

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARMENIAN STATEHOOD: KINGDOM OF HAYASA (XIV-XIII centuries BC)

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The development of the statehood in the Armenian Highland started in the 3rd millennium BC and in the next millennium one of its manifestations was the state of Hayasa. During the Bronze Age the western part of Armenia entered into active economic, political and cultural relations with the countries of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. This contributed much to the formation of the state units: Hayasa (Azzi), Isuwa (Tsopk) and Alzi (Aghdznik).

Starting from the first half of the 14th century BC the Hittite cuneiform sources inform us about the state of Hayasa (Azzi)<sup>1</sup> in the territory of the Armenian Highland. As in the name *Haya* (-sa), known since the 3rd millennium BC, as well as in the toponym Hayasa (with the Hittite toponymic suffix -asa) the root is the endonym (self-name) of the Armenians - *hay* (*հայ*)<sup>2</sup>.

The first record of Hayasa is found from the period of the reign of the Hittite King Tudhaliya III (1360-1344 BC)<sup>3</sup>. In a relatively short period of time this state displayed a great vitality by playing an important role in the region's political life.

Political unrest in the east and northeast, which started before the reign of Hittite King Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322 BC) (Tudhaliya's son) continued to preoccupy his successors. Hittite texts such as the Annals<sup>4</sup> of Mursili II (1321-1295 BC) tell us of rather frequent armed conflicts in the east including armed incursions against the towns of the Hittite Upper Land from the direction of Hayasa (Azzi).

After the Hayasian troops invaded the Hittite Upper Land (mainly the territory of

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<sup>1</sup> These place names are identical. In Hittite sources both names are used referring to the same country: Hayasa and Azzi (see. Keilschrifttexte aus Boğhazköi (KBo) III 4 IV 17-21; KBo IV 4 II 70-75; Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğhazköi (KUB) 4 XIV).

<sup>2</sup> In Armenian historiography the first researcher of the History of Hayasa was Nshan Martirosyan, who believed that this toponym had a connection with the self-designation of the Armenians (see Մարտիրոսյան Ն., Հայերենի յարաբերությունը հեթանոսական հետ, Հանդես Ամսօրեայ, 1924, 9-10, էջ 453-459, 1926, 7-8, էջ 369-374). A great contribution to the study of the history, language and culture of Hayasa was made by Grigor Kapantsyan as well (see Капанцян Г.А., Хайаса-колыбель армян. Этногенез армян и их начальная история, Ереван, 1948).

<sup>3</sup> At this time Tudhaliya III chose the city of Samuha in the Upper Land as a temporary home for the Hittite royal court. This town was an important cult centre located at the upper course of the Marassantiya (Halys) river.

<sup>4</sup> See Götze A., Die Annalen des Muršiliš, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft, 1933, 38; Grélois J.-P., Les Annales Decennales de Mursili II (CTH 61.1), Hethitica, 1988, IX, pp. 17-145; Ղազարյան Բ., Մուրսիլի II-ի «Տասնամյա» տարեգրությունը, Երևան, 2013.

Armenia Minor)<sup>5</sup>, King Tudhaliya III began his march to the east, to stop the invasion. Near the town Kummaha (Ani-Kamakh in the Armenian sources, on the bank of the river Euphrates) the Hittite army met Hayasian troops led by the King of Hayasa Karanni<sup>6</sup>. However, we do not know about further developments because the part in the Hittite annals telling about it is damaged.

During the reign of Suppiluliuma I a new era of strengthening the Hittite Empire began. Before starting military operations in the south against Mittani and Egypt, the king of Hatti decided to secure the rear of his state from the side of the Armenian Highland. According to the annals of Suppiluliuma<sup>7</sup> Hittite forces began military actions in Isuwa<sup>8</sup>, they entered the country Tsukhapa, then they invaded Hayasa near the mountains of Lahha (mountains *hAykakan par- Armenian Ridge*)<sup>9</sup>.

Following these events, a treaty was signed between Hatti and Hayasa. The contract mentions ruler Hukkana<sup>10</sup> from the Hayasian side. One of the main goals in the treaty for Suppiluliuma was to secure the eastern borders of Hatti. For this purpose, he even gave his sister - the Hittite princess in marriage to Hukkana. Both sides pledged to help each other in case of war against a third state. Here, above all, they meant the state Mittani, against whom war was planned. There is a Hittite oracle text, which states that the King of Hatti, Suppiluliuma I, wished to predict Hukkana's loyalty to the signed contract. It is interesting that in this text Hukkana is referred to as the ruler of the country of Azzi (he is called in the treaty the ruler of Hayasa)<sup>11</sup>. After that Suppiluliuma launched a campaign to Syria and northern Mesopotamia.

After the death of Suppiluliuma I and Arnuwanda II (1322-1321 BC) of the plague that struck Hatti, young and energetic Mursili II (1321-1295 BC) ascended to the throne. He started to fight against those countries that threatened the territorial integrity of Hatti. Hayasa (Azzi) is mentioned as one of those countries. After solving the problems with the countries Kaska (area of the East Pontic Mountains) and Arzawa (western part of Asia Minor), Mursili II planned to neutralize also the Hayasian threat.

<sup>5</sup> The Hittite Upper Land must mainly be located somewhere between the Upper Halys valley and the Iris and Gayl river valleys in the north-eastern part of Hatti. The Land of Hayasa (Azzi) was situated to the east of the Upper Land (see Del Monte G., Tischler J., Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, VI. Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, Wiesbaden, 1978 (RGTC, VI), S. 293-294).

<sup>6</sup> KUB XIX 11 IV 38-44 (Güterbock H., The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Mursili II, Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 1956, 10, 2, p. 66).

<sup>7</sup> KUB XXXIV 23 (see in detail Güterbock H., op. cit., p. 83).

<sup>8</sup> A state in the region of the Upper Euphrates and Tigris, in the south-western part of the Armenian Highland (about the location of this state see RGTC, VI, S. 154-156; Քոսյան Ա., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի տեղանունները (ըստ խեթական սեպագիր աղբյուրների), Երևան, 2004, էջ 61-63:

<sup>9</sup> See Խաչատրյան Վ., Հայաստանը մ.թ.ա. XV-VII դդ., 1998, էջ 58:

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich J., Der Vertrag des Šuppiluliumaš mit Hukkanaš und den Leuten von Hayaša, Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache, 2 T., Leipzig, 1930, S. 124-129.

<sup>11</sup> KUB XVIII 2.

He sent a letter to the king of Hayasa (Azzi) Anniya, requiring him to return the Hittite fugitives who were in Hayasa (Azzi). Anniya refused to comply with these demands, as a result of which the Hittite forces attacked the Hayasian border town Ura<sup>12</sup>. But to take the city they apparently failed. According to Mursili on the 9<sup>th</sup> year of his reign Hayasian troops began hostilities against the Hittites in their land. The Hayasian army conquered the Hittite country Istitina and began the siege of the Kannuwara city. The Hittite army came to the rescue of the people of Kannuwara. Around the city a battle took place in which the Hayasian army with its 10,000 infantrymen and 700 chariots<sup>13</sup> was forced to retreat.

In the 10<sup>th</sup> year of his reign Mursili II marched into the country of Hayasa. During the campaign Hayasian troops were attempting to attack the Hittite army at night, but with no success. The Hittites reached the shores of Lake Van, where they occupied the city Aripisa. After that another Hayasian fortified city, Duggama surrendered. The next year Mursili II again moved his troops into Hayasa (Azzi). Hayasians started negotiations with the Hittite king and agreed to return the Hittite fugitives<sup>14</sup>. In fact, Hayasians returned to "Hukkana's Treaty".

There is no information about the military clashes between Hatti and Hayasa after Mursili II during the reign of his successors. There are several inventory and oracle Hittite texts in which the country of Azzi is mentioned<sup>15</sup>. Apparently, it was a time of peaceful relations between the two countries.

Chronologically, the latest information about Hayasa (Azzi) is given in the text of Tudhaliya IV (1237-1209 BC)<sup>16</sup>. It says that several countries (Azzi, Lukka, Kaska) are hostile to the country of Hatti and Hittite governors of the Hittite border areas should be on the alert.

After the collapse of the Hittite Empire the toponym Hayasa or Azzi is not mentioned in the chronicles. Probably the united Hayasian kingdom broke up into smaller state formations that are mentioned in Assyrian sources of the 12<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> centuries BC as "the countries of Nairi"<sup>17</sup>.

According to Hittite sources, the state of Hayasa (Azzi) was located to the east of Hatti. It bordered on the Hittite Upper Land and the countries of Kaska and Isuwa. One of the cities (Aripisa) of Hayasa was located on the shores of Lake Van<sup>18</sup>. From all this we

<sup>12</sup> KUB XIV 17 (Götze A., *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, S. 94-98).

<sup>13</sup> KBo IV 4 V II; KBo III 4 IV.

<sup>14</sup> KBo IV 4 4-55 (Götze A., *op. cit.*, S. 130-139).

<sup>15</sup> KUB XXII 62; KUB XLII 69; KUB XLVIII 105+KBo XII 53; KUB XLIX 1.

<sup>16</sup> KUB XXVI 12 II 12-15.

<sup>17</sup> In the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC Hayasa (Azzi) was an independent state and was neither a subject to the Hittite Empire nor the Assyrian Empire. The division of the Hittite Empire into several states at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC had to result in creating more favorable conditions for Hayasa (Azzi). Assyria also faced a political fall at that time. Thus, there was no serious external factor that could result in the fall of Hayasa (Azzi).

<sup>18</sup> The Hayasian town Aripisa, which was mentioned in the campaign made during the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Mursili's reign, was described as a town "in the sea" (KBo IV 4 IV 5). It was not situated on the coast of the Black Sea because in that case the Hittites would have to pass through the Eastern-Pontic Mountains and their confrontation with the

can conclude that the state Hayasa (Azzi) included the main territory of the Western part of the Armenian Highland from the river Euphrates (according to the Hittite sources - the Mala river) to Lake Van. However, our existing ideas of the territory of Hayasa are drawn from Hittite sources, details of which apply to those areas of the Armenian Highland, which the Hittites were able to penetrate into. Therefore, the spread of Hayasa's influence to the east through the valley of the river Arax is not excluded either. Hence, Hayasa (Azzi) stretched at least from the Upper Euphrates valley to the basin of Lake Van.

Hayasa (Azzi) was at that time (the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) a powerful state in the Armenian Highland. Kings of Hayasa (Karanni, Anniya, Hukkana) had a difficult relationship with the kings of Hatti: for the most part it was a hostile relationship. But there were also periods of peace.

Judging from the correspondence between Hatti and Hayasa, it is worth mentioning that there should have been scribes in the Hayasaian court who conducted state correspondence. The "people of Hayasa" is mentioned as one of the parties in the "Hukkana's Treaty". This may mean that the power of the Hayasaen king was limited by either a People's Assembly<sup>19</sup> or a council of elders. One of the foundations of the state of Hayasa was the army. For that period, 10,000 infantrymen and 700 chariots were a considerable force. Since the Hayasians could field chariots in their battles against the Hittite cities in the Upper Land, it means that their settlements were not located only on high and rugged terrain, but on wide valleys and plains as well. As skillful and brave warriors the Hayasians also served in the Hittite army.

In Hayasa there were priests who conducted the cult of the Hayasian gods (UGUR, *ISTAR*, Zaga(-), Tarumus, Teritituni[s], Unagastas, U taksanas, Baltaik, [...r]a(..)huhus, Sil[i..][i..]). The pantheon of Hayasa was presented in one Hittite inscription which was probably part of a treaty between the Hittite and the Hayasian kings. Fourteen cult centers and deities were mentioned in the treaty. According to that list we can conclude that there were *temples* in those 14 settlements<sup>20</sup>. It is noteworthy that the Hittites worshiped not only their gods, but others as well, especially the gods of neighboring states. Among them they venerated also the gods of Hayasa (Azzi). Thus,

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martial Kaska tribes would be inevitable. During that campaign Mursili moved across the territory of Upper Armenia and, passing through Turuberan, reached the shore of Lake Van where Aripisa was situated.

<sup>19</sup> We know from the medieval Armenian sources that the People's Assembly was called "Ashkharazhoghov" (Աշխարհաժողով).

<sup>20</sup> Forrer E., *Hajasa-Azzi*, *Caucasica*, 1931, 9, S. 6. Քոսյան Ա., Հայաստանի աստվածները (KUB XXVI 39), Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, 2005, XXIV, էջ 444-457: Regarding theonyms of some gods Gevorg Jahukyan suggested that they have Armenian roots (for example Sil[i..][i..] - (silē - սիլեկան), Teritituni[s]- (eri-երեք, ttun, tutn- suffix), Unagastas- (unē<sup>c</sup>-քիթ, բեղեր), (h)ast-hաստ), the suffixes -iki -aštaš in the theonyms Baltaik, Unagastas correspond to Arm. suffixes -իկ and -աստ (см. Джаукян Г.Б., Хайасский язык и его отношение к индоевропейским языкам, Ереван, 1964, с. 48, 53-54; Джаукян Г.Б., О соотношении хайасского и армянского языков, ИФЖ, 1988, 1, с. 67; Djahukian G., Did Armenians Live in Asia Anterior before the Twelfth Century B.C.?, *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans*. Presented by: T.L. Markey & John A.C. Greppin, 1990, pp. 25-33; see also Вардумян Г. Д., Дохристианские культы армян, *Армянская этнография и фольклор*, Ереван, 1991, 18, с. 67-68).

Hittite texts tell us about the worship of Azzi's Storm god, Hayasa's Storm god and the god U.GUR in Hatti<sup>21</sup>.

Hittite sources give information about more than twenty Hayasian towns (settlements): Arhita, Aripsa, Arniya, Azzi, Duggama, Gazu[...], Gasmiyaha, Halimana, Harsalasa, Hayasa, Kam[...], Lahirhila, Litta, Pahhuteya, Parraya, Patteu[...], Tavatena, Tamatta, Tah(a)nisara, Ura, Utkunisa, Qadk(m)usa<sup>22</sup>. Thus, the towns of Hayasa (Azzi) mentioned in the Hittite sources testify to the existence of urban life in the country.

At the same time in one part of "Hukkana's Treaty" the Hittite king threatens to destroy all the houses, fields, vineyards, cattle of the people of Hayasa, if they break the Treaty. Thus, it can be concluded that the Hayasians were farming and breeding cattle, developing agriculture and were sedentary. The Hayasian army had chariots, indicating the highly developed horse breeding in Hayasa.

The Late Bronze Age period (second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC) of the Armenian Highland was one of the culturally advanced stages of the history of ancient Armenia. Archaeological materials of this period have been found in the territory of Upper Armenia, Turuberan and Tayk, can be attributed to the time of the kingdom of Hayasa (Azzi)<sup>23</sup>. At this time, agriculture and animal husbandry rapidly developed; various types of crafts thrived, creating new forms in ceramics and in the arms production (axes, daggers and so on). Armenia in this period strengthened ties with the countries of the Near East, especially northern Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine. This was the heyday of the Lchashen-Metsamor culture, which also spread to the western territory of the Armenian Highland<sup>24</sup>.

In the Late Bronze Age Hayasa was a powerful state of the Armenian Highland. It could fight against Hatti, one of the "great powers" of Western Asia. In the political, cultural and economic spheres there were significant interrelations between the Hittite Empire and the kingdom of Hayasa (Azzi).

The kingdom of Hayasa (Azzi) due to its independent political power, economic resources and cultural values, and as an integral part of the Armenian statehood contributed greatly to the history of Armenia.

***Translated from Armenian by  
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<sup>21</sup> Bo 434 IV 18; KUB XII 2 24; KBo IV 13; KUB X 82 (Forrer E., *Hayasa-Azzi*, S. 22, 23).

<sup>22</sup> Քոսյան Ա., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի տեղանունները, Երևան, 2004: Ղազարյան Ռ., Հայաստ. քաղաքական և մշակութային պատմությունը, Երևան, 2009, էջ 35-61:

<sup>23</sup> At present there are a number of archaeological sites in that region – Sos, Karaz, Blur etc. The archaeological excavations in the territory of Upper Armenia and adjacent regions throw a new light upon the history and culture of Hayasa, its political and economic relations (see Ղազարյան Ռ., Հնագիտական տվյալներ պատմական Հայաստան-Ազգիի տարածքից, ՊԲՀ, 2004, 3, էջ 228-234).

<sup>24</sup> Мартиросян А.А., Армения в эпоху бронзы и раннего железа, Ереван, 1964, с. 81-113.