THE IMPORTANCE OF THE HITTITE SOURCES OF THE PERIOD OF MURSILI II FOR ANCIENT HISTORY OF ARMENIA

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The period of the reign of Mursili II (1321-1295 BC), one of the most prominent kings of Ancient Orient, is full of events that shed light on the history not only of the Hittite state, but also other countries of Western Asia. The sources created during his reign allow forming almost a complete picture of the years of his reign. His period is of special interest also for those studying ancient history of Armenia, particularly, of the western part of the Armenian Highland.

We should especially point out two versions of the Annals of Mursili II - The “Ten Year” Annals and the “Extended” Annals1. The “Ten Year” Annals represent the events of the first ten years of the king’s reign and the “Extended” Annals include almost the whole period of his reign.

Mursili II who ascended the Hittite throne in a very complicated period, was the youngest of the five sons of Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322 BC), the founder of the New Hittite state. Since the first years of reign the young king had to struggle hard against the internal and external enemies of Hatti. The situation became harder also because of the continuing plague in Hatti that had taken a lot of human lives and put the state in a difficult condition. There were also problems within the royal family connected with his stepmother; Suppiluliuma I’s the second, Babylonian wife. However, the Hittite king could make a lot of achievements during the first ten years. He succeeded in restoring the unity and territorial integrity of the state and suppressing the rebellions in the subject countries. After the death of two of his brothers, Sharri-Kushuh and Telipinu, he managed to continue the political line started by his father and sat their sons on the thrones of Halpa (Aleppo) and Kargamis. Those north Syrian territories had a very important position as they were close to the territories of Egypt and Assyria, the enemies of Hatti. Mursili was also able to destroy the Kingdom of Arzawa which was the core of the Arzawa confederation of states, in the west of Asia Minor. In the north and north-east the Kaskean and Hayasean issues were also temporarily solved. Thus, we can record that the first ten years of the reign of Mursili II were really of special significance for the whole period of his reign. Perhaps this is why he singled out his “Ten Year” Annals where, as well as in the “Extended” Annals there is a lot of information on the “lands” of the western part of the Armenian Highland. Below we will

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discuss the content of these, as well as a number of other texts created during the reign of Mursili.

Thus after solving the Arzawa issue (in the fifth year according to the Annals) Mursili moved to the north-east of the state - the city of Samuha\(^2\) and stopped in the city of Ziulila\(^3\). These cities were situated in the Hittite Upper Land\(^4\) situated in the north-eastern part of the Hittite state - in the territory from the upper stream of the Halis to the big bend of the Upper Euphrates reaching the basin of the river Gayl in the north. It was one of the most important lands of Hatti and mainly included the territories that later became known as Armenia Minor. In the geographical sense most of its territory was in the Armenian Highland\(^5\). It is also interesting that the name of Upper Land is closely connected with the name of *Upper Armenia* mentioned in the Armenian sources. In the geographical sense the territory of Upper Armenia was close to the territory of Upper Land or, likely, comprised part of it\(^6\).

According to the Annals, in the seventh year of his reign Mursili II waged a war against the Kaskean land Tibiya\(^7\), against its tribal chief Pihhuniya who already during the reign of Suppiluliuma I had attacked and brought destruction in the Hittite Upper Land (Pihhuniya’s troops had advanced up to the city of Zazzisa\(^8\) and conquered the city of Istitina\(^9\) as well). In the seventh year of the “Extended” Annals there is a mention of another land of the Armenian Highland - Dankuwa\(^10\). During the same year in the

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\(^2\) In the text the city was mentioned as Sammaha (Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (henceforth KBo) III 4 III 48): See also Del Monte G., Tischler J., Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, VI. Die Orts-und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, Wiesbaden, 1978 (henceforth RGTC, VI), S. 337-341; Ինգան Լ., Հայաստանական տեղանունները (ըստ խեթական սեպագիր աղբյուրների), Երևան, 2004 (henceforth ՀԼՏ), էջ 85-90. The majority of researchers now locate Samuha in the place of the archaeological site Kayalı pınar (situated on the northern bank of the river Halis, about 55 km to the south-west of Sebastia) (see Müller-Karpe A., Recent Research on Hittite Archaeology in the “Upper Land”, Central-North Anatolia in the Hittite period, Acts of the international conference held at the University of Florence (7-9 February 2007), Roma, 2009, pp. 109-117. Central-North Anatolia corresponds to Central-North Asia Minor). The city was also one of the most important spiritual centers of Hatti (about the pantheon of Samuha see Haas V., Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1994, S. 578-580; ՀԼՏ, էջ 85-90). It was mentioned in Suppiluliuma I’s Annals as well (see Güterbock H.G., The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his Son, Mursili II, Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 1956, p. 63).

\(^3\) About the location of the city of Ziulila see RGTC, VI, S. 515.

\(^4\) In the Hittite sources the land was mentioned either as Upper Land or Upper lands (see RGTC, VI, S. 293-294). The toponym can also be translated as *highland* (see Rüster Ch., Neu E., Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus Bogazköy-Texten, Wiesbaden, 1989, S. 228). See also ՀԼՏ, էջ 90-91. The toponym was mentioned in Suppiluliuma I’s Annals as well (see Güterbock H.G., op. cit., pp. 63, 65, 67, 114).


\(^7\) See RGTC, VI, S. 425-426. It was situated in the region of the East Pontic mountains and bordered on Upper Land.

\(^8\) See RGTC, VI, S. 497. ՀԼՏ, էջ 102-103, 109. See also Ինգան Լ., Հայաստանական տեղանունները. XV-XVI դարեր, Երևան, 1998, էջ 43. See also ՀԼՏ, էջ 102-103.

\(^9\) See RGTC VI, S. 153. ՀԼՏ, էջ 59-60, 109. It was probably situated in the eastern part of Upper Land.

\(^10\) KUB XIV 17 III 7, 17. According to V. Khachatryan the land of Dankuwa (medieval Mtni, modern settlement of Mitini) was in the Yerznka region (Խաչատրյան Վ., Վաստուկ նահանգի Հեթեակի իմպերիա, Երևան, 1971, с. 60;
north-eastern part of his state Mursili faced a new problem connected with the country Hayasa (Azzi). First trying to solve the matter in a peaceful way Mursili II sent letters demanding from Anniya, the king of Hayasa (Azzi), to return the Hittite subjects that had found refuge (or had been taken captive) in Hayasa. But the Hayasean king wanted to exchange captives: he refused to return the Hittite captives as long as he had not been given his subjects that the Hittites held. Getting Anniya’s refusal, during the eighth year of his reign Mursili II attacked the Hayasean border city of Ura. There is no information on the outcome of the campaign but later the Hittite king had to move towards Hayasa (Azzi) again. According to the events of the eighth year of the “Extended” Annals the Hayaseans hearing about the forthcoming campaign of Mursili, sent an ambassador to him, agreeing to fulfill the Hittite king’s demands.

During the ninth year of his reign Mursili went to Kummani to take part in the celebrations dedicated to the goddess Khepat. Here the king of Hatti received news that the Hayasean (Azzi) troops had attacked the Hittite city of Kannuwara. He sent Nuwanza, one of his commanders, to the north - to Upper Land. According to the Hittite sources Nuwanza defeated the Hayasean army near Kannuwara (700 chariots and an infantry of 10,000). At the same time the Hittite king had to move his troops from Kargamis to Tegarama in order to be closer to the immediate site of military actions.
Here, because of the winter and following his commanders’ advice he temporarily interrupted the military actions against Hayasa and moved his troops in another direction. In the ninth year of the “Extended” Annals there is also information that after the battle of Kannuwara Nuwanza marched towards the region of the Saliti Mountains17, after which he moved towards the land of Kaska.

In the tenth year of his reign Mursili II started a military campaign towards Hayasa (Azzi). After holding a show of force in the city of Ingalawa18 the Hittite king invaded Hayasa. The Hittites surrounded and captured the Hayasean strengthened city of Aripsa19 which was “in the sea” and the inhabitants of which had escaped to the nearest mountains. After ravaging AripsaMursili II also subjugated the Hayasean city of Duggama20 the inhabitants of which showed no resistance. The Hittite king did not ravage the city but he took 3000 inhabitants of Duggama to Hatti as soldiers. In the eleventh year of his reign Mursili II again marched against Hayasa (Azzi). The elders of Hayasa, considering the exceeding military force had to start negotiations with the king of Hatti. They sent Mutti21 from the city of Halimana22 to the Hittite king. The Hayasean side was obliged to provide troops to the Hittite army, as well as to return the Hittite captives that they still had. Thus, for some time Mursili II succeeded in neutralizing the Hayasean threat in the north-east of Hatti23.

There is also information about the events on the river Dahara (Melas) dated the twenty first year of the “Extended” Annals24. It is mentioned that the king of Hatti defeated the enemies of the country and followed them up to the region of the Elluriya Mountains25, and then reached the region of the river Dahara (Melas).

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17 See AM, 122-123. HLS, ց 84-85, 110. According to A. Kosyan it was near Kannuwara, to the north-west of modern Erznka (ancient Eriza).
18 Ingalawa probably was situated in the west of the later territory of Upper Armenia (Հայոց գետ, Հայոց կրոն, Գետագրություն, գրական, 1986, հ. 1, ց 924). In Suppiluliuma I’s Annals (edited during the reign of Mursili II) it is mentioned that on his way to the Land of Hurri the king of Hatti stopped in the land of Tegarama where in the city of Talpa he held a show of force. Then the Hittites achieved a victory in the battle and the enemy escaped to the mountains of the land of Tegarama (see Güterbock H.G., op. cit., p. 93).
19 KBo IV 4 IV 5; RGTC, VI, ց 37. HLS, ց 38-39: It is likely that during the campaign in the 10th year of his reign Mursili II moved from the territory of Upper Armenia towards Turuberan and reached the basin of Lake Van where the city of Aripsa was situated (Հայոց գետ, Հայոց կրոն, Հայոց տարածք, ց 44-46).
20 RGTC, VI, Ց 435-436. HLS, ց 99: Taking into account the fact that Duggama was close to Aripsa it can be assumed that it was also situated in the province of Turuberan of Great Armenia not far from Lake Van (see Հայոց գետ, Հայոց կրոն, կրոնական, ց 70).
21 See Հայոց գետ, Հայոց կրոն, պատմական, ց 48-49.
22 The scarcity of material does not allow to suggest a precise location for the city of Khalimana.
23 Հայոց գետ, Հայոց կրոն, Հայոց տարածք, ց 197-204: Հայոց գետ, Հայոց կրոն, պատմական, ց 72-74.
24 AM, Ց 158-159. There is information on the river in Suppiluliuma’s Annals as well, where it is mentioned that the king’s father (Tudhaliya III) conquered the land of the river Dahara (Güterbock H.G., op. cit., ց 110). See RGTC, VI, Ց 551-552. About the location see also Matthews R., Glatz C., op. cit., ց 66.
25 RGTC, VI, Ց 140. The toponym was also mentioned in Suppiluliuma’s Annals where his father (Tudhaliya III)
In Mursili II’s “Extended Annals” (according to A. Goetze events of the twenty second year26) there is also information about the land of Pahhuva27. The king of Hatti sent commander Nuwanza to the Land of Kalasma28 with troops. The latter captured and destroyed Kalasma, Lalha29 and Middwa30 and appeared before the king in the Land of Pahhuwa with a lot of trophy. After that Mursili returned to Hattusa.

Thus, Mursili II’s Annals contain a lot of information on the western regions of the Armenian Highland (Hayasa, Azzi, Upper Land, Tegarama, Kummaha, Pahhuwa, Samuha, Ziulila, Zazziza, Dankuwa, Ura, Aripa, Duggama, Kannuwarə, Ingala, Halimana, the Saliti Mountains, the Elluriya Mountains, the river Marassanta, the river Dahara).

Mursili II’s “Prayer” texts are also of great interest31. There can also be found the names of a number of towns and lands that were in the Armenian Highland.

Speaking of Mursili’s reign it should be stressed that at least for twenty years, i.e. during the most part of his reign, Hatti was in the deadly claws of the plague epidemic which caused the death of thousands of people and brought the country to the brink of abyss. In his prayer texts Mursili complained that the gods cruelly punished his country with this. He warned the gods that Hatti could become a trophy for the enemies. The king also mentions that if everybody died in Hatti, there would remain no one to make sacrifices to the gods. Mursili II saw the reason of the affliction of his country in the sins committed by him or others. He found out that one of the reasons was his father Suppiluliuma I. In the text of “prayer” dedicated to the Weather God of Hatti it is mentioned that the king had discovered an old table which depicted the ritual performed by his forefathers dedicated to the river Mala (Euphrates). But his father had ignored the
ritual and according to him it had become one of the reasons of the epidemic in Hatti. On Mursili’s order ritual ceremonies were performed in which he personally participated, thus hoping to put an end to the epidemic32.

Mursili II’s “prayer” addressed to the Hittite god Levani on the subject of his wife Gassuliyawiya’s illness has been preserved. The text mentions the queen’s dream she had in the city of Samuha33.

Besides, one of the “prayer” texts from the time of Mursili has been preserved, where several accusations are made against the last wife of Suppiluliuma I, Tawannana. The text also mentions the attempt of the queen to carry out a palace coup probably during the campaign of the king to Hayasa (Azzi) in the 10th year of his reign. It is also mentioned that the queen had tried to use the eclipse against Mursili II34. The depiction of the eclipse allows to specify the chronology of Mursili’s reign. According to a part of the researchers the eclipse took place on June 24, 1312 BC. It was a full eclipse seen both in the northern and central parts of Asia Minor, as well as in the Armenian Highland35.

One of the texts bearing the name “Judicial process”36 gives the description of black magic performed in a forest near Kummaha (Arm. Kamakh)37 towards three senior officials (one of them was Sharri-Kushuh, Mursili II’s brother, the king of Kargamis).

Mursili II has also left the edited Annals of his father Suppiluliuma I38. There the events start from the moment when a considerable part of the territory of the Hittite state, together with the capital Hattusa, had come out of Tudhaliya III’s control and the city of Samuha had temporarily become the capital. Because of the illness of the king of Hatti prince Suppiluliuma led the campaigns of the Hittite army. Then the events of the period of the reign of Suppiluliuma started. The activity of the king of Hatti ends by his Syrian wars as a result of which the Hittites conquered Northern Syria having defeated Mittani before that.

34 See Singer I., Mursili’s Accusations against Tawannana (CTH 70). In Hittite Prayers, p. 77.
37 In Suppiluliuma I’s Annals Mursili II mentioned that his grandfather Tudhaliya II had moved to Hayasa and there, near the city of Kummakha he met with the troops of the Hayasean king Karanni and gave battle. Later the settlement again passed under the Hittite dominance and was mentioned as a separate political unit (Houwink ten Cate Ph. H. J., op. cit., p. 75. Քոսյան Ա., Անի-Կամախը խեթական դարաշրջանում, ՊԲՀ, 2002, 3, էջ 225-241).
Thus, in Suppiluliuma’s Annals are also mentioned a number of towns and lands that were in the Armenian Highland (Samuha, Tegaramma, Kummaha, Isuwa\textsuperscript{39}, Hayasa, Arziya\textsuperscript{40}, Elluriya, Upper Land, Cuhapa\textsuperscript{41}, the river Marassanta\textsuperscript{42}, the Laha Mountains\textsuperscript{43}). Some of them were mentioned in Mursili’s Annals as well.

There exist texts of treaties signed between Mursili II and his vassals\textsuperscript{44}. For example, in a treaty signed between Mursili II and Ugarit’s king Nikmepa, the king of Hatti demanded the king of Ugarit immediately to help him if he waged war on any country. The treaty also enumerates the most powerful countries of the time -Hanigalbat (Mitanni), Egypt, Babylon and Alzi (Aghdznik)\textsuperscript{45}.

To sum up, we can again mention that in numerous sources of the time of Mursili II there is a lot of information on the toponyms of the Armenian Highland (the information has wide geographical coverage - from the western districts of the Armenian Highland to Lake Van and the territory of Aghdznik), which is important for the elucidation of the history of Armenia of the 14\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} centuries BC. A considerable part of the toponyms were mentioned only in the above-mentioned sources. In this respect, they are of great value.

Translated from Armenian by S. E. Chraghyan


\textsuperscript{40} RGTC, VI, S. 45. The Hittite commander, prince Kantuzili campaigned and captured the city and ravaged it (see Güterbock H.G., op. cit., p. 60). According to V. Khachatryan it was in the place of the medieval Armenian city of Artsn (see Խաչատրյան Վ., op. cit., p. 51).

\textsuperscript{41} According to Suppiluliuma I’s Annals the Hittite king moved from Isuwa to the land of Cuhapa, ravaged it and entered Hayasa, the region of the Laha Mountains, then returned to Isuwa. (KUB XXXIV 23 (Güterbock H., op. cit., p. 83). Cuhapa was to the north-east of Isuwa, probably near the Byurakn Mountains. In the Assyrian inscriptions it was mentioned as Sukhum (Խաչատրյան Վ., Восточные провинции Хеттской империи, с. 141. Ibid, § 58).

\textsuperscript{42} In one section of “the Extended Annals” also (according to A. Goetze in the twenty fifth year, see AM, S. 178-179) there is information about the river Marassanta (Halis) (the river Halis originates from the western foot of the Anti-Taurus Mountains in Armenia Minor). In the twenty sixth year of the Annals there is also a mention of the river (the king of Hatti went on his next campaign against the Kasks and crossed the Red (Marassanta) river) (see AM, S. 182-183).

\textsuperscript{43} The mountains were probably located to the north-east of Isuwa. V. Khachatryan expressed an opinion that the Laha Mountains were the Mountains of Byurakn or Haykakan Par (Խաչատրյան Վ., Восточные провинции Хеттской империи, c. 141. Ibid, § 58).

\textsuperscript{44} Beckman G., Hittite Diplomatic Texts, Atlanta, 1996, N 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 29, 30, 31, 31A, 31B.

THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND, ASIA MINOR AND MESOPOTAMIA AT THE END OF THE 14th C. - THE BEGINNING OF THE 13th C. BC

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