

**ՀԱՂՈՐԴՈՒՄՆԵՐ, ՆՇՈՒՄՆԵՐ,
ՎԻՃԱՐԿՈՒՄՆԵՐ**

**COMMUNICATIONS, NOTES
ET DISCUSSIONS**

THE ROYAL CROWNS OF THE ARTAXIAD DYNASTY OF ARMENIA AND THEIR ORIGINS

INTRODUCTION

From the beginnings of civilisation, nations have distinguished themselves from other nations with symbols of their distinct cultural essences. Each nation has expressed its cultural essence with coats of arms, flags, original crowns and other forms of artifacts. In considering the evolution of these artifacts, whether they went through partial or total change, it is useful to start a study of these symbols of nationhood with the oldest.

The Artaxiad crown remains a distinctly Armenian national and cultural symbol, which became the prototype of future imitation rather than the progeny of pre-Artaxiad and contemporary kingdoms of the Middle East and Europe.

In a search for the oldest symbols of the Armenian monarchy, it is necessary to start with the crowns of the Artaxiad dynasty of Armenia in general and especially as depicted on the coinage of Tigranes II the Great and his son Artavazdes II.

Since this course of investigation has not been explored before, it became necessary to interpret the symbolism on the crowns (tiaras) in the context of historiography and archaeology and to compile a list of bibliographical sources.

I have tried to decipher the subtleties of these artifacts, whether explicit or hidden. This work was done in the hope that others would be motivated to add their brick upon the magnificent tower of Armenian art historiography.

Until very recently historiographers have observed only the monumental and glorious aspects of Armenian history. Therefore following suit with the father of modern Armenian historiogra-

phy: H. Manandian, we take our glance at the Armenian Artaxiad tiaras of Tigranes II the Great and Artavazdes II from a more human aspect.

To deeply recognize a nation it is not sufficient to get acquainted with the deeds of his powerful and great people. It is also necessary to study the daily life and the ordinary and splendid objects used by the common people and the nobility of that nation, which more accurately reflects the daily life of a given nation in a particular period of history.

Considering the fact that we don't have in our disposition real crowns, tiaras, diadems or other artifacts to more realistically study the attire (or garb) of the Armenian Artaxiad era and describe them more accurately, we were obliged to adopt the materials used in the confection of crowns or tiaras of post Artaxiad period. Luckily the actual outline and form of the tiaras (crowns) were accurately depicted on the coins used in our analysis.

It is in that human perspective that the truth of the propensity of these great kings is discoverable: Tigranes II with his monumentous construction of Tigranocerta, and Artavazdes II in his patronage of the arts. And if these spendors had not been destroyed by the Romans, Armenian art historiography and archaeology would have been more elucidated and accessible for us.

I have no pretention of having achieved a complete and exhaustive work. The earnest archaeological excavations being carried out in Armenia have increased the expectations of Armenologists the world over, and hopefully they will prod never and more exhaustive investigation of Armenian monarchical treasures.

I would especially like to thank my son, Vartan Ter-Ghevondian, for his countless hours of research on the historiographic authentication of events on which this thesis stands and his help in editing the English version of this text. I cannot measure the appreciation I feel for the moral support of my wife, Lucy, in this project. This support was often physically draining on her own health and well being as she typed and often retyped the manuscript.

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1. CROWNS IN HISTORY

The crown or the tiara has been a symbol of authority for at least five thousand years of recorded history. The oldest examples are the three crowns of ancient Egypt: the red crown of Lower Egypt, the white crown of Upper Egypt and finally the combination of these crowns into the crown of the king Narmer (or Menes) which symbolized the unification of Egypt at about 3000 B.C.

Academics generally accept the premise that the height of a crown intentionally expresses a fabricated illusion of superiority that surrounds a wearer of a crown. It becomes politically easier to obtain and later to maintain a crown. But the Greco-Roman forerunners of the modern crown were not always political in their purpose.

The first examples of crowns from ancient Greece and Rome depicted in artifacts are wreaths of laurel. In Homer's *Illiad* (XIII-736), the crown of laurel was offered to the Gods or to a whole army for the victory of battle or war. Undoubtedly, this wreath or crown of laurel was awarded to the winners of athletic, musical and literary competitions. The winners of these competitions became «Laureates» or prize winners. The plants used to fashion these winners wreaths in addition to laurel were parsley and olive leaves. An individual warrior sometimes received a laurel as homage by the troops or the people. A civilian in Rome who saved the life of another Roman citizen was crowned with oak tree leaves. A soldier who endangered his own life to insure the security of an army was crowned with a wreath made with long blades of grasses amidst the thundering applause of his fellow troopers.

This emblem of Roman homage, victory and glory came to symbolize the victory of Christian faith, during the initial Christian era. Many Roman emperors were depicted on coins with rays on their heads, symbolizing the sun. The crown-like decorations originated as replacements of laurel wreaths, and conveyed the same meaning.

Modern crowns are a synthesis of the victory wreath fashioned with leaves and the helmets of the middle ages which give the bearer a suitable sight. It is these crowns that are fa-

miliar to us as symbols of sovereignty similar to the raised crowns or tiaras of Ancient Egypt¹.

The royal crown must not be confused with a hat. A hat has a genuine utilitarian use. The symbolism of a crown conveys a superior role or status to the wearer rather than just mere covering for the head. It is also possible to accept the crown as a sign of success; alluding to success as a coronation or final homage to the successful completion of an enterprise. The crown and its rays also symbolize spiritual merits².

Christian art also depicted crowns and tiaras. The crowned Madonna is represented as «the Queen of the Heavens (Regina Coeli)». It is also possible to suppose that the nymbus or halo used in art was transmitted from pagan origins to Christianity and was probably derived from the crown. Another Christian symbol of sacrifice, the tonsure of monks commemorate Christ being crowned with thorns.

When a person is depicted in art with a crown beside his feet, this means that he or she has declined royal authority³. In an exceptional case king Hethum II of Cilician Armenia refused a crown, but retained twice his royal authority. This same king Hethoum II is depicted praying without a crown in the silver reliquary of Skevra (1292 A.D.).

The fashioning of crowns has its traditional crafting essentials. They are generally prepared with gold and set with precious stones. Gold, as the most precious metal, enhances the bearer's status.

In the past, hard gems like diamonds, sapphires, rubies and emeralds were difficult to cut and shape. Therefore, crowns were more often decorated with pearls and semi-precious gems. The pearl, cultured in the natural environment of the oyster's shell, was not in need of reshaping. Any attempt to reshape a pearl would only spoil its natural radiance and beauty. When it was impossible to prepare a crown or tiara with gold due to economical reasons, it was fashioned with silver and then gold plated. This silver gilt with gold is generally called vermillion (vermeil, in French).

1. ARNOLD WHITTICK, *Symbols, Signs and their meaning and uses in design*, London, 1971, p. 135.
2. J. E. CIRLOT, *A dictionary of Symbols*, London, 1967, p. 72-73.
3. GEORGE FERGUSON, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, Oxford University press, 1961.

As in the history of many nations, Armenians had a series of longlasting dynasties, such as the Artaxiads, Arshakounis, Bakratounis, Ardzrounis, Roupinians and Lusignans, with crowns unique to each dynasty.

Possibly, the oldest verifiable dynasty of Armenian kings were the Artaxiads⁴. We know what they looked like from the coins they minted. These coins depicted the crowned profiles of kings Zariadres, Artaxias (or Artashes), Tigranes and their successors. Unfortunately other routine historical evidences such as inscriptions, bas-reliefs and statues were not available for the study of their costumes. For the time being, we must be content with the coins which, fortunately, depict the Artaxiad tiaras with great accuracy.

Therefore, to study these tiaras with any precisions as to their origins it becomes necessary to study Pre-Artaxiad rulers' and their contemporary foreign rulers' crowns or tiaras. For this purpose it is necessary to seek similarities, reciprocal influences and continueing traditions.

Crowns which were unique to certain dynasties were strong and identifiable symbols of a particular regime. When a radical change in leadership occured, whether through coups or revolutions, the new regime destroyed all traces of the prior administration. The crowns and crown jewels were always a threat to the authority of the new government because of the symbolic value of these items.

The most famous example of one administration attempting to destroy even the most inconsequential mementos of a prior regime occured in the case of the French Revolution. When the Third Republic was established (1870), the authorities auctioned the crown jewels of the Ancient Regime. The jewels were miraculously preserved during the Napoleonic, Restoration and Imperial periods. A great part of the Romanoff crown jewels of Russia were also miraculously preserved and are presently exhibited in the Hermitage and Kremlin Museums.

Because of such a destruction by succeeding foreign occupiers, the Artaxiad royal crowns of Armenia have altogether passed into the darkness of our unchronicled past. In order to examine the Artaxiad crowns it is necessary to note the differences

4. *Armenian Encyclopaedia*, Yerevan, 1976, vol. 2, p. 139.

in the crowns of various kings of this dynasty and recreate a prototype consistent with concepts of metallurgy and art. The crowns of the Artaxiads had many common elements but they varied in size and relative proportions of these elements (such as the height of the crowns). Therefore to begin our analysis we must reconstruct a medium proportioned crown (ill. 1) synthesizing the most prominent, identical, as well as, dissimilar features of these dynastic crowns. In our reconstruction, which should be the logical point of reference for the reader throughout this analysis, we will correct the intentional paradox of the original artist's who depicted the king in profile, but crown details in frontal view. The ancient artisans intentionally engraved the double eagle details of the Artaxiad crowns fallaciously on the side to stress the sovereignty of this dynasty's kings over both Minor and Major Armenias, which were the satrapic divisions that lingered from the Achaemenid occupation of the region. This crafting mistake was common at the time because the process of depicting the human face in a portrait had not been perfected yet. Thus faced with the political necessity of depicting the kings sovereignty over a United Armenia and the constraints of the craft these artists depicted what to modern eyes seems awkward.

In the next few pages we will examine the crowns of neighboring nations noting the distinctness of the Artaxiad crowns (tiaras) in comparison. Thus we will have a reference to start from as we seek the origins that make the Artaxiad crown culturally and historically unique.

2. PRE-ARTAXIAD HEADGEARS

A study of Pre-Artaxiad headgears demonstrates only a partial similarity between the neighbouring countries head gears, and Artaxiad crowns (tiaras) and their general forms. The archaeological materials available for study extend from the 9th century B.C. until the appearance of the Artaxiads in second century B.C.

The two oldest materials at our disposal are two assyrian bas-reliefs. The first is a sculpted relief of Ashurnasirpal II (859-833 B.C.) from Nimrud (ill. 2). The king's headgear, to a certain degree, can be compared with the Artaxiad crowns, if we don't consider the shaky outlines of the assyrian headgear which sug-

gests that it must have been prepared from woven textile material. Unlike the latter crown the two sides of the Armenian tiara are elevated with straight lines suggesting that they are fashioned with metal or any other hard material. The top half of the Assyrian headgear has a conical part which reminds us of the arabic fez, which may indeed be an evolution from the assyrian original, merely adding a tassel from the top which replaces the ribbons of the Assyrian headgear.

The second source is the relief of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.) from Nimrut (ill. 3), which has almost the same outline as Ashurnazirpal II's. The only difference is the horizontally wrapped ribbons of Tiglath Pileser's headgear. During his reign Tiglath Pileser often invaded and weakened the Urartian kingdom around 735 B.C.

The Urartian king Sarturi's (755-735 B.C.) military bronze helmet has a sharp end, similar to those of his soldiers. But in two situations we see the Urartian god Teisheba's fresco (ill. 4) and a bronze statuette (ill. 5) from the Hermitage museum in which the headgear bears almost an identical resemblance to what we can call crowns. Even though Teisheba's neck cover is incomplete, and we see for the first time, neck covers right under a headgear, not as its continuation but as a separate piece connected to the headgear. We believe that this complete neck-cover not only has an aesthetic decoration, but also a practical use, to protect the neck from the cold. In the fresco of Teisheba the top of the headgear is wider than the bottom and has a rosace at its top, which suggests Assyrian influence.

One of the high-reliefs of Persepolis depicts the covered head of an Armenian (ill. 6). The three rippled parts of the upper portion of the headgear suggest the softness of the material, may be wool, used in its confection. Although the neck cover here is different from the Artaxiad crowns, we can deduce that this is very probably a prototype of the Artaxiad crown (ill. 6, 6a and 6b). This is the first instance of a solid representation of the armenian prototype from the period of the 6th to 5th century B.C. amply depicted on the relief sculpture of Persopolis. On another relief of the same city Darius I (522-486 B.C.) is depicted with braided hair and a headgear (ill. 7), which reminds us of the Urartian god Teisheba's crown-like headgear, the only difference being that on Darius' headgear we don't see the salient part which is a characteristic of Teisheba's headgear.

The headdress of the persian guard (ill. 8) from the same set of reliefs is similar to that of Darius' with the exception that the guardman's headdress has deep vertical flutings (regular divisions) that differentiate it from the king's.

A greek coin from the 6th to 5th centuries B.C. depicts the goddess Athena (ill. 9) with a helmet decorated with laurel leaves and has a neck-cover which is a direct continuation of the helmet. The material used in fashioning the helmet is chiselled metal and unlike any soft material which we see in headgears of later centuries. Here the neck cover of the helmet has a purely defensive role.

Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap of Lydia (deceased in 395 B.C.), who played a great role in extending the persian empire to the Ionian cities, is depicted on a coin (ill. 10), wearing a headdress fashioned with soft material. Here the neck cover which extends to his chest is divided in three parts, where the first and the third parts constitute ear-flaps. Because the neck-cover is cut short at the edge of the coin, we cannot confirm if it was as long as the phrygian neck-covers, with their many variations. The phrygian woolen cap, with or without neck-covers, has been used in later history, during the French Revolution, as a symbol of liberty.

Also in the same period as Tissaphernes, Xenophon describes the satrap of Armenia (401-400 B.C.), Tiribazus:

«All this part [of the country] is called Western Armenia. Its governor was Tiribazus, who was a personal friend of the [persian] king, and when he was present, no one else had the right to assist the king in mounting his horse»⁵.

According to Dr. Raphael Kuhner's calculation⁶, Xenophon's army was in Armenia in 401-400 B.C. between December 8th and 15th. It is probable that Xenophon had seen Tiribazus with his headgear or another attribute, the description of which could have shed some more light on our research.

Finally, on a coin depicting Autophradates I (3rd cent. B.C.) before the rise of the Artaxiads, we see a very clear neck-cover

5. *The Anabasis of Xenophon*, New York, 1881, p. 122.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

and ear-flaps very like the Artaxiad's but shorter. Here the two parts of the neck-cover and ear-flaps continue till the top of the headgear (ill. 11).

It may be possible to find other depictions of headgears, but those that we have at our disposal are sufficient to prove the existence and use of neck-covers and ear flaps during the same period in Armenia and in surrounding countries with similar weather. But in such countries like Assyria, as we saw, the neck cover and ear-flaps were not considered a necessity. Thus it is clear that in a comparison of pre-Artaxiad crowns of other Middle Eastern nations and the Artaxiad crowns, the Artaxiad tiara remains intact as essentially Armenian in cultural origin.

3. THE ORONTIAN KINGDOM OF COMMAGENE AND ITS CROWNS

The short lived kingdom of Commagene, which arose during the period of the downfall of the Seleucide kingdom lasted only through the second and first century B.C. Its ascent occurred 27 years after the defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans in the battle of Magnesia (190-189 B.C.),

The Commagene kingdom spanned from the south western region of historical Armenia, between the triangle formed by the Amanus mountains of Cilicia, the Taurus mountains and the Euphrates. This kingdom which by its geographical position was close to the Greek world, enjoyed the benefits of the Hellenic civilisation, from culture to trade.

According to Strabo:

«... from here the Euphrates turns to the South, and during this [circular divergence] arises [at] the borders of Cappadocia and Commagene, leaving at its left the provinces of Akisilena (Yekeghiats) and Sophene (Dzopk) of Greater Armenia»⁷.

As for the internal scuffles of Seleucia:

«the result of all this has been that they surrendered the country [Commagene] to the Parthians who had occupied the

7. STRABO, *Excerpts*, translated from the Greek original into Armenian by Prof. H. Ajarian, Yerevan, 1940, p. 43.

other side of the Euphrates, and at the end to the Armenians [during the reign of Tigranes II the Great] who also occupied the region outside the Taurus mountains till Phoenicia [Lebanon] and crushed the strength of the Seleucid kings. They annihilated all their descendants and gave the [Mediterranean] sea to the Cilicians»⁸.

Strabo continues:

«... the passage of the Euphrates is also in Commagene, in front of it is the fortress of Seleucia, which Pompey gave back to Commagene. It was in this fortress that Tigranes [II] killed queen Selene, renamed Cleopatra, after expelling her from Assyria [Assoryk in Southern Armenia] and imprisoning her»⁹.

According to an inscription of Nemrut Dag, Antiochus I was a descendant of the Armenian Orontians (Yervandouni) and regarded himself a descendant of the Aechemenids. But according to the Armenian Encyclopaedia¹⁰, Orontes II (Yervand) of Armenia was the son-in-law of the Aechemenid king Artaxerxes, and Antiochus I descended from the Aechemenids from his great-grand'mothers side. He was of course Armenian on his father's side.

Antiochus I (69-34 B.C.), with his astute political style, antagonized the Romans against the Parthians, and brought his kingdom to the peak of its authority. This shaky kingdom lasted until 17 A.D., when it was first annexed by Rome, then permanently united to Syria.

Antiochus I can be considered almost a contemporary of Tigranes II (95 to 55 B.C.)¹¹. After the death of Tigranes II in 55 B.C., and the weakening of the Armenian kingdom, Commagene was at the zenith of its short-lived glory. Antiochus I, who survived Tigranes II by 21 years, built an imposing monument to himself at Nemrut Dag, between lake Van and the Armenian

8. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

10. *Armenian Encyclopaedia*, Yerevan, 1977, vol. 3, p. 640.

11. *Britannica*, Micropaedia, H. H. Benton, publ. Chicago, 1973-1974, vol. 3, p. 36.

city of Mush, far away from the limits of Commagene. On the various sculptures of this monumental complex, Antiochus I is depicted wearing a tiara, the outline and style of which bear an obvious resemblance to the Armenian Artaxiad tiaras, only varying in proportions and details. Naturalistic floral and animal arrangements prevail on the three crowned sculptures of Antiochus I (ill. 12, 13, 14), which is in opposition to the Armenian tiara's stylisation. Even on Antiochus I's father's Mithridates' bas-relief group sculpture with Heracles (who corresponds to the Armenian god Vahagn) (ill. 15), the king's tiara, except for its unusually long height, is surrounded with laurel leaves which is very characteristic of Greek coin decorations.

The protracted forms of the four above mentioned tiaras differ from the moderately high tiaras of the Armenian Artaxiads, which focus the onlooker's glance to the depicted human face rather than to the tiara.

In a recent compilation of Armenian History published in Yerevan, Armenia, we read

«... in the inscriptions of Antiochus I at Nemrut Dagħ, it is written that king Orontes ruled over Armenia in the 4th century B.C. This king is mentioned as Antiochus I's ancestor, the Orontian satrape of Armenia¹².

In the second half of the 4th century B.C., the Orontian state of Armenia established in the highlands included Commagene, Sophene, Arzanena (Aghtsniġ) and the world (ashkharh) of Moxoena (Mogk)¹³.

Being incorporated sooner than the Armenian Highland in the economical progress of Hellenistic countries, the Orontians constituted a separate state¹⁴. Armavir was the religious center of the new kingdom, where the temples of the Sun (Arek) and the Moon (Loussin) were located¹⁵.

Tigranes II established a magnificent empire nourished by Hellenic civilization. He successfully subdued many countries of the Middle-East such as Virk (Georgia), Aghvank (Albania), and

12. *Hay Joghovrdi Patmoutioun* (= *History of the Armenian People*), Yerevan, 1971, vol. 1, p. 505.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 508.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 511.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 514.

the Arab regions. He eventually arrived at the borders of Egypt by way of Phoenicia. The weakness of Tigranes II's was that his Empire lacked in unity. The lack of strong ethnic ties and a harmonious economic progress that was not helped by racial diversity and disproportions in economic progress, were strong evidence that at the first instance of siege by a foreign power the union would disintegrate. After overcoming Antioch (where Tigranes II minted his famous silver coins). He ended his series of conquests in the Middle East¹⁶.

Looking back at Tigranes II's career one only wonders why Tigranes did not erect a monument like the one erected in Nimrut Dagħ by Antiochus II. First of all Tigranes II spent the major part of his active life warring and most of the monuments that he did built in Tigranocerta and elsewhere were destroyed systematically by the Romans after his defeat. Where as Commagene survived, as a friend of the Romans, remaining relatively peaceful and prosperous, far from great military expenses that Tigranes II had to maintain.

Prior to Tigranes II's ascent the gods of the Hellenistic Pantheon had gradually infiltrated into Armenia. The same thing had occurred between 60 and 50 B.C. in Commagene. One Commagenian artifact shows evidence of this Hellenistic influence. The hair setting of queen Selene clearly resembles that of the Greek goddess Artemis (Anahit) (ill. 16).

The coin of Antiochus I (ill. 17), on which he wears a crown almost similar to Tigranes' and most probably minted after the death of Tigranes II, is a proof of the unequal competition of Antiochus I against the grandeur of Tigranes II. This behavior of Antiochus I is proof of his eagerness to displace the Artaxiads by all means. How else could we explain the image of an Armenian headgear on the head of Zeus (Aramazd) (ill. 18), with a high upper portion and a conical shape. Is it possible to suppose that the gods of the Armenian Pantheon also wore similar head covers? The answer can be: Yes. Unfortunately, the destruction of all the ancient temples and pagan statues of Armenia by St. Gregory the Illuminator during the conversion of Armenia into christianity has deprived us of any possibility of proof.

A serious study of the Nimrut Dagħ monument can shed light on a study of the lost artifacts of the Artaxiad era. We can

16. *Ibid.*, p. 565.

safely deduce that this hellenized Armenian kingdom (Comma-gene), although a separate state, was an integral part of United Armenia and a continuation of Armenia Minor. Therefore, the only similar crown to the Artaxiad tiaras is in reality only a poor attempt to imitate a more popular style rather than an innovation.

4. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES REFERING TO THE ARTAXIADS

Before doing an in depth study of the Origins of the Artaxiad tiaras and their adjoining problems, it is necessary to examine the primary sources which are the works of historians who were contemporaries or near enough in time to insure accuracy.

These sources verify that in the first century B.C. the Romans asserted themselves in the Middle-East. The Roman imperial presence was disastrous for the nations of the region which had recently begun to enjoy the benefits of Greek civilization at an intensive rate. Armenia, as one of the main beneficiaries of Hellenic culture prospered in trade and new ideas that were spreading to newly founded Greek cities. The new Roman era was to be a period of looting and enslavement for the nations of the Middle East. Thousands were uprooted and deported from East to West as slaves¹⁷.

By crushing the last vestiges of nationalism: Tigranes II of Armenia and Mithridates of Pontus, the Romans reversed the trend of Hellenism in Asia. Only small and less powerful kingdoms were left to preserve the once glorious Hellenistic culture. This conflict was similar to the phenomenon of antagonism between East and West which continues even today¹⁸.

The defeat of Antiochus the Great in 190 B.C. near Magnesia gave the Romans the opportunity to strengthen their influence in the smaller states of Asia Minor. Their true intentions were to weaken and gradually dominate all the countries of the region, masked as liberators of the region.

According to Plutarch,

«Hannibal, after the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans,

17. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Tigran yerkrorte yev Hrome* (= *Tigranes II and Rome*) Armenian ed. Yerevan, 1940, p. 15.

18. J. DE MORGAN, *Histoire du peuple Arménien*, Paris, 1919, p. 80.

coming to Artax[ias], King of Armenia, pointed out to him many other matters to his advantage, and observing the great natural capacities and the pleasantness of the site... showed it to him and encouraged [him] to build. At which the king being pleased and desiring him to oversee the work, erected a large and stately city which was called after his own name, and made [Artaxata] metropolis of Armenia»¹⁹.

We don't have any information of the period between Artaxiad I and Tigranes II, but, according to Plutarch, Tigranes II was enthroned in 95 B.C., after being a royal hostage in Parthia. This presence of a Royal personage of a lesser nation in the more dominant Royal house ensured peace and loyalty of vassals to a [liege] lord. Following his release upon the death of his father he was crowned in the same spot where he would later erect his capital Tigranocerta (according to Appian). Seemingly, Tigranes had a well planned policy²⁰.

Immediately before his accession to the Armenian throne in 95 B.C. Tigranes had to cede 70 valleys on the Southern frontier of Armenia (Kurdistan) to the Parthians for his freedom. Hrand Pasdermajian, in *A History of Armenia*, states:

«Upon his accession to the throne Tigranes [II] adopted a policy of expansion and conquest which was to make Armenia the center of a great empire and, during a certain period of his reign the dominant power of the Middle East»²¹.

He began his expansion with the seizure of Sophene, and dethroned its sovereign King Artanes who was a descendant of Zariadres.

He married Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates IV Eupator of Pontus. Very wisely he stayed relatively neutral in Mithridates IV's wars with Rome. In a series of victorious wars starting with the Parthians, Tigranes expanded southward, and

19. PLUTARCH, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, trans. by John Dryden, New York, reprint of Clough's 1864 edition. Random House Inc. Lucullus, p. 616.
20. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Tigrane II et Rome*, Lisbon, 1963, p. 23.
21. PASTERMAJIAN H., *A history of Armenia*, chapter III. The Armenian Review, 1958. Readings in Armenian History, U.C.L.A. part I, p. 25.

eventually northward. The Kings of Iberia and Albania accepted his sovereignty over them. In 83 B.C. the Syrians who had been plagued by Seleucid dynastic struggles, offered him their crown. It is at this time that Tigranes took the title of «King of kings» and built his capital Tigranocerta. The primary historians of this period chronicle this odyssey of Tigranes which earned him the title «The Great».

Tigranes turned Antioch, the capital of the Seleucides boasting a population of half a million, into his metropolis. The famous beautiful coins depicting Tigranes in his glory were minted there.

Plutarch asserts that Tigranes had:

«many kings [were] waiting on Him, but four he always carried with him as servants and guards, who, when he rode, ran by his horse's side in ordinary under-frocks, and attended Him, when sitting on his throne, and publishing his decrees to the people, with their hands folded together; this posture of all others was that which, most expressed slavery, it being that of men who had bidden adieu to liberty. . .»²².

It is highly probable that Antiochus I of Commagene was one of these, considering his later antagonism to the Artaxiads.

Flavius Josephus describes the fears of the Judean queen as Tigranes approached Palestine:

«About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the King of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with 500.000 soldiers, and was coming against Judea. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the Queen and the nation. Accordingly, they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais; for Selene the Queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors entered with him, and untreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their Queen or nation. He commanded them for the respects they paid him at so

22. PLUTARCH, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, transl. by John Dryden, New York, reprint of Clough's 1864 edition, Random House Inc., Lucullus, p. 607-608.

great a distance: and gave them good hopes of his favor. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes, that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia and besieging its cities. Now, when Tigranes knew this, he returned home»²³.

Tigranocerta was founded under unusual circumstances. Strabo writes:

«When Tigranes was strong enough to a point, he founded a city... which he named Tigranocerta and brought there the inhabitants of the twelve Hellenistic cities that he had destroyed»²⁴.

Two German scientists, Leman and Pelk, have researched and subsequently theorized that ancient Tigranocerta was in fact, north of the river Tigris, on the site of present day Fargin. Feld Marshall Moltke also concurs in that opinion²⁵.

Tigranes (II) the Great also invited the famous exiled Greek orator Amphigrades, who had distainfully refused the invitation of the Seleucides, to his court. Another guest of Tigranes' court was Metrododus of Scepta, a then famous philosopher who became Tigranes' chronicler. Unfortunately, all of these precious texts have been lost. Tigranes also built a great theater and invited Greek actors to perform in it. His son Artavazdes II was famous for his tragedies, some of which were even known to Plutarch²⁶.

Ironically Plutarch, after the above mentioned testimonies defames Tigranes the Great, and harms his historiographic objectivity by displaying his open sympathy for Roman imperialism.

Because of Tigranes' Armeno-Greek collaboration, Greek influences were reflected in religion, with the mingling of pagan Armenian and Greek deities, thus renaming Anahit to Artemis,

23. FLAVIOUS JOSEPHUS, *Complete works*. Antiquities of the Jews, Michigan, 1972, Chapter XVI-4, page 288.
24. STRABO, *Excerpts*, translated from the Greek original into Armenian by Prof. H. Ajarian, Yerevan, 1940, p. Geographia..
25. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Tigran yerkrorte yev Hrome* (= *Tigranes II and Rome*) Armenian Ed. Yerevan, 1940.
26. *Ibid*, French translation by H. Thorossian, Lisbon, 1963, p. 58.

Vahagn to Hercules and others. These westernizing influences ran against the dominant Iranian trend of the period, and in favor of hellenism²⁷.

The following testimony of Moses of Khoren is eloquent:

«Who among true men and those who appreciate deeds of valor and prudence would not be stirred by his memory and aspire to become such a man? He was supreme among men and by showing his valor he glorified our nation... He multiplied the stores of gold and silver and precious stones...»²⁸.

As to Tigranes' military strength:

«The infantry was carried on the shoulders of horses, the slingers were all skilled archers, those with clubs were armed with swords and lances, the unarmed were entirely protected by shields and iron garments. The mere sight of them assembled in one spot, with the shining rays of their armor and weapons, was sufficient to disperse the enemy»²⁹.

The Roman senate hesitated to overt hostility with Tigranes II. But in dictatorial fashion, that would become the norm with generals to follow, the Roman General Lucullus, who was stationed in Asia Minor marched toward Tigranocerta with four legions, in the spring of 69 A.D. The heroic resistance of Tigranocerta and the arrival of Tigranes II with his newly organized army are not recorded by Plutarch. We know about them only from neutral historians: Appian and Memnon.

With the help of Mithridates' forces, «whose arrows cut off the possibility of escape from the Roman camp, Tigranes II first brought out from Tigranocerta his seraglio [harem] and his most valuable effects»³⁰.

A description of the fierce battle for the defense of Tigranocerta by C. Dio is eloquent:

27. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Tigran yerkrorte yev Hrome* (= *Tigranes II and Rome*) Armenian Ed. Yerevan, 1940, p. 67-68.
28. MOSES KHORENATSI, *History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary on the literary sources by Robert W. Thomson, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1980, p. 113.
29. *Ibid*, p. 113-114.
30. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Tigran yerkrorte yev Hrome* (= *Tigranes II and Rome*), Armenian Ed. Yerevan, 1940, p. 106.

«Lucius Lucullus at this time had defeated in battle the lords of Asia, Mithridates and Tigranes [II] the Armenian, and after forcing them to avoid battle was besieging Tigranocerta. But the barbarians did him serious injury by means of their archery as well as by the naphtha [kerosene] which they poured over his engines; this chemical is full of bitumen and is so fiery that it is sure to burn up whatever it touches, and it cannot easily be extinguished by any liquid. In consequence, Tigranes recovered courage and marched forth with an army of such strength that he even scoffed at the Romans present there. He is said, indeed, to have remarked that when they [the Romans] came on a campaign there were only a few of them, but when on an embassy there were a great many. His amusement, however, was of short duration, for he forthwith discovered how far courage and skill surpass any mere numbers. After his flight the soldiers found and gave to Lucullus his tiara and the [head] band that went around it; for in his fear that these ornaments might lead to his [Tigranes'] recognition and capture he had torn them off and thrown them away»³¹.

Not satisfied with the plunder of Tigranocerta and guided by his covetous instincts, Lucullus marched on Nisibis where Tigranes had deposited his treasures. After the capture of the city, where Tigranes brother was made prisoner:

«Immediately he captures nearly everything, for the inner city was not very strong by reason of the confidence felt in the outer works beyond it»³².

Wanting to conquer easily Mithridates and recover all that had been let slip

«The son-in-law of Tigranes [the other Mithridates] fell suddenly upon the Romans while they were scattered and killed many of them; also the approach of Tigranes himself was announced and there was mutiny in the [Roman] army... because they heard that Acilius, the consul, who had been

31. CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History*, book XXXVI, vol. III, London MCMXIV, p. 35.

32. *Ibid*, p. 13.

sent out to relieve Lucullus... was drawing near, and they accordingly regarded Lucullus with contempt, as being already a mere private citizen»³³.

As long as his soldiers prospered and got what they wanted from the booty, obeyed Lucullus. But when trouble and misfortune came and the situation was hopeless, they no longer heeded him at all, because he didn't understand how to win over a man by persuasion and mildness. The proof of this is that

«...Pompey took these same men — for he enrolled the Valerians again — and kept them without the slightest show of revolt. So much does one man differ from another»³⁴.

Before his defeat, Lucullus had ruthlessly sacked the remaining treasures in Tigranocerta — eight thousand talents of silver, which would be worth approximately \$ 170 million in U.S. dollars, according to the calculations of Hulch³⁵. Lucullus, ultimately, failed to capture the whole city. With the inglorious defeat of Lucullus, this phase of the Roman imperialistic politics came to an end.

The situation of the Roman republic was serious.

«In 66 B.C. Pompey was given extraordinary authority (*imperium majus*) to continue the war in the Middle East and the absolute right to declare war and conclude peace in the name of the Roman people»³⁶.

This was consistent with the dictatorial tradition from Lucullus through Julius Ceasar, which eventually made the Roman republic into an Empire.

With his second wife Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates of Pontus, Tigranes II had three sons who all aspired to royal authority before the death of their father.

«The oldest, Zariadres, with the help of princes who were dissatisfied with Tigranes II, [conspired to overthrow Him]

33. *Ibid.*, p. 21-23.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

35. FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Complete works*, wars of the Jews, Michigan, 1972, chapter XVIII-5, p. 449.

36. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Tigrane II et Rome*, French translation by M. Thorossian, Lisbon, 1963, p. 153.

but they failed in their plot and all were killed. The second, whose name is unknown while on a hunting party with Tigranes II and Tigranes Jr., saw his father fainting from fatigue and tried to take his father's crown (tiara) and place it on his own head. Tigranes Jr. went to this father's defense. Awakening, the king ordered his traitorous son executed, promising to give the junior his crown and throne. This son also revolted against his father at a later date»³⁷.

Cassius Dio testifies that the elder Tigranes II suspected that his father-in-law Mithridates wanted to see his grand'son on the throne of Armenia. This would have enabled Mithridates to easily impose his will on Tigranes II, who had a very clear personal policy which sometimes contradicted Mithridates.

After being defeated along with his conspirators by his father Tigranes II, Tigranes Jr. went to Pompey from where he hoped to receive the royal crown and the throne of Armenia.

At that time Tigranes II, at 75 years of age, came to Pompey on his horse.

«... He had put off his tunic shot with white and the candys of pure purple, but wore his tiara and head band. Pompey, however, sent a lictor and made him dismount from his horse, since the king was riding up as if to enter the very fortification on horseback according to the custom of his people. But when he saw him enter on foot, cast aside his headdress [tiara] ... he felt an impulse of pity; so, springing up hastily, he raised him, bound on the head band and seated him upon a chair close by, and spoke words of encouragement, telling him among other things, that he had not lost the kingdom of Armenia, but had gained the friendship of the Romans. By these words Pompey restored his spirits, and then invited him to dinner ... he restored to the elder [Tigranes II] all his hereditary domain, but what he had acquired later... he took away and demanded money of him besides»³⁸.

Narrating the same event, Plutarch asserts

37. *Ibid.* ref. Valere Maxine, p. 157.

38. CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History*, book XXXVI, vol. III, London MCMXIV, page 89.

«Tigranes II pulled off his royal turban» [tiara]³⁹,

an exaggerated portrayal of the king's tiara.

The Romans required Tigranes II to pay:

«the sum of six thousand talents as a fine or penalty for injuries done to the Romans, and [figured] that his son should have the kingdom of Sophene [Dzopk], Tigranes [II] himself was well pleased with these conditions of peace and when the Romans saluted him [as] king, seemed to be overjoyed, and promised to every common soldier half a mina of silver [1/4 pound], to every centurion ten minas, and to every tribune a talent [26 kilograms]...⁴⁰.

Tigranes Jr. was dissatisfied because it was from his Sophene treasuries that all the indemnities would have to be paid. The following description of the protection of the Armenian royal treasuries is fascinating:

«Pompey, being informed of this in season, kept the youth in honorable confinement and sent to those who were guarding the money, bidding them [to] give it all to his father. But they would not obey, stating that it was necessary for the young man, to whom the country was now held to belong, to give them this command. Then Pompey sent him [Tigranes Jr.] to the forts. He, finding them all locked up, came near and reluctantly ordered that they be opened. When the keepers obeyed no more than before, claiming that he issued the command not of his own free will, but under compulsion, Pompey was vexed and put Tigranes [Jr.] in chains»⁴¹.

And the treasures were given to the old Tigranes.

Returning from Armenia to Pontus in 64 B.C., Pompey took possession of all the rich treasuries and famous archives of Mi-

39. PLUTARCH, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, transl. by John Dryden, New York, reprint of Clough's 1864 edition, Random House Inc., Pompey, p. 764.

40. *Ibid*, Pompey, p. 764.

41. CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History*, book XXXVI, vol. III, London MCMXIV, p. 91.

thruidates in Minor Armenia. There, in the fortifications, were kept thousands of onyx mugs, vessels, beds, breast plates, armaments and also thrones, all set with precious stones and gilded with gold were kept⁴².

The Romans recognized Tigranes II as «king of kings of Greater Armenia», a title that until then had been reserved for Phraates II, father-in-law of Tigranes Jr. As Hellenistic style monarchs, Tigranes II and Mithridates Eupator were doing their best to advance the great civilizing work of Alexander the Great of Macedonia and his successors.

Little information exists about the life and activities of Tigran II's son Artavazdes II, because of his relatively short reign (56-34 B.C.) and his tragic end, when Anthony and Cleopatra made the Great king Artavazdes II a victim of their political intrigues. Plutarch records in his work: «He, Anthony, sending Cleopatra to Egypt, advanced through Arabia [Mesopotamia?] and Armenia where he gathered his armies and those of his allies, who were numerous. The most powerful of these was the king of Armenia, Artavazdes [II], who brought with him one thousand horsemen, and six thousand foot soldiers⁴³. When he had to spend the winter in Armenia to refresh his army... «Mark Anthony immediately went away and leaving Armenia to his left, threw himself on Atropatene which he destroyed»⁴⁴.

Various historians speak of Mark Antony's shameless threatment of Artavazdes:

«The Armenian [king] Artavazdes [II], discouraged by the Romans' [inconstant] situation, withdrew with his army. Subsequently, however, when [M. Antony] invaded Armenia once more, he attempted to win over [Artavazdes II] with promises and invitations to surrender to him. Failing, he instead took him to Alexandria in chains, where he (M. Anthony) celebrated his victory [and] caused the Romans great sorrow by conceding to the people of Alexandria because of Cleopatra, and [depriving] the Romans of a beautiful and

42. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Tigran yerkrorte yev Hrome* (= *Tigranes II and Rome*), Armenian Ed. Yerevan, 1940, p. 206.

43. PLUTARCH, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, transl. by John Dryden, New York, reprint of Clough's 1864 edition, Random House Inc. Antony, p. 1125.

44. *Ibid*, p. 1125.

noble spectacle... which was the monopoly of his fatherland [Rome]»⁴⁵.

«He also became hated with the distribution of wealth that he carried out in Alexandria between his sons, making of it a theatrical representation against Rome... He granted the title of king of kings to the two sons that he had fathered with Cleopatra. He designated Armenia, Media and later the Parthian Empire when it would have been vanquished, to Alexander. To Ptolemy he gave Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia. At the same time he presented both of them to the people [of Alexandria], Alexander wearing [a] Median uniform, with a straight tiara, and Ptolemy wearing sandals, chlamyde and a Macedonian headdress, covered with a crown [very probably of bay leaves]. This was the form [of headgear] of the kings who succeeded Alexander [the Great], and the other [above mentioned] of the Medes and Armenians. When the two children kissed their parents, they were surrounded, one by an armenian guard [very probably consisting of Armenians], the other by a Macedonian»⁴⁶.

Strabo also writes of Artavazdes:

«... Artashat, near the field of [the river] Araxes... is the capital of the country. Not very far from this city the treasure houses of Tigranes [II] and Artavazdes [II] and the impregnable fortresses: Babir and Olane are located».

The following lines are also interesting:

«To Antoninus [M. Antony], besides the other horsemen, Artavazdes [II] gave a cavalcade of 6000 armoured horsemen, when he joined him in his assault on Media. Not only the Medians and Armenians, but also the Albanians [Agh-vank] have armoured horsemen»⁴⁷.

45. PLUTARQUE, *Vies*, XIII, texte établi et traduit par R. Flacelière et E. Chambéry, Paris, 1977, p. 153.

46. STRABO, *Excerpts*, translated from the Greek original into Armenian by Prof. H. Ajarian, Yerevan, 1940, p. 43.

47. PLUTARCH, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, transl. by John Dryden, New York, reprint of Clough's 1864 edition, Random House Inc., Antony, p. 1133.

Two details concerning crowns in this information are remarkable. First, the Median straight crown. Is it possible that by the word «straight», Plutarch means a tiara whose both sides are straight from the bottom to the top, like the Armenian tiara? An enigma which is, for the moment, unsolvable. But considering that M. Antony bestowed to his and Cleopatra's son, Alexander, an Armenian guard, why wouldn't he place on his head an Armenian or anlogus tiara? Or why not the personal tiara of the enslaved king Artavazdes II, which is very typically of Artaxiad style, according to his coins?

At this point, it is useful to quote the historian Flavius Josephus:

«But Anthony subdued over Armenia and sent Artabazes [Artavazdes], ... in bonds with his children and procurators to Egypt and made a present of them and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra»⁴⁸.

Cassius Dio's account of the treachery of Mark Antony is eloquent. First, «he [M. Antony] summoned the Armenian [Artavazdes II] to Egypt as a friend... but when the king suspected ... and did not respond... he plotted to deceive him in another fashion»⁴⁹. Later, advancing through Armenia, «marched with undiminished haste towards Artaxata... thereupon he arrested him, and at first kept him without fetters and led him around to the various forts where the king's treasures were deposited... When, however, the keepers of the gold would pay no heed to the king, and the Armenian citizens who bore arms chose Artaxes [Artaxias], the eldest of his sons, king in his stead, Anthony bound him in silver chains; for it was unseemly, apparently, that this man who had been king should be bound in fetters of iron»⁵⁰. After this disgraceful act he sent all the captives to Cleopatra and «brought her the Armenian [Artavazdes II] and his family in golden bonds. She [Cleopatra] was seated ... upon a platform plated with silver and upon a gilded chair», but Armenians «ad-

48. FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Complete works*, Antiquities of the Jews, Michigan, 1972, book XV, chapter IV, 3, p. 319.

49. CASSIUS DIO'S *Roman History*, vol. V, London MCMXVII, p. 409.

50. *Ibid*, p. 423.

dressed no supplications to her, nor made obeisance to her... but merely addressed her by name»⁵¹.

After her defeat at Actium Cleopatra «had many of the leading Egyptians executed... She also had Artavazdes [II], the king of Armenia, put to death [30 B.C.] and his head sent to the king of Media, who she hoped would be influenced by this act to help her cause and Antony's»⁵².

Artavazdes had been detained in Alexandria ever since Antony had brought him there in 34 B.C.

Tacitus also has a very explicit statement about the feelings of the Armenians after the execution of Artavazdes II. «Armenia», he states «was no friend of ours because Antony, pretending friendship, had treacherously trapped its king Artavazdes [II] only to arrest and kill him. The latter's son, Artaxias II [reigned 30-20 B.C.] remembering his father, hated us and called in the Parthian monarchy to protect himself and his throne»⁵³.

After the death of Artaxias II and the enthronement of Tigranes III by Tiberius (20 B.C.) a certain Zeno, son of Polemo I of Pontus was «at a great gathering in the city of Artaxada, with the agreement of the [Armenian] aristocracy, Germanicus crowned him king. The Armenians... acclaimed him as king Artaxias III»⁵⁴.

After Octavian's victory at Actium (31 B.C.), the Romans «obliterated all the monuments which commemorated Antony, pronounced the day of his birth as accursed, and forbade any of his kinsmen to use the name Marcus»⁵⁵. Octavian countered with the charge that Antony

«had brought the Roman people into great disrepute»⁵⁶.

51. *Ibid*, p. 423-425.

52. CASSIUS DIO, *The Roman History*, Penguin Classics, Great Britain, 1987, book 51, page 67.

53. TACITUS, *The annals of Imperial Rome*, Great Britain, 1986, Penguin Classics, p. 79.

54. *Ibid*, p. 106.

55. CASSIUS DIO, *The Roman History*, Penguin Classics, Great Britain, 1987, book 51, p. 79.

56. *Ibid*, book 50, p. 35-36.

5. THE ARMENIAN HEADRESSES OF THE PRE-ARTAXIAD PERIOD

During its entire history, Armenia has been considered as an indivisible entity. We read about this: «It appears that at the turn of the fifth century B.C., there was in the Armenian highland one basic general administrative unity: Armenia, whose sub-region was Western Armenia (Armenia Minor)»⁵⁷.

The Armenian general (later king) Artaxias, the founder of the Artaxiad dynasty, was the son of Prince Zariadres, of the Orontian dynasty. At first, Artaxias had been a high ranking officer. After the complete occupation of Armenia in 200 B.C., Antiochus III The Great (king of Seleucia) appointed Artaxias strategos (satrape) of Armenia. After the defeat of the Seleucids in Magnesia by the Romans in 190 B.C., Artaxias (I) proclaimed himself King of Armenia. In a short period of time he occupied the country entirely and created a massive state with a distinct ethnic composition. Profiting from the antagonism between Rome and the Seleucians Artaxias I began to conduct an independent foreign policy, without allying himself with Rome, and even granting refuge to Hannibal, the enemy of Rome.

Moses of Khoren (Khorenatsi), the Armenian historiographer (5th c.A.D.) writes at length about Artaxias. He affirms that when Artaxias (I) was returning from the West, bringing with him the statues of Zeus, Artemis, Athena and others, he died during the journey. His death came after a reign of 25 years [165 B.C.]⁵⁸.

The same author also alludes to the tiara of Artaxias. At his funeral, according to Khorenatsi: «The coffin was of gold. The bier and litter were of silk. The robes around the body were threaded with gold, the tiara on his head and the arms (weapons) set before him were of gold»⁵⁹.

All the coins from the Artaxiad (Artashessean) dynasty, from Artaxias I (Artashes) to Erato and Tigranes V, are basically similar, differing only in the composition of their tiaras orna-

57. *Hay Joghovrdi Patmoutioun* (= *History of the Armenian People*), vol. 1, Yerevan, 1971, page 454.

58. MOSES KHORENATSI, *History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary on the literary sources by Robert W. Thomson, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1980, p. 149.

59. *Ibid*, p. 202.

ments. This raises a serious question: Are the Artaxiad tiaras of Armenian origin? or are they borrowed from other nations?

In parts 2 and 3 of our study, we examined foreign crowns (or tiaras) having certain similarities to Artaxiad and pre-Artaxiad tiaras. Except the neck cover and ear-flaps, which are proper for cold countries, we didn't find any similarities to the Artaxiad tiaras among foreign crowns, except for Mithridates I's and Antiochus I's tiaras, which have a certain general likenesses to the Artaxiads' tiaras except in their ornaments. But the fact of the Armenian origin of Commagenian kings (Orontids) makes us suppose that very probably Artaxiad and Commagenian tiaras had a prototype original model from which both were generated. That prototype has to be sought in the popular Armenian head gears. Or are they influenced by each other creating an inter-familial competition?

On the silver coin of Tiribazus (ill. 19) whom Xenophon calls «vice-satrape» of Armenia is depicted a headgear on which the neck cover has more similarity to the same part of the Artaxiad tiaras, than those we studied earlier. This similarity is also true of the portrait on a gold coin of Orontas (ill. 20), except for the neck cover, which has, like Tiribazus' head gear, three separate parts. These parts include the two ear flaps and a range of round decorations in the front which are possibly coins, but they don't continue to the back of the head, as on the Tiribazus' headgear.

It's hard to reach a definite conclusion on this subject, since we are not sure to which Orontas this coin belongs. But keeping in mind the entire range of coins, all of which depict the form of a crown of leaves, we can deduce that this coin belongs to Orontas III, who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.). In 333 B.C. Alexander, passing from Cilicia, occupied Assyria, a country close to Southern Armenia. After occupying Ninus (Nineveh), Alexander sent a general to the province of Sper, in Armenia, to occupy the gold mines there⁶⁰.

A well preserved coin of Arsham (ill. 21) is noteworthy. On one side there is an inscription, «to the king Arsham». The King is depicted beardless, which is typical of his time, and wears a headgear which, if not made with a soft material and bent forward, as its observation suggests, could have a shape very si-

60. STRABO, *Excerpts*, translated from the Greek original into Armenian by Prof. H. Ajarian, Yerevan, 1940, p. 43.

milar to the Artaxiad tiaras. Although Fr. Vartan Hatzouni considers this a crown, we cannot agree with his idea, due to the fact of the soft and versatile form of the headgear⁶¹.

Arsham's birth and death dates are not known precisely. The Greek historiographer Polionos (II c.B.C.) reveals that in 230 B.C., the brother of Seleucus II, Antiochus Hyerax, after the failure of his revolt, took refuge in his friend Arsham's territory⁶². We can therefore deduce that king Arsham of Armenia lived in the 3rd c. B.C.

On one of Zariadres' coins (ill. 22), the prince is uncrowned. This was probably struck during the time when he was not yet king, but commander-in-chief at Sophene in 202-201 B.C. On this coin, he wears a headgear with a very original neckcover, whose frontal side is decorated with a row of round (coins?) decorations. The neck cover consists of three parts, of which the two sides (ear flaps) are joined together under his chin. The dates of Zariadres' birth and death are not known.

On a second coin, Zariadres is depicted (ill. 23) wearing an Artaxiad tiara which is not conical. According to P. Bedoukian, this coin is a forgery (copy from an original), but even as forgery, which is a copy of some existing original, it can help us to identify the shape of the Artaxiad tiara. On the above-mentioned text both Zariadreses are different persons. This second Zariadres reigned from 190 to 175 B.C. in Sophene.

As to the Phrygian headgears, nothing can affirm their relation to the Greek helmet which has a monolithic rigid form. This helmet cannot be compared with the Phrygian neck cover which has three separate parts suggesting an Eastern origin.

In the study of Fr. V. Hatzouni⁶³, two illustrations give us a clear picture of the Phrygian headgear. The first, a fighter (ill. 24), wears a helmet where the lower part is turned back and separated from the two sides, which serve as ear flaps. It is obvious that this helmet is chiselled on a monolithic metal plate. In the second depiction of Phrygian gladiators (ill. 25) who wear almost identical chiselled helmets, the ear flaps advance to their faces.

61. HATZOUNI FR. VARDAN, *Patmoutioun hin hay tarazin* (= *History of the old Armenian fashion*), Venice, St. Lazare, 1923, p. 49.

62. *Armenian Encyclopaedia*, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1976, p. 109.

63. HATZOUNI FR. VARDAN, *Patmoutioun hin hay tarazin* (= *History of the old Armenian fashion*), Venice, St. Lazare, 1923, p. 49.

The affirmation of Herodotus that «Armenians... were armed in Phrygian fashion»⁶⁴, raises a very serious question. How could it be that in the 5th c.B.C., Armenians, who, according to Herodotus were fighting under Darius' son-in-law's command as allies of the Persians, could be armed in Phrygian fashion? Two conclusions are possible. The prevailing opinion is that Armenians and Phrygians had a common past and cohabitated. Or, a second conclusion may very reasonably be that they simply considered the Phrygian armor practical. A careful study leads us to this second conclusion.

6. THE ARTAXIAD ERA

The coins of Artaxiad I and his successors shed little light on the profile of the Artaxiad (Artashessean) tiaras. It is only during the reign of Tigranes II the Great that the coins depict a clear image of the tiara's external outline and decorations.

The coin attributed to Artaxias I, which bears the Greek inscription «APTA» (Latin ARTA), can also be attributed to Artavazdes I of the same dynasty. This coin (ill. 26) is related to our subject, while the coin attributed to Tigranes I (ill. 27), displays a tiara with a slightly different silhouette, and is usable in a discussion of the general outline of Artaxiad tiaras.

Tigranes II's coins not only display clear and high quality engravings of human faces but also of the outlines of particular sections of the tiara. First of all, the section of the tiara which covers the head (ill. 28) is taller than the preceding Artaxiad kings' tiaras and is more like the Armenian popular head-gears. As we see later on another coin of Tigranes II, the tiara is shorter than the previous tiaras but keeps the same conical shape (ill. 29).

The tiaras of Tigranes II and his successor Artavazdes II with their visible five peaks cannot be considered different from the preceding tiaras with four peaks, since, in both instances, there are in fact a total of eight peaks around the top of the tiara, observed from different angles (ill. 56).

This conjecture will seem plausible if we keep in mind that only four or five of the peaks of the two different groups of tiaras are visible. But if we consider that the top forms a straight line with only one row of peaks, in this case, as a part of this

64. HEROTODUS, *The histories*, Suffolk, 1972, p. 468.

conjecture we must also accept that there are two eagles and one Sun on both sides of the crown. Such a supposition can lead to illogical conclusions, because in such an instance the visible and opposite parts of the tiara could, by not differing from each other create a monotonous repetition.

On another contemporaneous coin, a crown with sharp peaks covers the head of the goddess Tiche of Antioch (ill. 30). This tiara is exactly the opposite of the Artaxiad tiara, with a wide upper section and a narrower lower section, and cannot have any comparison with the Artaxiad tiaras.

The tiara worn by the Armenian «queen» (ill. 31) follows the Artaxiad tradition but reaches a more refined level. Its four upper peaks, with their «flat looking» top support the above-mentioned supposition that there are 8 peaks in reality. It is also probable that the royal tiaras which were made with rounded flat surfaces were heavy. Because of the weight of such tiaras, some feminine tiaras were probably fastened with flat, sharp lines to create a sense of lightness and make the feminine stature appear more slender.

According to Fr. Vartan Hatzouni⁶⁵, Victor Langlois believes that this micro-sculpture on a ruby is the portrait of Queen Erato of Armenia. He came to this conclusion based upon the similarities in the hair styles and profile of the Queen Erato on the coin and the micro-sculptured «queen» on the ruby. In any case this is certainly the portrait of an Armenian queen, and it is evidence of the technical progress of cameo engraving in the first century A.D.

In our study of the five coins of Tigranes II the Great (ill. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36), whose photographs and explanatory designs are shown, we kept intact all of the horizontal and vertical rows of pearl-like beads to render a more comprehensible image of the crowns, even though an abstraction of the vertical rows would make the view of the tiaras more circular as is shown in our first drawing (ill. 1).

Although the Sun-God's location in the middle of the two eagles is undisputable, the triple-figure emblem's placing on the right side of the tiara is not. It is more probable that on the actual tiara it was placed in a frontal view. I am convinced that

65. HATZOUNI FR. VARDAN, *Patmoutioun hin hay tarazin* (= *History of the old Armenian fashion*), Venice, St. Lazare, 1923, p. 76.

the reason for the installation of the three symbols (sun and eagles) of national and royal authority on the right of the tiara is because a profile of the King's face looking to the right was easier to engrave and the master engraver of the dye definitely wanted to show absolutely the above-mentioned group of 3 symbols in one.

Before the first century B.C., sun worshipping had expanded far into the Middle East, finding its echo in Armenia, and after a while, in Rome. Moses of Khoren (Khorenatsi) writes about sun-worshipping in Armenia, «A temple built in Armavir where the statues of the Sun and Moon [were placed]⁶⁶.

Fr. Gh. Alishan also writes: «Probably ancient Armenians, like other nations, first honored and worshipped the Sun in the heaven, in its visual form [in nature] especially during sunrise and sunset, then presented it in its round shape...». In their songs our ancient troubadours describe how the sun was created:

«Heaven and earth were in travail, and the crimson waters were in travail. And in the water, the crimson reed was also in travail. From the mouth of the reed issued smoke, from the mouth of the reed issued flame, and out of the flame sprang the young child. His hair was of fire, a beard he had of flame and his eyes were suns»⁶⁷.

Later historians and poets perceived this to be the birth of the sun god Vahagn.

According to Fr. V. Hatzouni: «The eagle[s] are a pair, in a natural state... their heads turned back toward an eight point star which is between them and [represents] the Sun, also worshipped by Armenians and glorified by Kolthan chanters [troubadours]»⁶⁸.

The Armenian encyclopedia also confirms this theory: «The worshipping of the Sun also existed in Armenia, where the wor-

66. MOSES KHORENATSI, *History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary on the literary sources by Robert W. Thomson, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1980, p. 143.

67. ALISHAN FR. GH., *Hin havatk kam hetanosakan kronq Hayots* (= *Old faith or paganistic religion of Armenians*), Venice, St. Lazare, 1910, p. 95-96.

68. HATZOUNI FR. VARDAN, *Hay droshnere Patmoutian mech* (= *Armenian flags in History*), Venice, St. Lazare, 1919, p. 29.

shipping of Mihr, the sun-god, had infiltrated from Iran to the West, also embracing Rome. In Armenia, it (the sun-god) was considered the son of Aramazd, god of sun and fire. Its temple was in the province of Derjan, in the village of Bagaharij»⁶⁹.

Many variations of the name Mihr prove that even after the Christianisation of Armenia the name Mihr was used in many forms even up to the present⁷⁰.

The two eagles on the sides of the sun also have their own particular significance. As we know, Armenia has often been divided between Major and Minor Armenias. Major Armenia has generally been more independent and better located strategically than Minor Armenia, which has had troubled past and comes from the North up to Sophene and Commagene. The two eagles on the tiaras convincingly symbolize the two parts of integral Armenia, the Major and the Minor, during the period when Tigranes II, passing through Commagene with his armies, occupied the country up to Cilicia and from there invaded Syria. It is very probable that the coins with the two eagles and sun, commemorating the United Armenia, were minted after the occupation of Minor Armenia and its extension to the South.

The peaks of the tiaras provided a means of emancipation from the simple, general forms of the popular head-gear and at the same time their use, created an original way of making the king appear taller. We can only speculate that the steeples on churches of Christian Armenia were influenced by the peaks of the Artaxiad tiaras. The artistic adaptation of the shape may have more credibility when we consider that the use of the Artaxiad tiaras were continued during the Arsacid dynastic period. The shape of the peaks of the tiara is more appropriate for the use of wood in architecture, and the consensus among art historians, that the initial building of the cathedral of Echmiadzin (IV c.A.D.) was partly in wood, supports our point of view.

The beads adorning the tiara, neck cover and ear flaps are probably substitute for pearls. The pearls were imported from India according to Khorenatsi and were very expensive and therefore worthy to be worn by Kings. The same tradition of bead use

69. Hay Joghovrdi Patmoutioun (= *History of the Armenian People*), vol. I, Yerevan, 1971, p. 902.

70. TADEUS (Tadeos) AVDALBEKIAN, *Mihre Hayotz mech* (= *The worshipping of Mihr (Sun god) in Armenia*), Vienna, 1929, p. 72.

continues in contemporary Armenian jewelry, where gold and silver beads are substituted for pearls in popular jewelry.

The younger son of Tigranes II, called Tigranes III, also wore a tiara with almost the same outline as his father's. It is impossible to perceive any decorative motive on this tiara, because of the corrosion of the coin. It is very probable that the triple symbols of the Artaxiads were never engraved on his tiara, since Tigranes III ruled only on a very small part of Armenia: Sophene (ill. 37).

On two coins with the portraits of Artavazdes II, the great king wears tiaras with the same outline as Tigranes II (The Great) and his ancestors. The details on these tiaras, however, differ. The first (ill. 38) is decorated with a six-rayed Sun, on whose two sides are further decorated with laurel leaves and vertical lines instead of the double eagles which appear on his father's tiara. Why laurel leaves have been substituted for the eagles, we don't know. However, it is possible that although Artavazdes II was called «king of kings», he still didn't rule over all Armenia, but only over Armenia Major, and for this reason his tiara was diplomatically decorated with laurel leaves. This, perhaps, is the political reason for his removal of the eagles. By keeping the sun, as a more deeply rooted tradition Artavazdes maintains his Artaxiad symbol of legitimacy.

The second coin (ill. 39) like Tigranes II's, is decorated with eagles and was probably minted at the end of Artavazdes II's reign, when, along with large cavalry and infantry, he came to help Marc Anthony.

The front and neck covering knots are more obvious on Artavazdes II's tiaras. They also exist on Tigranes II's tiaras, but are barely discernible. At the bottom of Artavazdes II's tiaras we see monolithic neck covers, without distinct ear flaps. This style is clearly differentiated from Tigranes II's three-piece neck covers and ear flaps, in which the central section covers the neck and the ear flaps descend to the ears, where we see a big pearl (or bead). Instead, king Artavazdes II wears hanging earrings.

Another coin of Tigranes IV and Queen Erato is worthy of consideration. The Queen's tiara bears distinct changes. The peaks, that appear imperfect, are obviously two superimposed rows of beads (or pearls). This is probably true, especially if we consider that the pearl row which descends from the back of

the tiara and continues down to the Queen's bosom replaces decoratively the neck-cover.

The tiara of Queen Erato is not conical but cylindrical and the bottom and top have the same diameter. Between the two eagle-like figures there is a small, round sphere much smaller than the sun that we see on the coins of Tigranes II and Artavazdes II. This round sphere has a connection with the Sun, but in a more modest shape. The front to neck cover ends at a knot and descends to her necklace.

Although considering all of her feminine attributes, this portrait of Queen Erato (ill. 40) cannot be compared to the portrait of the «Armenian Queen», carved on a ruby. In the first portrait the feminine profile is much more slender, contrasting with the categorical expression of resolution on the profile of Queen Erato. Their similar hairstyle probably represents a fashion that had spread to the surrounding countries, or at least a style proper for the women of the Armenian aristocracy of the time and which is also seen on the Roman occupation coins depicting Armenia in feminine figures.

The prevailing opinion that Erato was the wife of Tigranes IV cannot be proven and their successor, Tigranes V was a distant relative and historic sources don't mention Erato and Tigranes IV being married to each other. Another factor disapproving that view is that they probably inherited equal royal authority from Tigranes III. The resolute expression on Queen Erato's portrait on one side of their common coin can partly prove our hypothesis. The late numismatist B. Sabbaghian had the same opinion and considered Tigranes IV and Erato King and Queen with equal rights but not husband and wife⁷¹.

On a sculpture of an Armenian prince with an Armenian head gear, wearing a gown and mantle, he wears a clasp (buckle) identical to that which we see on Tigranes II's coin. His head-gear is simple and only slightly modified, but essentially Armenian. This sculpture from the end of the 1st c.A.D. shows ear-flaps on both sides of the headgear and we can deduce that it must have also a neck-cover in the unseen part of the sculpture (ill. 41). This also proves that the use of the traditional Armenian head-gear after the downfall of the Artaxiad (Artashessean) dynasty

71. SABBAGHIAN B., *Dramagitakan hartzer*, Tigranes IV and Erato, Beyrouth, 1986, p. 106.

(6 A.D.) continued through the beginning of the Arshakouny dynasty (66 A.D.).

Later in our study we will see on Roman coins and commemorative medals how the use of national forms of head-gears in their popular and royal interpretations continued until the end of the II.c.A.D. proving the continuance of the tradition during the Arshakouni dynasty.

7. THE POST-ARTAXIAD ERA

The Romano-Parthian antagonism and its consequences in Armenia were the origins of the establishment of the Arshakouny (Arsacid) dynasty in Armenia in 66 A.D. The establishment of the Arshakouny dynasty by the Parthians with Armenian accord and the official recognition of the dynasty by Rome did not end the misfeasance between the Romans and the Armenians. The Roman confiscations of the Armenian homeland continued. Rome's destructive presence in Armenia is evidenced by the salient tracings on the coinage of the period which bear the inscription «ARME-NIA CAPTA» [Armenia captured].

Very far such coins have been found in Armenia and its surrounding countries. They are predominantly found in the former Roman provinces of Europe. Obviously these coins were mainly used as commemoratives of Roman glory rather than Armenian currency. The thematic content of these coins often affronted Armenian dignity, which tells us why they were not very popular in Armenia proper and therefore not to be found there today.

Of these coins we will discuss eleven which depict Artaxiad crowns and Armenian military and popular headgear which resembled the royal crowns of the preceding period. The first of these coins depicts Marc-Anthony, struck at about 43-30 B.C., on the occasion of the Roman interference in Armenia by Marc-Anthony. The word Armenia is not engraved on this coin, but the Armenian royal crown (tiara) of the Artaxiads is engraved on it, with a quiver full of arrows and a bow accompanying it. On one side an inscription in raised letters reads: «ANTONIUS, AUGUR, CONSUL DESIGNATUS ITERUM ET TERTIO» (Antony, pontif, designated consul for the second and third terms). On the other side: «IMP. TERTIO, III. VIR. R.P.C. (emperor third time, member of the triumvirate that established the republic) is inscribed.

The tiara has seven visible peaks on the coin (but in reality

there are twelve in a complete circle) with pearl-like beads around the neck cover. In all probability the central star may be depicting the sun, although the eagles are not engraved on this commemorative coin (as depicted on Tigranes II's coins) but have been compensated with stars (ill. 42).

The next available coin in our chronological series is an Armeno-Roman coin (B.C. 2 to A.D. 1) with the engraved portraits of Tigranes IV and Augustus. On one side, around the portrait of Tigranes IV wearing a tiara with five peaks (eight in a complete circle), we read the Greek inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΝΕΟΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΙΣ (to the Great King the new Tigranes). The details are unclear on this crown including neck-cover, an earring on his right ear, and a head-band like his great ancestors (ill. 43).

Augustus has also other coins related to Armenia (B.C. 27 - A.D. 14). One of them depicts the gloomier aspect of an Armenian soldier wearing a headgear, uniform, and holding a javelin and an arrow (ill. 44), on the two sides of the soldier an inscription: «CAESAR DIVI FILIUS, ARMENIA RECEPTA, IMPERATOR NONO» (Caesar, divine son, Armenia again subdued, emperor for the ninth time). The headgear of the Armenian soldier has a pointed end, and probably because of the cold climate, he wears a leather or wool-covered headgear with a neck-cover over a pointed metal helmet.

Another silver coin of Augustus depicts his portrait and name on the face side and on the reverse side we see the Armenian tiara, not in profile as usual but seen from rear-view, probably to symbolize defeat. There are bows and two quivers on the right side of the tiara and the inscription: «ARMENIA CAPTA» (Armenia captive). According to Paul Bedoukian these coins (ill. 45) were minted in 18 A.D., after the extinction of the Artaxiad Dynasty.

On one of the coins, which bears the portrait of the goddess Peronia, we see the inscription «PUBLIUS PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS TRIUMVIR» (Publius Petronius Turpilianus, member of the triumvirate). On the other we see: «CAESAR DIVI FILIUS, ARMENIA CAPTA» (son of divine Caesar, Armenia captive). The center is engraved with a kneeling female figure representing Armenia, who wears a variation of the Artaxiad Armenian crown (tiara) with three peaks, where details are not obvious because of the use and small size of it (ill. 46). These and the earlier coins represent a very hostile period of Romano-Armenian relations.

By contrast to earlier discussed coins, there is no sign of Armenian defeat on the coins of Nero (Caesar from 54 to 68 A.D.). Mattingly affirms that Nero never took the title of Armeniacus (conqueror of Armenia), and on the coins struck with Nero's name the inscription ARMENIAC must be read ARMENIACA (Armenian, as opposed to Armenia)⁷². This coin and others depict the symbol of victory walking from left to right, holding a crown of (laurel?) leaves in her right hand and a branch of palm tree in the left, as a symbol of Peace. It's during these peaceful years that the official coronation visit of king Tiridates (I) of Armenia to Nero occurs in the year 66 A.D.

The behaviour of Trajan (98-118 A.D.) with Armenia was shockingly different than that of Nero. A coin of Trajan, probably related to his expedition of 114 A.D. has his portrait decorated with laurel leaves. On one side, Trajan stands with a laurel crown and to his left and right sit the gods of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and in between them, Armenia sitting, and leaning to his right, with his left elbow to the ground. Armenia wears a tall headgear in this coin. The inscription reads: «ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATE, P.R. REDACTAE» (Armenia and Mesopotamia under the authority of the Roman people, by the decision of the senate) (ill. 47).

After the temporary solution of the domination of Armenia and the relatively friendly period of Nero, Trajan had a very aggressive policy. Cassius Dio writes:

«... hereafter, he (Trajan) waged war against the Armenians and Parthians with the pretext that the king of Armenians had not received his crown (tiara) from him (Trajan) but from the king of Partians...»⁷³.

It was obvious that Trajan would exploit this fabricated rumour to begin his attack on Armenia. The king of Parthians, Bakour, sent a delegation to him (Trajan) and «requested him to give Armenia to Bakour's son Parthamassir and urged him to send the crown to him (Parthamassir)»⁷⁴.

72. BEDOUKIAN P., *Roman coins and medallions relating to Armenia*, Vienna, 1971, p. 64.

73. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Qnnakan tesoutioun Hay joghovrdi Patmoutian* (= *Critical reflexion of Armenian people's history*), vol. II part I, Yerevan, 1957, C. Dio, p. 22.

74. *Ibid.*, C. Dio, p. 23.

When Trajan arrived to Seleucia, Parthamassir wrote him a letter where he didn't identify himself as the king of Armenia. Parthamassir was admitted to appear personally to Trajan. Therefore, Parthamassir, king of Armenia, visited Trajan in Elekcia (near Karin, Erzeroum) and the emperor accepted him very solemnly in the presence of his soldiers. Parthamassir, following the precedent of Tiridates I, took off his royal crown (tiara) from his head and put it close to the feet of Trajan, hoping to regain back his crown by Trajan's hand and be recognized as king of Armenia. But Trajan refused to give him the throne of Armenia and declared that he had already decided to establish Armenia as a Roman province⁷⁵.

When Parthamassir heard this, he didn't keep silent any more, and he courageously said that he was not defeated in a war nor was he taken prisoner, but he came voluntarily, believing that nobody would hurt him and that he would receive his kingdom [of Armenia]⁷⁶.

Thus at 114 A.D. Armenia became an official Roman province and both Major and Minor Armenias were united under Roman rule⁷⁷. It was probably on this occasion that the above-mentioned coin was minted.

After this temporary and unfavourable settlement of the question of the Arshakouny (Arsacid) crown, revolts arose in Armenia and the countries of the south which were harshly treated⁷⁸. The Romans occupied the cities of Mdzbin, Edessa and Seleucia, and levelled them to the ground in reprisal for the revolts.

Hadrian (Hadrianus) succeeded Trajan as Emperor and «permitted the Armenians to have a king» while during Trajan's rule they had only a Roman military provisional officer (legatus).⁷⁹

The son of Sanatruk, Vagharsh (Vologases I), an Arshakouni, who ruled approximately till 140 or 143 A.D. founded the city of Vagharshapat (Etchmiadzin). On one side of a coin, minted during the same years, is engraved the head of Antoninus Pius and on the other side, wearing an imperial mantle [Antoninus Pius] is placing a crown (of leaves) on the head of the king of the Ar-

75. *Ibid*, C. Dio, p. 24.

76. *Ibid*, C. Dio, p. 25.

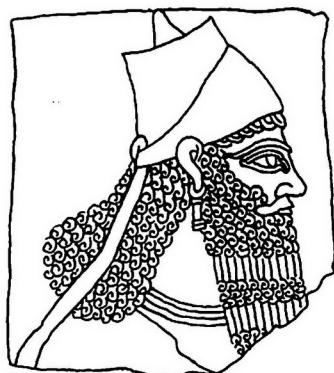
77. *Ibid*, C. Dio, p. 26.

78. *Ibid*, C. Dio, p. 29..

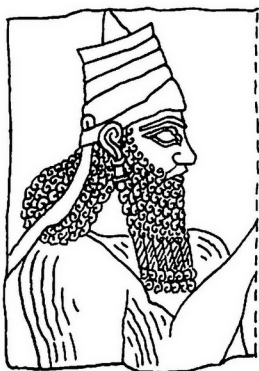
79. *Ibid*, Spartianus, p. 34.



III. 1.- Synthesis of Artaxiad
tiaras in the right position



III. 2.- Ashurnazirpal II



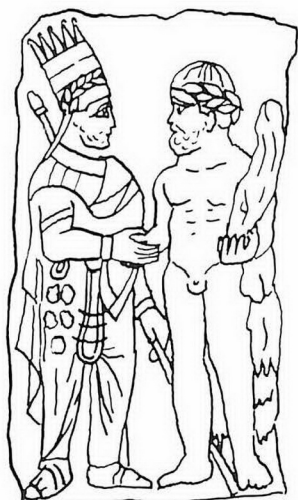
III. 3.- Tiglath-Pileser III



III. 4.- Urartian god Teisheba



III. 14.- Crowned head
of Antiochus I



III. 15.- Mithridates and
Heracles



III. 16.- Queen Selene



III. 17.- Post-Tigranian coin
of Antiochus I



III. 18.- Head of Zeus (Aramazd)



III. 19.- Silver coin of
Tiribazus



III. 20.- Gold coin of
Orontas (Yervand)



Ill. 28.- Coin of Tigranes II with a tall tiara



Ill. 29.- Coin of Tigranes II with a short tiara



Ill. 30.- Bust of goddess Tiche of Antioch



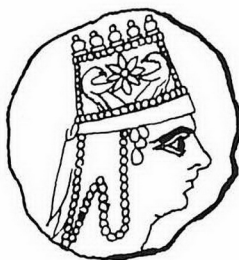
Ill. 31.- Head of Armenian «queen»
engraved on a ruby



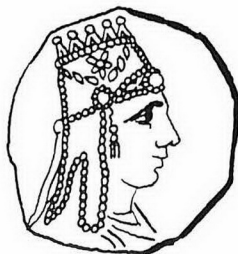
Ill. 32.- Silver coin of Tigranes II
(Collection of the Historical Museum of Armenia)



Ill. 33.- Coin of
Tigranes II



Ill. 34.- Coin of
Tigranes II
(P. Bedoukian coll.)





III. 35.- Silver coin of Tigranes II and explanatory desing



III. 36.- Coin of Tigranes II



III. 37.- Coin of Tigranes III



III. 38.- Silver coin of Artavazdes II
and explanatory desing



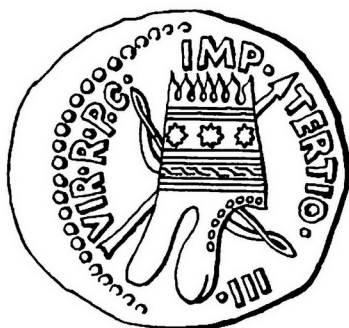
III. 39.- Silver coin of Artavazdes II
decorated with the eagles and the sun



III. 40.- Silver coin of Queen Erato
of Armenia



III. 41.- Symbol of Armenia
in Napoli museum



III. 42.- Second side of M. Antony's silver coin depicting an Artaxiad tiara



III. 43.- Crowned head of Tigranes IV



III. 44.- Armenian soldier in uniform



III. 45.- Armenian tiara
bows and quivers



III. 46.- Female Armenian
figure with Artaxiad tiara



III. 47.- Coin of Trajan
with Armenia in the center



III. 48.- Seated Armenian
with a headgear



Ill. 49.- Gold coin of
Lucius Verus
depicting Armenia



Ill. 50.- Gold coin of
Lucius Verus
Armenia defeated



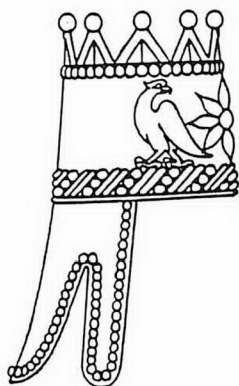
Ill. 51.- Silver coin of
Lucius Verus
Armeniacus



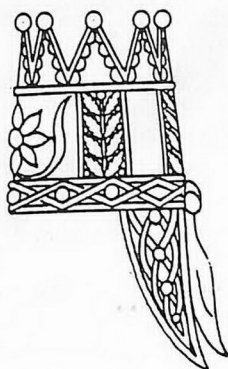
Ill. 52.- Copper coin of
Marcus Aurelius
Armenia



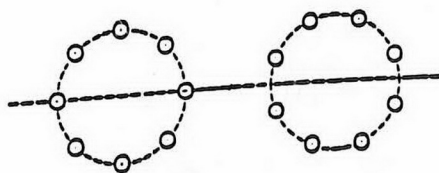
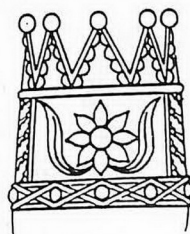
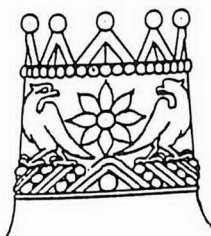
Ill. 53.- Silver coin of Vologases II of Parthia



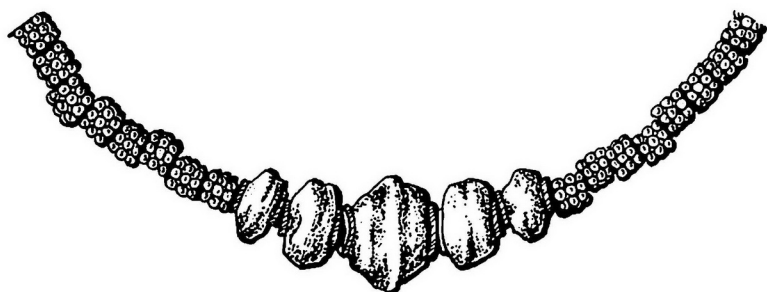
III. 54.- Tiara of Tigranes II the Great
medial synthesis
profile and face reconstruction
as proposed by the Author



III. 55.- Tiara of King Artavazdes II
medial synthesis
profile and face reconstruction
as proposed by the Author



III. 56.- In both positions the number of the peaks
must be considered the same: eight



III.- 57A



III.- 57B



III.- 57C



III.- 57D



III.- 57E



III.- 57F



III.- 57G

III. 57ABCD.- Gold jewels from II millenium B.C.
Excavations of Lijashen, Armenia

III. 57EFG.- Gold jewels from I and II centuries A.D.
Excavations of Garni, Armenia

menians, who wears a roman gown. The inscription reads: «REX ARMENIIS DATUS S.C. (a king is given to the Armenians, by order of the Senate)⁸⁰. The photograph and drawing of the above mentioned coin can be seen in P. Bedoukian's, «*Roman Coins and Medallions relating to Armenia*. The use of the laurel crown being a Greco-Roman custom makes it possible to consider this pseudo-coronation a *modus-vivendi*, by winning over the Armenians without giving them a real crown or tiara, according to Armenian custom, because a monarchical crown would bestow the Armenian king (Vagharsh I, Vologases) with greater authority than the Romans wished to give.

In 163 A.D., the adoptive son and associate to the throne of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, descended into Armenia and Mesopotamia with new forces and «after stubborn fighting he subdued Armenia and after occupying Artaxata (Artashat), subjected it to plunder and destruction, causing great material damage»⁸¹.

Upon the return of Lucius Verus to Rome in 166 A.D. there were great victory processions and on one of these occasions a great monument was erected with the inscription: «The Emperor Marcus Aurelius, after defeating the Armenians, Parthians and Germans». This victory monument was dedicated to his father Antoninus Pius, in memory of his and Marcus Aurelius' deeds.

On one side of another coin of Trajan's we see the figure of an Armenian, seated in a somber mood, wearing a headgear very similar to the general outline of the Artaxiad crown with a neck cover, (ill. 48) probably made of wool or leather, and around the coin, the following Greek inscription reads: «KOINON APMENIAΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ» (governor of Armenia). On the frontal view is the portrait of Trajan. The coin is minted between 114 and 115 A.D.

On two other coins of Lucius Verus (163 A.D.) there are on one of the sides the portraits of Lucius Verus and on their reverse sides there are female figures symbolizing Armenia, wearing cone shaped headgears, with their hair woven around their heads, their left hands leaning on bows and quivers. The sur-

80. BEDOUKIAN P., *Coins and medallions relating to Armenia*, Vienna, 1971. Drawing № 34.

81. MANANDIAN HAKOB, *Qnnakan tesoutioun Hay joghovrdi Patmoutian* (= *Critical reflexion of Armenian people's history*), vol. II part I, Yerevan, 1957. Lucianus, p. 41.

rounding inscriptions, TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. II are identical, with the only difference being that under the female figure on one of the coins there is the inscription ARMEN, abridgment of Armenia (ill. 49 and 50).

Almost like the two previously mentioned coins, but in a more subdued depiction, another coin of L. VERUS (ill. 51) depicts a sitting woman leaning her left arm on her bow and quiver, wearing a conical headdress like the previous coins.

The abovementioned female figures and their identical conical shaped headgears, confirm that in the second century A.D. they were the favoured fashion of Armenian women. This tendency for conical and high headgears can be compared with the tiara of the «Armenian Queen» (ill. 31).

On another coin of Marcus Aurelius is engraved a female figure wearing a headgear with the outline of the Artaxiad tiaras (ill. 52) and on the other side there is a javelin and a shield with the inscription: «KYPION CEB - APMENIA» (in memory of Cebastus masters' victories - Armenia).

During the reign of Septimius Severus who reigned from 192 to 211 A.D. «The Roman garrison stationed at Vagharshapat (Varshapat) was taken out of Armenia and the Romans allowed the king of Armenia (Sohemus-Tigranes) to fortify the Armenian army, for the maintenance of which the (Roman) empire had agreed to pay a certain amount for each year»⁸². We can speculate that in this period of time a royal crown was delivered to the Armenian king by the Romans.

In the beginning of 216 A.D. the Emperor Caracalla was already at Antioch: «... by cheating king Abgar... he held him prisoner, and in this way he subdued Osroene... and concerning the Armenian king (Khosrov I - Chosroes I) with friendly letters to convince them that they (Chosroes and his sons) may live in peace [with Rome] but, eventually Caracalla behaved the same way with them as with Abgar. But the Armenians didn't yield and resisted militarily»⁸³. A general of Caracalla, Theogrides «whom he [Caracalla] had sent against the Armenians with an army, fell to great misfortune and was heavily defeated by them [the Armenians]...»⁸⁴.

82. *Ibid.*, C. Dio, see Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, p. 411.

83. *Ibid.*, C. Dio, LXXVII, 1, 3, p. 60.

84. *Ibid.*, C. Dio, LXXVII, 21, 1, p. 60.

After the assassination of Caracalla in 217 A.D., Macrinus succeeded him. Macrinus, after being defeated by the Parthians twice over, payed 50 million dinars as indemnity and to king Tiridates II, the son of the defunct king of Armenia Chosroes I, who had died in prison, he sent a golden crown [tiara?]⁸⁵. We don't know the shape of that crown, but we know for sure that Romans didn't use golden royal crowns (or tiaras), but used only crowns fashioned with laurel or other leaves. We don't think Parthian crowns were introduced in Armenia. Even certain Parthian kings are shown bare-headed on their coins, such as king Vologases II (ill. 53).

Under such conditions and having in mind that till the end of the second century A.D., the Roman coins relative to Armenia had the female and male figures representing Armenia wearing popular and sophisticated headgears and tiaras with the outlines of the Artaxiad tiaras, we can speculate that the crown sent to Tiridates II of Armenia by Macrinus could have a similarity to the Artaxiad crowns (tiaras) maintaining the same outline and style. «And Tiridates accepted the crown (tiara) that was sent by Macrinus...»⁸⁶.

(Cont. 1)

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85. *Ibid.*, C. Dio, LXXVII, 21, 1, p. 61.

86. *Ibid.*, C. Dio, LXXVIII, 27, 4, p. 62.

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

ԱՐՏԱՇԵՍԵԱՆ ԱՐՔԱՑԱՏՈՀՄԻ ԹԱԳԵՐԸ ԵՒ ԱՆՈՆՑ ԾԱԳՈՒՄԸ

ՀԱՅԿ ՏԷՐ ՂԵՒՈՆԴԵԱՆ

Ա.- Թագերը պատմութեամբ ըմբացքին.- Թագը կամ խոյրը եղած է եւ է արքայական իշխանութեան խորհրդանշիչը մօտ հինգ հազար տարիներէ ի վեր: Մեզ յայտնի ամենահին Թագերը կամ խոյրերը հին Եգիպտոսի Թագերն են: Հին Յունաստանի եւ Հռոմի մէջ Թագի սկզբնական ձեւը կը կազմէին տերււներ եւ հատապետուղներ: Այս պսակը կազմող տունկերն էին դափնին, ազատքեղը եւ ձիթենին, իսկ պսակ (couronne) ստացողները կը կոչուէին դափնեկիրներ:

Հայաստան եւս ունեցած է ազդային եւ շատ ինքնատիւ Թագեր (խոյրեր), սկսած Արտաշէսեան արքայատոհմէն, թէեւ մինչեւ օրս շատ քիչ ուշադրութեան արժանացած են հայ եւ օտար հետազոտողներու կողմէ:

Արտաշէսեան Թագերը ունին ոճային ընդհանրութիւն մը եւ կարելի է զանոնք բաժնել երկու տեսակներու: Առաջին՝ վերելքի շրջան, Արտաշէս Ա.էն մինչեւ Տիգրան Բ.ի արեւով եւ երկու արծիւներով զարդարուած Թագերը, եւ երկրորդ՝ Արտաշէս Բ.էն մինչեւ վերջին Արտաշէսեանը, զարդարանքներու աստիճանական զիջումներով:

Բ.- Նախա-Արտաշէսեան գլխամոցներ.- Մինչեւ Արտաշէսեան Արքայատոհմի երեւումը պատմութեան Թատերարեմին վրայ, շատ մը երկիրներ՝ Պարսկաստան, Ասորեստան եւայլն, ունեցած են Թագեր կամ սովորական գլխամոցներ, որոնք ունէին միայն մասնակի նմանութիւններ Հայաստանի Արտաշէսեան խոյրերուն հետ (նկ. 2-11):

Նկատի ունենալով որ մեր օրն ուսումնասիրութեան համար անհրաժեշտ էր մեր տրամադրութեան տակ ունենալ մեր մտապատկերացման տիպաբը կազմող համադրական ձեւը, նվարեցինք Արտաշէսեան խոյր մը (նկ. 1) որը ընթերցողին օղնէր դիւրութեամբ հասկնալ մեր տեսակէտը: Ուղղեցինք նաեւ Արեւի եւ արծիւներու այն բացայայտ տեղադրական սխալը, որը թէեւ նպատակային է, սակայն ճշմարտութեան չի համապատասխաներ: Նաեւ համեմատեցինք Արտաշէսեան խոյրերը հայ եւ այլազգի գլխամոցներու հետ: Արեւն ու արծիւները տեղադրեցինք խոյրի ճակատը:

Դ.- Կոմագնեմիի Երուանդունիներու քաղաքութիւնը եւ այնտեղ գործածուած արքայական Թագեր.- Իր աշխարհադրական դիրքին շնորհիւ, Կոմագնեմիի Երուանդունիներու Թագաւորութիւնը կը վայելէր հելլենական զաղաքակրթութեան բարիքները, մշակոյթին մինչեւ առեւտուր: Իր զաղաքական ճարտարութեամբ Հռոմը հակադրելով Պարթեական Պարսկաստանին, Անտիոքոս Ա. վրցաւ իր Երկրի զաղաքական կառոյցը ապահովել մինչեւ իր մահէն յետոյ: Ապահովարար Տիգրան Բ.ի մահէն վերջ ան կառուցեց յուշակոթող համալիր մը վանայ լճին մօտ, ներկայիս Նեմրուճ Թագ կոչուող վայրին մէջ, Կոմագնեմիի սահմաններէն հեռու: Այս յուշակոթողի քանդակներուն վրայ Անտիոքոս Ա. կը կրէ բարձրագոյն խոյր մը, որու շրջագծային ոճը Արտաշէսեաններուն շատ նման է. սակայն զարդարանքներու մէջ շատ կը տարբերի (նկ. 12-13-14): Իր հօր, Միհրդատ Ա.ի խոյրը (նկ. 15) եւս

յստակօրէն շրջապատուած է յունական դրամներու զարդարման բնորոշ դասինի տերեւներով:

Արտաշէս Ա. Աշխարհակալի վերջին ճաճորդութեան ընթացքին Հայաստան ներթափանցած յունական աստուածները յետագային որոճագրութեան նաեւ կոմամ-դենէի կողմէ, որոնց լատադոյն նմուշներէն կրնանք նկատել Սելենէ թագուհիի դըլ-խաթարարումը (նկ. 16) շատ նման բրիտանական թանգարանի ցուցանմոյշ Անա-հիտի դիմաքանդակին:

Տիգրան Բ.ի զեղատիպ դրամները, որոնք հաստուած էին Անտիոքի մէջ, որպէս նմոյշ ծառայած են Անտիոքոս Ա.ի յետագայ դրամներուն, որոնց վրայի թագերը ընդօրինակութիւններն են Տիգրանեան խոյրի (նկ. 17):

Ձեռն-Արամազդի գլխաքանդակը (նկ. 18) կը կրէ հայկական ժողովրդական դրակի նման զիչ մը սրածայր եւ բարձր գլխանոց մը: Կը փորձուինք հաստատարու որ հայկական պանթէոնի աստուածներուն արձաններն ալ կը կրէին նոյնանման գլխանոցներ:

Անհրաժեշտ է որ հայ հնագէտներ լրջօրէն հետաքրքրուին Նեմրուժ լեռան յուշարձանային համալիրով, որը կրնայ լոյս սփռել ոչ միայն հայկական թագերու, այլև՛ մանաւանդ տարազներու պատմութեան վրայ, որոնք շատ հաւանաբար նախնութիւններ ունէին տուեալ ժամանակաշրջանի հայ տարազներուն հետ, որոնց մասին շատ թիչ գիտենք:

Դ.- Մատնագրակամ աղբիւրներ.- Գրիստոսէ առաջ Ա. դարուն արեւելքի մէջ յայտնաբերուեցաւ հռոմէական կայսերապաշտութիւնը: Ան արգելք դարձաւ յունական քաղաքութեան տարածման: Պրոտաբոքոսի վկայութիւնը Անիէրադի Արտաշատ քաղաքի յատկապէս զարգացող պատրաստելու մասին, մեր պատմութեան ուշագրաւ էջերէն մէկը կը կազմէ:

Տիգրան կը կառուցանէ Տիգրանակերտը եւ այնտեղ անսահմանփակ հարըստութիւն կը դիզէ, որ յետագային կը կողոպտուի Լուկուլլոսի կողմէ: Տիգրանա-կերտի հերոսական դիմադրութիւնը եւ այնտեղէն արձակուած քարիւղալի այրած տաղանթներու երեւումը սարսափ կը պատճառէ Հռոմէացիներուն: Պատմութեան մէջ այս առաջին անգամն է որ քարիւղը որպէս զենք կը գործածուի: Լուկուլլոսի կողոպտած 170 միլիոնի (տոլարով հաշուած) արծաթ տաղանթները չկրցան օգնել արդեն չափազց զօրավարին անկառունակ վախճանը կանխելու: Նկատի ունենալով կայսրութեան լրջութիւնը, Գ. Ա. 66ին Մերտիոյտը Պոմպէոսին արտակարգ իշխանութիւնով դրկեց Արեւելք, ուր ան տուգանքի ենթարկեց Տիգրան Մեծը, ընդունելով հանդերձ զայն որպէս արքայից արքայ միայն Մեծ Հայքի:

Արտաւազդէի գերեզմարումը նենգութեամբ եւ գլխատումը ծանօթ էջեր են կղէոս պատրայի գործելակերպի:

Ե.- Նախա-Արտաշէսեան ժամանակաշրջանի հայկական գլխանոցները.- Թ. Մանանթան կը գրէ՝ «Իր բովանդակ պատմութեան տեւողութեան Հայաստանը նկատի առնուած է որպէս մէկ եւ անբաժանելի միաւոր եւ այս մասին կը կարգանք» V-IV դարերի եզրին հայկական լեռնաշխարհում կար վարկական մի հիմնական ընդհանուր միաւոր՝ Հայաստանը, որի ենթաշրջանն էր Արեւմտեան Հայաստանը (Փոքր Հայք)»:

Հայ զօրավար Արտաշէս, հիմնադրել Արտաշէսեան Հարստութեան, որդին էր Երուանդունիներու զբոդաստանէն Զարեա (Zariadres) իշխանի: Օգտուելով Հռոմ-Սելևկեան հակամարտութենէն, ան սկսած էր վարել անկախ ազգային քաղաքականութիւն:

Խորենացին կ'ակնարկէ նաեւ Արտաշէսի թագի մասին: Իր թաղման ընթացքին՝ «զազազը ոսկիդէն էր... պատմութեանը ոսկեթել, գլուխը թագ դրած, ոսկեայ»

դէնքն առջեւը: Արտաշէսեան արքայատոհմէն մնացած այն բոլոր դրամներու վրայ քանդակուած թաղ-խորքերը դրեթէ իրար նման են, մինչեւ Տիգրան Դ. եւ Երատոյ թագունահին: Այստեղ հարց կը ծագի թէ Արտաշէսեան թաղերը իրենց ծագումով հայկական են, թէ օտարնեոք ընդօրինակուած:

2.- Արտաշէսեան դարաշրջամ.— Միայն Տիգրան Բ.ի Անտիոքեան դրամներն են որ կը կրեն Արեւի եւ զոյգ արծիւներու երեսկ խորհրդանշիչը եւ այլ յարակից զարդաքանդակներ, նաեւ հաղուադէպօրէն Արտաւազդ Բ.ի դրամներուն վրայ: Նկատի ունենալով որ Տիգրանեան (Բ.) եւ յետ Տիգրանեան թաղերու դազաթի սրածայր մասերը չորս կամ հինգ հատ են, երկու պարպաներուն: ալ կլորի շուրջ անոնց թիւը պէտք է նկատել ութը (նկ. 56):

Տիգրանեան կայսերական խորհրդանշիչի Արեւը վիճմ է ժամանակի Հայոց արեւապաշտութեան, իսկ դէպի նոյն Արեւը հայեացքին ուղղած արծիւները՝ Մեծ եւ փոքր Հայքերու, միահեծան միայն Մեծն Տիգրանի նուաճումներով:

Փաղիղի Մատենադարանի կարկեհանի (rubis) վրայ քանդակուած բարձրախոր կանացի դուռիցը (նկ. 31) վստահօրէն հայ թաղուհիի մը կենդանադիրն է: Մարդարիսի գործածութիւնը համատարած երեւոյթ է Տիգրանեան խորքերու վրայ:

Նկ. 19էն 30 ք. 32էն 39 օժանդակ են մեր սոյն ուսումնասիրութեան: Բոլոր ճակատակապերը իշխանութեան խորհրդանշիչն են (diadème):

Կ'արժէ ուշադրութեամբ հետեւել Հայոց Երատոյ թագունահին դրամին, իր, Տիգրանեանէ ներչնուած արծուազարդ եւ մարդարտազարդ կերպարանքով (նկ. 40): Նաեւ աւանդական ձևերու շարունակութիւնն է Նաիրիի Թանդարանի հայ փշխանի զինարիւր:

է.- Յետ-Արտաշէսեան շրջամ.— Հռոմի եւ Պարթեւ Արշակունիներու միջեւ ժամանակաւոր հաշտութիւն մը զոյացաւ հայ Արշակունիներու հաստատումով հայ դահի վրայ (86 թուին):

Այս կարճատեւ հաշտութիւնը յաճախ խանդարուեցաւ հռոմէական ներխուժումներով, որոնց վկայութիւններն են այն դրամները եւ յուշամատանիքը, որոնք հատուած են Հռոմի կողմէ ARMENIA CAPTA (Հայաստան դրաւուած) արձանադրութիւններով: Այդպիսի դրամներ հատուած են Անտոնինոսի, Օգոստոսի, Տիգրան Դ.ի եւ Օգոստոսի, Տուրպիլիանոսի, Ներոնի, Տրայանոսի, Դուկլիոս վերոսի եւ Մարկոս Աւրելիոսի կողմէ (նկ. 42-52), մինչեւ մեր թուարկութեան երկրորդ դարու վերջերը: Միայն Ներոնի օրով հատուած այդպիսի դրամներն են որ որեւէ վերադարձան արձանադրութիւն չեն կրեր, ուղղուած Հայոց դէմ: