

## DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND\* (Late XV-XIV centuries BC)<sup>1</sup>

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### **Abstract**

*The cuneiform Hittite texts of the XV-XIV centuries BC contain important information dealing with at least two different population movements happened along the Upper Euphrates region. First of these is fixed in the treaty signed between the Hittite king Tudḫaliyaš II (second part of the XV century BC) and Šunaššura, king of Kizzuwatna. The second migration took place later, during the reign of Tudḫaliyaš III. This second migration is of interest since in that population movement was involved a great number of people from different parts of Asia Minor. The study of several Hittite prayers compiled during the reign of Arnuwandaš I allow to assume that this second migration is definitely connected with continuous famine, hunger, plague and attacks of neighboring countries which could force the population of several regions to migrate first to Išuwa and from there to Ḫayaša.*

**Keywords:** Flight of population, famine, plague, Išuwa, Ḫayaša, Ḫatti.

In regard to the political formations of the western part of the Armenian Highland cuneiform sources of the mid-II millennium BC, particularly Hittite, contain important information according to which here are registered population movements, most probably affecting the demographic situation of the region under discussion. This information which is preserved in cuneiform texts composed during the reign of two Hittite kings has been touched upon by many scholars dealing with the history of the Hittite empire. Although these two events have been fully discussed, we should mention that currently only in regard to the background of the first text exist more or less convincing explanation. As to the second population movement, until now it lacks reliable explanation. Below we shall discuss both sources in chronological order.

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### ***The Flight of the population of Išuwa to Mittani***

The first source is the treaty signed between the Hittite king Tudḫaliyaš II and Šunaššura, the king of Kizzuwatna (second half of the XV century BC)<sup>1</sup>. In the historical prologue of the treaty is mentioned that during the Hittite campaign directed against the Upper Euphrates country of Išuwa (the province of Tsopk' of medieval Armenian sources), some groups of its population had escaped to Mittani and the king Šauštatar refused the Hittite king's demand to return these people back.

In the special literature, despite the absence of additional information, has been suggested that these refugees could have been a group of population which was closely connected to Mittani, thus hostile to the Hittites, so Šauštatar refused to hand them over to the Hittite king<sup>2</sup>. This suggestion is acceptable since after Tudḫaliyaš II, during the reigns of his successor Arnuwandaš I and Šuppiluliumaš I (late XV-XIV centuries BC) in some Hittite texts are preserved the names of several chieftains of Išuwa and neighboring political entities who bore names which have good Indo-Iranian (maybe Indo-Aryan) etymology (Lupakiutta, Arziutta, Uitarna etc.)<sup>3</sup>. Taking into account the Indo-Iranian (Aryan) names of the kings of Mittani, indeed, one is free to propose that the population of Išuwa could have been partly Indo-Iranian<sup>4</sup>.

### ***The Flight of Hittite population to Išuwa and neighboring regions***

The second source is the treaty signed between the Hittite king Šuppiluliumas I and Šattiwaza, the king of the already Hittite vassal state of Mittani. Here is mentioned about the flight of the Hittite population to Išuwa and other regions during Tudḫaliyaš III, the father of the king<sup>5</sup>.

The text lists numerous localities, some entitled as “countries” and “cities”, some as “mountains”. These localities are - Gurtališša, Arawanna, Zazziša, Kalašma, Timana, Mount Ḫaliwa, Mount Karna, Turmitta, Alḫa, Ḫurma, Mount

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<sup>1</sup> **CTH 41** and **131**, edited **Weidner** 1923: 88ff.; **Beckman** 1996: 13ff. (transl.); for the ascription of the treaty to Tudḫaliyaš II see **Beal** 1986: 432ff.; **Wilhelm** 1988. The treaty was compiled in two languages - Akkadian and Hittite.

<sup>2</sup> According to T.R.Bryce, even after the conquest by Tudḫaliyaš II Išuwa “remained firmly pro-Mitannian in its loyalties” (**Bryce** 2005: 128).

<sup>3</sup> The names are preserved in **KUB XXIII+**, an instruction/treaty addressed to the numerous chieftains of the Upper Euphrates political entities by Arnuwandaš I, the Hittite king (**CTH 146**). The text was first published partly by A.H. Sayce (**Sayce** 1930), later by V. Khachatryan (**Khachatryan** 1998: 87-94 [several passages]), O.R. Gurney (**Gurney** 1948 [complete English translation]). Complete edition of the text see in **Kosyan** 2006a; **Reichsmuth** 2011; **Kosyan et al.** 2018: 10-50).

<sup>4</sup> On the Indo-Iranian personal names attested in **KUB XXIII 72+** and **KBo XVI 42** (a letter sent to Šuppiluliumaš I by some Hittite official) see **Kosyan** 2006a; **Kosyan** 2006b.

<sup>5</sup> The treaty (**CTH 51**) was compiled in two languages - Hittite and Akkadian (edited by **Weidner** 1923: 2ff.; **Beckman** 1996: 38ff. [N.6A]) (English translation). On the passage under consideration see **Kosyan** 2020: 100-101.

Harana, half of Tegarama, Tepurziya, Ḫazga, Armatana<sup>6</sup>. Then it is said that these people first had entered Išuwa and from there went to the place which was hostile to Ḫatti (*eberti māt Išuwa ina libbi nakri ašbū* "beyond the land of Išuwa among the enemy") and settled down there. The text does not give the name of this hostile country (see below about the possible new habitat of these refugees).

Most of these place-names, despite the absence of convincing argumentation, has been looked near the Euphrates, to the west of the river<sup>7</sup>.

The flight of Hittite subjects to Išuwa and an unknown region to the east usually is mentioned without specification of its causes.

J.D. Hawkins and M. Weeden, taking into account the proposed localizations of some toponyms in the north-western part of Asia Minor (Arawanna and Kalašma), some in central provinces of Ḫatti (Durmitta, Alḫa, Ḫurma), and others in the Euphrates zone (Tegarama, Armatana and Tepurziya), concluded that some of these peoples "were more mobile than sedentary"<sup>8</sup>. It is worth to mention that this proposal could not be supported by any argument. More to say, hardly it would be possible to explain the reason of such population movement through the nature of their lifestyle, especially in the case of Arawanna and Kalašma situated in the north-western regions of Asia Minor.

Some years ago, we had suggested to explain this event in the context of the history of Asia Minor since several Hittite texts contain clear evidence for the existence of wholesale turmoil since the end of the XV century BC<sup>9</sup>. These texts tell about continuous revolts of neighboring countries against Ḫatti, depopulation of settlements, and raids of different countries and tribes into the Hittite territory.

Thus, in a prayer of Muršiliš II addressed to the gods of Ḫatti<sup>10</sup> is mentioned the depopulation of numerous settlements during the reign of his grandfather (Tudḫaliyaš III) as a result of plague and hunger. In another prayer he refers to the destructive consequences of the plague which continued for 20 years<sup>11</sup>. If one adds a much later text of Ḫattušiliš III (mid-XIII century BC) where it is said that during the reign of his ancestor (Tudḫaliyaš III) Ḫatti had suffered invasions of all

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<sup>6</sup> This part of the text has been published and discussed by some scholars (Forrer 1926: 35-36; Goetze 1940: 21-23; Cornelius 1958: 237-238; Krahmer 1977: 40-41 etc.). Complete edition of the text see in Kosyan 2016: 69-81.

<sup>7</sup> The discussion of these place-names see in Cornelius 1958: 239ff.; Giorgadze 1961: 174ff., for the localization see Del Monte und Tischler 1978 (by entries).

<sup>8</sup> Hawkins and Weeden 2017: 9; the same opinion is expressed by A. Altmann (Altmann 2001: 16) who suggested that this fugitive population might consist of sedentary, as well as nomadic or semi-nomadic components.

<sup>9</sup> Kosyan 2016: 108-113.

<sup>10</sup> KUB XIV 13 + KUB XXIII 124 (= CTH 378.IV, edited by Götze 1930: 242ff.; Lebrun 1980: 220ff.; Singer 2002: 64ff. [N.14]).

<sup>11</sup> It is said that "[People kept dying] at the time of my father, at the time of my brother, [Arnuwandaš II - A.K.], they keep on dying [in my time]. ... For twenty years now people have been dying in Ḫatti [in great numbers]. Ḫatti [has been very badly damaged] by the plague" (Singer 2002: 56 [N.10]). The same information is given in another prayer (Singer 2002: 57 [N.11]).

neighboring countries (the so-called “Concentric invasion”)<sup>12</sup>, then we could arrive at quite reasonable suggestion.

Thus, the texts referred to above definitely show that at least still during the last years of Arnuwandaš I Ḫatti had fallen into deep crisis which continued during Tudḫaliyaš III, his successor. As a result, many Hittite-controlled territories were lost to invaders who attack from all directions. Probably, exactly during Tudḫaliyaš III the court and central administration were forced to leave iattušaš and establish a temporary capital in Šamuḫa, which was located in the east, in the Upper country.<sup>13</sup> In one letter of the same king is mentioned the mobilization of troops organized in different regions of iatti in order to campaign against Ḫayaša<sup>14</sup>.

In the prayers addressed to the gods which were compiled during Arnuwandaš I is described a catastrophic situation in iatti. It is said that the settlements were emptied, the population had escaped, and the Kaškaean tribes were constantly invading and destroying the temples of gods, temple personnel was enslaved, and there remain nobody who could worship the gods, since the people had left their settlements<sup>15</sup>.

These sources testify that already from the end of the XV century BC Asia Minor had appeared in the period of crisis which is expressed in crop failure and plagues, neighboring countries were continuously attacking the land of Ḫatti, many settlements were depopulated. This situation continued until the beginning of the reign of Muršiliš II, that is about 80 years. Indeed, it is difficult to state an uninterrupted chain of famine and plague, but the effect of these negative events must have greatly influenced the lifestyle of the sedentary population.

Unfortunately, currently we lack palaeoclimatological studies dealing with this period, which could add more arguments in order to clarify the problem. Whether in our case one could speak about repeated dry or humid climatic conditions, is not clear. In both cases famine, hunger and plagues could have been true background for the situation described above.

It should be stressed that the central part of Asia Minor (the area enclosed within the River Halys-Kızılırmak) is characterized by extreme conditions for agricultural lifestyle. Despite the existence of extensive land resources, mostly fertile, climatic fluctuations could interfere into the activities of the sedentary population. The lack of precipitations, early cooling of climate (especially in August-September) and other circumstances often might have negative impact on agricultural activities<sup>16</sup>. For example, the XIII century Hittite texts point on food shortage and the import of grain from other countries, mostly Egypt<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> **KBo VI 28 + KUB XXVI 48 (CTH 88).**

<sup>13</sup> **Bryce 2005: 147.**

<sup>14</sup> **Alp 1991: 298ff.; Kosyan 2001 (transliteration and historical context).**

<sup>15</sup> **Singer 2002: 40ff.**

<sup>16</sup> **Metz 1996: 83f.**

<sup>17</sup> **Archi - Klengel 1980.**

Now let us focus on the location of countries the population of which had fled from the Hittite-controlled regions.

Only three of them are undoubtedly located in the western parts of the Armenian Highland.

**Tegarama** - Til-Garimmu of Neo-Assyrian sources, modern Gürün.

**Zazziša** - In the “Annals” of Muršiliš II is mentioned in the context of his campaign against Ḫayaša<sup>18</sup>. An approximate location in the east of the Hittite Upper country, in the north-west of the Armenian Highland has been proposed<sup>19</sup>.

