



A CONTRIBUTION TO LOCALIZATION OF AZZI-HAYAŐA MENTIONED IN HITTITE CUNEIFORM TEXTS

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Abstract

Localization of Azzi-Hayaőa Land mentioned in Hittite cuneiform texts dated 2nd millennium BC is not certain. This land equates generally some part of Eastern Black Sea region, but the determinations about this topic are mostly a statement of personal opinion. The purpose of this article is to examine Hittite cuneiform texts which provide information on the subject-matter and to strengthen the argument that Eastern Anatolia (region between Erzurum and Lake Van) may be more suitable for Azzi-Hayaőa Land. It will also be pointed out that, in terms of contributing to the subject, the archaeological evidences related cultural and political conditions of the region and dated in the Late Bronze Age, are similar features with the Hittite cuneiform texts.

Keywords: Hittite, Cuneiform Texts, Azzi, Hayaőa, East Anatolia, Northeast Anatolia, Late Bronze Age, Upper Land, Localization

Öz

Hititçe ivi Yazılı Metinlerde Geen Azzi-Hayaőa'nın Lokalizasyonuna Katkı

MÖ. II. binyıla tarihlenen Hititçe ivi yazılı metinlerde ismi geen Azzi-Hayaőa lkesinin lokalizasyonuna dair bir belirsizlik vardır. Bu lke genellikle Doęu Karadeniz Bölgesi ile eşitlenmek istenmektedir, ancak bu tespit büyük ölçüde kişisel düşüncelerden ibarettir. Bu makalenin amacı konu hakkında bilgi veren Hititçe ivi yazılı metinlerin tetkik edilmesi ve bu doğrultuda Azzi-Hayaőa lkesi

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için Doğu Anadolu'nun (Erzurum ve Van Gölü arasındaki bölge) daha uygun olabileceği görüşüne destek vermektir. Ayrıca, bölgenin kültürel ve siyasi şartları hakkında bilgi veren ve MÖ ikinci bin yıla tarihlenen arkeolojik verilerin Hititçe çivi yazılı metinler ile paralellik gösteriyor olmasına da dikkat çekilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hitit, Çivi Yazılı Metinler, Azzi, Hayaşa, Doğu Anadolu, Kuzeydoğu Anadolu, Geç Bronz Çağı, Yukarı Ülke, Yer Tespiti

Azzi-Hayaşa confederation mentioned in Hittite cuneiform texts dated Late Bronze Age consisted of two kingdoms. Two different names could be used interchangeably.¹ For this reason, it is difficult to separate the two countries. Azzi and Hayaşa is written as city (^{URU}Azzi/Hayaşa) or land/country (KUR ^{URU}Azzi/Hayaşa) in Hittite cuneiform texts.² The Hittite sources providing the information about Azzi-Hayaşa Land dated 14th century. The first appearance of Azzi-Hayaşa was due to the occupation of the Hittite Upper Land.³ After the occupation, Karanni, a king of Hayaşa defeated by Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I⁴ and in the time of this Hittite king, a treaty was made with Huqqana (CTH 42). In the reign of Muršili II, Anniya the king of Hayaşa devastated the Land of Dankuwa on the Hittite border⁵ and cities of İšitina and Kannuwara located in the Upper Land.⁶ But in the tenth years of king's annals is said to have invaded the Azzi-Hayaşa Land.⁷ After this defeat the Azzi-Hayaşa Land never seem in the Hittite sources.

Localization of Azzi-Hayaşa is not yet clear. There are different suggestions about the subject. According to E. Forrer, the land is located in East Anatolia, especially vicinity of Lake Van.⁸ A. Goetze suggested that the north of İšuwa Land.⁹ Parallel of this view, A. Ünal offers southeast of the Hittite Upper Land.¹⁰ J. Garstang asserted Giresun neighborhood¹¹ and

¹ Garstang, Gurney 1959: 36-37. It is not possible that the positions of Azzi and Hayaşa countries are separated from each other. In the Hittite texts, it can be seen that the names of these two countries are used instead of each other (KUB 14.17 III 1-10).

² del Monte, Tischler 1978: 63-64.

³ KBo 6.28 I 11.

⁴ KUB 19.11 IV 40-44.

⁵ KUB 14.17 III 1 ff.

⁶ KBo 4.4 II 16-18.

⁷ KBo 3.4 IV 35-38, KBo 4.4 IV 4 ff.

⁸ Forrer 1926: 4; also see Forrer 1931: 1-24.

⁹ Goetze 1940: 40; for İšuwa also see Martino 2012: 375-383.

¹⁰ Ünal 1974: 224.

¹¹ Garstang 1959: 36 ff.

Houwink ten Cate argue that between Amasya and the coast of Black Sea for it.¹² By the reason of Hittite sources are insufficient, the topic is open to interpretation and speculation.

Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Huqqana of Hayaša is an important source because it speaks of Azzi culture. According to the text the Hayašaeans have barbarian characteristics compared to the Hittites.¹³ This term is probably due to cultural differences between the native people of Anatolia and the Hittites.¹⁴ The text does not give information about geography of the Hayaša. But it shows that there is no kinship between the two communities. One of the most important sources about localization of Azzi-Hayaša are Annals of Muršili II.¹⁵ According to seventh year of the annals, Anniya, lord of the land of Azzi-Hayaša attacked the land of Dankuwa and he carried away prisoners into the land of Hayaša.¹⁶ It has been proposed classical city Dacoba, between Amasya and Çorum,¹⁷ also between Tokat and the Upper-Euphrates, 18 and more in the east at the border of Azzi-Hayaša¹⁹ for the localiton of the Dankuwa. In the same year of king's annals it is recorded that a city named as Ura was defended by the Kingdom of Azzi-Hayaša. *na-aš-kan na-ak-ki pé-e-di [aš(an-za)]* "and it (Ura) is [loca]ted in a place hard to reach."²⁰ Due to its geographical description, the city is thought to be far from the sea and it was situated on a steep hill and a fortified/garrison town.²¹ It has been argued that the city of Ura could probably Şebinkarahisar²² or around Amasya.²³ But Ura was probably a seaport and had an important position in trade with Ugarit.²⁴ For this reason, it is suggested that there are two different cities called as Ura.²⁵

¹² Houwink ten Cate 1970: 76; "in the northeast of Anatolia" Güterbock 1961: 85.

¹³ *The treaty Šuppiluliuma and Huqqana*, III 40-49. Beckman 1999: 31.

¹⁴ Ünal 2002: 13.

¹⁵ Goetze 1933.

¹⁶ *A-NA(?)^mAn-n]i-š[a x-x](-)[...?] na?-an-za-an am-me-el [...-i] [š? x?] [...]-šü-un [...]-[i]a na-aš ú-i[š] nu I-NA^{URU}Da-an-ku-ya [i-ja-at-ta-at na-an GU]L-ah-ta na-an IŠ[T]U NAM.RA.MEŠ [GU₄ UDU ša-ra-a da-a-aš na-an-kán I]-NA^{URU}Ha-ja-ša ka[t-t]a-an-ta pé-e-da-aš "[... to? Ann]iya [... and?] my [...] it/him. I [...]ed. [But?] he [...]ed; he cam[e] and [marched] to Dankuwa. He [at]tacked [it], and [plundered] it o[f] deportees, [cattle (and) sheep]. He carried [them] do[w]n [i]nto Hayaša" (Bo 9587+KUB 14.17 III 1-6) Soysal 2012: 173.*

¹⁷ Cornelius 1973: 186.

¹⁸ Ünal 1974: 215.

¹⁹ Forlanini 2000: 9-20.

²⁰ KUB 14.17 III 22-23; del Monte, Tischler 1978: 458.

²¹ Ünal 2003a: 17. Garstang, Gurney 1959: 37.

²² Garstang, Gurney 1959: 39.

²³ Cornelius 1958a: 3. Klengel 1999: 421.

²⁴ Klengel 2006: 371.

²⁵ Ünal 2003a: 17. Klengel 1999: 421.

Other city of Ura has been equated Uzuncaburç known as Olbia in Classical Age²⁶ and Yumuktepe.²⁷ However it should not be missed that a similar description about the city was situated in a difficult place/on a steep hill was made for Aripša believed to be on the seaside.²⁸ Therefore the last two suggestions, which located in Mersin may be same with Hayašaeans city.

