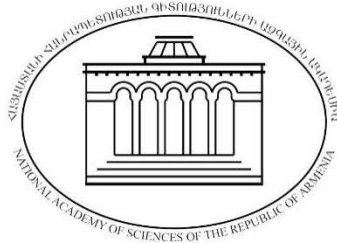


**ԲԱՆԻԵՐ ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ**  
**REVIEW OF ARMENIAN STUDIES**  
**ВЕСТНИК АРМЕНОВЕДЕНИЯ**



**ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ՄԻԶԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ՀԱՆԴԵՍ**

**INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF ARMENIAN STUDIES**



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# ՀՆԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ԵՎ ԱԶԳԱԳՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

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## “THE ARTAXIAD QUEEN” AS A PERSONIFICATION OF ARMENIA

**Keywords:** Artaxiad Queen, Mithra, Tyche, Cilicia, Erato, Amazon, Rome.

### **Introduction**

The allegorical images of women are known from mythology and folk tales. Many historical persons have personified different natural phenomena (rivers, lakes, oceans) or geographical areas (cities, castles, regions). The allegorical image of a woman has always played an important role in establishing identities<sup>1</sup>. A case in point is the Roman historians and authors’ writings about Armenia, where they also use metaphoric phrases. For example, in one of his poems the famous Vergil compares Armenia with “the Araxes River, which never tolerated bridges”<sup>2</sup>. At that time Armenian people proved the famous lines written about the country to be right<sup>3</sup>. Roman Poet Ovidius also compares other nations with the Tigris, the

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\* Հոդվածը ներկայացվել է 10.07.22, գրախոսվել է 28.07.23, ընդունվել է տպագրության 28.08.23:

<sup>1</sup> Վասիլյան 2013, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Виргилий 1994, 726–727; 151; 155; Դեմոյան 2012, 48–49.

<sup>3</sup> History of Armenian Nation 1971, 625.

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Euphrates, the Rhine and Danube Rivers, and identifies Armenian army as a “Persian breed”<sup>4</sup>. Identifications of “Mother Araxes, Motherland, Mother-Earth” and their subsequent experiences have been preserved in the Armenian folk tales and national traditions at large. In Armenia “mothers” and “women” are considered family guardians, initiators of nation-keeping, and home patrons. Throughout the history Armenian Queens<sup>5</sup> have always supported their husbands, playing an important role in the governance, prosperity and protection of their country. The Armenian goddesses and deities present the virtue of the Armenian woman, her femininity and creativity, the sanctity of the mother and the keeper of the hearth<sup>6</sup>.

#### ***The Typology of Ancient Female Personifications***

The representation of conquered Armenia by the image of a defeated woman was widespread in Roman art (for example, triumphal arches, sculptures, medallions, mosaics, glyptic art, etc.). Almost no studies have so far been carried out related to the personifications in the image of a woman impersonating Armenia<sup>7</sup>.

It should be noted that there are many forms of classification in special literature. For instance, P. Bienkowski distinguished two main groups:

1. Provincia Capta represented a standing and sitting woman ‘whose attitude is steeped in sadness deep’.

2. Provincia Pia et Fidelis (an expression made by P. Bienkowski) – the woman ‘if not happy to less resigned and quiet’, dressed in a suit: a. typically Greek – chiton and himation, b. Amazon, c. National<sup>8</sup>.

M. Jatta and P. Strack also use the same classification. M. Jatta distinguishes five types of personification:

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<sup>4</sup> Ovid 1929, 219–27.

<sup>5</sup> Վասիլյան 2014, 18–33.

<sup>6</sup> Պտուկեան 1971, 30–53; Վասիլյան 2014, 18–34.

<sup>7</sup> Հացունի 1924, 78–85 and Պատրիկ 1967, 21 were the first scholars, that have partially addressed this issue. See also Մուշեղյան 1982, 1985, 42, Պտուկեան 1971, 30–53, Պողոսյան 2001, 75, Հակոբյան 2010, 201, However, as the topic remained almost unexplored in the works of Armenian specialists, we considered it necessary to turn to this problem and make typological divisions.

<sup>8</sup> Bienkowski 1900, 10–12.

1. A conquered country is depicted with an inscription of “Capta” and national arms.
  2. A woman with a military costume and weapon.
  3. A woman in idealised Greco-Roman costume and national arms and symbols.
  4. A woman standing in a national costume, wearing national arms.
  5. Roman soldiers<sup>9</sup>.
- P. Strack distinguished five types of representations:
1. Tellus type – a woman lying in Greek or Roman costume.
  2. A woman standing in Greek or Roman costume.
  3. A woman represented as an Amazon.
  4. A woman in a national costume, wearing national arms.
  5. A citizen (sex is not important) in a national costume with national arms (a very rare type)<sup>10</sup>.
- J. Toynbee divided them into two groups:
1. Realistic-ethnographic type of personifications in a national costume.
  2. Idealised image of a woman in a Greek costume and national symbols<sup>11</sup>.
- P. Gardner distinguishes four types of symbolic representations:
1. The eponymous character of a hero or a founder.
  2. A protective god.
  3. A woman.
  4. Tyche or Fortune as a symbol of the Goddess of the Cities<sup>12</sup>.

Thus, specialists give the definition of different stages of Romanisation of nations and the level of impact of their defeat.

### ***The Typology of Artaxiad Queen as Personification of Armenia***

Based on their works, we also performed the pictorial typology of the personification of Armenia. We have divided the personifications of Armenia into eight groups.

1. *Artaxiad Queen (Fig. 1),*
2. *An Amazon woman or Phrygian armed woman (Fig. 2),*

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<sup>9</sup> Jatta 1908, 68–69.

<sup>10</sup> Strack 1933, 152–155.

<sup>11</sup> Toynbee 1934, 2–11; Ostrowski 1992, 271.

<sup>12</sup> Gardner 1888, 47–81; Lucas 1900, 1–42.

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3. *Mitra-Amazon collective image (Fig. 3),*
4. *City-Mother-Goddess in the characters of Tyche or Fortuna (Fig. 4),*
5. *Representation of Armenia defeated by Roman soldiers, legionnaires, female or male, gender is not allowed (Fig. 5),*
6. *Artaxiad crown as a symbol of Armenia (Fig. 6),*
7. *Victoria sacrifices a bull as a symbol of Rome's conquest of Armenia (Fig. 7),*
8. *Mitra as a symbol of defeated Armenia (Fig. 8).*

Based on the above, referring only to the first pictorial group of the Artaxiad Queen, which has been singled out, we have also performed a thematic typology of the Artaxiad Queen, which can help us find the collective representation of these types only in the pictorial typography of the Artaxiad Queen.

We consider the first image to be the imagery of the Artaxiad Queen kneeling or standing in front of the emperor, asking for mercy. It comes in two main versions:

a) *In the examples attributed to the first version, the queen with the Artaxiad crown is depicted on the reverse of the coins of Augustus or Feronia, as a symbol of a defeated country personifying a noble woman in a Greek chiton, wearing an Armenian/Parthian cloak, with arms outstretched to the emperor, kneeling and praying for mercy.*

b) *In the second version, there is the Artaxiad Queen, standing or sitting before the emperor in the image of a queen begging for his mercy, symbolizing occupied Asia Minor, identified with the Hellespont.*

On the Arrentine pottery dating to Augustus, we have the Artaxiad Queen as the symbol of captured Asia Minor, identified with the Hellespont (Armenians, Phrygians, Trojans, Carians, Amazons, Scythians, etc.) Here is the continuation of the Trojan myth, where Augustus is portrayed as Achilles, a half-naked Greek hero, and Armenia is confronted by the Artaxiad Queen as a symbol of conquered Asia Minor, who begs for his mercy. The Artaxiad Queen meets the Greek hero twice on pottery.

The iconography of the Queens is repeated in the image of the allegorical representation of Armenia made by the Roman Emperors. The emperor is depicted as an Olympic God or Greek hero showing his mercy to the Artaxiad Queen or the King. He is usually shown sitting on the throne in front of the Queen, presenting her power or giving her a blessing, or the Queen of Artaxiad is shown in a long attire in the pose of adorant or asking for his mercy, or blessing.



In museums of Tübingen, Munich, Berlin, and Boston, bowls from the Italian city of Arezzo are kept, which are supposed to be dated to the ca. 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D. (Fig. 9)<sup>13</sup>. According to some experts, they date back to Augustan time<sup>14</sup>. The symbolic image of defeated Armenia is depicted in the image of the Artaxiad Queen standing or sitting before the naked hero-emperor, imploring him for mercy. The symbolic image of the defeated Germany in desperation can also be seen. The same image appears on other monuments created for the emperor, and on them he is represented as a powerful ruler of the West and the East. We also tend to date the bowls to the Augustan time (Fig. 10).

This is in fact the earliest type of personification of Armenia in the image of the Artaxiad Queen kneeling before the emperor and asking for mercy. She wears an Artaxiad tiara, wavy hair gathered at the back of the head, tunic, long royal mantle, Greek chiton. The legs of the woman are dressed in trousers, in a style resembling Parthian attire, and she wears shoes. J. Herrmann identifies this figure both as Armenia and whole “Asia Minor” (Fig. 11)<sup>15</sup>.

Different types of iconography and composition of the Queens can be seen on many coins, seals and brands. The majority of coins are attributed to Queen Erato<sup>16</sup>. She<sup>17</sup> was the last representative of the Artaxiad dynasty, daughter of Tigran III and sister of Tigran IV<sup>18</sup>.

On the obverse of more than a dozen copper coins Erato’s profile can be seen in the background facing right, next to her brother and husband Tigran IV.. On the reverse Mount Ararat is depicted (Fig. 12)<sup>19</sup>. According to G. Sarkissian, the iconography has its parallels in the art of the Ptolemaic dynasty<sup>20</sup>. Dozens of coins with the image of Erato have been found in the capital of ancient Armenia,

<sup>13</sup> Dragendorff 1948, 160–161; Kuttner 1995, 86; Łuszczewska 2002, 69–70; Маркарян 2015, 78.

<sup>14</sup> Oxe 1933, 98, 52, №220a, 220b, 308; Laubscher 1974, 253; Pollini 1978, 284–285; Simon 1957, 3.

<sup>15</sup> Herrmann 1995, fig. 31.1 d, 31.2, 31.3, 509–519; Ramsby, Hoven 2007, 59–60.

<sup>16</sup> Варданян 1987, 195–207; Արսենյան 2000, 554; Սարգսյան 2006, 14–23; Վահրյան 2014, 18–34.

<sup>17</sup> Erato (ancient Greek Ἐρατώ desired, derived from the name of God Eros) was the Muse of love poetry in Greek mythology, daughter of Zeus and Mnemosyne.

<sup>18</sup> She co-ruled with her brother Tigran IV 8–5 B.C., 2 B.C. – 2 A.D., alone 6–12 A.D. See: Manandyan 1945, 295–298.

<sup>19</sup> Վարդանյան 2004, 234–253.

<sup>20</sup> Սարգսյան 2006, 14–23.

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Artashat. On the obverse she is depicted with hair gathered at the back of the head, on the reverse the model of the capital is depicted with defence walls (History Museum of Armenia, Inv. №20093-4, Fig. 13). This iconography also serves as proof that the image of the Queens and the Goddess of the Cities were identical, and they were perceived as the protectors and patrons of Artashat.

Researchers such as E. Babelon, F. Layard, and V. Langlois suppose that the face of the queen depicted on an intaglio from an oval red garnet, resembles Artaxiad Queen Erato (Fig. 14a, b)<sup>21</sup>. It is kept in the National Library of Paris in the department of medals (Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, No. 58.1384, with a height of 2.2 cm, width 1.4 cm, only garnet size 1.5x1.1 cm, donation, purchase time, 09. 25.1692)<sup>22</sup>. It was also published by V. Hatsuni as Queen Erato<sup>23</sup>.

