
ON THE GENETIC IDENTITY OF ARMANUM WITH ARMENIA

E. DANIELYAN

The holistic natural environment of Armenia is mentioned as Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος¹, τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ὄρεσι² (the Armenian mountains), τὰ ὄρε τὰ Ἀραράτ³ (*the mountains of Ararat*) and *montes Armeniae*⁴ (the mountains of Armenia) in ancient and Armenian early medieval sources (*լեռինք Հայոց*)⁵, as well as in the Bible⁶. Since the 19th century these ancient and medieval geographical terms have been adopted in the geographical and geological literature as the generalizing term - *das Armenische Gebirge*⁷, *das Armenische Hochland* or *Bergland*⁸ (the Armenian Highland).

¹ **Herodotus**, with an English translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1920, I, 72, 2; V.52.3. J. Rennel noted: "The Armenia of Herodotus (in *Terpsichore* 52), extended westward to the Euphrates, in the quarter towards Cilicia; and southward to mount Masis in Mesopotamia; as may be inferred from the same chapter. Northwards it included the sources of the Euphrates (*Clio*, 180)." Among "the mountains which separate the course of the Araxes, from the eastern sources of the Euphrates" J. Rennel mentioned Mt. Ararat (Masis). (**James Rennel**, *The Geographical System of Herodotus, Examined; and Explained, by a Comparison with those of other Ancient Authors, and with Modern Geography*, London, 1800, pp. 279-280).

² *The Geography of Strabo*, with an English translation by H. L. Jones, London, in eight volumes, vol. V, 1954, XI. II. 15, etc.

³ Gen. 8.4. There is the following entry about Armenia in *Easton's Bible Dictionary*: "Armenia: A country in western Asia lying between the Caspian and the Black Sea. Here the ark of Noah rested after the Deluge" (*A Dictionary of Bible Terms* by **M. G. Easton M. A. D. D.**, from *Illustrated Bible Dictionary Third Edition* published by Thomas Nelson, 1897, pp. 97-98).

⁴ *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae, editionis juxta exemplaria ex typographia apostolica Vaticana: Romae 1592 & 1593 inter se collata et ad normam correctionum romanarum exacta auctoritate Summi Pontificis Pii IX, Valentinus Loch (Herausgeber)*, Manz, 1863, t. I, Gen. 8. 4.

⁵ **Մովսես Խորենացի**, *Պատմութիւն Հայոց*, Ե., 1991, էջ 33, 34; **Ղազարայ Փարպեցոյ** *Պատմութիւն Հայոց*, եւ թուղթ առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան, *Տիգրիս*, 1904, **Խաչիկյան Լ.**, *Եղիշէի «Արարածոց մեկնութիւն»*, Ե., 1992, էջ 245, etc.

⁶ The phrase εἰς τὰ ὄρε Ἀραράτ (*The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament*, with an English translation and with various readings and critical notes, London, *Τωβιτ* I, 21, cf. Ἀραράτ, Gen. 8.4) is translated "ի Լեռինք Հայոց" ("into the mountains of Armenia") in the Armenian translation (the beginning of the 5th c. AD, *Գիրք Աստուածաշունչք Հին եւ Նոր Կտակարանաց, ի Վենետիկ, 1860, Տոմարի, Ա 24*) of the Bible.

⁷ *Handbuch der alten Geographie, aus den Quellen bearbeitet von Albert Forbiger. Erster Band. Leipzig, 1842, S. 86; Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über*

The earliest evidence of the toponyms of Armenia are cuneiform inscriptions dating back to the 3rd – 1st millennia BC. The Akkadian sources (the second half of the 3rd millennium BC) have been in the centre of the researchers' attention, particularly studying the localization of *Armanum*. In this respect different opinions have been suggested in historiography, which concentrate around three regions: (a) in the south-west of the Armenian Highland, (b) to the west of the Euphrates and (c) in Northern (Armenian) Mesopotamia.

First of all, it is necessary to take into consideration the geographical position of the area encompassing these regions in accordance with the archaeological materials dating from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods to Early Bronze Age, as well as the usage of the historical-toponymical terminology. There is a number of Neolithic sites in Western Asia a part of which corresponds to the area called in archaeology the "Golden Triangle", which some researchers attributed to "northern Syria, southeast Anatolia and western Zagros"⁹. Meanwhile the term "southeast Anatolia" is wrongly used in this definition, because "Anatolia" (including all its parts: northern, southern, western and eastern) corresponds only to Asia Minor¹⁰. In Fig. 5 of

Wichtige Neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann. Gotha, 1868, S. 131.

⁸ **Abich Hermann**, *Ein Cyklus fundamentaler barometrischer Höhenbestimmungen auf dem Armenischen Hochland*. *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, t. 27, N 12, 1880, **Абих Г.** Геология Армянского нагорья. Западная часть, Орографическое и геологическое описание – "Записки Кавказского отдела Императорского географического общества", кн. 21, 1899, Восточная часть, кн. 23, 1902. Researching geomorphological and geological features of the orography of Armenia (Western and Eastern Armenia) Herman von Abich (1806-1886) used the historically grounded geographical term *das Armenische Hochland* or *Bergland* (the Armenian Highland) characterizing the physical-geographic-geologic-geomorphologic features of Armenia, i.e. the geographical location and physical geographical characteristics of the Armenian Homeland.

⁹ **K. S. Kozlowski, O. Aurenche**, *Territories, Boundaries and Cultures in the Neolithic Near East*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 80-82, fig. 5; **E. Asouti**, *Beyond the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B interaction sphere*. - *Journal of World Prehistory*, 2006, Published online: 26 April 2007© Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2007, p. 97.

¹⁰ The basis of the term "Anatolia" is *ἀνατολή* which means "east" (**H. G. Liddell, R. Scott**, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1966, p. 123). Since the middle of the 7th c. AD the Byzantine theme system had been formed in Asia Minor. The *Anatolikon* theme, located in its centre, covered the regions of Lycaonia, Pisidia, Isauria, as well as parts of Phrygia and Galatia. It was settled by the army of the East, which gave its name to it (**John F. Haldon**, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204*, Routledge, 1999, p. 73). The *Armeniakon* theme (included Armenia Minor and some nearby territories in the east of Asia Minor) was located to the east of the *Anatolikon* theme (*The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, *The Byzantine Empire, part I, Byzantium and its Neighbours*, Cambridge, 1966, pp. 193, 194). Thus,

the abovementioned articles by K.S.Kozłowski, O.Aurenche and E. Asouti the territory of Asia Minor¹¹ (i.e. Anatolia) is out of both (*Early Period* and *Late Period*) triangles. Thus, instead of the wrongly used term “southeast Anatolia,” the triangles denote western and south-western parts of the Armenian Highland and some neighbouring southern territories.

Such a falsified application of the term “Anatolia” (out of Asia Minor) and, thus attribution of the archaeological cultural heritage of Asia Minor and Western Armenia to modern Turkey, for example, may be seen in the following publications: “Neolithic in Turkey: the cradle of civilization”¹², “Ancient Turkey”¹³ and “Archaeobotany of Sos Höyük, northeast Turkey,”¹⁴ where the

Anatolia corresponds to Asia Minor, to the west of the Armenian Highland (Зорбян Л. Н. Орография Армянского нагорья, Е., 1979, с. 14-15. Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հին Հայաստանի պատմության հայեցակարգային հիմնահարցերը պատմագրության մեջ [Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես (ՊԲՀ), 2003, N 3, էջ 30-37], Armen Ayvazyan, “Western Armenia vs Eastern Anatolia”, *Europe & Orient* – n°4, 2007, pp. 57-58). Henry Lynch wrote: “I have invited attention to the characteristics which Armenia shares in common with her neighbours in the series of the Asiatic tablelands, Persia on the east and Asia Minor on the west” (H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, vol. I, London, 1901, p. 439). Concerning the period of the Armenian Genocide, A.Toynbee marked on the map the places of massacres and deportations of Armenians. He depicted on the map Anatolia (within the limits of Asia Minor), Western Armenia between the Euphrates and the Arax rivers, and Eastern Armenia within the limits of the Russian Empire’s Transcaucasia and the Persian state. Mt. Ararat is marked in the extreme west of Eastern Armenia (Arnold Toynbee, *Armenian Atrocities. The Murder of a Nation*, with a speech delivered by Lord Bryce in the House of Lords, London, New York, Toronto, 1915, pp. 2-3).

¹¹ G. Ripley and Ch. A. Dana noted in their article about the orography of Asia: “There are four grand systems, the Altai, the Hindoo Koosh, the Himalaya, and the Armenian, which divide the whole continent into a series of plains and plateaus of greater or less elevation... Asia Minor, a peninsula at the western extremity of Asia... between lat. 36° and 42° N. and lon. 26° and 41° E., and bounded N. W. by the Dardanelles (the Hellespont of the ancients), N. by the Sea of Marmora (Propontis), the Bosphorus, and the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus), E. by the Armenian mountains... S. by the Mediterranean, and W. by the Archipelago (the Aegean Sea)... Asia Minor now forms a part of Turkey in Asia; its larger portion constitutes the district called Anatolia, or Natolia, from the old Greek name given to Asia Minor ’Ανατολή the east or land of the rising sun”. They depicted Armenia (Great Armenia-E.D.) to the east of Armenia Minor and Cappadocia (George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, *The American Cyclopaedia*. Vol. 2, D. Appleton and Company, 1879, pp. 8, 16-17 <https://ia600407.us.archive.org/3/items/americanencyclopaedia02ripluoft/americanencyclopaedia02ripluoft.pdf>)

¹² Başgelen N., M. Özdoğan, “Neolithic in Turkey: the cradle of civilization”, Istanbul, 1999.

¹³ A. Sagona and P. Zimansky, “Ancient Turkey”, New York, Routledge, 2009.

Bronze Age Sosi¹⁵ site and other geographic names are used in distorted Turkified forms: “Sos Höyük... is situated at an altitude of 1800m in the narrow Pasinler Valley ... As is the case today, in antiquity the Pasinler Valley lay on one of the main routes through the mountains of Eastern Anatolia linking

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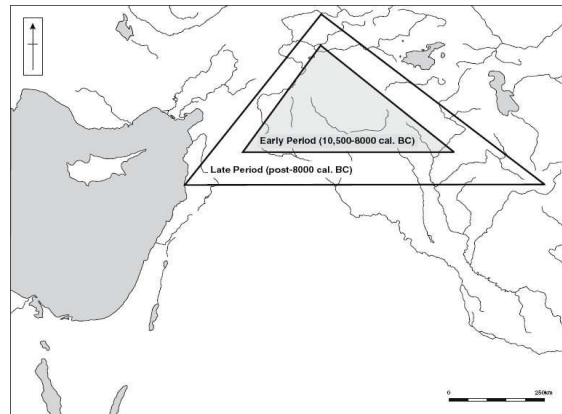


Fig. 5 The “Golden Triangle” in northern Syria, southeast Anatolia and the western Zagros (redrawn after Kozłowski & Aurenche, 2005)

Western Turkey to Iran and the Caucasus”.¹⁶ It is obvious that instead of the names of *Asia Minor* and the *Armenian Highland* (particularly its western part – Western Armenia) are wrongly used the terms “Eastern Anatolia”¹⁷ and

¹⁴ C. Longford, A. Drinnan, A. Sagona, *Archaeobotany of Sos Höyük, northeast Turkey*. - *New Directions in Archaeological Science, Terra Australis*, vol. 28, edited by Andrew Fairbairn, Sue O'Connor and Ben Marwick, Canberra, 2009.

¹⁵ This word is derived of the Armenian word *u n u h* (sosi), which means *Platanus* (plane tree). Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th c. AD) mentioned Arayan Ara's son Anushavan known as Sosanver - dedicated to the worship of the plane (*Platanus*) trees of Aramanyak in Armavir. Rustling of plane leaves in the wind was used in fortune-telling. “in our country - Armenia” (*Մոլիսէս Խորենացի, գլ. Ի*). Thus “Sos Höyük” is a distorted form of Armenian *Սոսի բլուր* (“Sosi mound”). This Sosi mound site corresponds to the culture of the Armenian Highland of the period of Hayasa [mentioned in cuneiform sources as Hay- (the ethnic self-name of Armenians) and a Hittite suffix -sa] *Մարտիրոսեան Ն., Հայերէնի յարաբերութիւնը հերիտերէնի հետ (Հանդէս Ամսօրեայ, 1924, N 9-10, էջ 453-459, 1926, N 7-8, էջ 369-374), Капанцян Г.А. Хайаса-колыбель армян. Этногенез армян и их начальная история, Е., 1948, R.P. Ghazaryan, The development of the Armenian statehood: Kingdom of Hayasa (XIV-XIII centuries BC), - Fundamental Armenology (electronic journal, <http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/issues/ISSUE-1-2015.pdf>), Issue 1, 2015, pp.16-20, etc.*

¹⁶ C. Longford, A. Drinnan, A. Sagona, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹⁷ Turkish falsifiers and their followers wrongly expand the use of the term “Eastern Anatolia” (see, e.g. *Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan crude oil pipeline project*

“Western Turkey”; the ancient Armenian name of the region of Basen (*Բասեն*) is also brought in a distorted form¹⁸.

It will be correct to entitle the above mentioned schematic map: “The “Golden Triangle” in northern Syria, southwest of the Armenian Highland, northern Mesopotamia and western Zagros”¹⁹.

D.M.Lang highly appreciating the contribution of Armenia to the world civilization, particularly, wrote: “The ancient land of Armenia is situated in the high mountains... Although Mesopotamia with its ancient civilizations of Sumeria²⁰ and Babylon, is usually considered together with Egypt as the main source of civilized life in the modern sense, Armenia too has a claim to rank as one of the cradles of human culture. To begin with, Noah’s Ark is stated in the Book of Genesis to have landed on the summit of Mount Ararat, in the very centre of Armenia... Again, Armenia has a claim on our attention as one of the principal homes of ancient metallurgy, beginning at least five thousand years ago...”²¹.

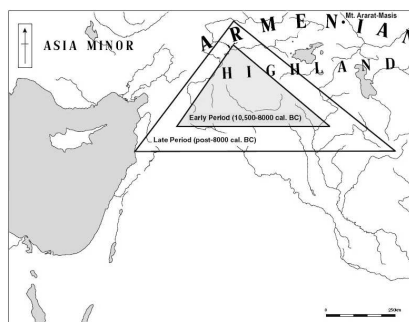
publications of archaeological salvage excavations :4, Ankara, 2005, p. 372) to the area corresponding to Western Armenia.

¹⁸ “Pasinler Valley” is a distorted form of the Armenian name of Basen (the westernmost region of the Ayrarat province) (see **Երեմյան Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ “Աշխարհացոյց”-ի, Ե., 1963, էջ 44**). It must be: “the Valley of the mountain (-ler) of Basen (region)”.

¹⁹ In this region the most ancient (dated before the Neolithic Revolution) monument (11.500-9000 BP) site situated 15 km to the northeast of ancient and medieval Urha-Edessia, is also wrongly described as “...Gobekli in southeastern Anatolia” (**N. Başgelen, M. Özdoğan, o p. cit., p. 30**). In reality the Potbelly Hill (at present called Gobekli) (Schmidt K. *Sie bauten die ersten Tempel*, München, 2006) is located in Northern (Armenian) Mesopotamia adjacent to the southern borders of the Armenian Highland.

²⁰ According to Samuel Kramer, “the Universe as conceived by the Sumerian poets, extended at least from the Armenian highlands on the north to the Persian Gulf, and from the Iranian highlands on the east to the Mediterranean Sea” (**Kramer S. N. History Begins at Sumer, Philadelphia, Third revised edition, 1981, p. 258**). **W. Durant** mentioned Armenia as one of the countries whence the Sumerians (moving “through northern Mesopotamia down the Euphrates and the Tigris...”) could come to Sumer (**Will Durant. The Study of Civilization. Part I, Our Oriental Heritage, New York, 1954, pp. 118-119**).

²¹ **David M. Lang, “Armenia: Cradle of Civilization”, London, 1970.**



Certain regions of the “Golden Triangle” became a scene of the Akkadian expansion in the Bronze Age²². Along with other toponyms *Armanum* is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions.

Concerning the localization of *Armanum*, textual-descriptive, onomastic, topographic, floristic and geographic characteristics have been brought by researchers within the scope of the problem’s investigation.

A. R. Jr. Horace devoted a special article to the localization of Armanum. He wrote: “Now the northern campaigns of Naram-Sin... have been the subject of much speculation... We know that Naram-Sin was called the conqueror of the lands of Armanum and Ibla... Ibla, it is now generally accepted, lay somewhere in Syria, north of Iarmuti. On the location of Armanum opinion has been varied. Sidney Smith (Ur: Royal Inscriptions-Text (=URI), pp. 80-81), followed by Gelb, identified it with Assyrian *alman* or *alpi* (Aleppo), whereas Albright [JEA 7 (1921). 80, n. 1], among others, was inclined to equate it with the later Armenia. This latter opinion I think is correct now that the exact place of origin of the famous Diarbekr (Amid-E.D.) Stele of Naram-Sin is known... This Diarbekr Stele was erected... a few miles N.E. of Diarbek”²³. A. R. Jr. Horace noted: “For the order of the geographical territories listed as conquered by Naram-Sin would seem to show that he progressed from east to west, thus making Armanum lie east of Ibla, whose location is reasonably certain. It is interesting to note in this connection that this region is also, roughly speaking, where the unknown writer of the geographical commentary on the campaigns of

²²In ArchAtlas depicting ancient trade routes, the sources of extraction of so-called “Anatolian obsidian” in Western Asia are denoted in Central Anatolia (the central part of the peninsula of Asia Minor) and “Eastern Anatolia” [Andrew Sherratt (2004), “Trade Routes Growth of Global Trade. Urban Supply Routes, 3500 BC - AD 1500”, ArchAtlas, Version 4.1, Accessed: 26 April, 2017 (<http://www.archatlas.org/Trade/Trade.php>)]; the term “Eastern Anatolia” has been falsely applied instead of the term Armenian Highland. Since the Neolithic epoch obsidian had been exported from Armenia to the countries of Mesopotamia and the Near East (J. Dixon, J. Cann, C. Renfrew, *Obsidian and the Origins of Trade*. – Scientific America, 1968, N 218, p. 46).

²³Albright W. F. Magan, *Meluha, and the Synchronism Between Menes and Narâm-Sin*. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1921, Volume 7, p. 80, n. 1.

Sargon of Akkad placed Armanum (KAVI, No. 92, obv. I. 13), making it lie next to Lullubu and Akkad. At least from the context this would seem to be so... More than 1500 years later, for precisely this same Diarbekr region, the Assyrian king Salmanaser I reported the Uruatri-lands... Later the old sign for Akkad... is often used by the Assyrians for this Urartu land. This remarkable consistency in terminology (Akkadian *Armanum* and Assyrian *Urartu*) is odd"²⁴. A. R. Jr. Horace also noted that for the same region "the Behistun Inscriptions of Darius I should equate Uraštu (=Urartu) with a form Armina (Arminiya)"²⁵. Taking into consideration the mentioning of Armenia by Herodotus (c. 484 – c. 425 BC), the researcher concluded: "Is this form Armenia another example of an ancient land-name, long out of use, brought to life again? If the correlations above are not accidental... then a possible origin of the term Armenia... may herein be found"²⁶.

The military achievements of the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (2261-2224 BC)²⁷ are mentioned in an Old Babylonian copy of the inscription (on a monument erected in the city of Ur): "Whereas, for all times since the creation of mankind, no king whatsoever had destroyed Armanum and Ebla, the god Nergal, by means of (his) weapons opened the way for Naram Sin, the mighty, and gave him Armanum and Ebla. Further, he gave to him the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper Sea"²⁸.

Without taking into consideration the opinion supported by A. R. Jr. Horace, Adelheid Otto wrote: "Although it is clear that Naram-Sin's campaign passed through Ebla (Tall Mardikh) on its way to the Mediterranean coast and the Cedar Mountain, the exact geographical position of Armanum remains uncertain. It is now generally accepted that Armanum should be identified with Armi/Armanum of the Ebla texts and not, as had previously been suggested, with Halab (modern Aleppo²⁹). But Armi is also unlocalized, even though it is the most frequently mentioned place name in the Ebla texts after Mary and Emar"³⁰. The main argument of the author is the question of the topographic

²⁴ **Horace Abram Rigg, Jr.**, "A Note on the Names Armânum and Urartu". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Dec., 1937), pp. 416-417.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ <http://www.ancient.eu/timeline/akkad/>

²⁸ **Adelheid Otto**, *Archeological Perspectives on the Localization of Naram-Sin's Armanum* - *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 58, 2006, p. 1. "The inscription of Naram-Sin commemorating his conquest of Ebla and Armanum is known from two Old Babylonian copies made either from other copies or directly from the original monument. In view of the corruptions of the text, the former seems the more likely possibility" [(**Benjamin R. Foster**, *The Siege of Armanum* (*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, vol. 14, 1982, p. 27)].

²⁹ **Ignace J. Gelb**, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*. - *The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XXVII, Chicago, 1935, p. 6.

³⁰ **A. Otto**, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

position of the site: “The Naram-Sin’s inscription contains, after the description of his victories, copies of captions that record the dimensions of an unusually high and strongly defended fortification, which in all probability was Armanum itself... Here I discuss first the description of Armanum in this well-known text, then the evidence of the recently investigated Early Bronze Age citadel of Banat-Bazi at the Middle Euphrates and its possible identification with Armanum. I examine the information about Armi/Armium derived from the study of the Ebla texts to see if it is consistent with this proposal, and suggest that the archaeological and textual evidence taken together suggests that Armium/Armi, like Ebla, was already in decline at the time of Naram-Sin’s Syrian campaign... These measures, however, failed to provide a successful defence against the might of Naram-Sin. His attack brought about the final end of the Early Bronze Age city Armanum/Armi/Armium, whose location may have been at Banat-Bazi with its impressive fortified mountain citadel beside the river”³¹.

Wayne Horowitz and Michael Astour also analysed the problem out of the toponymic context of the Armenian Highland. W. Horowitz touched the problem in his comments to some Akkadian geographic notions³². M. Astour, considering Armanum’s position in relation to Transigradian “Ebla”, noted: “It must be stated that Naram-Sin’s Ebla, always mentioned together with Armanum, is in all likelihood not the north Syrian Ebla at all. There also existed a Transigradian city by that name, attested (sometimes in composite or ethnic

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2, 24. Cf. Maria G. Biga, *Inherited Space – Third Millennium Political and Cultural Landscape*- see in: *Constituent, Confederate, and Conquered Space The Emergence of the Mittani State (Topoi-Berlin Studies of the Ancient World)*, 2014, p. 94.

³² “Armani (SG 13) stretches from Ebla to Bit-Nanib (*The Sargon Geography*, see **Wayne Horowitz**, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, Eisenbrauns, 1998, p. 69). The land of Armani, also written Alman and 𐎠alman, was located in western Iran during the Middle Assyrian and Kassite periods. However, Old Akkadian and Ur III Arman has been identified with Aleppo in Syria and Ebla is Tell Mardikh in Syria. Thus, a placement of Armani east of the Tigris is problematic. Two solutions to the problem may be proposed. (1) Ebla in SG 13 may not be the famous Syrian Ebla, but a city Ebla/Abla/Ubla east of the Tigris. This eastern Ebla would be an appropriate border for the later Middle Assyrian and Kassite land of Armani in Iran. (2) One may note the close associations between Syrian Ebla and Arman in Naram-Sin materials where Arman (=Aleppo) and Ebla often appear together. For example, Naram-Sin conquers both Arman and Ebla in the Naram-Sin inscription UET 1 275/276 +duplicates, and Arman itself is listed as one of the lands that revolted against Naram-Sin during the general insurrection. It is possible that the editor of *The Sargon Geography* forgot the western locations of the Old Akkadian Arman and Ebla in Syria but knew of the connection between the two sites. If so, the later eastern Arman in Iran may have been equated with the western Arman of Old Akkadian times, and Syrian Ebla then moved into Zagros to join the eastern Arman” (**Wayne Horowitz**, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

formations) during Old Akkadian through Neo-Assyrian times. Indicative of its location are the Nippur geographical list, which places Eb-la^{ki} among cities of the Transtigris, and unmistakable contexts of its Middle and Neo-Assyrian appearances and, especially, a passage in the geographical treatise known as “The Empire of Sargon of Akkad,” basically a copy of an Old Babylonian composition but with interpolations and additions that reflect the time of Assurbanipal. There, in the enumeration of Transtigridian countries, which proceeds from north to south, one finds after Arrap^ha and Lulubu and before Akkad (here the Diyala Valley) and Gutium the entry “from Ebla to Bit-Nanib is the land of the Armanians.” We see here the same close connection between Armanum and Ebla, as in Naram-Sin’s inscriptions. Ebla is the border-town of a region named for its capital, Armanum. For Naram-Sin, Armanum is the more important of the two... This was not the situation in northern Syria of the late third millennium, when Ebla dominated the region. To eliminate the discrepancy, Matthiae asserted that “it appears very probable that Armanum of the Akkadian inscriptions was Armi of the Eblaite inscriptions, and Armi, especially in the latest documents of Ibbi-Sipish [i.e. Ibbi-Zikir], appears clearly as the first city of the kingdom of Ebla.” Armi was frequently mentioned in Ebla texts, but it was one of the 60-odd vassal city-states of Ebla, among the 20 or so more prominent ones but by no means outstanding in comparison with the rest”³³.

Alfonso Archi, basing on Naram-Sin’s information³⁴, suggested to localize Armi/Armanum further north: “Armi(um) of the Eblaite documents and Oakk. Armanum must refer to the same city... The river on which Armanum lay had to be the Euphrates... As A.Otto has remarked, ‘no Early Bronze Age citadels or fortresses situated on high natural hills had been found in Syria... (until) the unexpected discovery of an Early Bronze Age building on the top of the citadel hill of Bazi’. If Armanum is Armi, the written sources from Ebla force us, however, to locate this city further north...,” where “stands the high and large artificial mound of the citadel of Samasat (Samosat - the capital of Commagene

³³ **Michael C. Astour**, *A Reconstruction of the History of Ebla (Part 2) – see: Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language, Volume 4*, edited by Cyrus Herzl Gordon, Gary Rendsburg, Nathan H. Winter, Eisenbrauns, 2002, pp. 65-66.

³⁴ “Whereas, for all time since the creation of mankind, no king whosoever had destroyed Armānum and Ebla, the god Nergal, by means of (his) weapons opened the way for Narām- Sin, the mighty, and gave him Armānum and Ebla. Further, he gave to him the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper Sea. ... Narām-Sin, the mighty, conquered Armānum and Ebla. Further, from the side of the Euphrates River as far as (the city of) Ulišum, he smote the people whom the god Dagan had given to him for the first time. ... The god Dagan gave me Armānum and Ebla, and I captured Rīd-Adad, king of Armānum. (I 1–29, II 2–19, III 23–31).

of the epoch of the Armenian Haykazun-Ervanduni Kingdom -E.D.) on the west bank of the river”³⁵.

The fact that in the Armenian language’s lexicon a great many names of plants “relate to the local flora, mainly to mountain or piedmont landscape of the Armenian Highland, Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia,” it has been assumed as an explanation of the presence of “many of the names of these plants, medicines even now in the world scientific literature”³⁶. The elucidation of the problem of the toponymical origin of the word meaning apricot in Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions³⁷ is an important argument for localization of Armanum identified with the name of Armenia³⁸; thus the home-country of armanu (cf. Lat. armeniaca) is considered to be Armenia³⁹.

Reconstructing “the Geographical World Order” of the region including the southern area of the Armenian Highland, Elam and Lebanon of “the time between the Akkad period and the third dynasty of Ur”, G. Jonker noted: “Inscriptions, especially those left behind by the kings of Akkad, contained descriptions of campaigns in three directions; the south-east (towards Elam), the north-east (in the direction of Subartu to the “upper sea (or Lake Urmia) and the north-west as far as the cedars of Lebanon... The geographical circle which is drawn in the second text is much bigger... in the north-west \square ana, Mari and the mountains of Armanum... The two regions in the north (seen from \square atti, they would have been to the south-east and south-west), the cedar mountains and the Armanum mountains...”⁴⁰.

³⁵ **Alfonso Archi**, *In Search of Armi* (Journal of Cuneiform Studies, Vol. 63, 2011, pp. 27-29).

³⁶ Thus they “traditionally have the epithet Armenian or are known as plants of the Armenian origin (Plantum armeniacum). In Akkadian texts apricot is called (G15) **HAŠHUR KUR.RA** “mountain apple” or simply **armannu-** “Armenian”... It is possible that Akkadian Armanu – a mountainous region located to the north from Mesopotamia... This plant was related to a mountainous region, as could be the Armenian Highland” [**Мкртчян Н.** Субстрат названий растений в армянском языке-“Древний Восток”, 4, Е., 1983, с. 24-25. According to Wayne Horowitz, “Subartu includes the lands north and east of Akkad, from a border with Hanu to the area of Anshan beyond the Zagros in Iran. The Cedar Mountain is a realistic border for both Hanu and Subartu... Naram-Sin claims to rule Subartu as far as the Cedar Forest...” (Wayne Horowitz, op. cit., p. 80)].

³⁷ *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, edited by J. Black - Andrew George – Nicholas Postgate, 2nd (corrected) printing, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 24.

³⁸ **E. L. Danielyan**, *Armanu - Prunus Armeniaca: Originated in Armenia (historical background of the native land of apricot versus modern information challenges)* («21st CENTURY», № 2 (16), 2014, pp. 79-94).

³⁹ **Don R. Brothwell**, *Food in Antiquity: A Survey of the Diet of Early Peoples*, New York, 1998, p. 136³⁹; pp. 24, 105, 113, 116-117.

⁴⁰ **Gerdien Jonker**, *The Topography of Remembrance: The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 117, 126-127.

On the basis of analysis of information about “*Cedar Forest*”, “*Silver Mountains*”⁴¹, “the King of Armanum”⁴² in cuneiform inscriptions, A. Kifishin concluded: “There were *cedar woods* mainly in the region of the Amanos mountains, in Syria, and the silver mines in Asia Minor and the mountains of Armenia... It is very probable that we have the most ancient information about Armenia (the 3rd millennium BC), which from the 1st millennium B.C. had been mentioned as *the country of Arme*”⁴³.

Since ancient times silver and other mines have been known in the Taurus region of Armenia. In relation with the evidence of the archaeological sources J. Rennel noted: “The mines alluded to, are those situated in the two branches of mount (Armenian or Eastern – E.D.) *Taurus*, that inclose the valley of *Sophene* (Tsopk-E.D.), through which the Euphrates passes in its way from Armenia to Syria. These are two in number, *Kebban* (ancient Armenian Kapan - E.D.), and *Argana* (ancient Armenian Arkni=Arghana-E.D.)⁴⁴ ... Mr. J. Sullivan reports (1781), that they were rich in *gold* and *silver*, and also produced *lead* and *iron*. M. Sestini, who accompanied him, says, that the mine of Argana, yielded *copper*, also.”⁴⁵ About the latter P. Akkermans and G. Schwartz wrote: “A southern Mesopotamian “presence” along the Euphrates up into the heart of *eastern Anatolia*, therefore, is explained as an effort to control access to the rich

⁴¹ Concerning Sargon’s (ca. 2340-2280 BC) campaigns M. Heinz noted: “The western Levant with its powerful economic and administrative center in Ebla, the Amanus region, northern Lebanon as a provider of cedar wood, and the Taurus with its source of silver were more difficult to access and control than the north and the Euphrates region, but they were very much desired by the Akkadians. Sargon boasts in his inscriptions of not only having seen the west but of having ruled it...” (Marlies Heinz, *Sargon of Akkad: Rebel and Usurper in Kish*, see in: *Representations of political power: case histories from times of change and dissolving order in the ancient Near East* / edited by Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman– Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2007, p. 79). According to I. Gelb, “Amanus is called the Cedar Mountains by Gudea” and the Silver Mountains “probably the Taurus, where silver mines were well known in later periods” (Ignace J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity - The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XXVII, Chicago, 1935, p. 4).

⁴² B. R. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 32, cf. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by I. E. S. Edwards, Iorwerth Eiddon Stephen Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, 1971, p. 326.

⁴³ Кифишин А. Географические воззрения древних шумеров при патеси Гудеа (2162-2137 гг. до н.э.) (Палестинский сборник, вып. 13(76), 1965, с. 64-66); M. Kavoukjian, *Armenia, Subartu and Sumer*, Montreal, 1987, pp. 1-2; Movsisyan A. *The Sacred Highlands. Armenia in the Spiritual Geography of the Ancient Near East*, Yerevan, 2004, pp. 57-59.

⁴⁴ About ancient Armenian Kapan and Arkni in Western Armenia see: Հ. Միքայիլ Վ. Յովհաննէսեան, Հայաստանի բերդեր, Վենետիկ– Ս. Ղազար, 1970, էջ 77, 125-126.

⁴⁵ J. Rennel, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-281.

resources of *eastern Anatolia*: timber from the eastern Taurus, copper from mining areas like Ergani Maden (Arkni=Arghana-E.D.), silver, and obsidian”⁴⁶ (in this sentence the term “eastern Anatolia” is twice wrongly used by the authors instead of *Western Armenia*-E.D.).

V. V. Ivanov, investigating publications concerning the Ebla documents and analysing Naram-Sin’s information about Armanum in the light of corresponding toponyms and personal names mentioned there, concluded: “Preserved bilingual texts are of exceptional interest. Hattit-Hittite bilinguals of Asia Minor are very important also for the earliest Armenian culture’s prehistory⁴⁷. They widely represent Hattit goddess Ta-ši-me-ti, which in the old Assyrian Cappadocian (Asia Minor) tablet from Ashur (the end of the 3-rd millennium and the beginning of the 2-rd millennium BC) is associated with *Haja* – an ethnonym and onomastic element that matches, on the one hand, to the ancient name and the self-name of the Armenians from the earliest times⁴⁸, on the other hand, to the onomastic element *Haja*, testified together with the toponyms, regions and towns of Azi and Armi among the toponyms fixed in the cited below cuneiform texts from Ebla of the middle of the 3-rd millennium BC – several centuries before the tablet from Assur; later the same term *Haja* was testified as a toponym in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BC in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Carchemish. In the Asia Minor tablet from Assur... the deity is correlated with the “son of *Haja*”... In the business accountancy texts from Ebla... the man mentioned by the name of *Ha-ia=Ha-ya*... is connected with the region of the city of Armi... With a high degree of

⁴⁶ **Peter M.M.** G. Akkermans and Glenn M. Schwartz, *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16,000-300BC)*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 203.

⁴⁷ The names relating to ancient Armenia mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions and researched by V. Ivanov are essential in the historical, toponymic and onomastic context of the earliest period of Armenian history. Taking into consideration also some other names known from the territories (**Northern Syria**, Northern Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor) bordering the Armenian Highland, V. Ivanov concluded: “They are grouped around the places, close to the historical Armenia” (Вяч. В. Иванов, указ. соч., с. 31-33).

⁴⁸ V. Ivanov analysing G. Ghapantsyan’s views on these questions (**Г.А. Капанцян** К начальной истории армян. Древняя Малая Азия–В его кн.: Историко-лингвистические работы, I. Е., 1956, с. 5-265) noted: “The newest discoveries, particularly, in relation with the toponym and ethnonym *□aja* in its correlation with Armi и Azi prove the truthfulness of the conclusions of G. A. Ghapantsyan and complete wrongfulness of all constructions suggested by I. M. Dyakonov about the origin of the ethnonym *hay<*hati* and other questions of the Armenians’ ethnogenesis” (Дьяконов И.М. Предыстория армянского народа, Е., 1968, с. 234 след.), see Вяч. В. Иванов, Выделение разных хроно-логических слоев в древнеармянском и проблема первоначальной структуры текста гимна Ва(х)агну, *ПФЗ*, 1983, N 4, с. 30, сн. 31.

probability *Armi* mentioned in the Ebla texts (in early inscriptions, as a city having a separate king, later – the vicerent of Ebla) is identified with *Armanum*, which is named with Ebla in the inscriptions of Naram-Sin of Akkad”⁴⁹.

Historical facts and their conceptual research **in the toponymic context of the Armenian Highland testify that *Armanum* is the earliest form of the name of Armenia in Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions.**

ԱՐՄԱՆՈՒՄ-ԱՐՄԵՆԻԱ ԾԱԳՈՒՄՆԱԲԱՆԱԿԱՆ ՆՈՒՅՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԱՍԻՆ

ԴԱՆԻԵԼՅԱՆ Է. Լ.

Անվտիպում

Անտիկ և հայկական վաղ միջնադարյան սկզբնաղբյուրներում ու Աստվածաշնչում Հայաստանի ամբողջական բնական միջավայրը հիշատակվում է որպես Հայկական լեռներ (լեռինք Հայոց - 'Αρμενίου ὄρεος, τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ὄρεσι) և Արարատի լեռներ (τὰ ὄρε τὰ Ἀραράτ): Հետազոտելով Հայաստանի (Արևմտյան և Արևելյան Հայաստան) լեռնագրության գեոմորֆոլոգիական և երկրաբանական պատկերը՝ Հ. Աբիխը (1806-1886) օգտագործեց պատմականորեն հիմնավորված՝ *das Armenische Hochland* կամ *Bergland* (Հայկական լեռնաշխարհ) եզրույթը:

Հայաստանի տեղանունների հնագույն վկայություններն են մ.թ.ա. III-I հազարամյակների սեպագիր արձանագրությունները, որոնցից առանձնակի կարևորվում է արքադական սկզբնաղբյուրներում (մ.թ.ա. III հազ. երկրորդ կես) հիշատակվող Արմանումը: Պատմական փաստերը և դրանց հայեցակարգային հետազոտությունները (դեռևս 1920-30-ական թթ. Սիբրայթը, Ա. Ռ. Հորեյսը, ինչպես նաև հետազայում Ա. Կիֆիշինը, Վ. Իվանովը, Մ. Գավուքյանը և այլ հետազոտողներ կարծիք են հայտնել Արմանում-Արմենիա ծագումնաբանական նույնության մասին) վկայում են, որ, արքադական սեպագիր

⁴⁹ Вяч. Иванов В., указ. соч., с. 30-32, P. Matthiae. Ebla: Un impero ritrovato, Torino, 1977, pp. 184, 192, cf. maps (fig. 47, 48) on pp. 191, 197; G. Pettinato, Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L 2769 (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla 2), Napoli, 1980, p. 192. The inscribed bas-relief of Naram-Sin was discovered in 1892, near Diarbekr (Hilprecht H.V. The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, Philadelphia, 1904, p. 572), i.e. Amid, in the south-west of Armenia.

արձանագրություններում հիշատակված Արմանումը Արմենիա
անվան վաղնջական ձևն է:

О ГЕНЕТИЧЕСКОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ АРМАНУМА И АРМЕНИИ

ДАНИЕЛЯН Э. Л.

Резюме

Природная среда Армении в античных и раннесредневековых армянских источниках, а также в Библии упоминается как Армянские горы (*Արմինի Հայր* - Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος, τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ὄρεσι) и горы Араратские (τὰ ὄρετὰ Ἀραράτ). Географический термин «Армянские горы» в XIX веке употреблялся в географической и геологической литературе как das Armenische Gebirge. Исследуя геоморфологические и геологические характеристики орографии Армении (Восточная и Западная Армения), Г. Абих (1806-1886 гг.) сформулировал исторически обоснованный термин das Armenische Hochland или Bergland (Армянское нагорье).

Древнейшими свидетельствами топонимов Армении являются клинописные надписи III-I тысячелетий до н.э., из которых особое значение имеет Арманум, упоминаемый в аккадских источниках (вторая половина III тыс. до н.э.). Концептуальное исследование исторических фактов (еще в 1920-30-х годах У. Ф. Олбрайт, А. Р. Гораций, а в дальнейшем А. Кифишин, В. Иванов, М. Гавукчян и другие исследователи высказали мнение о генетической идентичности Арманума и Армении) показывает, что упоминаемый в аккадских клинописных надписях Арманум является древнейшей формой названия Армения.