In ninth year of the annals it is recorded that the Hayašaeans attacked the towns of Ištītina ve Kannuwara.²⁹ According to the context, Nuḫanza the commander of Muršili II demand to help from the king. The location of the cities is not clear in this texts, but Ištītina and Kannuwara was previously destroyed by Kaškaean tribal chief Pihhuniya from the land of Tipiya.³⁰ For this reason it is correct to think that the city may be in the north. It suggested that the town of Ištītina is probably modern Zara³¹ or a place between Amasya and Çorum³² and it is also likely that Kannuwara should be near the town of Ištītina. In the circumstances the both cities must be located in the Hittite Upper Land. The relatives of the Azzi-Hayašaeans with the Upper Land are known from the other sources. According to a texts dated to the reign of Hattušili III, the Azzian enemy came and plundered the cities of the Upper Land and made Šamuha his frontier in the reign of Hittite king Tuthalya III.³³ It is thought to be the city of Šamuha located in Kayalpınar village of Yıldızeli, Sivas.³⁴ The situations dated in Muršili II and Tuthalya III are similar to each other. Therefore there is a possibility that Hayaša Land is adjacent to the Hittite Upper Land. According to Ünal, the Upper Land, which extends to Erzincan in the easternmost, should be bordered by Kaška in the north and northeast, and by Azzi in the southeast.³⁵ This determination is consistent with the fact that the Upper Land is seized

²⁶ Goetze 1962: 48 ff; for literature of the site, see del Monte, Tischler 1978: 457, 458.

²⁷ Ünal 2003a: 13-40.

²⁸ KBo 4.4 IV 5; Garstang, Gurney, 1959: 38.

²⁹ LÚKÚR URUHa-ja-šaš [I-NA] UR[Uš-ti-ti-]na u-it nu-[u]a URUIš-ti-ti-na-an har-ni-ik-ta [URUKá]n-nu-u-ya-ra-an-ma-ya URU-an an-da ya-ah-nu-ut “The Hayašaeans enemy came to Ištītina. Ištītina destroyed he, Kannuwara, the city but, surround he” (KBo 4.4 II 21-23); Groddek 2007: 237, 238. The cities of Iština and Kannuwara have been invaded by Kaška tribal chief named Pihhuniya; KBo 4.4 II 20-25, 3.4 III 7, KUB 19.30 I 9-15.

³⁰ KBo 4.4 II 20-25, 3.4 III 7, KUB 19.30 I 9-15.

³¹ Goetze 1940: 25; also see Garstang, 1943: 51.

³² Cornelius 1961: 215.

³³ e-di-iz-ma LÚKÚR URUAz-zi ú-i[t nu KUR.KUR^M]EŠ UGU-TI hu-u-ma-an-da h[ar-g]a-nu-ut “From afar, the Azzian enemy came and sacked all the Upper Lands” (KBo 6.28 I 11) Goetze 1940: 21-22; also see Alp 1956: 80; Bryce, 2009: 97.

³⁴ Barjamovic 2011: 152-153; for localization of the site, see. Müller-Karpe 2000; Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe 2010: 173-238.

³⁵ Ünal 1974: 50, 224. The northern part of the Hittite Upper Land is regarded as Kaška Land. Forrer 1921, 21; also see von Schuler 1965: 13 ff.

by both communities. In the Šuppiluliuma's affairs as told by Muršili II, Šuppiluliuma and his father Tuthalya III went to the Land of Hayaša and they encountered with the forces of *Karanni* (or *Lanni*), king of Hayaša, at a town of Kummaha.³⁶ In the broken parts of a fragment, the expression of KUR^{URU} *Ha-ia-ša* [...I-N]A KUR UGU-TI "the country of Hayaša [... int]o the Upper Land"³⁷ demonstrated the Hayašaeen presence in the Upper Land.

In the ninth year of the annals, Muršili II who suppressed the rebellion in Carchemish/Syria went to northwards and at Tegarama he met with his commander Nuṣanza and his officers.³⁸ According to the texts, he was aimed to campaign against Azzi-Hayaša. But the king who taking his commanders' advice gave up his campaign due to winter conditions and returned to Ankuwa to spend the winter.³⁹ From this point of view Tegarama was situated on a route from Carchemish to Hayašaeen Land.⁴⁰ This town have already been placed Gürün⁴¹ or vicinity of Malatya.⁴² In the ensuing year Muršili II commenced his final campaign. According to the tenth year of his annals, the king advanced on the cities called as Aripša and Dukkama where located in Azzi-Hayaša. There is not enough information in the texts about Dukkama. However, the information about Aripša can shed light on the localization of Hayaša; "aši-ma-kan^{URU} a-ri-ip-ša-aš Š[A A.A.]B.BA ki-it-ta-ri"⁴³ "however the aforesaid Aripšaš was i(n the s)ea".⁴⁴ It is understood that the city is at the seaside, although the text is a break. Because of this

³⁶ *ma-ah-han-ma A-BI A-BI-IA a-pé-ez EGIR[-pa ú]-it na-aš I-NA KUR^{URU}Ha-ia-ša pa-it A-BU-IA[-ia-aš-ši ka[t-ta-an-pát e[-eš-ta] nu ma-ah-ha-an A-BI A-BI-IA I-NA KUR^{URU}Ha[-ia-ša a]-ar[-aš(?)]] nu-uš-ši^m Kar(?)-an-ni-iš LUGAL KUR^{URU}Ha-ia-ša [ŠA-PA]L(?)^{URU} Kum-ma-ha za-ah-hi-i[a* "But when my grandfather came back from there, he went to the country of Hayaša. And my father was still with him. And when my grandfather arrived in the country of Ha[yaša], there [came] Karanni (? or: Lanni?), king of Hayaša, to (meet him in) battle below(the town of) Kummaha" KUB 19.11 IV 40-44; Güterbock 1956a: 66.

³⁷ Güterbock 1956b; 114.

³⁸ *nu-mu^m Nu-ya-an-za-aš GAL.GESTIN EN.MEŠ-ia hu-u-ma-an-te-eš I-NA^{URU}Te-ga-ra-am-ma me-na-ah-ha-an-da u-e-er nu-mu an-da ye-me-e-er ma-an INA^{URU}Ha-ia-ša pa-a-un-pat nu-za MU.KAM-za še-er te-e-pa-u-e-eš-šan-za e-eš-ta* "Nuwanza the Chief of the Wine and all the lords came to (meet) me in Tegarama. and found me there""I would have also gone to Hayaša but the year had become too short" (KBo 4.4. III 20-23) Goetze 1967: 124.

³⁹ KBo 4.4 III 56; Ankuwa was probably a settlement in Central Anatolia. For its localizations, see. Ünal 1981: 433-455.

⁴⁰ Garstang, Gurney 1959: 38; also see Goetze 1940: 21-22.

⁴¹ Forrer 1920: 75.

⁴² For literature of the sites see Barjamovic 2011: 130.

⁴³ KBo 4.4 IV 5; Friedrich, Kammenhuber 1984: 352.

⁴⁴ Garstang 1943: 51

translation Garstang suggested that the city of Aripša equates with Giresun.⁴⁵ In this direction the most of proposed location is in the East Black Sea Coast for Azzi-Hayaša Land.⁴⁶ However, there is something to be considered in this translation. The most important thing about the position of the city is the Sumerian word of A.AB.BA meaning sea. But the word means also “lake” both in Sumerian⁴⁷ and in Hittite language.⁴⁸ For this reason it must be taken into account that the city of Aripša may be located near a lake. Actually this view is not new. Forrer was the first person to place the city around Lake Van.⁴⁹ This view of Forrer was adopted by Ünal⁵⁰ and Haas.⁵¹

It may be wrong to think that the location of Azzi-Hayaša Land is the northeastern part of Anatolia (Giresun neighborhood). It is better to think that the region is part of the Kaška geography, which is already associated with the North-central Anatolia.⁵² The Kelkit River, which is thought to be *Kummešmaha*⁵³ in Hittite cuneiform texts, should be natural border between Kaška and Hittite Land. There are some settlements that dating 2nd millennium BC and located south of the Kelkit River.⁵⁴ It is known that the Kaška threatened Hittite settlements along the river.⁵⁵ In this case it can be said that the Kaška people live in the north of the Kelkit River and it would be more accurate to include the coastal region of Giresun and East Black Sea situated in the north of the river in the Kaška Land instead of Azzi-Hayaša

⁴⁵ Garstang 1943: 50-51. Garstang, Gurney 1959: 38-39.

⁴⁶ For literature see, del Monte, Tischler 1978: 60.

⁴⁷ Landsberger, Civil 1957: 79, 369.

⁴⁸ “A.AB.BA or *aruna*”; Ünal 2016: 86.

⁴⁹ In the western coast of Lake Van; Forrer 1926: 4; also see Forrer 1931: 1-24.

⁵⁰ Ünal 1974: 50, 224-225.

⁵¹ Haas 1985: 269-277.

⁵² von Schuler 1965: 13 ff; also see Goetze 1924: 28 ff; for literature see; Murat 1998: 435-443.

⁵³ del Monte 1992: 538; also see Yakar 2007: 818; Klengel 1999: 185; Ünal 2003b: 48; averse, see Garstang, Gurney 1959: Map 1; Güterbock 1961: 96.

⁵⁴ 15 km west of Niksar and Untepe, 9 km west of Erbaa; Yakar 2007: 821; for the settlements of the Late Bronze Age around Erbaa and and the Kelkit basin, see; Burney 1956: 179-203; also see Özsait 2000a: 73-88; Özsait 2000b: 335-341; Dönmez 2000: 330-334. For the potsherd of these settlements, see Durbin 1971: 99-124

⁵⁵ Yakar 2007: 817-827. In the texts of Maşat Höyük it is possible to see border conflicts between Kaška and Hittite; Alp 1991. Decision of Hattušili III about the people of Tiliura is reportedly that Hittite border guards have served against Kaškas along the *Kummešmaha* river: KUB 21.29 II 1-9. One of these settlements is Horoztepe dated Hittite imperial period; Özgüç 1966: 23. For the settlements of the Late Bronze Age around Erbaa and and the Kelkit basin see; Burney 1956: 179-203; also see Özsait 2000a: 73-88; Özsait 2000b: 335-341; Dönmez 2000: 330-334. For the potsherd, see Durbin 1971: 99-124

Land.⁵⁶ The eastern border of the Kaşka Land is not clear, but there are opinions about the subject. Accordingly, the eastern border of the Kaşka Land passed towards Çekerek River,⁵⁷ Upper Euphrates region⁵⁸ and Kemah.⁵⁹ These regions point to the north of the area referred to as Hittite Upper Land in Hittite cuneiform texts. When it is taken into consideration the Kaşka density in the Upper Land's northern region and the Azzi-Hayaşa Land's relationship with the Eastern region it may be more correct to locate the Azzi-Hayaşa Land at the eastern border of the Hittite Upper Land instead of the north. According to Ünal, Azzi-Hayaşean people were of Caucasian origin and probably related to the Hurrians and Urartians or at least another tribe who is related to them.⁶⁰ According to the archeological evidences of the Eastern Anatolia (especially between Erzurum and Lake Van) dated in Late Bronze Age this view may be true. There is little information about the subject because of the culture of the period are located on high plateaus and lack of urbanization.⁶¹ In the 2nd millennium, settled cultures and population decreased on the plains and on the mounds and pastoralist life appeared distinctly from the third millennium BC.⁶² It can be seen that there was no strong political structure in the area of Lake Van and its surrounding sites in the 2nd millennium BC.⁶³ Furthermore, from the cultural point of view there was a community connected with the Caucasus rather than the Central Anatolia in this region.⁶⁴ Then it can be said that the region has a different culture and political appearance from of Central Anatolia in that period.

It is not possible that any archaeological site is included within the borders of the Azzi-Hayaşa Land. Associating any archaeological evidence with these peoples in the Hittite texts can also lead to erroneous results. The researchs have not yet been conducted on sufficient levels in the regions outside the Hittite influence area and having different cultural characteristics from the Hittites. One of these rare archaeological sites is Sos Höyük located

⁵⁶ The Kaşka and Hayaşa communities established an alliance against the Hittites rather than border issues; Goetze 1967: 96 ff; also see von Schuler 1965: 44.

⁵⁷ Forrer 1921: 21.

⁵⁸ Hrozný 1940: 52.

⁵⁹ Cornelius 1958b: 225-251.

⁶⁰ Ünal 1997: 13.

⁶¹ For the centers of that period; Özfırat 2001: 326-330.

⁶² Burney, Lang 1971: 86 ff.; also see Özfırat 2001: 328; Özfırat 2005: 1-15.

⁶³ Çilingiroğlu 1983: 28-29. The number of mounds observed in the Early Bronze Age and the Middle Bronze Age is decreasing in the Late Bronze Age between Doğubeyazıt and Lake Van; Marro, Özfırat 2005: 327-328. Throughout the Bronze Age, there is no dense population in the settlements around Erzurum; Çiğdem 2000: 209; also see Özfırat 2001: 326-330.

⁶⁴ Özfırat 1994: 363-364; also see Güneri 2002: 74, 75. Çilingiroğlu 1984: 139.

in the highlands between Erzurum and Pasinler. Sos Höyük has Kura-Araxes culture in the Late Chalcolithic Age and a culture tying in with the Caucasus in the Late Bronze Age.⁶⁵ On the other hand, painted ceramics dated to the Middle and Late Bronze Age show same cultural condition in the area of Erzurum-Van and Urmiye, where on the southern and western borders of this painted ceramics zone.⁶⁶

As a result, due to the inadequacy of archaeological evidence in the region, it is not possible to make a definite determination about the localization of Azzi-Hayaša Land. For this reason, it may be wrong to consider the northeastern Anatolia region as the Azzi-Hayaša Land. But considering the information given about the Azzi-Hayaša Land in the Hittite cuneiform texts and a small number of archaeological evidence it can be thought that the north of the Hittite Upper Land along the Kelkit Valley is the Kaška Land and east of the region includes between Erzurum and Lake Van is probably the Azzi-Hayaša Land.

Finally, it should be noted that some historians have explained the origins of Hayašaean, based on the similarity between Hayaša and Hayastan.⁶⁷ The claim is not scientific, since it does not have any more than this similarity. It is also known that the Hayašaean are different from the Indo-European Hittites.⁶⁸ Hence, erroneous conclusions can be made as a scientific method of equalizing the Hayašaean with another people of Indo-European origin.⁶⁹ For this reason, it should not be forgotten that the evaluations should be done more carefully.

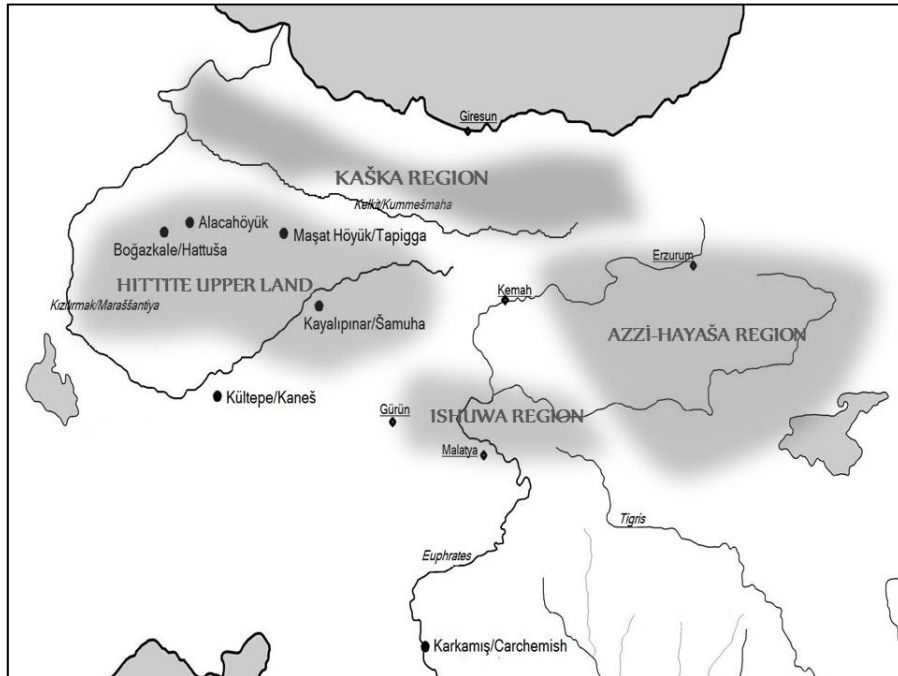
⁶⁵ Sagona 2010: 42, 44-45; also see Sagona, Sagona 2000: 56-127. It appears that the mound changed the nature of the settlement and its pottery in Late Bronze Age; Sagona 1999: 157. Büyüktepe in Bayburt Province, see Sagona *et al* 1993: 74.

⁶⁶ Özfirat 2008: 102-121. This painted pottery culture ended at the end of the Late Bronze Age; Çilingiroğlu 1987: 112; also see Sevin 1996: 445 ff.

⁶⁷ The suffix ša of Hayaša correspond to the stan of Hayastan. Kretschmer 1932: 1-7. But, it is not clear that ša of Hayaša is a suffix.

⁶⁸ CHT 42. In the Hukkana treaty, it is understood that these two community are different in terms of culture. Ünal 2002: 10-13.

⁶⁹ Bauer-Manndorf 1981: 50.



Possible map of Eastern Anatolia in the fourteenth century.

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