., eds. *Acts of the III International Congress of Hittitology*, Çorum, September 16-22, 1996. Ankara, p. 283-295. Քնյաւն Ա., Իսուվաւն (Օոփքը) մ.թ.ա. XIII-XII դարերում, ՊԲՀ, 1997, 1, էջ 177-192:

⁹⁴ See Klengel H., *Nochmals zu Išuwa*. *Oriens Antiquus*, 15, 1976, S. 85-86; De Martino S., *Malatya and Išuwa in Hittite texts: New elements of discussion*. *Origini*, XXXIV, 2012, p. 375-376.

⁹⁵ 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, p. 88-89.

⁹⁶ Manuelli F., *Arslantepe. Late Bronze Age. Hittite influence and local traditions in an Eastern Anatolian Community*. *Arslantepe*, vol. IX, Roma, 2013, p. 416.

⁹⁷ Sakuma Y., *Neue Kenntnisse hethitischer Orakeltexte 2*, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 36, 2009, S. 293-318.

⁹⁸ De Martino S., *Ali-Šarruma, re di Išuwa*. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, 52, 2010, p. 111.

⁹⁹ See Cancik-Kirschbaum E.C., *Die Mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall She Hamad*, Berlin, 1996, S. 106-111.

battle of Nihriya, after which Tukulti-Ninurta I (1234-1207 BC) announced he had captured 28.800 Hittites beyond the Euphrates¹⁰⁰.

After the fall of the Hittite Empire, from the 12th to 7th centuries BC, the city became the center of an independent so-called Neo-Hittite state¹⁰¹. The first mention of the city Melid after the fall of the Hittite state refers to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1077 BC), when on returning from the campaign on the “lands of Nairi” this king received tribute from the king of Melid Allumari in 1112 BC. Here Melid is called a city of the “Great country Hatti”¹⁰². And subsequently, reporting on the campaigns in the area of the right bank of the Upper Euphrates, the Assyrian and Van (Urartian)¹⁰³ kings mention the country Hatti (Hate/Hatinili), which in most cases corresponds to the territory of the kingdom Melid¹⁰⁴. Melid remained able to prosper until the Assyrian king Sargon II (722-705 BC) sacked the city in 712 BC. In the annals of Sargon II Melidu is considered the royal residence of the land Kammanu. There is mention of the city in the Bible as well¹⁰⁵.

Archaeological records complement the cuneiform texts in which Malitiya or Maldiya is attested¹⁰⁶. The site is an artificial mound, approximately 30 m high and covering a surface of 4 ha, 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. Kura-

¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, it seems more reasonable to suppose that the battle only involved a limited number of local forces (Mora C., Giorgieri M., *Le lettere Tra I Re Assiri Ritrovate a Hattusa*. S.A.R.G.O.N., 2004, p. 14-17) and that, more than “Hittites”, the text describes local population subdued to the Hittite King (Hawkins J. D., *Hittites and Assyrians at Melid (Malatya)*. In Erkanal H., Donbaz V., Uğuroğlu A. (eds.), XXXIV, *International Assyriology Congress, 6-10/VII/1987 - Istanbul, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998*, p. 65). Moreover, since the Tukulti-Ninurta’s text was directed to the Assyrian people, it could have merely represented a “propagandistic message of a centralized ideology” (Liverani M., *International relations in the ancient Near East. 1600-1000 BC*, New York, 2001, pp. 27-28).

¹⁰¹ See Bryce T., *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms*, Oxford, 2012, pp. 98-110.

¹⁰² See Grayson A. K., *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. II*, Wiesbaden, 1976, I, 32.

¹⁰³ 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.

¹⁰⁴ Косян А., *Лувийские царства Малой Азии и прилегающих областей в XII - VIII вв. до н.э. (по иероглифическим лувийским источникам)*. Ереван, 1994, стр. 17-29. See also Քոսյան Ա., *Ուշխեթական Մելիդ պետությունը (ըստ հիերոգլիֆային լուվիերեն աղբյուրների)*, ԼՀԳ, 1984, 6, էջ 62-70:

¹⁰⁵ “The wool from the Militei” (to the city of Tyre in Phoenicia). The Bible (Ezekiel: 27).

¹⁰⁶ 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*, p. 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, p. 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. Origini, Preistoria e protostoria delle civiltà antiche, XXXIV, 2012, p. 361-374.*

Araxes (Shengavitian) (3400-2000 BC) culture included the region of Malitiya as well¹⁰⁷. Lions' hill was in fact one of the main proto-state centers at the end of the fourth millennium BC, and one of the "poles" of "urbanization"¹⁰⁸. The degree of influence exerted by the Hittite world at Arslantepe during the Late Bronze Age is high and is manifested in every aspect of the material culture. Thus, the first written data about the city have been found from the first half of the 15th century BC. But the settlement has an older history; it was populated already from the Late Chalcolithic period. During the 15th-13th centuries BC Malitiya formed part of the "land of Tegarama" subject to the Hittites. Owing to its unique geographical position Malitiya was a connecting link between Asia Minor, the Armenian Highland, Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria.

The archeological sites of the Upper Euphrates and Halys vallies are perfect for analyzing and understanding the nature of the contact between Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland especially during the Late Bronze and Iron Age periods. Over the centuries the region was influenced by the cultures of several Western Asian lands, resulting in merging of many of their cultural elements with local traditions. These lands and cities (for example Upper Land, Tegarama, Sarissa, Kussar, Samuha and Mal(i)tiya) formed a sort of cultural and political border between Hittite territories and the ancient states of the Armenian Highland (Hayasa, Isuwa, etc.) during the Late Bronze Age.

¹⁰⁷ 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.

¹⁰⁸ 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, p. 651-656. See also Di Nocera G. M., Metals and Metallurgy. Their place in the Arslantepe society between the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd millennium BC. Chapter XIII. Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe. Studi di Preistoria Orientale (SPO). Vol. 3, Roma, 2010, pp. 255-330.