

PAPER DETAILS

TITLE: A Contribution to Localization of Azzi-Hayasa Mentioned in Hittite Cuneiform Texts

AUTHORS: Serkan DEMIREL

PAGES: 97-110

ORIGINAL PDF URL: <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/565104>



ARCHIVUM ANATOLICUM (ArAn)	11/1	2017	97-110
----------------------------	------	------	--------

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

Serkan DEMİREL *

Abstract

Localization of Azzi-Hayaşa 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-Hayaşa 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, Hayaşa, East Anatolia, Northeast Anatolia, Late Bronze Age, Upper Land, Localization

Öz

Hititçe Çivi Yazılı Metinlerde Geçen Azzi-Hayaşa'nın Lokalizasyonuna Katkı

MÖ. II. binyıla tarihlenen Hititçe çivi yazılı metinlerde ismi geçen Azzi-Hayaşa Ülkesinin lokalizasyonuna dair bir belirsizlik vardır. Bu ülke genellikle Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi ile eşitlenmek istenmektedir, ancak bu tespit büyük ölçüde kişisel düşüncelerden ibarettir. Bu makalenin amacı konu hakkında bilgi veren Hititçe çivi yazılı metinlerin tetkik edilmesi ve bu doğrultuda Azzi-Hayaşa Ülkesi

* Yrd. Doç. Dr. Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Trabzon/TÜRKİYE, serkandemirel@ktu.edu.tr

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, Hayaša, Doğu Anadolu, Kuzeydoğu Anadolu, Geç Bronz Çağı, Yukarı Ülke, Yer Tespiti

Azzi-Hayaša 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 Hayaša is written as city (^{URU}Azzi/Hayaša) or land/country (KUR ^{URU}Azzi/Hayaša) in Hittite cuneiform texts.² The Hittite sources providing the information about Azzi-Hayaša Land dated 14th century. The first appearance of Azzi-Hayaša was due to the occupation of the Hittite Upper Land.³ After the occupation, Karanni, a king of Hayaša 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 Hayaša devastated the Land of Dankuwa on the Hittite border⁵ and cities of Iština and Kannuwa located in the Upper Land.⁶ But in the tenth years of king's annals is said to have invaded the Azzi-Hayaša Land.⁷ After this defeat the Azzi-Hayaša Land never seem in the Hittite sources.

Localization of Azzi-Hayaša 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 Išuwa 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 Hayaša 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 Išuwa 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 Muṣili 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(?)^m An-n]i-ṣ[a x-x](-)[...?] na?-an-za-an am-me-el [...-i] [š? x?] [...]-šū-un [...]-[t]a na-aš ú-i[ṣ] 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 Iština ve Kannuwara.²⁹ According to the context, Nuṣanza the commander of Muṣili II demand to help from the king. The location of the cities is not clear in this texts, but Iština and Kannuwara was previously destroyed by Kaškaean tribal chief Pihuniya 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 Iština is probably modern Zara³¹ or a place between Amasya and Çorum³² and it is also likely that Kannuwara should be near the town of Iština. 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 Muṣili 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 ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}Ha-ja-šaš [I-NA] ^{UR}[^UIš-ti-ti-]na u-it nu-[u]a ^{URU}Iš-ti-ti-na-an har-ni-ik-ta [^{URU}Ká]n-nu-u-ya-ra-an-ma-ya URU-an an-da ya-ah-nu -ut "The Hayašaeans enemy came to Iština. Iština 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 Pihuniya; 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 ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}Az-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 Hayašaeon 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 Hayašaeon 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-r*"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 the Kelkit basin, see; Burney 1956: 179-203; also see Özşait 2000a: 73-88; Özşait 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 the Kelkit basin see; Burney 1956: 179-203; also see Özşait 2000a: 73-88; Özşait 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 Hayašaeans, 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 Hayašaeans are different from the Indo-European Hittites.⁶⁸ Hence, erroneous conclusions can be made as a scientific method of equalizing the Hayašaeans with another people of Indo-European origin.⁶⁹ For this reason, it should not be forgotten that the evaluations should be done more carefully.

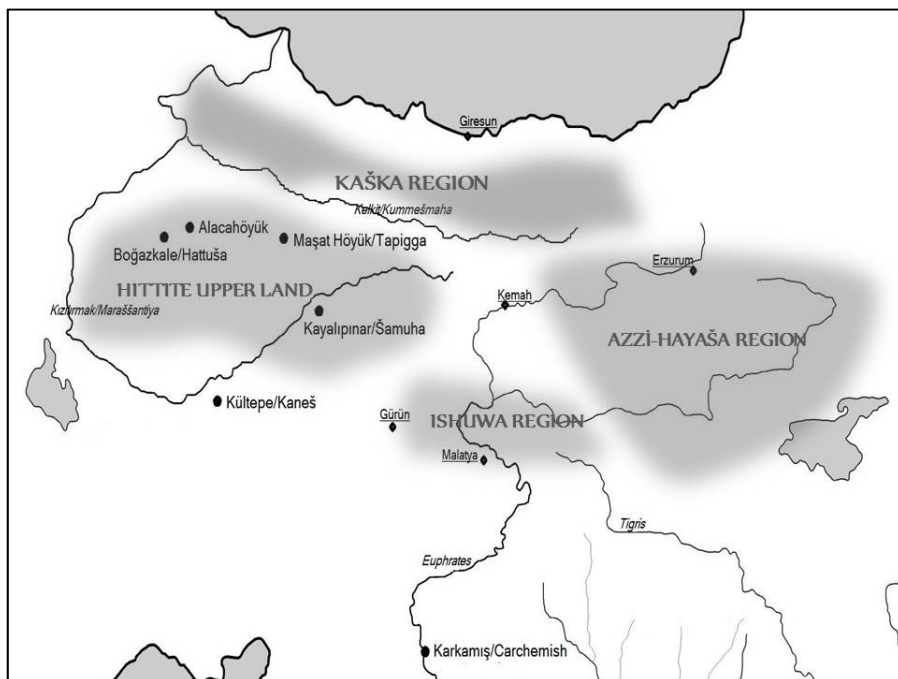
⁶⁵ Sagona 2010: 42, 44-45; also see Sagona, Sagona 2000: 56-127. It appears that the mound changed the nature of the settlement and its pottery in Late Bronze Age; Sagona 1999: 157. Büyüktepe in Bayburt Province, see Sagona *et al* 1993: 74.

⁶⁶ Özfırat 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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alp 1956: S. Alp, "Die Lage von Šamuha," *Anatolia*, 1, 1956: 77-80.
- Alp 1991: S. Alp, *Hethitische Brief aus Maşat Höyük*, TTKY, Ankara, 1991.
- Barjamovic 2011: G. Barjamovic, *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen, 2011.
- Bauer-Manndorf 1981: E. Bauer-Manndorf, *Armenia, Past and Present*, Reich Verlag, Lucerne, 1981.
- Beckman 1999: G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Scholar Press, Atlanta, 1999.
- Bryce 2009: T. Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia: The Near East from the Early Bronze Age to the fall of the Persian Empire*, Routledge, London and New York, 2009.
- Burney 1956: C. A. Burney, "Northern Anatolia Before Classical Times", *Anatolian Studies*, 6, 1956: 179-203.

- Burney, Lang 1971: C. A. Burney, D. M. Lang, *The peoples of the Hills: Ancient Ararat and Caucasus*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971. London.
- Cornelius 1973: F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der geographischen Verhältnisse und der Rechtsgeschichte*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1973.
- Cornelius 1961: F. Cornelius, "Zur Geographie der Hethiter (Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise)", *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 18, 1961: 214-218.
- Cornelius 1958a: F. Cornelius, "Zur hethitischen Geographie: die Nachbarn des Hethiterreiches", *Revue hittite et asianique*, 16, 1958a: 1-17.
- Cornelius 1958b: F. Cornelius, "Geographie des Hethiterreiches", *Orientalia*, 27, 1958b: 225-251.
- Çiğdem 2000: S. Çiğdem, "Başlangıçtan Eski Tunç Çağı'nın Sonu'na Kadar Erzurum ve Yöresi Geçim Kaynakları", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 26, 2000: 197-210.
- Çilingiroğlu 1983: A. Çilingiroğlu, "Van Gölü Havzasında M. Ö. 2. Bin Kültürüne Ait Bazı Veriler", *I. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 1983: 25-29.
- Çilingiroğlu 1984: A. Çilingiroğlu, "The Second Millennium Painted Pottery Tradition of the Van Lake Basin", *Anatolian Studies*, 34, 1984: 129-139.
- Çilingiroğlu 1987: A. Çilingiroğlu, "Van Gölü Havzasında Demir Çağların Başlangıcının Tarihi ", *Anadolu Demir Çağları I*, 1987: 108-115.
- del Monte 1992: G. F. del Monte, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Wiesbaden Supplement, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, VI/2, 1992.
- del Monte, Tischler 1978: G. F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, VI, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1978.
- Durbin 1971: G. E. S. Durbin, "Iron Age Pottery from the Provinces of Tokat and Sivas", *Anatolian Studies*, 21, 99-124.
- Dönmez 2000: Ş. Dönmez, "Orta Karadeniz Bölgesi Yüzey Araştırması", *Türkiye Arkeolojisi ve İstanbul Üniversitesi*, (Ed.) O. Belli, Ankara, 2000: 330-334.

- Friedrich, Kammenhuber 1984: *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Band I-A, Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, 1984.
- Forlanini 2000: M. Forlanini, "L'orizzonte geografico dei testi hittiti e le liste di evocazione", in L. Milano et al. (eds.), *Landscapes, Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*, Papers presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7-11 July 1997, (*History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs III/2*), Padova, 2000: 9-20.
- Forrer 1920: E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*, J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig 1920.
- Forrer 1921: E. Forrer, "Ausbeute aus den Boğazköi-Inschriften", *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 61, 1921.
- Forrer 1926: E. Forrer, *Forschungen*, *Erkner bei Berlin* 1/1, 1926.
- Forrer 1931: E. Forrer, "Hajaša-Azzi", *Caucasia*, 9, 1931: 1-24.
- Garstang 1943: J. Garstang, "Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor: A Study in Imperial Strategy with a Map", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 47/1, 1943, s. 35-62.
- Garstang, Gurney 1959: J. Garstang, O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, British Institute of Archaeology, Ankara, 1959.
- Goetze 1933: A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Mursilis*, MVAeG 38, Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1933.
- Goetze 1924: A. Goetze, *Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit, Eine geographische Untersuchung*, Orient und Antike 1, Heidelberg, 1924.
- Goetze 1940: A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problems of Hittite Geography*, Yale University Press no. 22, 1940.
- Goetze, 1962: A. Goetze, "Cilicians", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 16/2, 1962: 48-58.
- Groddek 2007: D. Groddek, "Neue Textfragmente zu den Annalen Muršiliš II", *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 34, 2007: 237-240.
- Güneri 2002: S. Güneri, "Cultural connections between Anatolia and Caucasus-Central Asia during the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age (in the light of the Sos Höyük excavations, 1987 and north-eastern Turkey Surveys, carried out between 1985-1997)", *Anatolia Antiqua*, 10, 2002: 11-77.

- Güterbock 1956a: H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 10/2, 1956a: 41-68.
- Güterbock 1956b: Güterbock, H. G. H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 10/4, 1956b: 107-130.
- Güterbock 1961: H. G. Güterbock, "The North-Central Area of Hittite Anatolia" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 20/2, 1961: 85-97.
- Haas 1985: V. Haas, "Betrachtungen zur Dynastie von Hattusha im Mittleren Reich (ca. 1450-1360)", *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 12, 1985: 269-277.
- Hrozný 1940: B. Hrozný, *Die Älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens*, Melantrich, Prag, 1940.
- Houwink ten Cate 1970: P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire (c. 1450-1380)*, PIHANS, 26, İstanbul, 1970.
- Klengel 1999: H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 34, Brill Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1999.
- Klengel 2006: H. Klengel, "Basma Körfezinden Akdeniz'e: Eski Yakınođu'da Ticaret", *Uluburun Gemisi. 3000 Yıl Önce Dünya Ticareti*, (Ed.) Ü. Yalçın, C. Pulak, and R. Slotta, Ege Yayınları, İstanbul: 369-375.
- Kretschmer 1932: P. Kretschmer, "Der nationale Name der Armenian Haik", *Anzeiger der Acad der Wiss. in Wien*, 1932: 1-7.
- Landsberger 1957: B. Landsberger, M. Civil, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 5*, Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, Rome, 1957.
- Martino 2012: S. de Martino, "Malatya and İsuwa in Hittite Texts: New Elements of Discussion", *Origeni*, 34, 2015: 375-383.
- Marro, Özfirat 2005: C. Marro, A. Özfirat, "Pre-classical Survey in Eastern Turkey, Third Preliminary Report: Doğubeyazıt and the eastern shore of Lake Van", *Anatolia Antiqua*, 13, 2005: 319-356.
- Murat 1998: Leyla Murat, "Hitit Dünyası'nda Gaşkaların Yeri", III. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (Çorum 16-22 Eylül), Ankara, 1998: 435-443.

- Müller-Karpe 2000: A. Müller-Karpe, "Kayalıpınar in Ostkappadokien. Ein neuer hethitischer Tontafelfundplatz", *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, 132, 2000: 355-365.
- Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe 2010: A. Müller-Karpe Andreas, V. Müller-Karpe, "Untersuchungen in Kayalıpınar 2006-2009", *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, 141, 2010: 173-238.
- Sagona 1999: A. Sagona, "The Bronze Age-Iron Age Transition in Northeast Anatolia: A View from Sos Höyük", *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 49, *Anatolian Iron Ages 4. Proceedings of the Fourth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium Held at Mersin, 19-23 May 1997*, 1999: 153-157.
- Sagona 2010: A. Sagona, "Sos Höyük: an Ancient Settlement Near Erzurum", *Geleceğe Armağan: Arkeolojik, Kültürel ve Estetik Yansımaları*, (Ed.) Mehmet Işık, Erhat Mutlugün and Mine Artu, Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2010: 42-49.
- Sagona *et al* 1993: A. Sagona, E. Pemberton, I. McPhee, "Excavation at Büyüktepe Höyük, 1992: Third Preliminary Report", *Anatolian Studies*, 43, 1993: 69-83.
- Sagona, Sagona 2000: A. Sagona, C. Sagona, "Excavations at Sos Höyük, 1998 to 2000: Fifth Preliminary Report", *Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, 37, 2000: 56-127.
- Soysal 2012: O. Soysal, "Join, Duplicates, and More From the Unpublished BO-9000-Fragments", *Anatolica*, 38, 2012: 169-190.
- Sevin 1996: V. Sevin, "Van/Ermiş (Ünseli) Nekropolü Erken Demir Çağ Çanak Çömlekleri", Prof. Dr. Afif Erzen'e Armağan, *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, 14: 439-467.
- Schuler 1965: E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškaer, Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie des Alten Kleinasien*, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1965.
- Özfırat 1994: A. Özfırat, "M.Ö. II. Binyıl Doğu Anadolu Boyalı Seramik Kültürleri Üzerine Araştırmalar", 11. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1994: 359-377.
- Özfırat 2001: A. Özfırat, "Research on the Cultures of East Anatolia in the 2nd Millennium BC", *İstanbul University's Contributions to Archaeology in Turkey (1932-2000)*, Ed. O. Belli, İstanbul University Rectorate Publication No 4285, 2001: 326-330.
- Özfırat 2005: A. Özfırat, "Transhumance on the Eastern Anatolian High Plateau in the 2nd Mill. B.C.", *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, 37, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2005: 1-15.

- Özfırat 2008: A. Özfırat, "The Highland Plateau of Eastern Anatolia in the Second Millenium BCE: Middle/Late Bronze Ages", *Ceramics in Transitions: Chalcolithic Through Iron Age in the Highlands*, Proceedings of the Workshop on Ancient Ceramics from the Southern Caucasus and Adjacent Areas, (Ed.) K. S. Robinson and A. Sagona, Leuven-Paris-Dudley MA: Peeters Press, 2008: 101-122.
- Özgüç 1966: T. Özgüç, "New Finds from Horoztepe/Yeni Horoztepe Eserleri", *Anadolu/Anatolia*, 8, 1966: 1-25.
- Özsait 2000a: M. Özsait, "1997 ve 1998 Yılı Tokat-Zile ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları", *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 17, 2000a: 73-88.
- Özsait 2000b: M. Özsait, "Orta Karadeniz Bölgesi Yüzey Araştırmaları", *Türkiye Arkeolojisi ve İstanbul Üniversitesi*, (Ed.) O. Belli, Ankara, 2000b: 335-341.
- Ünal 1974: A. Ünal, *Hattuşili III, Teil 1, Hattuşili bis zur seiner Thronbesteigung*, Carl Winter, Universitatverlag, Heidelberg, 1974.
- Ünal 1981: A. Ünal, "Hitit Kenti Ankuwa'nın Tarihçesi ve Lokalizasyonu Hakkında", *Belleten*, 45/2, N. 180, 1981: 433-455.
- Ünal 1997: A. Ünal, "Hurriler, Hurri Tarihi, Kültürü ve Arkeolojisiyle İlgili Yeni Buluntular ve Gelişmeler", 1996 Yılı Anadolu Medeniyetleri Konferansları, Ankara, 1997: 11-29.
- Ünal 2002: A. Ünal, "Eski Çağda Kafkasya ve Anadolu: Neolitik Çağdan Geç Tunç Çağının Sonuna Kadar (MÖ. 5500-1150) Anadolu ve Kafkasya İlişkileri", *Kuban Maykop Kültürleri ile Eski Anadolu Kültürel İlişkileri*, Kaf-Der Çorum Paneli Tebliğleri, 2002: 3-33.
- Ünal 2003a: A. Ünal, "Hititler, Akdeniz ve Liman Kenti Ura", *OLBA*, 7 (Özel Sayı), 2003: 13-40.
- Ünal 2003b: A. Ünal, *Hititler Devrinde Anadolu, Kitap 2*, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003.
- Ünal 2016: A. Ünal, *Hititçe Türkçe, Türkçe Hititçe Büyük Sözlük, Hattice, Hurrice, Hiyeroglif Luvicesi, Çivi Yazısı Luvicesi ve Palaca Sözlük Listeleriyle Birlikte*, Bilgin Kültür Sanat Yayınları, Ankara, 2016.
- Yakar 2007: J. Yakar, "The Archaeology of the Kaška", VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia, 5-9 settembre 2005, Roma, (Ed.) A. Archi, R. Francia, Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, 50, 2007: 817-818.