

## ON SOME TRANSEUPHRATIAN TRIBES OR PEOPLES IN REGARD TO THE ARMENIAN ETHNOGENESIS

Extracted from Gr.Kapantsyan, *Hayasa - the Cradle of the Armenians*, Yerevan, 1947, p.128-146 (in Russian).

The monograph of Gr.Kapantsyan, the renowned Armenologist of the XX century is devoted to the problem of Armenian ethnogenesis. The author discusses a wide spectrum of issues of early Armenian history based on ancient cuneiform texts (Hittite, Assyrian, Hurrian, and Urartian), studies of Classical Greek historians, Armenian medieval and later sources.

In the extracted passage Gr.Kapantsyan discusses the names and possible affiliation of several tribes attested in ancient sources which tentatively are located by scholars in the western and north-western parts of the Armenian Highland. According to the author, later these ethnic elements were Armenianized and had left their names in the toponymy and onomastics of the Armenian Highland.

Gr.Kapantsyan's study is one of the first attempts made by scholars on the issue under discussion. Some statements as well as references to sources might be argued under the light of modern scholarship. Anyway, Gr.Kapantsyan's some of his ideas became pioneering for the study of early Armenian statehood, ethnic history and related problems.

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### PALA or BALA

The people of *pala* or *bala*, probably, was numerous and first became known from the Hittite cuneiform inscriptions. They have a separate language, since the Hitt. *palaumnili* means "in Palaic". On this language the Hittite priests sang incantations on silver, which forces the scholars to assume that the *pala* people live in the region of modern Gumushhane or Bayburt where are located rich deposits of silver. According to the «Extensive Annals of Mursili II (2 BoTU. 61. A. 22'-25')», the country of Pala does not have fortified cities or places to be safeguarded. As this inscription tells (line 25'), Pala was a "lowlying" country (*dagan ešan*), according to the translation made by Ferd. Sommer (Bogh. St., X, 67, Anm.1; see also Götze, *Die Ann. D. M.*, 259-260). According to cuneiform inscriptions, it was located between the cities of Tumanna (Dumanna) and Turmitta (Durmitta). First of this (Dumanna) I identify with the city of Domana (Δόμανα) of Ptolemy (V, 6, 18) to the west of Satala on the direction to Nicopolis (see N.Adontz, *Armenia in the period of Justinian*, p.74: «Satala, Domana, Tapura, Nicopolis, as the cities of Armenia Minor»). And since according to another cuneiform text (Bogh. St. III, S.158, Anm.3) the «people of Durmitta had fled to the country of Išūwa», i.e. to the region of modern Dersim-Mzur-Charsanjak-Harput, it could be assumed that Pala was located to the west of Azzi-Hayasa, approximately near Gerjanis and to the north

along the Kelkit valley (cf., probably, the name of the village Balanson near Gerjanis, not to mention Bał to the north of Kemakh). And Durmitta probably was located in the south-west, approximately near the modern Divriği.

According to the Hittite inscriptions these cities of Turmitta, Pala and Tumanna at some period were part of the “Upper country”. The latter included not only its original cities of Hakpiša and Ištahara, but also Marišta, Hiššašhapa, Katapa, Hanhana, Tarahna, Hattena, Turmitta, Pala, Tumanna, Kaššiya, Šappa, the country of the yellow river (see Götze, Kleinasien z. Hethiterzeit, S.7). Just to the east of this «Upper country» was located Hayasa-Azzi, which had conquered its territories until the city of Šamuha (= modern Kamışlı-dere near Gerjanis?).

With regard to multiethnic character and, possibly the beginning of re-settlement (towards the east) of these *pala*, I can point on the village Palaxor or Balaxor («breach or gorge of the *pala*?») which is located on a distance of four hours from Bayburt to the west towards Gümüşhane, and Balovit («valley of *pala*») – a forested valley in Hemshin (on the middle stream of Chorokh) where flows the river Balovit (Armenian toponymic dictionary of Eprikyan, p.355). In the initial part of these names we probably have the ethnic *pala* (*bala*) rather than Arm. word *bal* “cherry”. Cf. also the homonymous Bala-hovit on the lower Murad-chai.

It is known that at the end of the VIII century BC the Cimmerians were pressing Urartians in the west from the Euphrates (to the north of Melita) whose king Rusa I had suffered a severe defeat. At the same time the Assyrian king Sargon II (in 708 BC) had conquered Melitene. Through the whole VII century BC Cimmerians kept the Asia Minor in the state of wars and raids, advancing until Lydia. Consequently many tribes and peoples had left their original settlements including Hayasaeans, Pala, Moskhians, Tubal, Hittite Manda, Sala etc. and partially or completely emigrated to the east, to more safe places. I establish with certainty the routes of migrations or re-settlement of Hayasaeans and Pala, from the one hand towards the east along Chorokh and Araxes until Syunikh, and from the other hand to the south and south-east along the Euphrates until Armenian provinces of Turuberan and Arzanene. On the route of the movement of Pala to the east, besides Balovit on Chorokh, I can mention the swampy place «Palacatsio» in Tashir (according to Vakhushti). Further we are reported by the Arab author Baladzuri also about the «tribes of *bala*» (Balakaran), that in the later Armenian spelling (the change of «l» into «γ») became Kara-bag, not to say about the ethnic *bał* (= *baγ*) in *Bałac ašxarh*, *Bałaberd* etc. in Syunikh (modern Zangezur).<sup>1</sup> Probably, the movement of *bala* further to the east, into modern Azerbaijan (= ancient Albania), where exists the river *Rot-i bala* «the *bala*-river» or *Balan-rod* (id.), which identical with the modern Bulgar-chai.

<sup>1</sup> We have also *Bał-kh* which means «*bals* (pl.)» (the region of modern city of Kapan), then *bałacikh* «balaean», *Bałac tun* «house of *bals*», *Bałac erkir* (id.) etc. Armenian historian St.Orbelyan the name of *bał*- explains from the name of some *Bałak* whence the the place-name *Bałaki khar* (“The stone of Bałak”), *Bałaku amroc* (“The fortress of *Bałak*”), whereas *Bałak* is a personified form of the ethnic «bal» as it is known in regard to other similar cases (Mandak, Salak, Armenak, Haj-k etc.).

But the Bala people moved out from the Kelkit valley to the south and south-east along the Euphrates which is reflected in numerous toponyms or family names of their Armenianized principalities. Thus, there is a province of *Balahovit* «the valley of the *Bala*» with the city of Balu on the river Murad-chai. In the neighborhood of this Balu or Palu are mentioned two villages named as Palin<sup>2</sup> where, as is well known, we have Urartian inscriptions of the king Menua. Also is known an Armenian princely house *Palnatun* («the house of *Pala*»), which is written as *Pałanakan tun*. There was also a principdom *Paluni*, located to the east of *Palnatun*, and *Balaovit* between the provinces of Taron and Ashtianene, to the south of Arshamuni where today lies the village Guvars (= ancient Kuvars) near Boğlan, on the river Menaskat (see N.Adontz, *Ibid.*, p.18 and 47). It is possible that the name of the city of Bitlis which formerly was pronounced as *Balēš*, Classic. *Balaleis*, as well as the settlement and region of *Palin* to the north of *Argana* (in Arzanene) along with the place-name *Pali*<sup>3</sup> (*Ibid.*) also originated from this ethnic *bala/pala*.

Urartian inscriptions of the VIII century BC from Balu, Palin and Izoğlu-Kömürhan (on the Euphrates against Melitene) list in detail numerous names of cities, regions and even their owners etc., but say nothing about Bala and their settlements, from which I assume that the movements of these Bala, Hayasaeans, Kashka, Manda and others to the new locations in Urartu, along the course of Murad-chai took place *only in the VII century BC*.

The comparison of “bala” or “pala” of Hittite texts with the name of the city of Palu (Balu) was first suggested by J.Garstang in the “Index of Hittite names” published in Jerusalem in 1923 by L.Meyer (see Gotze, Klein. Z. Heth., addition to the Preface), which was unknown to us. J.Garstang is right in his formal-phonetic comparison, but the existence of all these Balu (Palu), Balaovit, Paluni etc. is later phenomena connected with the resettlement of these Bala in the VII century BC from their territory to historical Urartu where they owned a whole region to the north of Lower Murad-chai and the valley of that river as well, not to mention their partial offshoot towards Bitlis and Palin near Amid (= Diyarbakir).

### GASHGA or KASHKA

These numerous tribes are mentioned in the Hittite texts from the XV century onwards. According to the inscriptions of the Hittite king Mursili II, almost all regions to the west of the Upper Euphrates up to Azzi, including Pala, Turmitta etc. either belong to the peoples or tribes known as *gašga*, *kašgam kaška*, or were under their influence. This people or tribe is thought to be identical with the Kassites who continuously raided Babylon (in XVIII century BC). Assyrian king Tiglathpileser I (about 1115-1093) in his inscription on a prism regards these Kaska (*matKas-ka (a)-ja<sup>Pl.</sup>*) as Hittite troops listing

<sup>2</sup> See the Armenian toponymic dictionary of Eprikyan, p.357.

<sup>3</sup> See in the Armenian translation of Hübschmann “Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen, S.141-142, 179.

them along with Urumu, and after them Kummuh, i.e. Commagene to the south of Samosata on the Euphrates (in the inscription of the Urartian king Sarduri – Kumaha).<sup>4</sup> The king Tiglathpileser IV mentions in 738 BC the Kaskaean prince Dadilu (<sup>m</sup>*Da-di-i-lu* <sup>alu</sup>*Kas-ka-a-a*), after the princes of Gurgum and Melid (Melitene). It is written also as *Kas-ki*. Fr.Hrozný assumes from this that the Assyrian inscriptions also place Kaskaean tribes on the right bank of the Upper Euphrates (see Bogh. St., III, S.157-158).

From the description of campaigns of the Hittite king Mursili II it is evident that Kashkaeans had subdued or took control over Aravena (Hitt. Aravanna = modern Araban-ovasi on the river Araban-su to the north of Samosata), Kiššiya (southern Melitene?), Tegarama (Melitene and northern regions), and in the north reached the «Upper country» of the Hittites and the possessions of Hayasa-Azzi. But since Gashgaeans were harrasing and sometimes conquering the Pala who, according to my data, live in the eastern part of the Kelkit valley (at the point where the river Gerjanis joins it), these Kashka should be sought here also. A.Götze locates them in the Pontus near the Black Sea. And the Kashkaeans of Bihunia «who ruled as a king» were neighboring with Azzians somewhere between Tegaramma (between Divriği and Melita?) and Zimmuria (= modern Zimarra), and their movement towards «Upper country» and once on Hattusa, the capital of the Hittites (which they looted) coincides with the similar movement of Hayasaeans from the north-east to the west, who had reached Gannuvara and Šamuha. Such a varying localization of Gashgaean tribes, beginning from the regions of Samosata until the Pontic region speaks in favor of the normal re-settlement of large nomadic tribes which sometimes live in distant places, neighboring with other tribes in-between.

Probably, it was very difficult to deal with these brigandish tribes, as they are named in the ancient cuneiform texts. By the way, with these hostile «Gashga-people»

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<sup>4</sup> These insubmissive Kashka and Urumu were four thousand in number. They attacked the borders of Assyria near the Euphrates in order to capture “Subarian” cities, but were fought back and gave up. On the cylinder-prism of Tiglath-pileser we read (Cyl. II, 100): 4000 Kashka and Urumu, insubmissive Hittite warriors who insolently captured the cities of Subartu, subjects of the king of Assur, heard of my advance to Subartu, were frightened, hit my feet (see Armenian translation of Sandalgyan in A.Khachatryan, “The History of Armenia in the cuneiform period”, Yerevan, 1933, p.37). According to Bilabel, Urumu were the population of Uruma or Urima on the Euphrates, on the place of modern Birejik (ibid.) above Samosata. Hardly these Urumu should be compared with later Armenians, although the term *uruma* looks like *arama* “Aramaeans” which initially could have been non-Semitic, for which see at the end of this study. The mention of Commagene and Comana after Urumu and Kaska definitely speaks in favor of their localization on the Euphrates to the north of modern Samosata and to the east of Tur-Abdin. I could not understand their localization on the «Upper Tigris» as it is demonstrated by A.Götze (“Kleinasien”, S.187), probably reading *Kat-muh* instead of *Kum-muh* which really was located near Mardin-Midyat. These Kashka and Urumu are named by him as «hethitische Scharen» («Hittite crowds»). See there, Anm.3. *Urima* is attested in Ptolemeus (see his Geographia, ed. K.Müller, Paris, 1901, p.970), then as *Orima* see Gelzer (Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis romanae, p.152), Armenian historian Matteos Urhayeci (see Hübschmann, S.5).

Hittite kings made alliances as, for example, the one regarding a safe pass of Hittite worshippers who carry gifts for the Storm god of Nerik (see Kl. F., B.I, S.347). Although Fr.Hrozny regards Nerik as an important Hittite province or city («Eine wichtige hethitische Provinz, bzw. Stadt, in dem *Tešup* verehrt wurde»; see Bogh. St., III, S.29), the first reference points that this Nerik was located on the border area between the Hittites and Kashkaeans, probably, somewhere on the Upper Euphrates, maybe even in the Pontic region (according to Götze).

The part of these Kashkaeans later had settled down in the Zagros mountains, in Northern Mesopotamia. Even today in Shiraz, near the city of Firuzabad in Persia and in Irak, near the city of Suleimaniye live a war-like Iranian (Kurdish) tribe of «Kashka».

The Armenian princely (feudal) and toponymic onomastics also had preserved the name of these influential tribes of Kaška who ruled for long in the western Transeuphratian regions. If one considers the final *-k(a)* as a patrimonial (tribal) marker, as we saw it already in the suffix *-ak* (Mandak, Sisak, Balak ...), or *-k* (*Haj-k* «hay», *sal-k* «Salaeon», *etrus-k* «Etruscan» etc.), then the root of this ethnic name could be *kaš-* (cf. *kaššu*, *Cossey*, *Cassite*) which was pronounced *kaš-* by the Hittites (Russian *kash*), without aspiration, whereas the Assyrian writing *kaš-ka-a* speaks in favor of *khaš-*, i.e. with the aspirated “kh”. Taking into account all abovementioned, still in my “Historical-linguistic significance of the toponymy of ancient Armenia (Yerevan, 1940, p.55) I wrote: The principdom of Khaĵberuni which in the document of places (*gahnamak*) occupies the 57<sup>th</sup> position, was formed from *khaĵ* which in Armenian means “brave” and from *ber* “family, clan” (cf. in the place-names Tarberuni, Tamber, Taruberan, Arberani, Oliberia etc.) with the suffix *-uni* (= «aeon»). It is possible that the first part *khaĵ* has ethnic origins connected with *khaš-* “Cassite” which in Armenian could have been falsely etymologized in regard to the adjective *khaĵ* “brave”, although semantically the possibility of the transfer of ethnic name (i.e. noun) into its quality could not be excluded; cf. Arm. *ska* «gigant, giant» and ethnic name *saka* «Sak» (Scythian), Arm. *xor* “stingy” and ethnic name «*xor* = Hurrian», Georgian *gmiri* «hero» and ethnic name of *Gamir*, i.e. Cimmerians etc.<sup>5</sup>

But since in the Armenian province of Syunik were preserved ethnic and toponymic names of the ancient Armenia Minor like *bal-* (*pal-*), *Aza* (from Azzi), *Xndzorek*, *Añinĵ* etc., I assume that the old ethnic name *khaš-* «Cassite» also had survived in that same Syunik in the next place-names - *Khašathal-kh gawar* «region of

<sup>5</sup> I think also that Arm. (and Georg. *khaĵ* «satan, demon» semantically also was formed from ethnic *khaš-* “Cassite”, in Georgian even exists a place-name *Khaĵethi* “country of *Kaĵes*”, i.e. devils. The meaning of “devilish” could be easily associated with “brave”. Cf. also Arm. *tsur* “curvy” (i.e. «abnormal»), but also with «brave, giant, hero» (cf. for example, folk *Sasma cəter* «giants of Sasun», literally “daredevils of Sasun”).

Kasha-quarter», *Khaši marg* «farmland of Kash», *Khašunikh* «Kashes» (= the place of Kashians), which has apparent ethnic origins formed with the suffix *-uni*. These toponyms are referred to by the XIII century Armenian historian Stepanos Orbelyan (see his «History of the province of Sisakan», Tiflis, 1911, p.617).

Could it be that the name of the village *Khašax* of the province of Bitlis (in the region of Motkan) had preserved the name of the Kash tribe with the suffix *-ah*?

Kaskaean to the west of the Upper Euphrates who even had captured the Hittite capital city of Hattusa during the reign of Hattusili II, without doubt, were among the causes of the disintegration of the Hittite state. After them only Cimmerians appear to be such fearsome tribe.

### MANDA and SALA

In the Hittite code of laws among some tribes and peoples whose soldiers in the past used to be exempted from special types of obligations (luzzi, šahhan), are mentioned «soldiers of *Manda*, soldiers of *Šāla*, soldiers of the city of *Tamalki*, soldiers of the city of *Hatra*, soldiers of the city of *Zalpa* ...». I have no doubt that the tribes of Manda and Šāla (should be spelled as Šāla) had left their traces or legacy in the Armenian princely houses of Mandakuni and Salkuni (or Səlkuni) where the roots *mandak-* and *salk-* mean “of Mand-ean”, “of Sala-ean”. About the tribe of *manda* as a brigand people speak also Assyrian texts (cf. *umman manda* «*manda-warriors*», «people of *manda*») which testifies in favor of their numerosity and scattered nature. I could not tell precisely where live these *Manda* and *Šāla* who are mentioned as Hittite subjects and who in the past were exempted from some obligations. Probably, some of them live in the Transeuphratian regions. It is remarkable that the tribes of *manda-šala* appear together not only in the Hittite code but also in Armenian sources in the face of the princely houses Mandakuni and S(a)lkuni. This is attested in the study of the Armenian historian Movses Khorenatsi (see his “History”, book II, par.8). The same is in the «document of places» (“about cushions” next to the king) where the house of Mandakuni occupies the 47<sup>th</sup> place, and S(a)lkuni - 48<sup>th</sup> place. Similarly in the “military decree” Mandakuni are listed in the 14<sup>th</sup>, and Salkuni in the 15<sup>th</sup> position, and in both cases these houses are obliged to provide 300 cavalry to the king (see N.Adontz, Armenia In the period of Justinian, p.250-251). These houses are closely related also geographically. Mandakuni rule in the region of Arshamuni which once was part of Taron and was located to the south of the mountain Bingöl, and S(a)lkuni possess with the fortress Olakan (modern Ahkan) on the river Aratsani. In other words, Mandakuni were located in the region of modern Bingöl-su, a tributary of Aratsani (Murad-chai), and Salkuni to the south of them, i.e. both houses had settled down to the north-west of Taron.

Among the cuneiform tablets unearthed in the Hittite capital city, are some which is thought to be written on the Mandaean language, where Indian gods Indra, Varuna,

Mitra and others are mentioned, which forces to suggest the Indian origins of these Mandaean. Also some Indian words are mentioned like *aikawartana* “one-fold”, *pancawartana* «fivefold», *sattawartana* «sevenfold». Even in the Hittite texts are used Indian words which were regarded as borrowings since they are supplied with special cuneiform sign before them, like, for example, before *tapašu* “malaria», *warwala* “generation”, *mata(šu)* - a kind of beverage for libation to the gods (cf. Russ. *med*, Arm. *math* from \**mad* “boiled grape juice», Germ. *Met*, Greek *methu*). Also I think that those Indo-European words which are attested only in Armenian and Old Indian (Sanskrit) should be derived not from the promised Indo-European “proto-language” in India but through the co-habitation of these Indian tribes (Manda and others) and the tribes of *hay* (= Armenians) in ancient Asia Minor. As such are – Arm. *marmān* “body” = Sansk. *marmāna* “exposed part of the body”; Arm. *arew* “sun” = Ind. *rawi* “sun”; Arm. *višt* “grief” = Ind. *vasta* (id.); Arm. *surb* “clean, pure, holy” (from which *sərbem* “I clean”) = Ind. *ṣubhrá* “clean”; Arm. *erg* “song” = Ind. *arká* or *rg* (id.); Arm. *arag* or *erag* “fast” = Ind. *raghú* (id.); Arm. *sal* “plate” = Ind. *ṣila* “stone, rock”; Arm. *indz* “leopard» = Ind. *sihá* (id.); Arm. *vagr* «tiger» = Ind. *vyagra* etc. The modern dialectic (Ararat dialect) *marmān* “slow (flow of the river), even (burning)” I explain from the Sansk. *mandam mandam* or *manda-mandam* “very quiet, slow” (next to simple *manda-* “slow, weak”).<sup>6</sup> These Indian words does not have immediate and adequate correspondences in Iranian languages (both old and modern) which could regard these Iranians-Persians as intermediators. That in ancient Asia Minor could live Indian tribes, might be assumed partly by the existence of Armenian gypsies (Arm. *bosha*) which are regarded as migrants from India like othe gypsies (in Russia and other parts of Europe). These ancient Indians of Asia Minor had strong impact also on Hurrians who borrowed Indian divine names Indara, Arunašil, Mitrašil,<sup>7</sup> Našatianna etc., and some historians even today are inclined to regard the ruling stratum of Hurro-Mitannians as being Indian. From the latters was borrowed the word *maryá* «young, hero, brave» which in the form “*mariyanni*-people” was adopted by the Hurrians and Syrians denoting the military aristocracy and ruling class (see E.Meier, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, H.1, 1928, S.34 and 161).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The Araratian *marmān* is formed from \**ma(n)dmand*, with the transition of “d” into “r” which we have in the words of the same dialect – *zarzand* (from \**zadzand*) “terrible”, *harhand* (from \**hadhand*) “slow”. For the last word cf. modern Kurdish *hedi hedi* “slowly, quietly”, from the simple *hedi* «quiet» (*hedinga* “slowly, little by little”).

<sup>7</sup> In the Hurrian borrowings *Mitrašil* (from *Mitra*) and *Arunašil* (from *aruna* «sea») -šil reminds me the Hittite *Muršil*, *Xattušil*, *Biašil* and the name of the Armenian river *Mamušet* (from \**Mamušil*) in Armenia, in the Greater Sophene, where before the arrival of Hays live Hittites.

<sup>8</sup> In the book «History of Ancient Orient» of acad. V.Struve (OGIZ, Gospolitizdat, 1941), in the article «Mitanni» written by N.A.Sholpo (p.257), in regard to our issue we read: «There is an opinion in the science that at the beginning of the II millennium BC splinters of Indian tribes had joined the Hurrians. Possibly, the trading routes from the middle Tigris through its tributaries Diyala and Adheim connect the Near East with the Indo-Iranian world and by these routes eastern tribes affiliated with Indian ones

Hence, summarizing the mentioned above, it appears the next.

First of all the tribes of Manda and Šala which are mentioned in the XIV century BC Hittite code of laws live somewhere along the eastern limits of the Hittite state, near the Euphrates.<sup>9</sup> They were homogeneous tribes who live together which continues even later (VIII-VII centuries BC), until they completely or partly re-settled to the territory of historical Armenia. Here they occupy the territory to the north-west of Taron (near Bingöl-su), but now as Armenian princely houses of Mandakuni and Salkuni.

Second, probably they were of Iranian but not Indian (according to Fr.Hrozny) origins and were distinguished by their gang behavior and backward nature, taking into account also the references in Assyrian texts about these “Manda-people” living to the south of the Taurus mountains (near Diyarbakir), which indirectly is proved by the Hittite code where it is said that originally these tribes of Manda, Šala and some others were exempted from some obligations, probably, in the sense of the supply of troops. Even now exists a Kurdish tribe *Mandaka*.<sup>10</sup> Iranian tribes were disseminated into the territory

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infiltrated into Mesopotamia. In the Hurrian which was spoken by Mitannians, possibly, also Indian words had survived. These are names of kings (for example Tushratta, Artadama etc.) and some terms connected with horse-breeding. Thus, in the well known «Treatise on horse-breeding» of one Kikkuli the terminology is completely Indian; also the charioteers comprising the king’s squad are named by the Old Indian word *mariyanni*. But already in the XIV century BC *mariyanni* were collected among Hurrians ... Finally, it should be mentioned that in two texts are named Indian gods – Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Nasatya. The names of these gods are mentioned in the swear-formula and not in the first position. Probably, these gods were personal gods of the royal family. I think that “bosha”, the modern Armenian gypsies, possibly, are the remnants of these Indian tribes through two millennias, although the later migration could not be ruled out. On numerous gypsies of Erzerum – *bosha* see N.Sargisyan, The description of places in Minor and Major Armenia, Venice, 1864, p.81-82.

<sup>9</sup> Undoubtedly, these tribes live here even before, in the XV-XIV centuries BC, if not earlier, taking into account the words from the Hittite code: “Earlier the tribes of Manda, Šala ... did not perform obligations (*luzzi, šahhan*)”.

<sup>10</sup> In regard to the issue of Manda I would like to raise the question of the ethnic name “*kurmanj*”, as the prevailing part of the Kurds name themselves. This *kurmanj* I regard as a compound word *kur-manj* where the first part *kur* now means «son, boy», and the second part I identify with the name Manda, this ancient war-like and widely disseminated in different parts people or, more correctly, tribe, although even today exists the Kurdish tribe *mandaka*, without the change “d” into “j” (dž). Here the meaning “son” is becoming the formal word for denoting the tribe like the suffix *-ak* (Armenak, Sisak, Mandak, Salak, Etruscan Romak “Roman” etc.). Cf. also the similar meaning of the word “son” among Assyrians and Babylonians: *mar Humri* («Israelite» next to «the house of Israel» (i.e. the country of Israel), *mâr ali* «citizen» (lit. “son of the city”), *mâr šipri* «messenger» (lit. “son of the message”) and others, in Arabic *ibn al sabil* “traveler” (lit. “son of the travel”), Arm. *čanaparh-ord* “traveler”, *ajg-ord* “gardener”, *andē-ord* “shepherd» (*andi* «cattle»), *awri-ord* «lady, madam” (from Urartian *ewrī* “lord”) etc. The formation of the Kurdish national name undoubtedly is based on this old ideology (cf. also the Evangelical formula “son of a man” in the sense of the “servant of a man”). It would be less convincing to derive *kurmanj* from «*Kurd*» and «*manja*», i.e. to understand as «Kurds (of the tribe) *manja* (i.e. *manda*). In both cases is apparent the



of Armenia also from the east which we see in regard to Medians (*mada, amada*) whence the Armenian princely house of Amatuni, Muratsan, then Mards after whom were named the provinces of Mardalia (Mardali) to the south of the Erzerum mountains and Mardpetakan (to the south of Ararat). The princely families of Kamsarakan and Dimaksean were also of Iranian origins.

Third, those Armenian words which are attested also in Old Indian but are absent in old and modern Iranian languages, should be explained through the influence of some Indian tribes who used to live in ancient Asia Minor and had linguistic and cultic impact (gods) also on the Hittites, Hurrians, maybe including the political elite of Hurri and Mitanni in the social-political and military sense, as it is assumed by many scholars.

### TEGARAMA > TAGARAMA

As a name of a city (= country) Tagarama is mentioned in the Hittite texts since the early period, for example, in the inscription of the king Telipinu, and is written as Tagarama. But usually in other inscriptions it is read as Tegarama or Tegaramma which is identified with the name of the city Tilgarimmu of Assyrian inscriptions and Biblical Thogarma (see, for example, Bogh. St., III, S.105, Anm. 10), located by many scholars approximately near Melitene.<sup>11</sup> According to Bible, the sons of Gomer were Ashkenaz, Riphath and Thogarma. Here Gomer personalizes Cimmerians (= Arm. *gamir-kh*), Ashkenaz - the Scythians (= "Ashguza" of cuneiform texts), Riphath - Paphlagonians, and Thogarma - Armenians. In old Armenian literature this Biblical Thogarma was distorted into Thorgom, whose son was Hajk.

All these peoples occupy either neighboring regions or historically encounter each other. Gamir-Cimmerians live mostly in Cappadocia which was named as Gamirkh by Armenians, Scythians predominantly were concentrated in the eastern regions of Transcaucasia and in Media near the lake Urmiya, but probably entered, as we shall see, into western regions as well. Riphath and Thogarma were Paphlagonians and Armenians-Hays, wherein the former live in the upper basin of the river Halys and

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great influence of the Manda tribe in antiquity. I leave aside the question of the similarity of the names Manda with Matiaene and Mada (= Medians) assumed by many scholars. With our ethnic Manda accidentally is similar *mandeism*, the name of the religion of Babylonians and Syrians ("Mandaeans") who live along the lower Tigris and Euphrates numbered about 1500-2000. Their sacred books are written in a special Syriac dialect ("Mandaean language") and the word "Manda" is derived from the name of the light god «*Manda-di-haya*». Mandeism emerges in the I century BC, it represents the mixture of gnosticism and Biblical views and had as its adepts also Christians of Saint Baptist (see Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary, «Mandeism»).

<sup>11</sup> E.Forrer in his map in "Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches" (1921) locates Til-Garimmu near the river Gurun where was situated the city of Kamanu and where modern Divrik, Akn and Arabkir are located (See Khachatryan, p.238, n.1). Probably, the Hittite Tegarama replaces also Melitu since the latter is not mentioned in Hittite texts.

Armenians occupy the regions of Til-Garimmu, later Til-Gurana, i.e. Gürün, to the south or south-west of historical Hayasa-Azzi. By means of this neighborhood of old Tagarama and Azzi-Hayasa (i.e. Armenia) I am inclined to explain the Armenization (more correctly Hayasization) of the region of Thogarama = Torgoma, which was adapted by the Armenian national tradition, as the primary motherland of Armenians, since Hajk was the son of Torgom. It goes without saying that all these names - Gomer, Ashkenaz, Riphath and Thorgom personify the ethnic and political situation from the late VIII century BC when Armenia never existed in the area of Urartu and Urartu itself figured in the Bible in the form of Ararat as a state of mountainous countries to the north of Mesopotamia.

## MUSHKIANS

These tribes appear on the historical scene first in the XII century BC when, as it is stated, different tribes and peoples - Phrygians, Lydians, Lycians, Bythinians and others invaded Asia Minor from the Aegean Sea and the Balkans, to whom are assumed to belong also the Mushkians.<sup>12</sup>

But in the destruction of the Hittite statehood and partial displacement of Hittites to the east in the direction of Melitene, Kargemish and Northern Syria, to my mind, were more responsible Kashka who, probably, were Iranians (Kurds?), taking into account nowadays Kashkaeans of Iraq (in Suleimaniyeh) and Iran (in Shiraz, near the city of Firuzabad), not to say about the possible internal factors in regard to the enormous number of slaves in the Hittite state, and the desire of confederates and vassals to secede as well. But during this period increases the movement of Greek colonists (Aeolians, Ionians) into Asia Minor (western regions, Pamphylia, Crete, Pontus ...). Phrygians had settled down predominantly in the elevated lowlands to the west of the river Halys and the lake Tatta in the region of Ikonian, including the regions on the upper stream of Maeander, and later the regions of Tyana near modern Höyük in Western Cappadocia, according to the Phrygian inscriptions from there. And Mushkians prevail in the regions of Propontis in the direction of Melitene and even more to the east until the Upper Tigris. Since at the end of VIII century BC Midas was the king of the Phrygians who by the way asks the god of Delphi in regard to his wellness and who married the daughter of the prince of Kyme, and, from the other hand, at that time Mita

<sup>12</sup> In the inscription of Egyptian pharaoh Ramses III (1200-1168) about these «overseas» or «insular» (Egyptian wording) peoples is said the next: "The insular peoples came ... immediately spread. Beginning from Hatti not a single country could withstand against their hands. Code, Kargamish, Arzawa, Alashya were annihilated. They encamped in a place in the country of Amurru. Their people they killed as if they never existed. They approached Egypt burning down (all) before them. They were joined as allies by Philistines, *Tkkr*, *Š'krwš*, *D'jn'jw* and *W'šš'*. They put their hands over the countries till the edge of the earth; their hearts were full of confidence and they spoke: "our plans (= aims) are successful (see A.Götze, *Kleinasien*, S.186-187).

was the king of Mushkians, scholars had suggested that there existed a united state ruled by this Phrygian-Mushkian king Mita. This similarity of the Greek Midas (where “s” is a Greek suffix) mentioned by Herodotus and Mushkian Mita first was assumed by Hugo Winckler still in 1898,<sup>13</sup> and Fr.Schachermeyr even suggested the existence of alliance between this Phrygian-Mushkian political entity and Urartian state during the king Rusa (Ursana) I (730-714), which was directed against Assyria of Sargon II (722-705).<sup>14</sup> In this regard Fr.Bilabel wrote (see his “Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom XVI-XI Jahrhundert v. Chr.”, 1927, S.182): «After the destruction of the Hittite state the state of the Mushkians which was formed on its eastern regions, in the so-called Cappadocia, had played very important role between Halys and Upper Tigris during a long period. 50 years before Tiglathpileser I it [Mushkian state] had captured the provinces of Alzi and Purukuzzi, therefore to the east of the Euphrates ... Undoubtedly, it was not a centralized governing body but a union of states, due to which it was able to field an army of 20.000 warriors”.<sup>15</sup> The country of Alzi, which corresponds to Urartian Alzini, is Armenian Aldznikh, Greek Arzanene and was located in the mountainous region to the west of Sasun. Another Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II (889-884) mentions the country of Moskhs but to the south of Tigris. It could not be doubted that all these are territories located to the south of the mentioned mountainous range of Armenian Taurus and known as Alzi-Purulumzi (Purukuzzi), i.e. approximately in ancient Shupria. Some English scholars like D.G.Hogarth (in “Anatolian Studies”, 1923, p.235f. dedicated to W.Ramsay, and also in “The kings of the Hittites”, 1926, p.59f.), L.Woolley (“Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology”, of the University of Liverpool, 1922, p.41-56), A.H.Sayce (“Moscho-Hittite inscriptions”, especially in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1927, p.705f.), had suggested to see in the Mushkians the bearers of Late Hittite culture which is rightly argued by A.Götze (“Kleinasien”, S.187 and Anm.6).

About the clashes of Moskheans (Mushkians) with Sargon II we are told by the inscriptions of this fearsome king. There he tells the next: “I took the treasures of (the countries of) Kashka, Tabal, Hilakku; I chased away Mita king of the Mushkians. My strong arm extended from Media to Kashka, Tabal and Mushku, I laid upon them tribute ... Ambaris, the king of Tabal, whom I put on the throne of his father and gave him my daughter [as a wife], together with Hilakku [= modern Cappadocia] extended its limits, but he appear to be disloyal; in order to take my territories he sent envoys to Ursa Urartian and Mita of Mushku and in the country of Tabal they captured regions and cities” (see Khachatryan, p.237). We know that later these kings were defeated by

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<sup>13</sup> See “Altorientalische Forschungen”, II serie, vol.1 (1893), S.103-137 (cited from A.Götze, Kleinasien, S.187).

<sup>14</sup> See Fr.Schachermeyr, Etruskische Frühgeschichte, S.60 (cited from A.Götze, Ibid., S.189).

<sup>15</sup> See A.Khachatryan, “History fo Armenia in the cuneiform period”, p.236-237. The number of these Mushkians was 20.000 leaded by five “kings”. Of these only 6.000 were taken as war prisoners, the rest were killed in the battle.

Sargon and Rusa I even committed a suicide. Undoubtedly, the exhaustion of Moskhians and Urartians helped Cimmerians who just invaded through the Caucasus and inflicted a heavy defeat on Urartians and especially Moskhians. According to the Armenian version of Eusebius, this defeat of Moskho-Phrygians is dated with 696-697 BC (see A.Götze, *Ibid.*, S.189). Nearly all Asia Minor appeared at the mercy of these fearsome Cimmerians (cf. Georgian *gmiri* “hero”, from the name of Cimmerians), only Lydians succeeded to get free of them for a while. Urartu also survived which continued to exist for one more century, along with Assyria. From these semi-barbarian Cimmerians escaped not only Moskhians but Hayasaeans, Manda (and Šala), Kashka, Pala (Bala) and others as well. Maybe Urartian lands appear to be the most peaceful in that VII century, since in this late period (VII-VI centuries) we see these tribes of Asia Minor at new territories in Urartu. In regard to the role of Moschians and others as well as their re-settlement I want to point on one passage in the Bible where the prophet Hezekiah speaks (par.27, lines 13-14): “Yawan, Thobel, Mosoch – the same markets for selling of peoples; and from the house of Thorgom your markets were filled by horses, horsemen and mules”. Or, for example, by the same prophet (par.39, lines 2-6): “Son of a man, look on Gog, Ros, Mosoch and Thobel. Here I shall raise against you Gog, , the prince of Ros, Mosoch and Tobel ...”. Here are mentioned also Gomer (i.e. Cimmerians) and the house of Thorgom which Armenians associate with their people etc. Here it is interesting that Hezekiah who live in 592-570s BC always refers to Mosoch and Thobel together (Thobel~Thabal), i.e. Mushkians and Tibarenoi. Without doubt these tribes are of Georgian origins and many scholars wrongly identify Moschians with Phrygians, regarding the formers as being Indo-Europeans.<sup>16</sup> Similarly is wrong the comparison of the name Mushk with the Mysians of western Asia Minor (with the root *mušk* = Greek  $\mu\sigma\sigma$ -, where “k” is either a marker of tribal affiliation or the discussed Armenian *kh*, i.e. the plural suffix), first proposed by Kretschmer. The main place of habitat of Mosochian tribes was Cappadocia whose capital city was Mazaka (= Arm. Mazhak). The name *mušk-u* of Assyrian sources had undergone many changes: *mosx*, *mosox*, *mešex*, *mašax*, *mesx* (>*mex*) etc. Later these Mosochs, according to Strabo (was born in 63 BC) already live in the valley of the Upper Phasis (p.498). Cf. also the phrase “moschorum tractus” (along the Chorokh). Are of interest the information given by Strabo in regard to the division of Moschike into three parts after the death of Mithridates of Pontus: “After the death of Mithridates Moschike was divided into three parts: the first was captured by Colchians, the second by Iberians, the third –

<sup>16</sup> If Gog and Magog are of Scythian ancestry, they, especially Gog had infiltrated into the habitat of Armenians and Georgians (cf. Arm. *Kogo-ovit* «valley of Gog», *Gugar-kh* “Gogarene on the river Chorokh” etc.). The tribe name of *Ros* reminds me «Rus», but it would be historically justified to connect it with the Kurdish tribe “*Rosh-ka*” and the name of the Urartian king Rashu of the country of Ruishiani of one inscription of the king Sarduri II (see Archaeological Expedition of 1916 to Van, Petrograd, 1922, inscr. 11, line 50) which, indeed, is only a mere guess. Cf also the Urartian name Rusa.

by Armenians” or, for example (p.61), “Moschian mountains separate Iberians (= Georgians) from Armenians”.<sup>17</sup>

The connection of *mušk-* with Armenian *Mok-kh* (gen.sg. *Mokaç*) does not hold, from which we have acc.sg. *Mok-s*, like from *\*Kar-kh* (gen.sg. *Karuç*) - acc.sg. *Kars*, whence modern “Kars”. The root of the name of the Armenian province *Moks* is *mok-*. Also the similarity of the name of Mush of the Armenian province of Taron with the “stem” of the tribal name *muš-k* is accidental, if, indeed, one single out the final “k” which is doubtful.<sup>18</sup>

Although Moschians (Mesxians) should have been attributed to the Georgian ethnic milieu rather than to Phrygian or other, however we possess with some arguments for the connection of these Moschians with Armenians, taking into account the folkloristic data brought by Khorenatsi. Only one thing remains uncertain for me: was this connection which is strengthened by some linguistic commonality between Armenian and Georgian, either original based on the neighborhood and diffusion still from the II millennium BC when Hayasaeans-Armenians contacted with these Mushkians, Tubalians, Colchians and others, or a result of later phenomena when, for example, a part of Mushkians (= Meschians) was Armenianized.

As it is known from the history of M.Khorenatsi, Mshak, the relative of the legendary Armenian king Aram was appointed as governor of Caesareia (resp. Cappadocia),<sup>19</sup> which, as it is stressed by this historian, formerly was called Mazaka by the Greeks, which the locals spell as Mazhak (see his «History of Armenians», Book I, par.14). Indeed, according to the Armenian phonology the name “Mshak” should have been derived from “Mushak” (from which N.Marr and N.Adontz even derive the Georgian-Armenian common word *m(u)šak* “worker”), which represents the full phonetic form of moshak, like *moshox*, *mesheh*, *mashax* next to simple *mushk* (*moshk*), *mesx* (*meshx*) etc. But this name of the Meschians, besides the reminder of ancient legendary “relations», has also a new meaning for the Armenians, since until now Georgians call Armenians with that term; in Georgian *somexi* «Armenian», as it was assumed still by N.Marr, *-mexi* repeats the ancient Mesxi. The first part *so-* I do not regard as the remnant of ethnic *son-* «Swan», as it was suggested by N.Marr; it is rather a prefix like common Georgian prefix *sa-* which denotes places (countries), for example, from the name of *sper* we have Saspirtis; cf. also Sismara besides the older Zimara, not to say about Samcxe ( $\sqrt{\text{mesx-}}$ ), Sakharthvelo and others. Georgians call Armenians as Meskhians since, as it was mentioned above, after Mithridates Meskhetia partly was handed over to Armenians and there should not be difficulties in explaining the transfer of the term of Armenianized *Mesxs* on all Armenians, like the French people who call Germans by the name of *Allemans*, their neighbors, etc.

***Translated from the Armenian by Aram Kosyan***

<sup>17</sup> See A.Khachatryan, *Ibid.*, p.240.

<sup>18</sup> For the name Mush I can compare it with the Hurrian *mus* “beautiful”.

<sup>19</sup> In the text this passage says: “He left over the country a certain Mshak of his own family”.