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Studies

ARCHAEOLOGY

THE LOCATION OF KUŠŠARA CITY IN ANATOLIA IN THE 20TH CENTURY B.C.

ABSTRACT: According to the cuneiform tablets found in Anatolia, the names of many cities, large and small are mentioned in the Hittite era and before. The locations of the majority of these cities have been determined. According to the tablet information, the location and size of the cities can be determined according to the trade volume with the Assyrian merchants. Kuššara is a middle level trade (wabartum) center. This study was carried out on the location of the city of Kuššara, which is mentioned in many tablets. Kuššara assumed an active position in the state administration after 1750 B.C. The fact that Pithana and her son Anitta, who founded in particular the Hittite state were from this city draws attention. From the tablets it results that Hattušili I, who later founded the Hittite state, as well as the dynasties were from Kuššara. According to the information on the tablets, it results that Kuššara is located near Kaniš and Hattuša, but its exact location has been unknown.

Keywords: *Kuššara, Kaniš, Pithana, Anitta, Hattušili I, Hittites.*

INTRODUCTION

Before the Hittite state, there were many small cities living as colonies in central Anatolia. Written tablets obtained as a result of archaeological studies in these cities give information about the flow of history. The information provided by the tablets obtained during the excavations shows that this colony community learned to write Babylonian cuneiform in their own language long ago. Again, according to these tablet writings, it is seen that the commercial relations between Assyria and the Anatolian cities developed extremely well. Assyrian trade caravans brought their products to Kaniš- *Kārum*, which they saw as the trade center of Anatolia. Later, they established a trade center (large ones *Kārum*, small ones *Wabartum*) next to these colonial cities. The products of the merchants are marketed to the inner regions either by themselves or by the merchants from Kaniš/*Kültepe*. Assyrian merchants, who had traded with Anatolian cities for centuries, talked about the cities they visited along the way from Assyria to Anatolia with their trade caravans. According to tablet information, primarily commercial correspondence comes to the fore. In the content of these correspondences, people and cities are mentioned. These cities are primarily mentioned in places such as Karkamiš, Mama, Zalpa, Hurama (10 km from Afşin) an, Luhuzattiyai, Kaniš, Waḥšušana, Puruḥaddum, Kuššara, Ṣalatuwar, Hahhum, Harsamna.

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THE LOCATION OF KUŠŠARA

KUŠŠARA ACCORDING TO ANITTA TEXTS

Pithana is the king of Kuššara (*rubā'um*), and his son was meant to be king in the future. For this reason, he has already ascended several steps as heir. This expression, which has the same meaning, is expressed as the ladder elder (*rabi simmiltim Anitta*) at that time and is mentioned in tablet inscriptions.

Another source that can give information about the location of Kuššara was found in Boğazkale-Hattuša. The tablet was written in the Hittite language and is called the "Anitta tablet".¹ It is understood that this tablet was written in the time of the kingdom when Anitta was powerful. Anitta made Kaniš the capital and changed the name of the city to Neša. According to the line 33 of the Anitta inscription, he had a large historical tablet erected in front of the entrance gate of the of Kaniš city. However, it was surprising that this historical tablet of Anitta was found in Boğazkale-Hattuša as a result of archaeological studies. Whereas, Anitta attacked Boğazkale-Hattuša and destroyed that place as well. Moreover, after burning Hattuša to ashes, he had the ZA.AH.LI plant burned, which gave a foul smell when burned.² Anitta had curses written so that this place would not be city again, so that the curse of the storm god would be on him. On Anitta's tablet, it was written:

- 1 ^mA-ni-it-ta DUMU ^mPi-it-ha-a-na LUGAL ^{URU}Ku-uš-ša-ra QÍ-BÍ-MA
Anitta, son of Pithana, King of Kuššara, speak(s):
- 4 ^{URU}Ne-e-ša-aš LUGAL-uš^{URU}Ku-uš-ša-ra-aš LUGAL-i × × × ×
The king of Neša declared war against the king of Kuššara.
The king of Neša to the king of Kuššara (starting a war.)
- 5 [LUG]AL ^{URU}Ku-uš-ša-ra URU-az kat-ta [pa-]an-ga-ri-it ú[-i]t
The King of Kuššara, Pithana, came down out of the city in force,
- 6 [nu ^{URU}]Ne-e-ša-an iš-pa-an-di na-ak-ki-it dā[-a-aš]
and he took the city of Neša in the night by force
- 7 [^{URU}N]e-e-ša-aš LUGAL-un IŠ-BAT Ú DUMU^{MEŠURU}Ne-e-š[a-aš]
He took the King of Neša captive, but for the inhabitants of Neša
- 8 [i-d]a-a-lu na-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ták-ki-iš-ta
He did not do any evil to them,
- 9 []× an-nu-uš at-tu-uš i-e-et
[but] (he) made them mothers (and) fathers.
- 10 [nu ^mPi-i]t-ha-a-na-aš at-ta-aš-ma-aš a-ap-pa-an ša-ni-ia ú-it-ti
After my father Pithana, I suppressed a revolt in the same year.
- 11 [h]u-ul-la-an-za-an hu-ul-la-nu-un ^DUTU-az ut-ne-e
Whatever lands (countries) rose up in the direction of the sunrise,
- 30]a[(t-ta-a~m)]a-aš a-ap-pa-an[
After my father Pithana
- 31]^{URU}Za-a-al-pu-aš a-r[(u-n)a-aš
from Zalpuwa sea
- 32 × × × []^[URU]Za-a-al-pu-aš]š⁷a-ru-na-aš[
from Zalpuwa sea
- 33 ke-e ud-d[a²-]a²-ar²[(tup-pi-ja-a)]z I-NA KÁ.GAL-IA ×[
These words are on a board in my gate [in Neša]
- 34 UR-RA-AM ŠE-R[A-AM] ki[-i tup-pi le-]e ku-iš-ki hu-ul[(-li-e-ez-zi)]
In the future, no one will smash this tablet!
- 35 ku-i-ša-at hu-ul-li[-iz-zi] ^U[^{RU}Ne-e-š]a-aš ^{LU}KÚR-ŠU e[-eš-tu]
Who smashes them, will be the Nešas' enemy!¹

¹ NEU 1974.
² NEU 1974.

In line 30 of the text, when Anitta says 'After my father Pithana', he fought against the city of Zalpuwa without his father, but it is unclear whether his father Pithana is alive or dead. Anitta had the *Anitta inscribed monument* written after making Kaniš (Neša) the capital and gaining the dominance of the region during a powerful kingdom period. It results that in lines 33-35 of the text, this inscribed monument was set up next to the outer castle big door of Neša, where the capital and palace are located. In his study, Alp presented as a Kaniš with proofs.³

In the line 4 of the text it is written: "The king of Neša declared war (against) the king of Kuššara". This statement belongs to Anitta himself. He blames it as if it was the Neša (Kaniš) king Waršama who started the war. However, in the line (39-44) of the text

- 39 ka-ru-ú ^mU-uh-na-aš LUGAL ^{URU}Za-a-al-pu-ya ^DŠi-u-šum-m[i-in]
Previously, Uḫna, the king of Zalpuwa, had removed our god Šiu
- 40 [^{UR}] ^UNe-e-š-ša-aš ^{URU}Za-a-al-pu-ya pe-e-d[a-aš]
from the city of Neša to the city of Zalpuwa,
- 41 [ap-pé-] ez-zi-ja-na ^mA-ni-it-ta-aš LUGAL.GAL ^DŠi-ú-šu[m(-mi-in)]
But subsequently, I, Anittas, the Great King, brought our god Šiu
- 42 [^U^{RU}Z] a-a-al-pu-ya-aš a-ap-pa ^{URU}Ne-e-ša pe-e[-tah-hu-un]
back from the city of Zalpuwa to the city of Neša.
- 43 [^mHu-] uz-zi-ja-na LUGAL ^{URU}Za-a-al-p[^{u-ya}] hu-š[u-ya-an-t/da-an]
But Huzziyas, the king of Zalpuwas, I brought back alive
- 44 [^U ^{RU}Ne-e-ša ú-ya-te-nu-un ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-× ×]
to Neša. The city of Hattuša was done by [... ⁴

When the paragraphs are examined carefully, it is seen that Before King Waršama declared war on the *Kuššara* (Ku-uš-ša-ra) King (1-2 years), the king of Zalpuwa Uhna declared war on the Kaniš. Uhna must have defeated the Kaniš king Waršama because the statue of Shiushimyi (Shiu), the storm god of the Kaniš, was taken by Uhna. Inar's son, King Waršama, must have lost most of his military strength as a result of this war. The war broke the military strength of both colonial cities. Even though King Uhna won the war, he lost a certain amount of fighting power. Pithana, king of Kuššara, and his son, the ladder great (heir apparent) Anitta, implemented his plan to invade these two colony cities, whose military strength was weakened. He first invaded the Kaniš, which is near his city. In order to maintain his dominance in the region, he also wanted to gain the trust of the Kanišs he captured. For this purpose, he organized an expedition to take Shiushimmi, the god of the Kaniš people, back from Zalpuwa. He took Huzziya, king of Zalpuwa prisoner and brought him to Kaniš (Neša). He mentions this success in lines 31-32 and 39-44 of the tablet.

In line 5 of the text, Anitta talks about her raid on Kaniš with her father Pithana.

The King of Kuššara (Pithana) (came) descended on the city with all his might.

From Anitta's downward directional expression, it also gives information about the geographical location difference

³ ALP 1963.
⁴ NEU 1974.

of Kaniš and Kuššara. It is estimated to be an average of 1.5 or 2 days' walking distance to the Kaniš. These colonial cities of the Hatti country are in the Kızılırmak arc. It is estimated that Kuššara is to the east of Kaniš, according to the flow direction of the river, since it is located in its close vicinity. The Kaniš is in the south of the Kızılırmak and its distance is about 20 kilometers from a bird's eye view.

Zalpuwa and Kaniš are two colonial cities very far from each other. Another situation that comes to mind is why King Uhna declared war on King Waršama, despite being so far away. Because of this attack, Kaniš king Waršama lost his military power. According to Anitta's statement in line 4, soon the Kaniš (Neša) king Waršama declared war on the Kuššara king. At that time, the Kaniš king Waršama had a palace built for himself and became the epicenter (*Karum*) of the Assyrian trade caravans. Postwar, Pithana left Kuššara and settled in Kaniš and made it the capital. Kaniš is much more sociopolitical than Kuššara, it is the commercial center of Anatolia and its commercial income is high, for this reason, it has been a respected city preferred by the Assyrians. It results that Kuššara is far behind in these features. Another reason why its exact location could not be determined may be that it is small and consequently the city remains are scarce.

KUŠŠARA ACCORDING TO HATTUŠA

Anitta destroyed Hattuša in the period of her Kingdom.

48 *na-ak-ki-it da-a-aḥ-ḥu-un pé-e-di-iš-ši-ma ZÀ.AḤ.LI-an a-ni-e [-nu-un]*

I took them by force, and in its place, I sowed weeds.

49 *ku-iš am-me-el a-ap-pa-an LUGAL-uš ki-i-ša-r [i]*

Whoever becomes king after me

50 *nu^{URU}Ḥa-at-tu-ša-an a-ap-pa a-ša-a-š [i]*

and resettles at Hattušas again,

51 *na-an ne-pi-ša-aš^DŠKUR-aš ḥa-az-zi-e-e [t-tu]*

May the Stormgod of Heaven smite him!

It is clearly stated in these lines that there is a period of nearly 100 years between Anitta and Hattušili. Hattuša, which was a colonial city in the Hatti country, was reconstructed by Hattušili I. The reason for this is thought to be due to the fact that Hattuša is in a sheltered position against military attacks due to its geographical structure. Despite the curse of Anitta, Hattušili I, who made Hattuša his capital city, provided dominance in the region in a short time. While talking about how they ruled the state, Hattušili I describes himself as the man from Kuššara.

[UM-MA Tabar]na Hattušili LUGAL GAL [LUGAL KUR^{URU}Hat]ti LÚ^{URU} Kuššar KUR^{URU}Hatti [LUGAL-uit] ŠA^{MUNUS}Tawananna DUMU ŠEŠ-ŠU

"The man from Kuššara, the king of the Hatti country, the great king Tabarna Hattušili says: Hatti ruled his country as a king. Tawananna's (queen's) brother's son." Hattusili I. lived here during the first years of his reign.⁵ From here, we can think that Kuššara is a place close to Hattusa. In her study, Gavaz mentions that Kuššara was the first capital of

the Hittite dynasty, that the kings who ascended the throne were descended from Kuššara, and that Hattušili I wrote his testament in Kuššara.

In Gavaz and Ünal's study on the KUB 58.15.öy.1 tablet, in lines 10 and 11 of the tablet, regarding the location of Kuššara, the following are mentioned:

10 *Hulana (Wool) River originating from Mount Huwatnuwanta*

11 *(they go and they?) They tie down the robe of the King of Kuššara.*

It results from these lines that the Hulana river flows from the Huwatnuwanta Mountain. In a ritual performed near of the Hulana River, a dress of the King of Kuššara, that is, one of the most important symbols symbolizing the kingdom, is tied to a place for ritual purposes.⁶

In her work, Gavaz specifies that the current Delice river may have been the Hulana river during the Hittite period. According to the author, Kuššara may be located in and around Akdağlar, located on the Sivas-Yozgat border, and this because the King of Kuššara is mentioned in a text where both the mountain and the river are named. The mountain through which the river flows indicates that it is not far from the city of Kuššara. Geographically, it can be thought that there is a river coming from the north of Akdağlar and passing near Sarıkaya town and Sarıkaya thermal spring waters merge. The location of these rivers provides important information. Because the hot water spas facilitated the living conditions at that time, it was an important settlement. According to researcher Başibüyük, Sarıkaya thermal roman bath was built in the middle of the 2nd century A.D.⁷ The bath, which has not been demolished and has a large water flow, seems highly likely to have been a settlement at that time. Because the founders of the Hittite state continued to live in Kuššara for the first years, then they reconstructed this place and made it the capital city due to the strategic defense superiority of Boğazkale (Hattuša). According to Barjamovic, the Porsuk stream could be the Hulana river. For, when Anitta attacked Šalatiwar, the king of Šalatiwar fled to Hulana, which is located further away.⁸ Ghazarian mentions that there is little information about the history of Kuššara in the Assyrian tablets. In some tablets, it results from the written texts that Kuššara was at war with the Zalpa colony and was in close contact with Luhuzattiya.⁹

KUŠŠARA IN COMMERCIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Again, in the correspondence between Assyrian merchants about preventing the illegal sale of commercial goods, it is specified that: "If Puzur-Aššur wants to sell (the goods) secretly, I will send his servants to you, you said; I will travel before him and give his golden share with interest in Hurama or Kuššara".¹⁰ It results from this that the trade caravans coming from Assyria are talking about the cities they stopped along the road route. Kuššara is mentioned after Hurama as the route from Assyria to Anatolia. It results that Kuššara is close to Hurama and further north.

⁶ GAVAZ 2016.

⁷ BAŞIBÜYÜK 2019.

⁸ BARJAMOVIC 2011.

⁹ GHAZARIAN 2017.

¹⁰ VEENHOF 2002.

⁵ UNAL 2002.

WEST OF KANIŠ? KUŠŠARA

Anitta, who included Hattusha in her lands in 1700 B.C.,¹¹ settled in the Kaniš palace and wanted to strengthen her dominance in the region and expand her lands further. What it became clear that Anitta, who was in an effort to capture the Zalpuwa city and expand her own colonial state, would head towards Purušhaddum, located in the west of Kaniš. The king of Purušhaddum stated that he was under the command of Anitta. The king of Purušhaddum showed his devotion by gifting Anitta a cast iron king chair and a scepter made of iron.¹² It results that from this that Kuššara is not likely to be in the west of Kaniš.

KUŠŠARA THE MURDER OF TWO ASSYRIANS

After the murder of two Assyrian merchants in the Luhuzattiya region, the Assyrian government wants this issue to be investigated and the criminals to be punished.

Regarding this subject, according to the tablet found in the Kayseri museum: Kaniš *karumi* requests information from Kuššara *wabartum*. The tablet sent is almost like a report given to Kaniš *kārum*. According to the report:

“We heard that two Assyrians were killed in the Luhuzattiya region. We went to the palace and said: ‘Two Assyrians were killed in your country’ He (perhaps the king) sent the natives. Because they were killed in the mountains on the other side of Luhuzattiya. We do not know these people who were killed. These men were killed at night. On the second day’. (The rest of the tablet is not readable).¹³ The fact that Kuššara *wabartum* reports to Kaniš *karum* is due to the fact that the event developed in this region. As a result, it results that Kuššara is located near Kaniš.

KUŠŠARA’S NAME IS MENTIONED ON THE PAYMENT LISTS.

In another study, an examination was made on the expense list on a tablet found in Kaniš. The tablet mentions the money paid to the Šiprums between the cities of Kuššara and Timelkia. It is said that 15 šeqel of tin was paid to the ambassador of the city of Kaniš, and 7 šeqel of tin to the ambassador of the city of Tegaramma.¹⁴ It results from here that the Kaniš ambassador rules the cities of Kuššara and Timelkia. Also the city of Kuššara is very close to Kaniš and Tegaramma.

ALIŞAR OR ANKUWA, KUŠŠARA?

Although the location of Kuššara has not been determined, two tablets related to Anitta were found in Alişar. Kuššara’s name is mentioned on these tablets. For this reason, it is thought that Kuššara could be Alişar. However, in another written tablet found in Alişar, while giving information about the political history of Ankuwa, the Kuššara king Pithana appointed his son Anitta here as

rabi simmiltim after he had captured Alişar.¹⁵ According to this tablet, it is not possible for Alişar to be Kuššara.

Again, in recent studies, a suspicious situation has occurred that Kuššara could be Ankuwa. This may be due to proximity. The direction of Pithana and Anitta invaders shows that this city is closer to Kaniš and far from Hattuš.¹⁶ The city of Ankuwa became a kind of educational center where the children of the Kaniš kings went, where the children of the kings learned the state administration.¹⁷ It results that Ankuwa is a place close to Kaniš. In addition, the founder of the Hittite state, Hattušili I, introduced himself as a native of Kuššara.¹⁸ In another tablet, we find that Hattušili I spent the winter months in Ankuwa. The above claim is gaining strength. In today’s Sarıkaya, which is between the two cities, there is a palace with a historical hot spring pool belonging to the Roman period of 100 B.C. There is always a settlement in the regions where there are hot springs in Anatolia. It is highly probable that there was a small settlement here in 2000 B.C.

CONCLUSION

Just before the establishment of the Hittite state, Pithana founded a powerful kingdom by uniting the colony cities in central Anatolia regardless of the conditions and intentions. Despite Kuššara being a small city, the tablets seem to indicate that Hattušili and his dynasties, who later founded the Hittite state, lived and were from here. The Hatti colony community, which lived as a colony in Anatolia in 2000 B.C., founded a powerful Hittite kingdom. It is very important to determine the location of the first capital of a state that grew up to be able to fight with the Egyptian kingdoms in the future, and that expanded its borders to the present Palestinian lands in the south. Written tablets, of which there is a new one found every day by archaeologists, not only shed light on history, but also cause history to be rewritten. Written tablets, of which a new one is found every day by archaeologists, not only shed light on history, but also cause history to be rewritten. In the correspondence between Assyrian merchants and Anatolian colonial city merchants, when Kuššara and the aforementioned cities are evaluated in terms of their relationship, proximity and location, it results that Kuššara is closer to Kaniš among cities such as Kaniš and Hattuša. It is estimated that the Kaniš is within 1-2 days’ walking distance in the north-east region. Researcher Gavaz, based on the Hulana river, mentions that it may be in and around Akdaglar, located on the Sivas-Yozgat border. In a tablet text, the King of Kuššara is mentioned together with the name of the River. It results that the river flowing where the mountain is located is very close to the town of Kuššara.¹⁹ Ghazaryan, in his work on some Assyrian tablets, mentions that the Kuššara king established friendship with the Luhuzattiya dynasty, but was at war with the Zalpa king.²⁰ The common opinion of the researchers in their local denominators is that Kuššara is located in the north-east of Kaniš.

¹⁵ SAHIN 2004.

¹⁶ BALKAN 1957.

¹⁷ ŞAHİN 2007.

¹⁸ UNAL 2002.

¹⁹ GAVAZ 2016.

²⁰ GHAZARYAN 2017.

¹¹ UNESCO 1986.

¹² GÜNBATTI 2012.

¹³ GÜNBATTI 2012.

¹⁴ SAHIN 2002.

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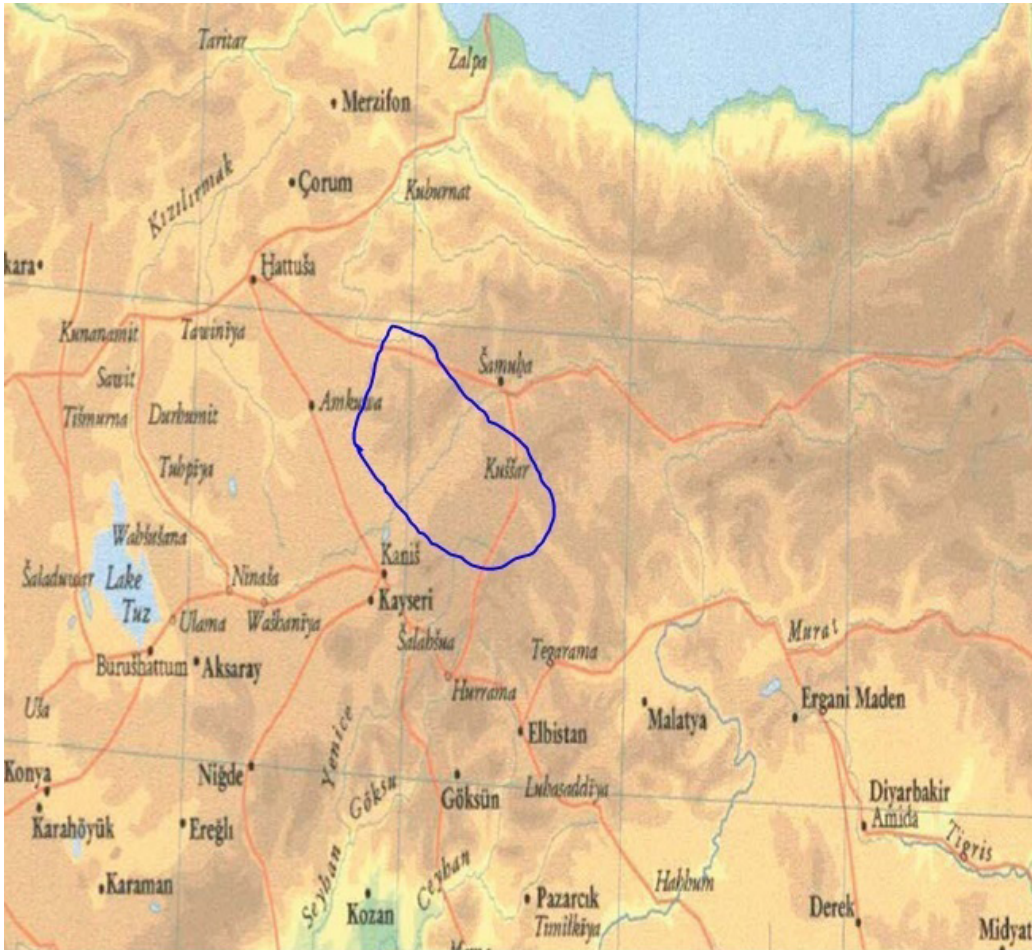


Fig. 1. Area of Estimated City of Kuşara.