The queen is depicted with the left profile, some part of the hair is connected to the back of the head, and the other - to the upper hair. The dress of the queen is attached to the shoulder with a clasp. She wears an Artaxiad crown in the form of a jagged tiara on the head, adorned with six stars. The tiara is covered with a diadem that is riveted from behind. Under the high crown, characteristic of Armenian kings of Artaxiad riches, wavy hair looks like a luxurious band. The Queen, in a typical Hellenistic interpretation, is elegant. According to B. Arakelian, this is the most significant work of the ancient masters in Armenian glyptic art<sup>24</sup>.

The hypothesis that this is the Armenian queen was confirmed by all the researchers<sup>25</sup>. In this case, it does not matter whether it is the Artaxiad Queen Erato or another Armenian queen. The similarity of the crown with the crowns of Tigran II and Artavazd II is obvious (Fig.15). According to B. Arakelian, the intaglio was made in the period when the Queen ruled alone<sup>26</sup>. The coins depicting Queen

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<sup>21</sup> Babelon 1860, 193, *idem.*, 1890, pl. 29; Layard pl. 65, 18; Langlois 1859, 39–40.

<sup>22</sup> <http://medaillesetantiques.bnf.fr/ws/catalogue/app/collection/notices/record/ark:/12148/c33gb16w5x>; Caylus 1752–1767, pl. XLII, 2; Furtwängler 1900, taf. 33, №4, 161, Plantzos 1999, №98, pl. 17, 57; Zwierlein 2007, fig. 267.

<sup>23</sup> Հացունի 1924, 76–77.

<sup>24</sup> Առաքելյան 1976, 34–35.

<sup>25</sup> Babelon 1860, 193; Langlois 1859, 39–40; Caylus 1752–1767, pl. XLII, 2; Furtwängler 1900, taf. 33, №4, 161; Plantzos 1999, №98, pl. 17, 57; Zwierlein 2007, fig. 267; Ալիշան 1890, 367, 418.

<sup>26</sup> Առաքելյան 1976, 35.

Erato and the Armenian brand, kept in Paris, are of different types. Here the clothes, hairstyles and hats are different.

The collective image of the Artaxiad Queen, represented on the Arrentine bowls, is similar and seems to imitate the image of Erato on the Queen's seal at the National Library of Paris. The Armenian queen in her royal dresses and the crown of the Artaxiad nobles is the allegorical symbol of the country or defeated kingdom. The Artaxiad Queens wear men's trousers and corrugated short dresses, solemn Greek dresses and clothes that lean against the shoulder and hands, a cloak slightly on the right shoulder and down. The clothes and headgear of the Artaxiad Queen Erato depicted on a seal kept in Paris, is a case in point.

To illustrate the images of the Armenian queens, we also have examples of the coins, which date back to the Octavian period<sup>27</sup> (ca. 19 BC). They were made for Petronius Turpilianus and Aquillius Florus (Fig. 15)<sup>28</sup>. The image of Armenia

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<sup>27</sup> Pliny the Elder first mentions 14 allegorical-symbolic representations of nations in the colonnade of the theater built by Gnaeus Pompey, which was built to celebrate his victory in the year 55 BC. Pliny mentions their marble sculpture in his *Natural History*, chapter 36.41, noting that Varo tells us about the "Fourteen Nations" surrounding the theatre of Pompey that were erected by Coponius to symbolize the capture of the nations by Pompey. Unfortunately, the theater made of the oldest stone has not been preserved, and we cannot see the iconography of the representation of the nations, but historians claim, that the nations of the Temple of the deified Hadrian, the nations of Aphrodisias in Sebasteon, mimic the allegories of other nations. The earliest of these monuments was the Pompey Theater, which was officially dedicated to his victories in 55 BC. According to Pliny (NH 36.41), the front of the theater featured the representatives of 14 defeated nations in their distinctive ethnic costumes. From the Egyptian context of the procession, Ptolemy II seems to have included images of Ionian cities to compare the majesty of the Ptolemaic Empire with that of the Egyptian pharaohs (Root 1979, 240–250; Cashman 2006). Alternatively, it is possible that Ptolemy was inspired by Achaemenid royal monuments such as the stelae of Darius the Great Canal (Root 1979, 61–68). For a general discussion of the Achaemenid influences on Ptolemy II's procession, see Briant 2002, 199–200. A collection of fourteen statues, depicting the "nations" conquered by Pompey during his many expeditions to the empire. This is far from the fifty (or more) ethnicities depicted on Sebastian, but the basic principle remains the same. It is also worth noting that the theatrical facades of Sebastian's columns, otherwise unprecedented in Greco-Roman art, were probably designed to respond to the representation of nations at the Pompeii Theater.

<sup>28</sup> Մուշեղյան 1982: 93; *idem.* 1985: 42; Հաղուխի 1924: 78–80; Պտուկեան 1971: 30–53; Маркарян 2015: 78.

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was represented by “the defeated Queen”<sup>29</sup>. The defeated countries<sup>30</sup> appeared on the Roman coins (Antioch, Britain, Africa, Gallia, Armenia, etc.) as human or zoomorphic allegories<sup>31</sup>.

*The second iconographical type is represented in the allegorical form of Mother Araxes, in the image of the defeated Artaxiad Queen, accompanied by two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, which were mostly personified by half-naked Greek men.*

The Araxes as a woman and the Tigris and the Euphrates as men are mostly found on the coins of the Augustus’ and Trajan's sculptures.

It is noteworthy that both on the triumphal arches, and on the coins issued by Trajan, Armenia later symbolized not only Armenia but the whole region, mainly Mesopotamia, accompanied by two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, which were mostly personified by half-naked Greek men, sitting on the ground with their hands under their jaws, their weapons and captured loot spread around. *The*

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<sup>29</sup> “Defeated Armenia” represented on the occasion of Armenia's conquest by the image of the Armenian Queen on the coins of Mark Antony (Figure 3), Trajan, Adrian, Lucius Verus, Markus Aurelius, was depicted before emperors praying for mercy. The reason for making such coins was the capturing of the throne of Armenia and King Artavazd II and his family by Mark Antony and Cleopatra. The Queen was usually represented on the reverse of coins kneeling, hands on her mouth, praying for freedom and mercy, with downcast head and hopeless, often raising her hands to the emperor. On such coins one can see the inscription “Armenia”, which is on the round pointed circle. Below the victory of the Roman army and the defeat of the Armenian Kingdom are represented, through the personification of the Armenian Queen. In the iconography of coins of Lucius Verus the inauguration of the Armenian king is depicted, moreover, the Armenian king gets his Crown from the hands of the Roman emperor, who sits on his eminent throne. The Latin inscription heralds the Roman simultaneous victory against the main opponents of the Roman Empire, i.e. Armenia and Parthia. The Roman copper coins were made in Rome and have not been found on the territory of Armenia. It is reasonable to think that the image of the defeated Armenian Queen wearing a jagged crown tiara on her head, as well as her position of praying could have originated from the times of Octavian Augustus, for this type of representation has, in fact, been first used at that period. Our conclusion is based on the studies of coins and bowls on which (particularly on those of the Augustus and Feronia period) the iconographic type of the Artaxiad Queen with the high jagged tiara can be found.

<sup>30</sup> Մուշեղյան 1973, 42–43.

<sup>31</sup> For examples, Gaul (present day France) is depicted on coins of Lucius Hostilius Saserna as an image of a sad virgin with loose hair. Africa is depicted on coins of Quintus Metellus Scipio as a face of a woman (with an elephant trunk instead of a nose).

*third iconographical type is the Goddess of the Capital, in the image of Tyche or Fortuna, with a jagged mural crown.*

From this point of view the images of the defeated personifications of “Mother-City-Goddesses” depicted on the Triumphal Arch of Trajan at Benvenetum and Arcus Novus dedicated to Diocletian, play an important role. Here Armenia is represented by the allegoric image of Goddess of the Cities Tyche, kneeling before the emperor (Fig. 16)<sup>32</sup>.

In ancient Rome, defeated nations were represented mainly as defeated women. Moreover, the replacement of women with images by specialists is considered a special intention, which was associated with the Greek-Persian conflict and wars. The replacement of male characters with female ones was compared to the male-female relations of Rome and Parthia, the comparisons of which have long existed in Greek art. In this regard, it is important to note that they were viewed as the prototypes of the Queens, who were shown by the Romans as a symbol of defeated countries. We fully agree with this observation, although the representations of Armenia in the images of the Goddess of the Cities and the Queen are created in a different time. It is also evident that if the personifications of women were viewed as city-guardians and nation keepers, they should naturally be also turned into a symbol of capture, obedience and defeat of the nation and country in the eyes of the Roman emperors<sup>33</sup>.

The “Artaxiad Queen”, as a rule, is depicted in a traditional national attire. Her image is more of a realistic-ethnographic type, as she embodies Armenia, sometimes even the whole region<sup>34</sup>. In this regard, it is important to note that the images of Nike-Victoria and Tyche-Fortuna were viewed as the prototypes of the personifications of the countries represented by women<sup>35</sup>.

*The fourth iconographical type which we have divided into three subgroups, is the creation of Mitra-Artaxiad Queen in the form of a jointly presented husband and wife.*

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<sup>32</sup> Jatta 1908, 43, 46–47, Fig. 12; Bienkowski 1900, 106–107; Hamberg 1945, 69–70; Kuttner 1995, Fig. 12, 204–205, 225–226, Koepfel 1983, fig. 32, 122.

<sup>33</sup> Koepfel 1983, 120, tab. 26–27, fig. 31, 225–226.

<sup>34</sup> Herrmann 1995, fig. 31.1 d, 31.2, 31.3, 512.

<sup>35</sup> Correll 1991, 142; Pierson 2000, 45; Warner 1996, 12; Weigel 1987, 221; Bronfen 1995, 417; Gardner 1888, 47–81; Hölscher 2006, 29–34; Arya 2002, 2–367.

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In the first subgroup the Defeated Artaxiad Queen is, as a symbol of Armenia, as the wife of Mitra (as the symbol of the barbarian West), she meets on the examples of coins and on Constantine's triumphal arch.

We see the image of the Artaxiad Queen as a symbol of defeated Armenia which was later revived on coins and the triumphal arch created by Constantine the Great. On sculptural reliefs on the south side of the Arch of Constantine (315 A.D.) personifications of eastern barbarian captives and the trophy are depicted (Fig. 17). The scenes on the north-western and south-western bases of the Arch are important for the study of the image of Armenia. Similar images of captive barbarians can be seen on the arch of Septimius Severus created earlier (203 A.D.). Before 318 A.D. Constantine was given the title *Armenicus maximus*, but the image of Armenia was never used to mark that occasion.

Two scenes on both sides of the arch are the same, depicted on the background of the trophy. On the north side Mithra is depicted in the image of the patriarch of barbarians with a Phrygian hat, low-cut shoe, Parthian trousers, short tunic, with a cloak (his hands are tight). On the south side his wife is depicted with an Artaxiad tiara and flowing hair, long Greek tunic and chiton with an opened shoulder, belt under her breasts, low-cut shoes. The jugged part of the tiara is cut off like on the intaglio of Erato. Her one hand is placed on a shoulder, the other resembles the depiction of the Queens asking for mercy (Inv. №RBU2015.5541). They are standing on both sides of the Parthian trophy and captured banners. It is of interest that Erato's depiction is the same as the representation of the goddess of love Aphrodite with her son hugging her leg. We think that Mithra here represents the allegorical image of the Armenian King Tigran IV. It is known that Armenian kings chose Mithra-Veretragna-Vahagn as their patron God. The Romans had good historic memory. Those images are the reflection of the Roman perception of the image of the Artaxiad King and Queen, shown as brother and sister, husband and wife. Both reliefs are depicted standing, facing each other as eastern captives with the widely used iconography of the Parthian captives. The legs of the man are crossed. Between them, in the center, a child is standing holding the dress of his mother. In our opinion, the image of a child is a distant hint to the fact that the next generations of the Artaxiad dynasty continued to carry the burden of the Roman Empire. The adoption of the widely used iconography of Aphrodite and Eros is not surprising, as the name Erato originated from the name Eros. At the same time Aphrodite-

Venus was the ancestral goddess of the emperors of Rome. The Arch of Constantine commemorates his victory over Maxentius at the Battle of Milvian Bridge. Thus, the personification of Armenia in the second century was changed to mark the victories of the family of Constantine the Great.

*In the second subgroup, there is a fused allegorical image of the Mitra-Artaxiad Queen with female weapons.*

In Roman art one can see interesting representations of noble women that symbolise Armenia. An exceptional example is the sculpture of “Armenia” (Inv. №6757, height of the relief is 2.13 m, height of the statue is 1.54 m, width 1.87 m) now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Naples. Once it was part of the reliefs of a temple erected for the ‘Divine Hadrian’ by his son the Emperor Antoninus Pius in AD 145 (Fig. 3)<sup>36</sup>.

All researchers believe that the relief represents Armenia, because it has the same tiara and attire, as the medallions with the inscription “Armenia”, coins, sculptural images<sup>37</sup>. A Roman medallion with the inscription “Armenia”, that fully copies the iconography of the relief, proves that observation (Fig. 18). The medallion shows Armenia that sits on the ground, in front of her a quiver with arrows, and a bow is next. Armenia is also here in Armenian-Parthian military garb and with a conical tiara hat on its head<sup>38</sup>. The helmet closes the ears and hair gathered at the back of the head, and the face remains open. Armenian queens, according to Roman sources, wore royal golden helmets instead of a veil or headdress, open from the front. They accompanied their husbands during long journeys and wars<sup>39</sup>. According to V. Hatsuni, the helmet was for hiding the sex of the queen and for her personal protection<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> It appeared in Farnese Collection in 1550 alongside with two other reliefs (Scythia and Phrygia) and was kept in Archaeological Museum of Naples. The other personifications of nations from the same group in men’s clothes with weapon are kept in Capitoline Museum of Rome. See: Lucas 1904, 24–27; Վասիլյան 2015, 345–352; *idem*. 2013, 209–217.

<sup>37</sup> Bienkowski 1900, 65–66, Strong 1971, 388; Balty 1984, 611–612; Ruesch, Bassi 1911, 61; Ostrowski 1990, 272; Ostrowski 1990, 14; Ansel 2015, 278–280; Հացունի 1924, 82–85; Patrik 1967, 21; Հակոբյան 2010, 201; Պողոսյան 2001, 75; Wuilleumier, Audin 1952, №158, 97–98.

<sup>38</sup> Ansel 279.

<sup>39</sup> Касций 2013, 169.

<sup>40</sup> Հացունի 1924, 80.

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Its shape reminds us of a Phrygian cap. Wide mantle with multiple folds covers her back and is fastened with a round brooch on the right shoulder. The depicted woman of noble birth is probably a “princess”, with a typical barbarian attire and weapon. She looks like an Amazon. “Armenia” is depicted here with a man’s attire and weapons. She has a wide belt, its edges are tight up on her back. Her arrow and quiver are also a proof that here an Amazon is depicted. The most striking example of this iconography is “the Amazon defeated by the Roman emperor”. Personification of an Amazon represented the most rebellious and disobeying nations. The most famous example is the sculptural program of the Sebasteion in the city of Aphrodisias<sup>41</sup> (Caria, North-Western Turkey)<sup>42</sup>. Armenia<sup>43</sup> is also depicted in the allegorical image of an Amazon<sup>44</sup>, dressed only in a cloak and a Phrygian cap made of leather, and is reminiscent of the image of Penthesilea (Fig. 2)<sup>45</sup>.

*In the third subgroup, there is a fused allegorical image of the Mitra-Artaxiad Queen as a defeated Amazon. It appears at the feet of the imperial horse, asking for mercy. This type was most commonly used on medallions issued by Emperor Lucius Verus (Fig. 5).*

On reliefs of the Assyrian King Ashurbanipal (British Museum, Inv. N<sup>o</sup>ANE124802), two envoys from Urartu are depicted in a worshipping pose in front of the Assyrian nobles. Two envoys of Elam are depicted, standing to the right, and to the left (Fig. 19)<sup>46</sup>. The Urartians had stylish hats with feathers lying down. According to R. Barnett, those images look like the Armenians depicted in the reliefs of Persepolis (Fig. 20)<sup>47</sup>. G. Tiratsian thinks that those hats have their parallels in the image of the tiara of the Artaxiad Kings<sup>48</sup>. Armenian tiara was frequently depicted in the ancient art (sculpture, ceramics, glyptic art, etc.) as a symbol of dethroned Artaxiad dynasty or Armenia.

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<sup>41</sup> Leon 2011, 29, 34–35, fig. 26, 35, 62, Smith 1987, 22–138; *idem.* 1988, 50–77.

<sup>42</sup> Shoup 2008, 50; Leon 2011, 29, 34–35; fig. 26, 35, 62; Smith 1987, 22–138; *idem.* 1988, 50–77; *idem.* 1990, 89–100; Thommen 89–90; Վաղինյան 2016, 425–441, *idem.* 2017, 237–262.

<sup>43</sup> Smith 1987, 117–119; Bienkowski 1900, 65–66.

<sup>44</sup> Rubin 103; Smith 117–119.

<sup>45</sup> Kuttner 1995, 205.

<sup>46</sup> Reade 2001, 67–79, fig. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Barnett 1976, 46.

<sup>48</sup> Tirazian 1978, 8–9; *idem.* 1959, 97–101.



Tiara is in the shape of a truncated cone and covers the temples and the back of the head. It looks like the Artaxiad tiara,<sup>49</sup> and according to V. Hatsuni it is the main feature that distinguishes the personification of Armenia from Parthia<sup>50</sup>. According to H. Hakobian, this sculptural image shows that the dress was “inherited” from Urartian art and is also seen in the sculptures of Commagene (Fig. 21)<sup>51</sup>.

Armenia and Phrygia were the allies of Parthia – the enemy of Rome. They were depicted in Roman art as barbarians in Greco-Parthian clothes. The personification of Armenia clearly indicated not only the defeated kingdom, but also the territory. It is quite possible that women here represent the symbolic image of Asia in general. It corresponds to the images of reliefs from Nemrut Dag, Sofraz, Arsameia.

### **Conclusion**

In the Hellenistic culture there were various iconographic types of the Goddess of the Cities and Queens, i.e. patrons of cities and countries, noble women, worshipping the main God.

The “Artaxiad Queen” as a rule is depicted in a traditional national attire. Her image is more of a realistic-ethnographic type, as she embodies Armenia, sometimes even the whole region.

Roman coins, seals, stamps and inscriptions give some idea of the stylistic and inventive features of the Artaxiad Queen's iconography. Summing up the above, we must also do the pictorial typology of the Artaxiad Queens, which we have divided into four types.

1. We consider the first image to be the iconography of the Artaxiad Queen kneeling or standing in front of the emperor, asking for mercy. It comes in two main versions:

a) In the examples attributed to the first version, the queen with an Artaxiad crown is depicted on the reverse of the coins of Augustus or Feronia, as a symbol

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<sup>49</sup> The hat has a unique shape of a cone with four or five triangular juts. Royal diadem was worn over it. Tigran the Great and the kings of Artaxiad dynasty before him wore it. Kings of Commagene from Orontid dynasty are also depicted wearing it, for example, Mitridate I Kallinikos (100–70 B.C.) and Antiochus I of Commagene (70–35 B.C.).

<sup>50</sup> Հացունի 1924, 82.

<sup>51</sup> Հակոբյան 2010, 201.

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of the defeated country, kneeling in a Greek attitude, wearing an Armenian cloak, with her arms outstretched to the emperor, begging for mercy.

The iconography of “the kneeling Artaxiad queen, in a tunic and jagged crown, in a royal robe” originated from Octavian in August BC. 20–18 years. For this illustration we use the Arrentine pottery and the coins of Augustus and Feronia. In fact, the first representation of the Artaxiad crown meets in the example of the coins by Marcos Antonios in BC. 32–31 used by Augustus Octavian. This was the first type of “representation of defeated Armenia”.

b) In the second version, there is the Artaxiad Queen, standing or sitting before the emperor, in the image of the queen begging for his mercy, as a symbol of occupied Asia Minor, identified with the Hellespont. The emperor is depicted as an Olympic God or Greek hero often sitting on the throne or standing, showing his mercy to the Queen or to the King of the Artaxiad dynasty. He is usually shown in front of the Queen presenting her power or giving her a blessing, or the Artaxiad Queen is shown in a long attire in the pose of adorant or asking for his mercy, or blessing.

We believe that this iconographical type was first introduced during the reign of Emperor Augustus. In museums of Tübingen, Munich, Berlin, and Boston, bowls from the Italian city of Arezzo are kept. They are supposed to date back to the ca. 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D. or to the Augustan period.

The image of the defeated Artaxiad Queen repeats the image of Erato, depicted on Armenian coins and seals, with the same hair style, tiara and clothes. This iconographic type can be found on the coins of Augustus and Feronia and Arrentine bowls.

The image of the defeated Artaxiad Queen resembles a grenade stamp attributed to Queen Erato in the National Library of Paris, which in chronological and pictorial terms is considered to be a collective depiction of the Artaxiad Queen, most likely commissioned in Roman times. We think that since the description of another Artaxiad queen of the period has not reached us, this stamp has been misidentified by many authors as Queen Erato. Through our research, we have come to the conclusion, that the stamp of the Artaxiad Queen repeats the iconography of the Arrentine pottery, quite different from the coins of Queen Erato in the period of “pictorial features”.

2. The second icon is represented in the allegorical form of Mother Araxes, in the image of the defeated Artaxiad Queen, accompanied by two rivers, the

Tigris and the Euphrates, which were mostly personified by half-naked Greek men.

We have vivid examples of this iconography in the examples of the Trajan Benevento's triumphal arch and coins, where the person with the image of the Araxes is depicted, kneeling in front of the emperor, begging him for mercy, and the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers sitting on either side of it.

3. The third iconographical type is the Goddess in the image of Tyche or Fortuna with a mural crown. From this point of view, the images of Trajan and Diocletian are very significant with the representation of the defeated Capital Goddessess on the Arcus Novus triumphal arch sculptures. The first example of this iconographical type was the triumphal arch of Arbela, dedicated to the victory of Alexander the Great, in which Europe and Asia were represented in the image of the defeated heroines as the Capital City Goddessess. The Roman emperors, with a new solution, often began to represent Armenia with Parthia or Germany as their defeated capital goddesses, kneeling or standing before the emperor.

4. The fourth iconographical type is the invention of the Mitra-Artaxiad Queen, in the form of a jointly presented husband and wife, which we have divided into two subgroups.

a) In the first subgroup is the defeated Artaxiad Queen, as a symbol of Armenia, as the wife of Mitra (barbarian West). It is found on the coins of Constantine and the triumphal arch dedicated to him.

The iconographical type of the Artaxiad Queen was revived in the second century during the rule of Constantine the Great in the sculptural scene of the arch in Rome, represented as Mithra's wife. We think that the composition of these male and female characters facing each other, the movements of their hands repeat the pictorial theme of Emperor Augustus and are its survivals.

b) In the second subgroup, there is a united allegorical image of the Mitra-Artaxiad Queen with female weapons.

A unique example of such a sculpture is "Armenia" in the Museum of Archaeology in Naples, which has been created in honor of Emperor Adrians under the reign of his son Emperor Antoninos Pius. The image of Armenia is repeated many times in the iconography of coins with the inscription "Armenia". We think that this type has originated earlier, from the image of the Amazon of the Nero in Aphrodisias sculptural program.

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## ԱՐՏԱՇԻՍՅԱՆ ԹԱԳՈՒՀԻՆ՝ ՈՐՊԵՍ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԱՆՁՆԱՎՈՐՈՒՄ

ՎԱՍԻԼՅԱՆ Վ.

### Ամփոփում

**Քանալի քառեր՝** Արտաշիսյան թագուհի, Միթրա, Տիխե, Կիլիկիա, Էրատո, ամազոնուհի, Հռոմ:

«Արտաշիսյան թագուհին» որպես կանոն հանդես է գալիս բնորոշ ազգային հագուստով՝ **ռեալիստական-ազգագրական** տիպին բնորոշ կնոջ կերպարով՝ անձնավորելով Հայաստանը, երբեմն նաև՝ ողջ տարածաշրջանը: Ամփոփելով վերոնշյալը, պետք է կատարենք նաև Արտաշիսյան թագուհու պատկերագրական տիպաբանություն, որը բաժանել ենք չորս տիպի.

1. Առաջին պատկերատիպ ենք համարում Արտաշիսյան թագուհին կայսեր առջև ծնկաչոք կամ կանգնած, ձիու ոտքերի մոտ պառկած, կայսեր առջև նստած, բարեգթություն հայցողի դիրքով պատկերագրությունը: Այն հանդես է գալիս երկու հիմնական տարբերակներով՝

ա) *Առաջին տարբերակին վերագրվող օրինակներում* Արտաշիսյան թագով թագուհին ներկայանում է Օգոստոսի կամ Ֆերոնայի դրամների դարձերեսին, որպես պարտյալ երկրի խորհրդանիշ՝ ծնկաչոք, հունական խիտոնով և հայապարթև թիկնոցով, ձեռքերը դեպի կայսերը պարզած՝ ողորմություն և բարեգթություն խնդրող կնոջ կերպարով և Հայաստանը՝ գրավված մակարգրությամբ:

բ) *Երկրորդ տարբերակում Արտաշիսյան թագուհին է՝ կայսեր առաջ կանգնած կամ նստած և նրանից բարեգթություն հայցող թագուհու կերպարով՝ որպես գրավյալ Փոքր Ասիայի խորհրդանիշ՝ նույնականացված Հելլեսպոնի հետ:*

2. Երկրորդ պատկերատիպը ներկայացված է Մայր Արաքսի այլաբանական կերպարով՝ պարտյալ Արտաշիսյան թագուհու կերպարով, երկու գետերի՝ Տիգրիսի և Եփրատի ուղեկցությամբ, որոնք մեծամասամբ անձնավորված էին տղամարդկանց կիսամերկ հունական կերպարներով:

3. Երրորդ պատկերատիպը Քաղաքամայր դիցուհին է՝ Տիխեի կամ Ֆորտունայի կերպարներում՝ ատամնավոր թագով: Այս տեսակետից խիստ հատկանշական են Տրայանոսի և Դիոկղետիանոսի՝ «Arcus Novus» հաղթական



մարների քանդակաշարերի պարտյալ Քաղաքամայր դիցուհիների կերպարները:

4. Չորրորդ պատկերատիպը Միթրա-Արտաշիսյան թագուհի հորինվածքն է՝ որպես ամուսին և կին համատեղ ներկայացված կերպարով:

## «ЦАРИЦА АРТАШЕСИДОВ» КАК ПЕРСОНИФИКАЦИЯ АРМЕНИИ

ВАСИЛЯН В.

### Резюме

**Ключевые слова:** царица Арташесидов, Митра, Тихе, Киликия, Эрато, амазонка, Рим.

«Царица Арташесидов», как правило, изображается в характерном национальном одеянии. Ее образ носит реалистично-этнографический характер, так как она олицетворяет собой Армению, иногда даже весь регион. Подводя итог вышесказанному, мы должны также дать типологию иконографии царицы Арташесидов. Мы разделили ее на четыре типа.

1. Первый иконографический тип – царица Арташесидов стоит на коленях или перед императором и просит о пощаде. Встречаются две основные версии этого типа:

*а) В первой версии царица с короной Арташесидов изображена как символ побежденной страны в образе женщины на реверсе монет Августа или Фероны: она стоит на коленях в греческом хитоне и армяно-парфянской мантии, с раскинутыми руками, моля императора о пощаде. Изображение сопровождается надписью «Побежденная Армения».*

*б) Во второй версии царица Арташесидов стоит или сидит перед императором в образе королевы как символ оккупированной Малой Азии и отождествляется с Геллеспонтом. Она просит императора о пощаде.*

2. Второй иконографический тип – побежденная царица Арташесидов как аллегорический образ реки Аракс в сопровождении двух рек – Тигра и Евфрата, в основном в образах полуобнаженных греческих мужчин.

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3. Третий иконографический тип – богиня столицы (Кахакамайр) в образе Тихе или Фортуны с зубчатой короной. С этой точки зрения весьма показательны образы побежденных богинь в рельефах триумфальных арок Траяна и Диоклетиана «**Arcus Novus**».

4. Четвертый иконографический тип – композиция Митры- царицы Арташесидов в совместном образе мужа и жены.



**Fig. 1.** Arretine cup fragments by L. Avillius Sura. Boston, "Artaxiad Queen", terracota, 1 century AD  
(after: Herrmann 1995, Fig. 31.2, 510)



**Fig. 2.** "Nero and Armenia", Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, 65 AD, marble  
(Photo by Viktorya Vasilyan)



**Fig. 3.** "Armenia", Naples, Archaeological Museum, 145 AD, marble (Photo by Viktorya Vasilyan)



**Fig. 4.** Relief from the Via Lata Santa Maria Church. Italy, marble, detail, Tyche as a symbol of the defeated Armenia on Diocletian's and Maximus's triumphal arch sculptures composition. The remaining sculptures moulds are stored now in Rome, Capitoline Museum, which is attributed to Diocletian in 293-294. and Maximus Arcus Novus. (Photo by Viktorya Vasilyan)



Fig. 5. Æ “Medallion” (37mm, 51.20 g), Laureate, draped and cuirassed bust right /Emperor on horseback riding down Armenian, soldiers with standard behind, An early cast copy of the original medallion in Gneecchi pl. 72, 5. (Photo by Lucius\_Verus-Gneecchi\_72-144369\_Armenia\_Medallion.Jpg)

Fig. 6. Roman coin (denarius), “Armenia Capta”, Mark Antony, ‘Mark Antony August Armenian’, 164– 165 AD. (Photo by History Museum of Armenia)



Fig. 7. Octavian as Augustus, 27 BC–14 AD. Aureus, Pergamum ca. 19-18 BC, AV 7.79g. Head r.; below, AVGVSTVS. Rev. [ARMENIA] Victory r. cutting throat of recumbent bull she holds by the horn; in exergue CAPTA. C 8. (after: Bahrfeldt 142. Kent-Hirmer pl. 35, 162)



Fig. 8. Carpentras, Arch. Detail of lateral relief with captives maybe Parthia-Armenia and Germania (after: Rodriguez 2020. Before and After Rome: Fig. 1, p. 5)



Fig. 9. Arretine cup fragments by L. Avillius Sura. Tübingen 2575. Augustan. Scheme: nude imperator approached by Armenia represented as ‘Artaxiad Queen’, garlands and bucrania behind, terracota, 1 century AD (after: Herrmann 1995, fig. 31.1 d, 31-40)



Fig. 10. Arretine cup fragments by L. Avillius Sura. Tübingen. Augustan. Scheme: nude emperor approached by Armenia represented as 'Artaxiad Queen', garlands and bucrania behind, terracota, 1 century AD (after: Dragendorff 1948, pl. 33, no. 506)



Fig. 11. Roman coin "Defeated Armenia" made for Petronius Turpilianus and Aquillius Florus, on the obverse Goddess Feronia, on the reverse copper, 1 century AD, London, British Museum (Photo by British Museum)



Fig. 12. "Queen Erato with Tigran IV" on obverse, on reverse Mount Ararat, copper coin, 1 century AD, History Museum of Armenia (Photo by Ruben Vardanyan)



Fig. 13. "Queen Erato" on obverse, on reverse the model of the capital Artashat, copper coin, 1 century AD, History Museum of Armenia (Photo by Ruben Vardanyan)



Fig.14a, b. "Artaxiad Queen Erato", intaglio, inv.58.1384, grenat, 6-12 BC, Cabinet of the Medals of Bibliotheque in France (Photo by The Bibliothèque nationale de France)



Fig. 15. Silver coin, Bust of Virtus, obverse, draped, right, wearing crested helmet ornamented at the side with a feather; reverse, Armenian, wearing tiara and long robe, kneeling right on right knee and extending both hands in an attitude of submission, 1 century AD, British Museum (Photo by [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-211](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-211))



Fig. 16. Relief from the Triumphal Arch of Trajan at Benvenetum, Trajan with Armenia, 117-120 BC, Italy, marble, detail (Photo by Viktorya Vasilyan)



Fig. 18. Medallion "Armenia", France, Rouen, 1-2 centuries (after: Wuilleumier, Audin 1952, Fig. 158)



Fig. 17. Sculptural relief of the south side of the Arch of Constantine, where depicted personifications of eastern barbarian captive Armenia and Mithra, 315 AD, marble (Photo by Viktorya Vasilyan)



Fig. 19. Uartian ambassadors, depicted on the relief of king Ashurbanipal's Palace in Nineveh, 669-627 BC, London, British Museum (after: Reade J., The Wellesley eunuch, pp. 67-79, fig. 8)



Fig. 20. "Armenian", when she giving gifts to the king Darius, relief from Persepolis, 4 century BC, Iran, stone, Persepolis museum (Photo by Persepolis Museum)



Fig. 21. Stone relief depicting Antiochus I Theos of Commagene shaking hands with Vahagn, an Armenian deity, from which other deities like Heracles originate, 70-38 BC, Hierothesion, Nemrut Dag (Photo by Viktorya Vasilyan).

**Գիտական խորհուրդ**

Աղայան Արարատ

Ավագյան Արծրուն

Ավետիսյան Պավել

Բարդակչյան Գևորգ

Գևորգյան Համլետ

Դեդեյան Ժիրայր

Դում-Թրագուտ Յասմին

Զեքիյան Լևոն

Իսահակյան Ավետիք

Կատվայան Վիկտոր

Հայրապետյան Սերգո

Հովհաննիսյան Լավրենտի

Հովհաննիսյան Հենրիկ

Հովսեփյան Լիանա

Մահե Ժան-Պիեռ

Մելքոնյան Աշոտ

Մինասյան Էդիկ

Մութաֆյան Կլոդ-Արմեն

Շիրինյան Աննա

Պողոսյան Գևորգ

Սաֆրաստյան Ռուբեն

Սուվարյան Յուրի

Տոնապետյան Անահիտ

**Научный совет**

Авагян Арцрун

Аветисян Павел

Агасян Арагат

Айрапетян Серго

Бардакчян Геворг

Геворгян Гамлет

Дедеян Жирайр

Дум-Трагут Ясмин

Зекиян Левон

Исаакян Аветик

Катвалян Виктор

Маэ Жан-Пьер

Мелконян Ашот

Минасян Эдуард

Мутафян Клод-Армен

Овсепян Лиана

Оганесян Генрик

Оганесян Лаврентий

Погосян Геворг

Сафрастян Рубен

Суварян Юрий

Тонапетян Анаит

Ширинян Анна

**Scientific council**

Aghasyan Ararat

Avagyan Artsrun

Avetisyan Pavel

Bardakchyan Gevorg

Dedeyan Gerard

Donabedian Anahid

Dum-Tragut Jasmine

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