**Tepurziya** - probably, is the same as <sup>KUR</sup>Teburzi attested during the northern campaigns of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I as one of the countries of Šubarū<sup>20</sup>.

As to Ḫurma, most probably it should be sought to the west of Malatya, in the fertile plain of Elbistan.<sup>21</sup>

Other countries and mountains listed in the text either had been located approximately, or their localization is doubtful yet.

Kalašma, Arawanna and Gurtališša probably lay in the north-western part of Asia Minor (in Classical Paphlagonia), or in the west<sup>22</sup>. As to Armatana, a location along the eastern or south-eastern limits of Asia Minor has been suggested<sup>23</sup>.

Even with this uncertain localization of the toponyms under discussion it becomes clear that the treaty of Šuppiluliumaš I with Šattiwaza refers to more or less mass migration of peoples to the western parts of the Armenian Highland, particularly to Išuwa and ĩayaša which took place in the first half of the XIV century BC. Probably, this was not a simultaneous event, but a continuous process.

Taking into account the extensive geography of these population groups, hardly they were ethnically related. For example, the region lying to the west of the Upper Euphrates, which leads towards Halys-Kızılırmak and Kayseri at least from the late III mill. BC - early II mill. BC comprised one of the centers of Hittite statehood where during the period of Assyrian trading colonies and later period came into existence numerous small political entities, among them the above mentioned Ḫurma (Ḫurrama of Cappadocian tablets). This fact could prove that at least the population of ĩurma was not related to the population of the Armenian Highland.

It seems that the next scenario is worth to suggest for the problem under discussion. Periodical outbursts of plagues and famine most probably had triggered

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<sup>18</sup> The contexts see in **Del Monte und Tischler** 1978: 497 and **Kosyan** 2004: 102-103.

<sup>19</sup> To the east of Halys, towards the big bend of the Euphrates (**Del Monte und Tischler** 1978: 293-294; **Kosyan** 2004: 90-91).

<sup>20</sup> **Nashef** 1982: 260; **Harutyunyan** 1985: 182.

<sup>21</sup> **Del Monte und Tischler** 1978: 125; M. Forlanini locates Ḫurma to the east of Kayseri, in the neighborhood of the town Pınarbaşı (near the River Zamantsu), and compares the name with modern Göreme (**Forlanini** 2007: 264-266, 278-279), that is along the road leading to Malatya.

<sup>22</sup> **Del Monte und Tischler** 1978: 30, 164.

<sup>23</sup> **Del Monte und Tischler** 1978: 38f.; Also **Kosyan** 2004: 40.

the population of several parts of Asia Minor to leave their settlements and find refuge in the mountainous regions of the east. In this regard let us refer to the "Deeds of Šuppiluliumaš", the text compiled during the reign of Muršiliš II where is described the campaign of his father directed against Išuwa and Țayaša with the aim to bring back the Hittite subjects<sup>24</sup>.

Unfortunately, the text which describes the campaign of the Hittite army in pursuit of Hittite subjects is damaged. Only one place-name - <sup>URU</sup>Zuḥḥapa which is mentioned in the context of that campaign, could give some clues for the direction of Hittite army's march. It is generally accepted that this name could be compared with the Assyrian <sup>URU</sup>Suḥmu/Suḥme, to the east of Išuwa<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>URU.SAG</sup>Laḥa which appears in the broken context of the same text is the only attestation of this place-name. It is said that after burning down <sup>URU</sup>Zuḥḥapa and its environs by the Hittites the refugees escaped to Țayaša. Since here the text is damaged, we are not aware whether Šuppiluliumaš I had reached Țayaša.

The existence of the Hittite subjects in Țayaša is mentioned in the final lines of the treaty signed between Šuppiluliumaš I and Țukkana, the ruler of Țayaša. Here the Hittite king demands the return of the Hittite population who to that date resided in Țayaša<sup>26</sup>. It seems that the information regarding the Hittite population residing in the east is in full accordance with that of the treaty of Šuppiluliumaš I and Šattiwaza where the Hittite population had fled to the east and resided "beyond the land of Išuwa among the enemy".

The uncertainty of the chronological correlation between two texts ("Deeds of Šuppiluliumaš" and "Treaty between Šuppiluliumaš and Țukkana") makes our reconstruction of events doubtful. It remains unknown if the treaty was compiled before that campaign or postdated it. If that campaign took place before Țukkana had become the ruler of Țayaša, then we can conclude that the Hittites did not succeed to return back their population. The demand of the Hittite king to hand over the Hittite subjects makes doubtful the statement that he had achieved his goal.

In regard to the migration of the Hittite population as a consequence of the hunger, plague and attacks of neighboring states and tribes it would be worth to mention a similar event which took place in Assyria during the reign of Tiglathpileser I.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> See **Kosyan** 2016: 96-97 (Fragment 25).

<sup>25</sup> **Del Monte G. und J. Tischler** 1978: 516; **Ertem** 1973: 169; **Kosyan** 2004: 104. But see **Khachatryan** 1971: 114 n.266 and **Khachatryan** 1998: 58 who suggests an equation with the mountains Tskhanist in Bingöl. A tentative identification of Zuḥḥapa with <sup>URU</sup>Suḥmu/Suḥme seems dubious since we have another toponym <sup>URU</sup>Zuḥma (**KUB XXIII 72+ Rev.37**) (for the proposed localization see **Kosyan** 2004: 104).

<sup>26</sup> **Kosyan** 2016: 40-41.

<sup>27</sup> **Grayson** 1975: 189; **Glassner** 2004: 188f.

“‘[In king Tiglath-Pileser's thirty-second year, a famine (so severe) occurred (that) peop]le ate one another's flesh; [...] Aramean 'houses' plundered ([i]ḫ!-tab-bu-tu) [the land], seized the roads, and conquered and took [many fortified cities] of Assyria. [Citizens of Assyria fled t]o the mountains of Ḫabriuri [to save their] lives; [the Arameans] took their [...], their money, and their property; [Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe, king of] Babylonia, passed away ...” This text is dated with 1082 BC.

About 150 years after this event Aššurnasirpal II, another Assyrian king tells the next: “I brought back the enfeebled Assyrians who, because of hunger (and) famine, had gone up to other lands, to the land Šubru. I settled them in the city Tušḫa”<sup>28</sup>.

From the text of Aššurnasirpal II it becomes evident that the Mesopotamian population who had fled to Ḫabriuri<sup>29</sup> at the beginning of the XI century BC moved further to the north.

The flight of the Assyrian population at the beginning of the XI century BC and their return half a century later seem to serve as good parallel to the events happened in Hittite Anatolia in the XIV century BC. In both cases the reasons for the flight of population actually are similar. The migration of the Hittite population was a response to famine(s) and hunger, combined with attacks of the Kaškaean tribes. In the case of Assyria - terrible famine and continuous attacks of the mobile Aramaean tribes; the latter also appear in difficult situation and were forced to find means of subsistence.

The background of events which took place in the XIV century BC associated with famines and plagues is not an isolated page in the history of Hittite Anatolia. Exactly with such serious problems had encountered the Hittite empire towards the end of its existence, during the last decades of the XIII century BC, which became a crucial factor for its disintegration<sup>30</sup>. This marked the beginning of a long period of the history of the Eastern Mediterranean and surrounding regions (tentatively entitled by scholars as "The XII century BC Near Eastern crisis") which lasted until the end of the XI century BC during which had left the historical scenery many states of this vast geographical area (Ḫatti, Mycenaean states, Ugarit etc.), others had survived but encountered significant territorial losses, possessing with far less political and economic potential (Assyria, the New kingdom of Egypt etc.)<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> Grayson 1991: 202 (text N. A.O.101.1).

<sup>29</sup> Ḫabriuri has been located to the north-east of modern city Irbil, the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan (Nashef 1982: 168). In this dictionary of the Middle Assyrian toponyms, it is listed under the outdated reading Kirriuri.

<sup>30</sup> We had discussed this problem in our earlier studies (Kosyan 1998a; 1998b; 1999). See also earlier and later studies (Klengel 1974; Divon 2008; Kaniewski et al. 2010 etc.).

<sup>31</sup> Considerable number of scholars had discussed the period of crisis in Eastern Mediterranean (Weiss 1982; Neumann and Parpola 1989; Caubet 1989; Yon 1989 etc.).

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

- AoF** - *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Berlin.
- CPNME** - *Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East*, Yerevan.
- CTH** - E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, Paris.
- KBo** - *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy Leipzig und Berlin*, 1916ff.
- KUB** - *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy*, Berlin, 1921ff.

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## **ԺՈՂՈՎՐԴԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ ԳՈՐԾԸՆԹԱՑՆԵՐԸ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ԼԵՌՆԱՇԽԱՐՀԻ ԱՐԵՎՄՈՒՏՔՈՒՄ Մ.Թ.Ա. XV դարի վերջերին - XIV դարում**

*Արամ Քոսյան*

**Բանալի բառեր՝** բնակչության փախուստ, երաշտ, համաճարակ, Իսուվա, Հայասա, Խաթաթի:

Մ.թ.ա. XV-XIV դարերի խեթական սեպագիր տեքստերը պահպանել են տեղեկություններ Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի արևմուտքում տեղ գտած բնակչության առնվազն երկու տեղաշարժային ալիքների մասին: Առաջինը մ.թ.ա. XV դարի երկրորդ կեսի խեթական արքա Թուդխալիյաս II-ի և Կիցցուվատնայի արքա Սունասուրայի միջև կնքված պայմանագրի այն հատվածն է, ըստ որի Իսուվայի (հայկ. աղբյուրների Ծուփք) նվաճման շրջանում այստեղից դեպի Խեթական պետության հակառակորդ Միտտանիի տարածք բնակչության մի մասի հեռացումն է: Երկրորդ աղբյուրը խեթական արքա Սուպպիլուլիումաս I-ի և Միտտանիի արքա Շատտիվազայի միջև կնքված պայմանագիրն է, որտեղ խոսվում է Խաթաթից դեպի արևելք՝ դեպի Իսուվա և ավելի հեռու հեռացած խեթական բնակչության մասին:

Վերոհիշյալ աղբյուրի տեղեկության համադրումը մ.թ.ա. XIV դարի վերջերին - XIV դարի սկզբներին կազմված խեթական արքա Առնուվանդաս I-ի՝ Խաթաթիի աստվածներին ուղղված աղոթքների տեքստերի հետ թույլ է տալիս ենթադրելու, որ այդ տեղաշարժի (կամ մի քանի տեղաշարժային ալիքների) պատճառը կարող էր լինել Փոքր Ասիայում տևական երաշտը, սովը և համաճարակները, ինչպես նաև հարևան երկրների ասպատակությունները, ինչի մասին հստակ տեղեկություններ է հաղորդում նաև Մուրսիլիս II-ի (XIV դարի վերջին քառորդ) մի տեքստը:

Վերոհիշյալ տեղեկությունների համադրումը Սուպպիլուլիումաս I-ի գործունեությանը վերաբերող տեքստերի («Սուպպիլուլիումասի գործունեությունը» և «Պայմանագիր Սուպպիլուլիումասի և Հայասայի կառավարիչ Խուկկանայի միջև») տվյալների հետ նշում է այն կոնկրետ տարածքը, ուր կարող էր ապաստան գտնել Փոքր Ասիայից հեռացած բնակչությունը: Դա պետք է լիներ Հայասան, դեպի ուր ուղղված էր Սուպպիլուլիումասի արշավանքը՝ փախստականներին վերադարձնելու նպատակով և որտեղ, ըստ Խուկկանայի հետ կնքված պայմանագրի, գտնվում էր խեթական բնակչություն: