

ՀՈԴՎԱԾՆԵՐ

ARTICLES

ISSUES OF THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY HITTITE KINGDOM*

Robert Ghazaryan

Abstract

The Hittite state is closely related to the kingdom of Kanesh by historical ties. Its background could be understood through the study of the last stage of the history of the city-state Kanesh or Nesa in the second half of the II millennium BC. It is also essential to understand how the transition of the state system from Kanesh to Hattusa took place. It is equally necessary to find the connection between the kings of the Old Hittite Kingdom and the Kanesh dynasty and the influence that the state system of Kanesh had on the Old Hittite state. The article discusses the above-mentioned issues, as well as a number of other issues of the history of the Early Hittite state.

Keywords: Anitta, Kanesh, Old Hittite Kingdom, Hattusili I, Kussar, Hattusa, Asia Minor, Early Hittite Kingdom, Labarna.

Introduction

The city-states of Asia Minor in the II millennium BC were mainly political units occupying a small area and were in conflict with each other. In the XVIII century BC, that struggle led to the victory of the city-state Kussar in the region. Pithana, the king of Kussar, conquered Kanesh (Nesa), then his son Anitta (2nd half of the XVIII century BC) conquered Zalpuwa, Purushanda, Salatiwara and Hattusa (most of the central and eastern regions of Asia Minor). The residence of the king of Kussar was temporarily located in Kanesh. Hattusili I, considered the founder of the Old Hittite Kingdom (XVII-XV centuries BC), was also mentioned as a descendant of Kussar. The connection between these two kings (Anitta, Hattusili) and the dynasties has not been established, but Kussar was important to both and seems to have been the seat of the dynasties.

Sources

The main sources for the article were the “Cappadocian” texts, the Old Hittite written sources, and partly archaeological materials [28; 32; 22; 1; 19: 32-63].

Among the preserved written sources, the so-called “Anitta text”¹ and the texts relating to the period of Hattusili I and his ancestors can be singled out in terms of

* This study has been carried out within the framework of the grant received from the Committee of Science, Republic of Armenia (grant N. 20TTSH-047).

The article was submitted on July 21, 2023. The article was reviewed on July 29, 2023.

¹ The text is considered the oldest written source in the Hittite language. It was kept in Hattusa as an important state document. Probably, the original text was attached to or placed on the royal gates, as mentioned in lines 33-35 of the text. Most likely, the original language of the text was Akkadian, and then it was translated into Hittite [27; 36: 24-29; 9: 71-74].

their importance. Among them the “Annals of Hattusili” are of great importance as well [29: 73-84; 25: 1-22; 17: 293-297; 24: 45-60; 19: 40-42]. The activities of six years of Hattusili I’s rule are presented there. It is not clear whether the annals reflect the first years of his reign or describe the most significant events of his reign.

Another important source is Hattusili’s “Testament” [CTH 6; 24: 1-24; 8: 7]. It depicts an assembly convened in the city of Kussar at the end of Hattusili’s life, attended by members of the *pankus* (consultative body of the Hittite king) and high-ranking officials called ^{LÚ.MES}DUGUD². It is a unique appeal to the Hittite army and officials. In his speech, the king calls on the nobility and army to take care of his heir, the next king.

Another significant source regarding the years of Hattusili’s rule is the “Edict” [CTH 5; 5: 79-81]. In this bilingual (Hittite and Akkadian) document, Hattusili I addresses the Hittite army and council, introducing to them Mursili, the new heir to the throne. He also tells about the riots in the state and the events that took place within the royal family.

The “Edict of Telipinu” is important as well [CTH 19; 16; 15: 3; 19: 43]. This historical document also contains a brief chronological account of the era preceding King Telipinu, a description of Hattusili, his ancestors and successors.

From among the archaeological materials, one can single out the bronze dagger found in one of the buildings near the royal palace of Kanesh, with a cuneiform inscription on it which reads: “Palace of Anitta, the king” (É.GAL *A-ni-ta ru-ba-im*) [31].

Anitta - king of Kanesh

The city-state of Kanesh had existed since at least as early as the end of the III millennium BC. From the “Anitta text” it becomes clear that in the 2nd half of the XVIII century BC Pithana³, king of Kussar⁴, conquered the city of Kanesh [27: 10-11], in fact uniting the two states under his rule. Anitta⁵ was appointed governor of Kanesh (Akk. - *rabi simmiltim*⁶) and after Pithana’s death was mentioned as king⁷.

² Governor of the city, high-ranking official [19: 91].

³ The name Pithana was also mentioned in the “Cappadocian” texts *kt n/k 76; kt e/k 164; RA 59, N 18*. They concern a certain Pithana who was not a king, which means that it was a common name in the region.

⁴ The city of Kussar (according to “Cappadocian” sources - Kussara) was probably located northeast of Kanesh, in the region of the Anti-Taurus Mountains. There was a trade station (Akk: *wabartum*) of Assyrian traders in Kussar [12: 1391-1395].

⁵ See the following “Cappadocian” texts: *TC 3 214a; kt s/k 3*.

⁶ In the “Cappadocian” text *TC 3 214a* (a divorce contract, found in Kanesh) Pithana is mentioned as king and Anitta as *rabi simmiltim* (the title of *rabi simmiltim* is translated from Akkadian as the “Chief of the Staircase”, probably referring to the “staircase that led to the city or the main gate”). That official was actually the governor of the citadel, probably also the governor of the court, and he was the second in rank in the states of Asia Minor. Very often that position was held by the crown prince as well. On the position of *rabi simmiltim* see [13: 16].

Probably, the invasion of Kanesh by Kussar also concerned its subject territories, which became part of the unified state of Kanesh-Kussar.

There is an interesting episode in the “Anitta text” that after conquering Kanesh, Pithana, king of Kussar, ordered not to harm the inhabitants; moreover, “made them his mothers and fathers” [27: 10-11; 6: 35-36]. This sentence indicates that most of the people of Kanesh and the people of Kussar belonged to the same ethnic group. This could also mean that Pithana’s ancestors were from Kanesh and thus, the king of Kussar was declaring that the people of Kanesh were not strangers to him⁸.

After Pithana’s death, some of his subordinate cities revolted and Anitta had to suppress those movements. Among them was the Kanesh rebellion⁹. Later, from Kanesh, Anitta started his policy of conquest in Asia Minor. He conquered Zalpuwa¹⁰, Purushanda¹¹, Salatiwara¹². During the wars, Zalpuwa’s King Huzziya was taken captive. He was brought to Kanesh along with the statue of a god taken from Kanesh by Zalpuwa about a century ago. It is important to note that Anitta called the god of the people of Kanesh “our god = ^DSi-ú-sum-m[i-in]”¹³. Probably, that god was worshiped in Kussar as well.

During one of the campaigns, Anitta defeated Piyusti, king of Hattusa and conquered Hattusa, the center of the Hattian state as well¹⁴. The city was destroyed on Anitta’s order. Anitta threatened [27: 12-13] all those who would dare to settle there after all this or restore the city with divine retribution. However, after Anitta’s death the city was restored and later became the capital of the Hittite state.

⁷ The name of King Anitta was also mentioned in the texts discovered in the archaeological site of Alişar (the Hittite city of Ankuwa, located in the Yozgat region of present-day Turkey) (*Alişar No. e 844; Alişar No. b 1600*) [20: 161-162]. During the reign of Anitta a certain Peruwa is mentioned as *rabbi simmiltim* (see “Cappadocian” texts *kt 89/k 371; OIP 27 49a*). Given that princes could also hold that position, it can be assumed that Peruwa was one of Anitta’s sons.

⁸ It can be assumed that before that the two cities competed to achieve the leading position in the region, to dominate the trade routes and to achieve the leading role in the “Hittite world”.

⁹ In this passage of the “Anitta text” it is also mentioned that the king of Kussar had captured the king of Kanesh. It is difficult to state exactly who was the king of Kanesh at that time, perhaps someone appointed by Anitta. On the kings of Kanesh see [13: 14-15].

¹⁰ The city of Zalpuwa or Zalpa was located on the southern coast of the Black Sea or in the nearby territories. For its location, see RGTC VI: 490-492.

¹¹ Purushanda (Burushattum) was probably located on the present-day archaeological site Acemhöyük (in present-day Aksaray province of Turkey), see RGTC VI: 323-324.

¹² Salatiwara was situated in the areas south-west of Kanesh, probably closer to Purushanda. For the location of the settlement, see RGTC VI: 333-334.

¹³ [27: 12]. It is likely that by saying “our god” Anitta was referring to Anna, the principal deity of Kanesh. An ancient temple dedicated to that god in Kanesh was probably destroyed when Uhna, king of Zalpuwa, attacked Kanesh (mid XIX century BC). Uhna had also taken the statue of the god from Kanesh as an important trophy, which Anitta returned after defeating Zalpuwa, building a new temple in honor of the aforementioned god.

¹⁴ Probably the conquest of Hattusa took place in around 1730 BC, as the last “Cappadocian” contract found in the *kārum* (a trade organization, colony of Assyrian traders) of Hattusa dates back to around 1735 BC [37: 35].

Anitta overcame the resistance of the city of Salatiwara, and then marched his troops towards the kingdom of Purushanda. The local king welcomed him with gifts and the two kings became allies. The king of Purushanda gave the king of Kanesh an iron throne and a scepter as gifts¹⁵. He was supposed to sit on the right side of the king of Kanesh in the throne room, which indicates that he was given an important place in Anitta's court. Probably only after these events did Anitta begin to bear the title of great king, which was previously held by the king of Purushanda. According to one of the "Cappadocian" texts, Anitta's power probably extended over Ankuwa city as well¹⁶.

Anitta also started construction in Kanesh, rebuilding city fortifications, building temples in honor of his patron Weather God of Heaven, "our god" (the god Anna) and the god Halmasuit. He made offerings to those temples and had many wild animals brought to the city. Perhaps those animals were also intended as offerings to the gods¹⁷.

In fact, the state of Anitta temporarily united most of the eastern and central regions of the peninsula.

After Anitta's death (probably in 1725 BC), King Zuzu¹⁸ is mentioned in Kanesh. It is difficult to find out the connection between Zuzu and Anitta. Besides, Zuzu is also known as the king of the city of Alahzina¹⁹. Like Anitta, he held the title of great king. After Anitta's death Zuzu probably managed to unite those two city-states (Kanesh and Alahzina) into one state. Thus, the last recorded king of Kanesh is Zuzu. He was mentioned in "Cappadocian" sources both as a king and as a great king. It could mean that after ascending the throne, he was able to expand the borders of the state and earn the title of "great king". The seal of the great king Zuzu ("Cappadocian" text *kt 89/k 369*) has also been preserved. It depicts a bull, the symbol of the deity of Weather God of Heaven. It can be assumed that this god was his patron god, as it was Anitta's.

According to archeological data, Kanesh was destroyed and abandoned in between around 1710-1700 BC (end of Kanesh's archaeological Level Ib)²⁰. It was,

¹⁵ They were expensive gifts because iron was a rare metal at that time. The first iron objects were probably made from meteoric iron [27: 14-15; 9: 71-74].

¹⁶ The "Cappadocian" text *OIP 27 49* mentions the name of the city of Ankuwa and the seal of Anitta [21: 197-198].

¹⁷ According to the text, about 120 wild animals were brought to Nesa on Anitta's order. Probably, all of this was done as one of the indicators of the royal power, as a "spectacle" for the common people and to show off to the people of Kanesh [27: 12-15].

¹⁸ Ratifications of contracts by King Zuzu were found in Kanesh. See "Cappadocian" texts *kt j/k 625*; *kt 89/k 369*. During his reign, Ishtar-ibra was mentioned as *rabi simmiltim* [10; 20: 161-162].

¹⁹ The city of Alahzina was probably the same as the city of Lihzina mentioned in later Hittite sources (Lihzina is mentioned in the prayer text of the Hittite King Muwattali II, see CTH 381; RGTC VI, 247-248).

²⁰ There is also a hypothesis that Kanesh was not inhabited later or was partially inhabited because the climatic conditions in the region changed. The river near the city had dried up or shallowed, as a result of which swamps formed near the city [23: 86, 92].

in fact, the end of Assyrian international trade in the region²¹. The royal family of Kanesh probably had to leave the citadel of the city. It is difficult to say exactly in which direction they left and who was the last king of Kanesh. One of the likely destinations could be Kussar. Most likely, a significant part of the people of Kanesh also managed to go to the east and north. Probably, the state archive of Kanesh was taken out of the city as well, and later found its place in the state archive of Hattusa.

From Anitta to Hattusili I

The issue of succession between Anitta and the kings of the Hittite Old Kingdom is still unclear. Different reconstructions have been proposed by various Hittitologists regarding the reign of Hattusili I (ca. 1650-1620 BC), the king and his immediate successors are currently considered the founders of the Hittite Old Kingdom²².

Based on the few existing sources, the following reconstruction can be proposed. Some time after Anitta and Zuzu, the city of Sanahuitta²³ was ruled by Tudhaliya I²⁴, who managed to leave Kanesh and then settled in Sanahuitta in the north. Sources later mention his son Pu-sharruma, whose sons were Pawahtelmah (Hattusili I's father, who was probably deprived of the right to inherit the throne) and Labarna I [14: 87].

Later, a power struggle started between the two brothers, Labarna I and Pawahtelmah, culminating in the usurpation of the throne by Pawahtelmah in Sanahuitta²⁵. Labarna I left for Hattusa, where he married Tawananna²⁶, the daughter of the king of Hattusa (probably Huzziya²⁷). She was also believed to be

²¹ The reason for the end of the international trade of Assyrian traders in Asia Minor could also be the strengthening of the Hurrian states in Northern Mesopotamia, as well as the dependence of Assur on Babylonia during the reign of Hammurabi (1728-1686 BC).

²² On the succession of kings who ruled before Hattusili, see also [2: 51].

²³ Sanahuitta was situated to the north-east of Hattusa. The city was known from the period of Assyrian trading colonies (in "Cappadocian" sources it is mentioned as Sinahuttum). It was one of the important political centers of the region in the above-mentioned period [1: 286-291; RGTC VI, 342].

²⁴ The name Tudhaliya is also found in the text of Pithana, king of Kussar ("Cappadocian" text *kt* 89/k379), where he is mentioned as the chief cupbearer (Akk: *rabi šāqē*), as well as later, with King Zuzu (see "Cappadocian" text *kt j/k* 625). If it is the same person, then he probably belonged to the royal family. That name was later common in the Hittite dynasty.

²⁵ This is evidenced in the "Testament" of Hattusili, where it was stated that instead of Labarna, the people of Sanahuitta made Pawahtelmah their king: "He (meaning his grandfather) appointed Labarna to the city of Sanahuitta. But later his servants and the city council disregarded his words and made Pawahtelmah their king" [5: 81; 6: 66; 14: 87-88; 19: 80].

²⁶ The names of Tawannana and Labarna are also mentioned on the so-called "Cruciform Seal" after Huzziya. This may be considered an argument in favor of the assumption that over time these personal names became titles of kings and queens (cf. the Roman title Caesar from the name of Julius Caesar) [15: 13; 6: 65].

²⁷ At one point Anitta defeated the king of Zalpuwa named Huzziya. The name Huzziya is on the so-called "cross-shaped seal" as well. The seal was made during the reign of Mursili II (1321-1295 BC)

Labarna's sister, as Labarna was adopted by the king of Hattusa. That is probably the reason why Hattusili referred to himself as Tawananna's nephew [29: 78; 25: 7]. Probably, Hattusili had also left for Hattusa with Labarna.

The power of the king of Hattusa extended over Hurma (Hurama)²⁸, which meant that most of the central and eastern regions of Asia Minor, including the cities of Kanesh and Kussar, were under his rule, i.e. the state he created took the place of Anitta's kingdom in the region.

At that time, with the help of the king of Hattusa, Labarna was able to become the king of Sanahuitta. It is unknown what happened to Pawahtelmah who ruled the city before. And Pu-sharruma was appointed ruler of the state of Hurma. In his turn, Labarna I adopted Hattusili (Labarna II²⁹), the son of Pawahtelmah.

Later, probably during the early years of Labarna I's reign or before his accession to the throne, his power extended over more limited territories. Many cities were probably out of the king's control. This is implied by the text, which notes that Labarna's state was small at first, then it expanded and he appointed his sons as governors of various cities (Hupisna, Tuwanuwa, Nenassa, Landa, Zallara, Parsuhanta, Lusna)³⁰.

If we follow this "game of thrones", it turns out that the fragmentary information of the Hittite sources makes it possible to note that during the reign of Hattusili, considered the founder of the Hittite Old Kingdom, and during the reign of his ancestors, at least four centers - Sanahuitta, Hattusa, Kussar and Hurma - were of importance. Between the period of Pithana-Anitta (2nd half of the XVIII century BC) and the accession of Labarna I to the throne (1st half of the XVII century BC), there are mentions of at least three cities that were the centers of Hittite kings: Kussar, Kanesh, and Sanahuitta. In addition, it is clear that the dynasty of Sanahuitta strengthened its ties with the dynasty of Hattusa; and Hattusili I (or Labarna II) united the dynasties of Huzziya and Tudhaliya. There was a rapprochement and mixing of the Hittian-Hittite elite. On the other hand, it is obvious that in later centuries the language of the state of Hatti was called Nesian the language of Nesa (Kanesh). This indicates that the elite of the state of Hatti had a connection with Kanesh, and, besides, part of the population of Kanesh had probably migrated to Hatti. Apart from the local deities, the deities of Kanesh were

and also contains information on the early period of the Hittite state. King Huzziya's name is mentioned first [15: 13]. Other, later Hittite kings also bore the name Huzziya.

²⁸ The city of Hurama or Hurma was probably located in the areas southeast of Kanesh, in the present-day Elbistan Valley, not far from Tegarama [1: 180-187].

²⁹ The Hittite queen Kaddusi is mentioned in one of the sources as Labarna's wife (KUB XXXV 120), and in another place as Hattusili's wife (KBo XIII 43). Taking this into account, one can assume that Hattusili I can also be referred to as Labarna II, as another Labarna had adopted him and can be referred to as Labarna I.

³⁰ [16: 12-15]. The countries listed in that part of the text were in the "Lower Country", south of the river Halis (Hittite: Marasantiya) [11: 62].

worshiped in Hattusa as well³¹. Although the city of Kanesh had declined, the “Land of Kanesh” continued to be mentioned even during the New Hittite Kingdom³². It is difficult to make assumptions about what connection Hattusili had with the city of Kussar, since the city is not mentioned in the information about his ancestors. It only appears along with the events of the last period of Hattusili’s rule. Hattusili refers to himself as a “Man of Kussar”, which means that he was also the ruler of Kussar [6: 68]. And it could be that his lineage was connected with the rulers of Kussar and it was important for him to mention his and his family’s cradle city. It is no coincidence that Hattusili gathered the nobility in that city when appointing a successor to his throne.

Due to the scarcity of sources, it is quite difficult to describe in more detail what happened during the time of Hattusili’s ancestors. It can be assumed that after Anitta’s conquests, Hattusili’s ancestors, as members of the dynasty, were appointed rulers of Sanahuitta, or that under Hurrian pressure the rulers of Kussar and the dynasty withdrew to the more secure Sanahuitta.

The explanation of the word *labarna*³³ is of interest as well. It was the title of the Hittite kings in the later period; besides, this personal name no longer appears in the Hittite royal list. The word *labarna* or *tabarna* [34; 19: 79-80] was used by Hattusili I, as well as all succeeding Hittite kings, as a title, from which this confusion could arise³⁴. It can be assumed that the initial name of Hattusili was *Labarna* and only after Hattusili did it become a royal title.

During the reign of Hattusili I the Hittite state, having conquered most of Asia Minor, for the first time attempted to expand beyond the peninsula to the south, into Syria. Hattusili also made Hattusa his capital city, and in its honor the king received his name “the man from Hattusa”.

In the very first year of his reign, Hattusili launched two campaigns, one against the city of Sanahuitta, which was important to his dynasty, and the other against the city of Zalpa. The first campaign was not a great success, as the king was able to invade and destroy a part of Sanahuitta’s subordinate settlements. He then conquered the city of Zalpa, confiscating the temple property and distributing it among the temples of various gods of Hatti [6: 70].

³¹ The names of the following deities of Kanesh were mentioned: Kamrusepa, Pirwa, Hassusara (“Queen”), Aslasepa (“Genius of the Gate”), Suwatyat, Halki, Hassam(m)ili, Siwat (“Day”), Ispant (“Night”), Assiyat, Ilali(yant), Maliya, and Darawas [35: 30-31].

³² Later Hittite kings also mentioned Kussar, but they did not mention the names of Pithana and Anitta, the rulers of Kussar. For example, the Hittite king Hattusili III (1267-1237 BC) considered Hattusili to be the ancestor of his dynasty, and also believed that the royal dynasty originated from the city of Kussar [30: 4-5].

³³ In the “Cappadocian” text *ICK 1 178* we come across the personal name *Labarna* in the form *Labarsa* as well. *Labarsa* is also the name of the earliest dated ruler (1970-1840 BC) of Asia Minor in “Cappadocian” sources [20: 156-158].

³⁴ In the “Annals”, the full series of titles for Hattusili I reads as follows: “*great king tabarna, Hattusili, great king, king of the land of Hatti, man of Kussar, reigning in the land of Hatti, nephew of Tawananna*” [29: 78; 25: 7].

In the second year of his reign, the king marched towards the northern Syrian region south of the Taurus Mountains [29: 78]. The first Syrian invasion of the Hittites did not bring any real benefit to the Hittite state. The destruction of Alalakh (referred to as Alalha in Hattusili's "Annals")³⁵ and other city-states and the spoils taken were just a passing success. In addition, the long siege³⁶ of Urshu (Warsuwa) demonstrated the difficult problems that Hattusili could face if he set himself the goal of establishing dominance over that region. Urshu was supported by the people of Aleppo and the Hurrians [6: 72-73].

Almost the same situation is recorded during Hattusili's campaign in the western direction as well. In his "Annals" the raid on Arzawa in southwestern Asia Minor is mentioned in the year following the Syrian war. This is the first mention of that political unit in the Hittite sources [29: 78]. From the part depicting the campaign it can be concluded that it could have been just a looting or perhaps a retaliatory campaign, in response to some earlier actions of the Arzawians. However, even at the time of this invasion, or at a later period, Arzawa could have been under the rule of Hatti [6: 74].

In the "Annals", the campaign to Arzawa is followed by riots within the state and the attack of the Hurrians. According to it, the entire territory of the Hittite state had passed into the hands of the rebel countries, except for the capital [29: 78]. And the Hurrian invasion was a direct response to Hattusili's campaign of Syria two years back. The Hurrians managed to reach the western regions of Asia Minor, Arzawa. However, their army suffered greatly due to a widespread disease, which resulted in the death of several of their generals as well. Before that, the Hurrian army had also made an unsuccessful attempt to invade the city of Hurma [18: 89-93]. Some sources have been preserved mentioning that Hattusili entered into a confrontation with the state of Purushanda. The Hittite text describes the king's victory over Purushanda.

Hattusili managed to recapture the rebel cities in the central regions of the state (Nenassa, Ulma-Ullamma, and Sallahsuwa), and the next year the king marched to the city of Sanahuitta again. After a six-month siege, the city was conquered, following which all the other rebel cities voluntarily submitted to Hattusili [29: 79; 19: 87].

After regulating the issues of Asia Minor, Hattusili set out to conquer the North Syrian region³⁷. A second Syrian invasion is mentioned in his "Annals" [29]. It was quite successful for the Hittites. Hattusili mentions that in addition to spoils,

³⁵ It was located in the northern Syria, in the territory of the present-day Tell Ačana archaeological site.

³⁶ One of the important sources of the period of Hattusili's rule is the text conventionally called "The Siege of Urshu" [17: 299-301; 24: 25-44; 3:23-34]. The city was situated to the south of Hurma. For the location of Urshu, see RGTC VI:475-476.

³⁷ The north Syrian invasions, particularly the invasion of Aleppo, are also mentioned in a New Hittite Kingdom text ("Treaty between Muwattalli II and Talmi-Sharruma") [4: 88-89].

he also took the kings of the cities of Hahha (Hahhum)³⁸ and Hassuwa³⁹ to Hattusa. These successes were probably of great importance to Hattusili, because in the relevant part of the text he compares himself to the Akkadian King Sargon I, who had also crossed the Euphrates. However, unlike Sargon, Hattusili records that he succeeded in conquering the city of Hahhum [29: 83; 6: 78].

It is not clear whether Hattusili's conquests in Syria were limited only to the cities of Hassuwa and Hahhum. In any case, it cannot be ruled out that the geography of the Hittite invasion was wider than presented in the "Annals". Hattusili's letter⁴⁰ addressed to King Tuniya (Tunip-Teshub in other sources) of the city-state Tikunani in northern Mesopotamia discusses joint military operations. The text of the letter directly states that Tikunani was a subject of the Hittite king and that its king was obliged to help him in the war against Hahhum. In that case, the Hittite invasion could have included the areas further east of Hassuwa, i.e. approximately the area of modern Diyarbakir. Based on this, it can be assumed that Hattusili was trying to find allies in the Syrian region against the Yamhad kingdom and its allies [19: 88-89].

Probably, the aim of the Hittite campaigns was to gain access to and control over the trade routes passing through Syria. In this way, Hattusili could be trying to ensure a stable connection to the trade of tin exported from Mesopotamia, which was of great economic importance for the production of bronze. In the past, even after the fall of Assyrian trading colonies, this connection with Mesopotamia was blocked [6: 81-82].

After the second Syrian campaign, Hattusili undertook several more campaigns, first to Arzawa and then again to Syria. Information about them comes from various sources and is fragmentary. In particular, we come across it in the so-called "Treaty of Aleppo", signed between Muwatalli II and King Talmi-Sharruma of Aleppo, in the historical introduction of which Hattusili's victory over Aleppo is described⁴¹.

However, Hattusili faced ordeals within the state. According to Hattusili's "Testament", the sons of the king who were appointed rulers of the conquered countries showed disobedience. At least two of them, Huzziya who ruled in the city of Tappassanda⁴², and Hakkarpili who ruled in Zalpa, rioted, and the king had to suppress the riots and depose his sons. After those events, his daughter rioted against her father. The center of the riot was Hattusa, where the princess and her

³⁸ For the location of Hahhum, see RGTC VI: 61-62.

³⁹ Hassuwa was situated in the territories north of Kargamis [11: 58].

⁴⁰ The Hittite king had launched military operations against the city of Hahhum and was reminding his vassal of his duties. In the letter the king introduces himself as Labarna, the great king. Many Hittitologists believe that this Labarna was Hattusili I. The document is considered to be the oldest preserved epistolary Hittite inscription [6: 78-79; 19: 88]. The land of Tikunani was near the state of Nihriya, in the basin of the upper Euphrates [7: 80-81].

⁴¹ CTH 75.

⁴² RGTC VI: 400.

family had substantial authority. The daughter's name has not been preserved, and this is not due to damage to the text, but is intentional. According to the text, there was a great bloodshed in Hatti. Hattusili suppressed that riot as well. Then the king deprived his daughter of all the privileges deriving from her status and expelled her from the capital. Hattusili's daughter's sons also rioted against their grandfather. Hattusili deprived them of the right to inherit the throne as well [5: 80-81]. It can be concluded from the text that the riots of Hattusili's sons and daughter took place because of the issue of the succession to the throne.

Distrust of his own heirs forced Hattusili to declare his sister's son ("young Labarna") heir to the throne. Yet seeing the great influence of the members of the royal family on him and the indifference towards his person, Hattusili abandoned this plan and expelled him from the capital, to the great dissatisfaction of his sister (Tawananna). After all this, Hattusili adopted his grandson (probably the son of one of his sons), young Mursili, and at the assembly in Kussar made the Hittite nobility and army recognize him as heir to the throne [5: 79-80]. Hattusili appointed his brother Pimpira [33: 86], the ruler of the city of Nenassa, as Mursili's regent. At that time Hattusili was already ill. A lady named Hastayar was also with him in Kussar. She was probably his wife in the last years of his life. Hattusili I died in Kussar, leaving the throne to Mursili I, the future conqueror of Babylon.

Conclusions

In late III millennium BC - early II millennium BC, there was still no unified state established by the bearers of the Indo-European Anatolian languages (Hittites, Luwians) in the territory of Asia Minor. There were a number of states, among them the kingdoms of Kussar and Kanesh. During the reign of Pithana, king of Kussar, these states were united. During the reign of Anitta, Pithana's son, the state of Kanesh-Kussar expanded further, including the central, eastern regions of Asia Minor and some western regions of the Armenian Highland. After the kings Anitta and Zuzu, the political center of the state moved first to Sanahuitta and then to Hattusa. Kanesh was in decline, and Kussar, although maintaining some of its political weight, never again became the capital. Later Hittite kings did not mention Anitta's name among their ancestors; however, the connection between the Kanesh-Kussarian and the Sanahuitta-Hattusa dynasties is evident. In this sense, that phase of the Hittite state, until the beginning of Hattusili I's reign, can be called the period of the Early Hittite Kingdom (2nd half of the XVIII century BC - 1st half of the XVII century BC).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Barjamovic G., *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, Copenhagen, 2011, 519p.
2. Barjamovic G., Hertel Th., Larsen M. T., *Ups and Downs at Kanesh: Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period*. *Old Assyrian Archives, Studies 5*.

- Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stambul 120. Leiden, 2012, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 161 p.
3. Beckman G., The Siege of Uršu Text (CTH 7) and Old Hittite Historiography, JCS, 1995, 47, pp. 23-34.
 4. Beckman G., Hittite Diplomatic Texts: Writings from the Ancient World, vol. 7, Atlanta, 1996, 206 p.
 5. Beckman G., Edicts and Proclamations. 1. Bilingual Edict of Ḫattušili I (2.15). The Context of Scripture, II, Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World (ed. W. Hallo), Leiden-Boston, 2000, pp. 79-81.
 6. Bryce T., The Kingdom of the Hittites. New edition, Oxford University Press, 2005, 554 p.
 7. De Martino S., The Military Exploits of the Hittite King Ḫattušili I in Lands situated between the Upper Euphrates and the Upper Tigris, *Silva Anatolica*, Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday (edited by Piotr Taracha), Warsaw, 2002, pp. 77-85.
 8. Del Monte G., *Antologia Della Letteratura Ittita*. Università degli studi di Pisa, 2003, 222 p.
 9. Dercksen J. G., Anitta and the man of Puruṣhanda. Studies presented in honor of Veyssel Donbaz, 2010, pp. 71-74.
 10. Forlanini M., The Kings of Kaniš, Atti. In: "Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia (Pavia 28 VI - 2 IX 1993)" (ed. O. Carruba), Pavia, 1995, pp. 123-132.
 11. Forlanini M., The historical geography of Anatolia and the transition from the kārumperiod to the Early Hittite Empire. *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*. *Old Assyrian Archives, Studies*, Vol. 3, PIHANS, 2008, vol. 111, pp. 57-86.
 12. Ghazaryan R., Kussara - the cradle of Hittite state, *The English Historical Review*, Issue 559 (2), December, 2017, Volume 132, pp. 1391-1395.
 13. Ghazaryan R., Administrative and political system and economy of the Kingdom of Kanesh, *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies*, N II/2, 2022, pp. 13-24.
 14. Gilan A., The Hittite *Offering Lists* of deceased kings and related texts (CTH 610-611) as historical sources, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico*. Volume 11, Firenze, 2014, pp. 85-102.
 15. Gilan A., In search of a distant past: Forms of historical consciousness in Hittite Anatolia, *Anadolu / Anatolia*, 2018, 44, pp. 1-23.
 16. Hoffmann I., *Der Erlaß Telipinus*, Heidelberg, 1984, 215 S.
 17. Hoffner H.A., *Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites*, *Orientalia*, 1980, Vol. 49, Fasc. 4, pp. 283-332.
 18. Kempinski A., Košak S., CTH 13: The Extensive Annals of Hattušili I (?), *Tel Aviv*, 1982, 9, pp. 87-114.
 19. Kosyan A., *The Hittite Kingdom (Political history)*, Yerevan, 2022, 252 p. (Khet'akan t'agavorut'yun (k'ağak'akan patmut'yun) (in Armenian).
 20. Kryszat G., *Herrscher, Kult und Kultradition in Anatolien nach den Quellen aus den altassyrischen Handelskolonien*. Teil 3/1: Grundlagen für eine neue Rekonstruktion der Geschichte Anatoliens und der assyrischen Handelskolonien in spätaltassyrischer Zeit, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2008, Vol. 35, Issue 1, S. 156-189.
 21. Kryszat G., *Herrscher, Kult und Kultradition in Anatolien nach den Quellen aus den altassyrischen Handelskolonien - Teil 3/2: Grundlagen für eine neue Rekonstruktion*

- der Geschichte Anatoliens und der assyrischen Handelskolonien in spätaltassyrischer Zeit II, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2008a, Vol. 35, Issue 2, S. 195-219.
22. Kulakoğlu F., Kültepe Kanesh-Karum: The earliest international trade center in Anatolia, in *Anatolia's prologue Kültepe Kanesh Karum. Assyrians in Istanbul*, Kulakoğlu Fikri, Kangal Selmin (Editor), Istanbul, 2010, pp. 40-51.
 23. Kulakoğlu F., Kanesh after the Assyrian Colony Period: Current Research at Kültepe and the Question of the End of the Bronze Age Settlement. In *Recent Research at Kültepe-Kanesh. Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series*, 2014, pp. 85-94.
 24. Marazzi M., Beiträge zu den akkadischen Texten aus Boğazköy in *Althethitische Zeit*, Roma, Biblioteca di Ricerche Linguistiche e Filologiche, 1986, N 18, 74 S.
 25. Melchert G., *The Acts of Hattušili I*, *Near Eastern Studies*, 1978, vol. 37, N. 1, pp. 1-22.
 26. Mellink M.J., *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1963, 67, pp. 173-190.
 27. Neu E., *Der Anitta Text*, *StBoT* 18, Wiesbaden, 1974, 157 S.
 28. Orlin L.L., *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia. Studies in Ancient History*, Hague - Paris, 1970, 276p.
 29. Otten H., *Keilschrifttexte*, *MDOG*, 1958, N 91, S. 73-84.
 30. Otten H., *Die Apologie Hattusilis III: Das Bild der Überlieferung*, *StBoT*, H. 24, Wiesbaden, 1981, 141 S.
 31. Özgüç T., *The Dagger of Anitta*, *Belleten*, 1956, vol. 20, issue 77, pp. 33-36.
 32. Özgüç T., *Kültepe-Kaniş II: Eski Yakındoğu'nun Ticaret Merkezi Yeni Araştırmalar / New Researches at the Trading Center of the Ancient Near East*. *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları Series V. Seri*, volume 41. Ankara, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi*, 1986, 150p.
 33. Soysal O., *Mursili I. - Eine Historische Studie. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät I der Julius-Maximilians-Universität zu Würzburg*, Würzburg, 1989, 198 S.
 34. Soysal O., *On the origin of the royal title Tabarna / Labarna*, *Anatolica*, XXXI, 2005, pp. 189-209.
 35. Taracha P., *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia*, Wiesbaden, 2009, 232p.
 36. Topçuoğlu O., *Anitta Text*, *Anatolia's Prologue, Kültepe Kanesh Karum, Assyrians in Istanbul* (F. Kulakoğlu, S. Kangal), 2010, pp. 24-29.
 37. Veenhof K., *Old Assyrian chronology and Ancient Kanesh. Anatolia's Prologue, Kültepe Kanesh Karum, Assyrians in Istanbul* (F. Kulakoglu, S. Kangal), 2010, pp. 30-39.

ABBREVIATIONS

CTH - Laroche E., *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris, 1971; Editions Klincksieck, 267 p.

JCS - *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven).

KBo - *Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköi* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1923ff).

KUB - *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköi* (Berlin, 1921ff.). REL - *Revised Eponym List*.

MDOG - *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*.

PIHANS - *Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul* (Leiden).

RGTC VI - Del Monte G.F., Tischler J., *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*. Band 6. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Wiesbaden, 1978, 596 S.

StBoT - *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (Wiesbaden), 1965ff.

Robert Ghazaryan

Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA
rghazaryan@orient.sci.am

ORCID: 0000-0002-6994-7695

ԽԵԹԱԿԱՆ ՎԱՂ ԹԱԳԱՎՈՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԻՄՆԱՀԱՐՑԵՐ

Ռոբերտ Ղազարյան

Քանալի բառեր՝ Անիտտա, Քանեշ, Հին խեթական թագավորություն, Խաթթուսիլի I, Կուսսար, Խաթթուսա, Փոքր Ասիա, Վաղ խեթական թագավորություն, Լաբարնա:

Խեթական պետությունը պատմական կապերով սերտորեն առնչվում է Քանեշի թագավորության հետ: Նրա նախապատմությունը վեր հանելու համար, հարկավոր է ուսումնասիրության առարկա դարձնել մ.թ.ա. II հազարամյակի II կեսի Քանեշ կամ Նեսա քաղաք-պետության պատմության վերջին փուլը: Կարևոր է նաև հասկանալ, թե ինչպես է տեղի ունեցել պետական համակարգի անցումը Քանեշից դեպի Խաթթուսա: Հարկավոր է նաև պարզել կապը խեթական Հին թագավորության արքաների և քանեշյան արքայատոհմի միջև և այն, թե ինչ ազդեցություն է թողել Քանեշի պետական համակարգը Հին խեթական պետության վրա: Հոդվածում քննարկման առարկա են դարձել վերոհիշյալ խնդիրները, ինչպես նաև Վաղ խեթական պետության պատմության մի շարք այլ հիմնախնդիրներ: