

## ON THE GENETIC IDENTITY OF *ARMANUM* WITH *ARMENIA*

Danielyan E. L.

*Doctor of Sciences (History)*

The holistic natural environment of Armenia is mentioned as Ἄρμενίου ὄρεος<sup>1</sup>, τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ὄρεσι<sup>2</sup> (the Armenian mountains), τὰ ὄρε τὰ Ἀραράτ<sup>3</sup> (*the mountains of Ararat*) and *montes Armeniae*<sup>4</sup> (the mountains of Armenia) in ancient and Armenian early medieval sources (*լերինս Հայոց*)<sup>5</sup>, as well as in the Bible<sup>6</sup>. 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*<sup>7</sup>, *das Armenische Hochland* or *Bergland*<sup>8</sup> (the Armenian Highland).

---

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Masius* 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).

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

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> *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.*

<sup>5</sup> Մովսէս Խորենացի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ 33, 34; Ղազարայ Փարպեցոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց, եւ թուրթ առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան, Տիգրիս, 1904, ՀԳ; Խաչիկյան Լ., Եղիշեի «Արարածոց մեկնութիւն», Երևան, 1992, էջ 245, etc.

<sup>6</sup> The phrase εἰς τὰ ὄρε Ἀραράθ (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 Լերինս 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, Տոմրիթ Ա 24) of the Bible.

<sup>7</sup> *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes Geographischer Anstalt über Wichtige Neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann. Gotha, 1868, S. 131.*

<sup>8</sup> Abich Hermann, Ein Cyklus fundamentaler barometrischer Höhenbestimmungen auf dem Armenischen Hochland. Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg. t. 27, N 12, 1880; Абиx 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

The earliest evidence of the toponyms of Armenia are cuneiform inscriptions dating back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC. The Akkadian sources (the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 are 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"<sup>9</sup>. 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 Minor<sup>10</sup>. In Fig. 5 of the abovementioned articles by K.S. Kozłowski, O. Aurenche and E. Asouti the territory of Asia Minor<sup>11</sup> (i.e. Anatolia) is

---

Armenian Highland) characterizing the physical-geographic-geologic-geomorphologic features of Armenia, i.e. the geographical location and physical geographical characteristics of the Armenian Homeland.

<sup>9</sup> Kozłowski K.S., Aurenche O., Territories, Boundaries and Cultures in the Neolithic Near East, Oxford, 2005, pp. 80-82, fig. 5; Asouti E., 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 (Haldon John F., 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, *Anatolia* corresponds to Asia Minor, to the west of the Armenian Highland (Зограбян Л.Н., Орография Армянского нагорья, Ереван, 1979, стр. 14-15; Դանիելյան Է.Լ., Հին Հայաստանի պատմության հայեցակարգային հիմնահարցերը պատմագրության մեջ, ՊԲՀ, N 3, 2003, էջ 30-37; Ayvazyan A., 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" (Lynch H.F.B., 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 (Toynbee Arnold, 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).

<sup>11</sup> 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

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.

J World Prehist (2006)

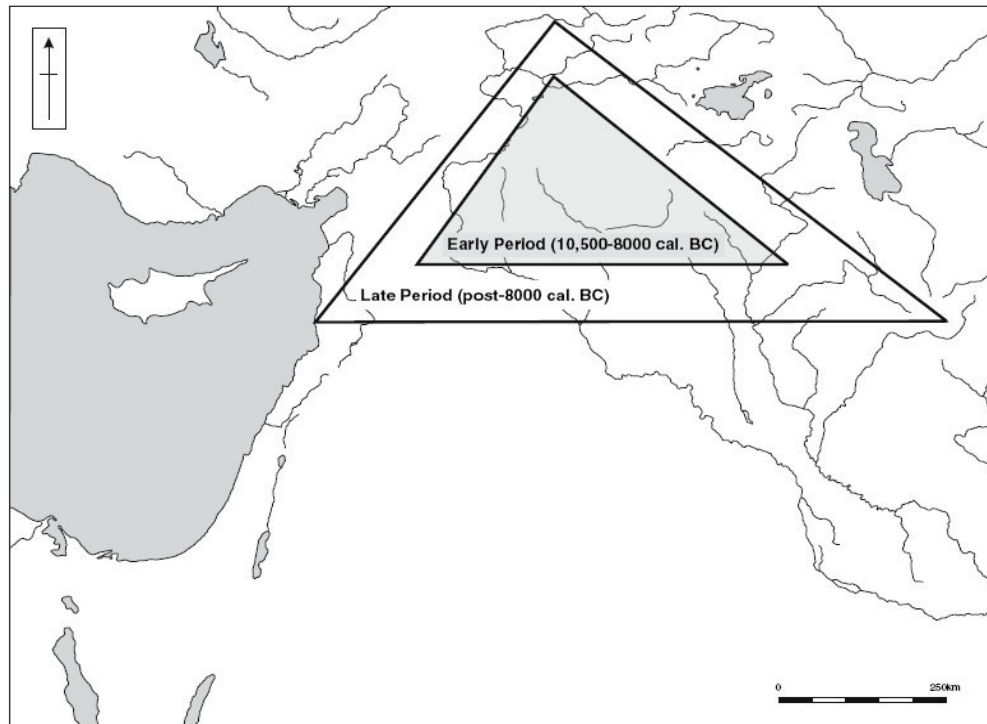


Fig. 5 The “Golden Triangle” in northern Syria, southeast Anatolia and the western Zagros (redrawn after Kozłowski & Aurenche, 2005)

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”<sup>12</sup>, “Ancient Turkey”<sup>13</sup> and “Archaeobotany of Sos Höyük, northeast Turkey,”<sup>14</sup> where the Bronze Age Sosis<sup>15</sup> site and other geographic

---

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 Bosporus, 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 Ἀνατολή 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>

<sup>12</sup> Başgelen N., Özdoğan M., Neolithic in Turkey: the cradle of civilization, Istanbul, 1999.

<sup>13</sup> Sagona A. and Zimansky P., Ancient Turkey, New York, Routledge, 2009.

<sup>14</sup> Longford C., Drinnan A., Sagona A., 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.

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 Western Turkey to Iran and the Caucasus”<sup>16</sup>. 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”<sup>17</sup> and “Western Turkey”; the ancient Armenian name of the region of Basen (Բասեն) is also brought in a distorted form<sup>18</sup>.

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”<sup>19</sup>.

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 Sumeria<sup>20</sup> 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,

<sup>15</sup> This word is derived of the Armenian word *unuḥ* (*sosi*), which means *Platanus* (*plane tree*). Movses Khorenatsi (the 5<sup>th</sup> 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” (Մոսիսի Խորենացի, գլ. Ի). Thus “Sos Höyük” is a distorted form of Armenian “Մոսի 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 Ա., Հայերէնի յարաբերութիւնը հեթանոսերէնի հետ, Հանդէս Ամսօրեայ, 1924, 9-10, էջ 453-459, 1926, 7-8, էջ 369-374): Капанцян Г.А. Хайаса-колыбель армян. Этногенез армян и их начальная история, Ереван, 1948; Ghazaryan R. P., 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.

<sup>16</sup> Longford C., Drinnan A., Sagona A., op. cit., p. 122.

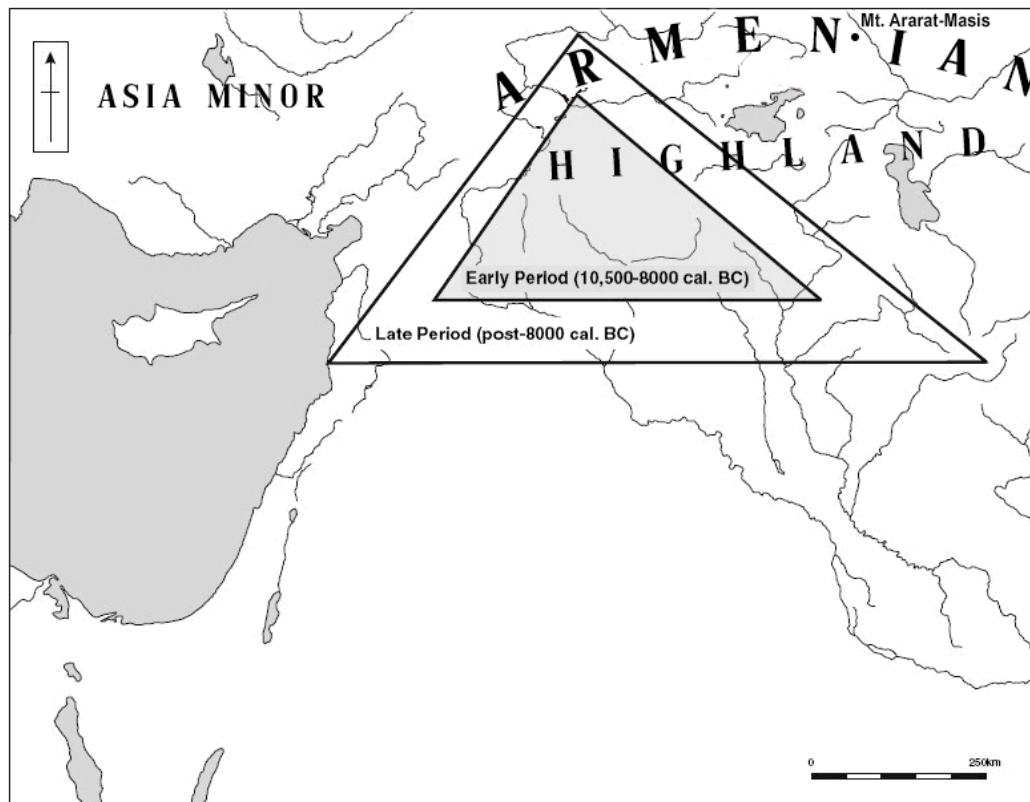
<sup>17</sup> Turkish falsifiers and their followers wrongly expand the use of the term “Eastern Anatolia” (see, e.g. Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan crude oil pipeline project publications of archaeological salvage excavations: 4, Ankara, 2005, p. 372) to the area corresponding to Western Armenia.

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

<sup>19</sup> 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” (Başgelen N., Özdoğan M., op. 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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).

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..."<sup>21</sup>



Certain regions of the “Golden Triangle” became a scene of the Akkadian expansion in the Bronze Age<sup>22</sup>. 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

<sup>21</sup> Lang David M., Armenia: Cradle of Civilization, London, 1970.

<sup>22</sup> In 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 (Dixon J., Cann J., Renfrew C., Obsidian and the Origins of Trade, Scientific America, 1968, N 218, p. 46).

larmuti. 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 Ḫalman or Ḫalpi (Aleppo), whereas Albright<sup>23</sup> [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 Diarbekr<sup>24</sup>. 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 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<sup>25</sup>. 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)."<sup>26</sup> 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."<sup>27</sup>

The military achievements of the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (2261-2224 BC)<sup>28</sup> 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"<sup>29</sup>.

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

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

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 417-418.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 418.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.ancient.eu/timeline/akkad/>

<sup>29</sup> 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" (Foster Benjamin R., *The Siege of Armanum*, *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, vol.14, 1982, p. 27).

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 Aleppo<sup>30</sup>). But Armi is also unlocalized, even though it is the most frequently mentioned place name in the Ebla texts after Mary and Emar”<sup>31</sup>. The main argument of the author is the question of the topographic 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/Armiium 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 Armiium/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/Armiium, whose location may have been at Banat-Bazi with its impressive fortified mountain citadel beside the river”<sup>32</sup>.

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 notions<sup>33</sup>. M. Astour, considering Armanum’s

<sup>30</sup> Gelb Ignace J., *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXVII, Chicago, 1935, p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Otto A., *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.1-2, 24. Cf. Biga Maria G., *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.

<sup>33</sup> “Armani (SG 13) stretches from Ebla to Bit-Nanib (The Sargon Geography, see Horowitz Wayne, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, Eisenbrauns, 1998 p. 69). The land of Armani, also written Alman and Ḫalman, 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” (Horowitz Wayne, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

position in relation to Transtigradian “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 Transtigradian city by that name, attested (sometimes in composite or ethnic formations) during Old Akkadian through Neo-Assyrian times. Indicative of its location are the Nippur geographical list, which places Eb-la<sup>ki</sup> 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 Transtigradian countries, which proceeds from north to south, one finds after Arrapha 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”<sup>34</sup>.

Alfonso Archi, basing on Naram-Sin’s information<sup>35</sup>, 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 of the epoch of the Armenian Haykazun-Ervanduni Kingdom -E.D.) on the west bank of the river”<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Astour Michael C., 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.

<sup>35</sup> “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 Rid-Adad, king of Armānum. (I 1-29, II 2-19, III 23-31).

<sup>36</sup> Archi Alfonso, In Search of Armi, Journal of Cuneiform Studies, Vol. 63, 2011, pp. 27-29.



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."<sup>37</sup> The elucidation of the problem of the toponymical origin of the word meaning *apricot* in Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions<sup>38</sup> is an important argument for localization of *Armanum* identified with the name of Armenia<sup>39</sup>; thus the home-country of *armanu* (cf. Lat. *armeniaca*) is considered to be Armenia<sup>40</sup>.

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 Ḫana, Mari and the mountains of Armanum... The two regions in the north (seen from Ḫatti, they would have been to the south-east and south-west), the cedar mountains and the Armanum mountains..."<sup>41</sup>

On the basis of analysis of information about "*Cedar Forest*", "*Silver Mountains*"<sup>42</sup>, "*the King of Armanum*"<sup>43</sup> in cuneiform inscriptions, A. Kifishin concluded: "There were

<sup>37</sup> Thus they "traditionally have the epithet *Armenian* or are known as plants of the Armenian origin (*Plantum armeniacum*). In Akkadian texts *apricot* is called (GİŠ)ḪAŠḪUR 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, Ереван, 1983, стр. 24-25. According to Wayne Horowitz, "Subartu includes the lands north and east of Akkad, from a border with Ḫanu to the area of Anshan beyond the Zagros in Iran. The Cedar Mountain is a realistic border for both Ḫanu and Subartu... Naram-Sin claims to rule Subartu as far as the Cedar Forest..." (Horowitz Wayne, op. cit., p. 80)].

<sup>38</sup> A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian, edited by J. Black - Andrew George - Nicholas Postgate, 2<sup>nd</sup> (corrected) printing, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Danielyan E.L., 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.

<sup>40</sup> Brothwell Don R., Food in Antiquity: A Survey of the Diet of Early Peoples, New York, 1998, p. 136, pp. 24, 105, 113, 116-117.

<sup>41</sup> Jonker Gerdien, The Topography of Remembrance: The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia, Leiden, 2005, pp. 117, 126-127.

<sup>42</sup> 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

*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 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC), which from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C. had been mentioned as *the country of Arme*<sup>44</sup>.

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.)<sup>45</sup> ... 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."<sup>46</sup> 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 resources of *eastern Anatolia*: timber from the eastern Taurus, copper from mining areas like Ergani Maden (Arkni=Arghana-E.D.), silver, and obsidian"<sup>47</sup> (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 prehistory<sup>48</sup>. They widely represent Hattit goddess

---

the Cedar Mountains by Gudea" and the Silver Mountains "probably the Taurus, where silver mines were well known in later periods" (Gelb Ignace J., *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXVII, Chicago, 1935, p. 4).

<sup>43</sup> Foster B. R., op. cit., p. 32, cf. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by I. E. S. Edwards, Iorwerth Eiddon Stephen Edwards, Gadd C. J., Hammond N. G. L., 1971, p. 326.

<sup>44</sup> Кифишин А., Географические воззрения древних шумеров при патеси Гудеа (2162-2137 гг. до н.э.), Палестинский сборник, вып. 13(76). Изд-во АН СССР, 1965 стр. 64-66; Kavoukjian M., *Armenia, Subartu and Sumer*, Montreal, 1987, pp. 1-21; Movsisyan A., *The Sacred Highlands. Armenia in the Spiritual Geography of the Ancient Near East*, Yerevan, 2004, pp. 57-59.

<sup>45</sup> About ancient Armenian Kapan and Arkni in Western Armenia see: Հ. Միքայել Վ.Յովհաննէսեան, Հայաստանի բերդեր, Վենետիկ - Ս. Ղազար, 1970, էջ 77, 125-126.

<sup>46</sup> Rennel J., op. cit., pp. 280-281.

<sup>47</sup> Akkermans Peter M. M. G. and Schwartz Glenn M., *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16,000-300BC)*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 203.

<sup>48</sup> 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" (Иванов Вяч. В., op. cit., стр. 31-33).

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 𐎶𐎶𐎶 - 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 times<sup>49</sup>, on the other hand, to the onomastic element 𐎶𐎶𐎶, 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 𐎶𐎶𐎶 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 𐎶𐎶𐎶”... In the business accountancy texts from Ebla... the man mentioned by the name of 𐎶𐎶-ia=𐎶𐎶-ya... is connected with the region of the city of Armi... With a high degree of probability *Armi* mentioned in the Ebla texts (in early inscriptions, as a city having a separate king, later - the vicegerent of Ebla) is identified with *Armanum*, which is named with Ebla in the inscriptions of Naram-Sin of Akkad<sup>50</sup>.

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

---

<sup>49</sup> V. Ivanov analysing G. Kapantsyan's views on these questions (Капанцян Г. А., К начальной истории армян. Древняя Малая Азия. В его кн.: Историко-лингвистические работы. I. Ереван, 1956, стр. 5-265) noted: “The newest discoveries, particularly, in relation with the toponym and ethnonym 𐎶𐎶𐎶 in its correlation with Armi и Azi prove the truthfulness of the conclusions of G.A. Kapantsyan and complete wrongfulness of all constructions suggested by I.M. Dyakonov about the origin of the ethnonym hay<sup>\*hat</sup> and other questions of the Armenians' ethnogenesis” (Дьяконов И. М., Предыстория армянского народа. Ереван, 1968, стр. 234 след.), see Иванов Вяч. В., Выделение разных хронологических слоев в древнеармянском и проблема первоначальной структуры текста гимна Ва(х)агну, ПР<, 1983, N 4, стр. 30, сн. 31.

<sup>50</sup> Иванов Вяч.В., op. cit., p. 30-32; Matthiae P., Ebla: Un impero ritrovato, Torino, 1977, pp. 184, 192, cf. maps (fig. 47, 48) on pp. 191, 197; Pettinato G., 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.