


## ARMENIA AND ARMENIANS IN ROMAN NUMISMATICS\*

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**Abstract:** Ancient Armenian sources are very scarce and do not permit a thorough understanding of Ancient Armenia. For this reason, all available sources relevant to Armenia need to be considered and studied. This is notably the case for Roman Coinage, where issues related to Armenia were struck over the course of 200 years. This paper examines how Roman coinage is able to influence our understanding of Roman, Armenian and Parthian relationships. The study begins with the analysis of the monetary iconography of Armenia and Armenians on Roman coinage through their attributes and postures. Following the first part, the study questions the Roman coinage as a source of ideological representations of the events. Indeed, the issues do not reflect the intricate relationships of the Romans, Armenians and Parthians, but rather highlight Roman victories and the image of the Emperor. Despite this Roman prism, the last part of the article shows that it is possible to use the coinage as a source for Roman, Armenian and Parthian relationship studies.

**Keywords:** Ancient Armenia, Roman Numismatics, Monetary images, Armenian attributes, Roman ideology.

The first Roman and Armenian interaction goes back to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, after the Roman victory at the Battle at Magnesia and the Treaty of Apamea.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, the Armenian Kingdom enjoyed independence from the Seleucids thanks to the rise of the Artashesian dynasty. While the first military interactions date to the beginning of the 1st century BCE, the first coinage related to Armenia is only struck by Marcus Antonius in 36–35 BCE. After that, some Armenian and Roman relationships are recorded on Roman imperial and provincial issues until the principate of Marcus Aurelius.

Roman, Armenian and Parthian relationships are mostly known from Roman sources.<sup>2</sup> The few Armenian or Parthian contemporary sources are scarcely able to counterbalance

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<sup>1</sup> Chaumont – Traina 2007, 113–116.

<sup>2</sup> For the historiography of Roman and Armenian relationships, see Chaumont 1976. On epigraphy, see Kéfélian 2020a and 2020b and on numismatics, see also Traina – Kéfélian 2015.

this Roman perspective given in Roman literary, numismatic, and sometimes epigraphic sources.<sup>3</sup> This is why these sources remain central to studies of Roman and Armenian relationships.

Roman numismatic research related to Armenia is a huge undertaking.<sup>4</sup> The central question concerns how such sources can influence our understanding of Roman, Armenian and Parthian relationships. That is why, the first part of this study focuses on the monetary image of Armenia through studying the personification of Armenia, its attributes, and its postures. Next, the article concentrates on typological issues and how it contributed to Roman, Armenian and Parthian relationships in terms of the study of ideology. The last part of the article attempts to qualify the ideological part by analyzing the contribution of these Roman issues as a historical tool.

## I. Armenia in the Roman Monetary Images

The representation of Armenia on the iconographic field of the coins is determined by the space restriction imposed by the size of the engraving area. As a result, engravers need to abbreviate the scene and message conveyed, and use conventional codes such as personifications, ethnographic stereotypes, conventional postures, and other types of body language.<sup>5</sup> The engravers turned to representational and semantic codes known by a large part of the audience and used in other arts such as sculpture.

### I.1. Representations of the Armenian Kingdom

#### I.1.1. *Armenia and Armenians on Roman Coins*

Armenia has been represented, as with other kingdoms or populations depicted on Roman coinage, either by the personification of Armenia<sup>6</sup> (a symbol of the royal institution) or a man and a woman (symbolizing the Armenian population). In addition, we can regard Armenian Kings enthroned as a third category.

As with other personifications, Armenia is symbolized by a woman wearing a large draped dress to her ankles.<sup>7</sup> She is wearing the Armenian tiara in order to be distinguished

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<sup>3</sup> See notably Movsēs Xorenac'i, *History of Armenians*. For a French translation see J.-P. Mahé 1993; for an English translation, see Thomson 1978. For an introduction to the author and Movsēs Xorenac'i's work, see Mahé 1993. On Xorenac'i's historical value, see Traina 1995; Traina 1998. See Kéfélian, Sources for Ancient Armenian studies, in: A. Kéfélian, G. Traina (eds.), *Problems in Armenian History*, Brill: Leiden–Boston, forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> For an analysis to be complete, these coin issues relating to Armenia must be recontextualized not only in the overall monetary production of an individual emperor but also in terms of their evolution over time. This is also the aim of a monograph in preparation on the image of Armenia on Roman coins; the present article offers a more limited overview.

<sup>5</sup> Toynebee 1956, 205–226; Galinier 2000, 141–161. See notably the Sestos inscription in Greece: *OGIS* 339–344.

<sup>6</sup> See annex 1.

<sup>7</sup> Lichocka 2010, 173–177; annex 1.a, fig. 1.

all other personifications. Some modifications of the garments of Armenia arise under Trajan's issues.<sup>8</sup> The dress, hitherto falling to the ankle, is now shorter and stops at the knee. She is also wearing loose trousers, gathered at her ankles. More and more, distinctions between the personification of Armenia and Armenians become less easy to separate from the Roman issues. During the principate of Marcus Aurelius, Armenia is sometimes shown wearing the *cidaris* head-dress, and sometimes a tiara.

Concerning the portrayal of Armenians, they are represented wearing the *cidaris* head-dress, a knee length draped dress and loose trousers tightened at their ankles;<sup>9</sup> some of them are wearing also a cap. Thanks to an issue struck during the Augustus' principate, we have a very fine specimen showing an Armenian warrior standing upright.<sup>10</sup> He is wearing armor and a bagging leggings tightened at the ankles too. It resembles the Parthian and Achaemenid trousers, with vertical and elliptical folds or pleats.<sup>11</sup> The statue of a Parthian prince, discovered in Šāmī, is a very important testimony to compare with the representation of the Armenian on Augustus' coin.<sup>12</sup> Both the Armenian on the coins and the Šāmī prince, are wearing loose trousers and a tunic, but the Šāmī prince's tunic is shorter than the Armenian one. The pleats of the trousers seem to be rather thigh boots or leather leg pads fixed to his waist. Another example is a Parthian statue, mentioned first by Seyrig, and then Homes.<sup>13</sup> The male figure is represented seated, wearing a knee length tunic and baggy leggings, the cuffs of which are gathered into his shoes. This second depiction seems to be closer to the Armenian shown on Augustus' coinage, but it is difficult to determine if the Armenian is wearing baggy leggings or leather leg pads. Usually, numismatists describe the Armenian naked, but fine specimens allow us to see armor with shoulder guards. This very detailed coin depicts in fine detail the *cidaris*, equipped with a neck protection and chin guard.

Besides these two categories, Armenian kings enthroned constitute a third category.<sup>14</sup> Only three prospective kings of Armenia have been represented: the first under the principate of Tiberius, the second under Antoninus Pius and the third under Marcus Aurelius. The first depicts the coronation of Zenon, the future Artasēs III (Artaxias III), during the military expedition of Tiberius.<sup>15</sup> The throne was vacant, but Tiberius had to enthrone Artasēs III at Artašat.<sup>16</sup> On the coin, they are both in military dress, with a short tunic and armor. This aspect of the representation may derive from the Roman citizenship of Zenon, Lucius Antonius Polemon<sup>17</sup> and above all the fact that this type was

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<sup>8</sup> For example, see *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 290.

<sup>9</sup> See annex 1.a, fig. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, nos. 515, 518–520. See annex 1.b, fig. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Huyse 2009, 243. These sorts of trousers dated from Achaemenid era and became more widespread following the rise of the Parthians, who were nomad riders. For a study of Parthian iconography on Augustus' coinage, see Rose 2005, 21–75.

<sup>12</sup> The sculpture is conserved in the National Museum of Iran, inv. 2401. See Mathiesen 1989, 120; Mathiesen 1992, 165–167, no. 11. For a photograph, see: [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/fisher/record.html?id=FISHER\\_n2007101746](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/fisher/record.html?id=FISHER_n2007101746) (accessed: 21 June 2019).

<sup>13</sup> Seyrig 1939, 182–183; Homes 1960, 321–325, photo 322.

<sup>14</sup> See annex 1.a, fig. 3 and annex 3.b for the coronation issues described below.

<sup>15</sup> *RPC* I, nos. 3629–3630.

<sup>16</sup> Tac. *ann.* 2.56.2–3.

<sup>17</sup> Sullivan 1980, 925–930.

struck in Caesarea of Cappadocia and not at Rome as with the other. This specimen also differs from the two other coronation types by representing both the tiara and the diadem. Indeed, since the coronation took place in Artašat, Artašēs III is shown wearing both the Armenian tiara in order to legitimate him as King of Armenia and as well as the diadem, used by Romans as a symbol of subordination.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the tiara, the diadem was also known and used notably by Seleucids, Parthians, Commagenians, Armenians and was considered as *regalia* too.<sup>19</sup>

The two specimens struck during the principate of Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus depict the future King of Armenia in the same way. As Armenians, they are wearing trousers and a middle length tunic with a cap. Nevertheless, as future kings of Armenia they are shown wearing a diadem and thus differentiated from the Armenian population generally.

### 1.1.2. Attributes

Clothes are not the only means to establish the identity of the enemy depicted on coins. They were complemented by the legend, which, however, was only understandable by a small part of the population able to read. On the coinage, Armenia is associated with three attributes.<sup>20</sup> These attributes characterize the Armenian kingdom, not only in numismatics, but also in fine arts. They are split into two categories of symbols: on one hand, headdresses, and on the other hand, weapons.

#### Headdresses

The Armenian attribute struck on coins appears to be the tiara, symbol of the Armenian *regalia*. Nevertheless, the tiara is not exclusively Armenian, but was also worn notably by Persians, Seleucids, Parthians and Commagenians.<sup>21</sup> The Armenian tiara came from the Achaemenid tiara to which were added provincial Iranian and Hellenistic features.<sup>22</sup> The cylindrical and serrated forms allude to the Achaemenid tiara, while the ribbon was used by Seleucids.<sup>23</sup> Ears flaps and neck protection come from provincial satraps' *regalia*, as opposed to the stars which hark back to a royal Hellenistic pattern.<sup>24</sup> In the first issue related to Armenia, the Armenian tiara is represented and covers the whole of the coin's field, with a bow and arrow behind.<sup>25</sup> The tiara, represented in trapezoidal form with a serrated edge, is decorated with a star and a laurel crown. If we compare the coin issue, except for the laurel crown, this form of the tiara is reminiscent of the Tigrane II's

<sup>18</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 15.2.1–4; 15.24.1–2; Suet. *Tib.* 9.1; *Nero* 13; Plut. *Pomp.* 33; Cassius Dio 36.50; 62.23; 63.4; 68.17; 78.27.

<sup>19</sup> For the Parthian evidence, see von Gall 1969–1970, 299–318. For a diachronic overview of the use of diadem, see Peck 1993.

<sup>20</sup> See annex 2.

<sup>21</sup> For the different types of tiaras, see Calmeyer 1993; Olbrycht 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Tiračyan 1982; Tiračyan 2003; Zardaryan 2001, 181–182; Invernizzi, in: Avetisian – Haroutunian – Invernizzi 2007, 173–185.

<sup>23</sup> Invernizzi, in Avetisian – Haroutunian – Invernizzi 2007, 181–182.

<sup>24</sup> Invernizzi, in: Avetisian – Haroutunian – Invernizzi 2007, 181–182. See also Peck 1993.

<sup>25</sup> *RRC* 1991, no. 539/1. See annex 2.a, fig. 1.

coinage.<sup>26</sup> Representing the tiara on Roman coins deprives the Armenian king of the authority that he owned. The issue of Marcus Antonius, dated to 34–32 BCE, linked to the reverse with the portrait of Cleopatra, also shows the Armenian tiara.<sup>27</sup> It refers to Marcus Antonius's victory in 34 BCE over the Armenian Kingdom, and taking possession of the Armenian *regalia*. To reinforce this appropriation, the Armenian tiara was used for the coronation of his son, Alexander, as a King of Armenia.<sup>28</sup> The last issue, dedicated specifically to the Armenian attributes, is struck in 19–18 BCE under Augustus.<sup>29</sup> The Armenian tiara on the left and quivers, bows and arrows on the right are depicted in the same rank. Consequently, the tiara lost the importance which it had previously occupied on the coinage's iconographic field and was relegated to the background, on the head of the personification of Armenia. The same was true for depictions of weaponry, which now were shown to the side of Armenia or Armenians.<sup>30</sup> The second item of Armenian headdress represented on Roman coinage is the *cidaris*, which was used to signify the Armenian population.<sup>31</sup> It only appears on the head of man or woman, who symbolize the population of Armenia. Unlike the tiara, its form is cylindrical and culminated in a rounded extremity. Once again, the *cidaris* is not typically Armenian, but it was also worn by Medians and Parthians;<sup>32</sup> meanwhile, Dacians were also a similarly shaped hat called Phrygian cap.<sup>33</sup>

### Weapons

In Roman numismatics, defeated enemies are very often depicted disarmed.<sup>34</sup> Quivers, bows, and arrows are among the attributes used to depict Armenia. As with the tiara or the *cidaris*, these weapons are not typically Armenians, but were used also by Persians, Medians, Parthians, and Commagenians. Nevertheless, Armenian archers are known and had been recruited into the Roman army. This fact is attested by different Roman sources and notably by an epitaph found in the Germano-Danubian *limes* and some literary sources.<sup>35</sup> Except for the iconographical type of the Armenian standing, weapons are represented on the ground or on *tropaea*. As has been seen to be the case with head-dresses, weapons were depicted on the coinage since the first issues related to Armenia

<sup>26</sup> See annex 2.c. For an overview of a Commagenian tiara, see the relief of Nemrud Dağı. The tiara is high and serrated tiara and sometimes represented with the star in some reliefs, see Sanders 1996; Jacobs 2002, 75–88.

<sup>27</sup> *RRC* 1991, no. 543. See the annex 2.a, fig. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Plut. *Antonius* 54.5–6: “To Alexander he allotted Armenia, Media and Parthia (when he should have subdued it), . . . At the same time, he also produced his sons, Alexander arrayed in Median garb, which included a tiara and an upright *cidaris*, . . . For the latter [Ptolemy] was the dress of the kings who followed Alexander, the former that of Medes and Armenians.” (The Loeb Classical Library, transl. by B. Perrin).

<sup>29</sup> *RIC* I, nos. 515–517. See annex 2.a, fig. 3.

<sup>30</sup> For example: *RIC* III, no. 504. See annex 1.b, fig. 1 and, annexes 3 & 4.

<sup>31</sup> The *cidaris*, called in Persian *kyrbasía*, can be considered as a royal attribute when it is associated to the diadem. Nevertheless, on Roman coins, it is worn by the Armenian population. See annex 2.b. and Peck 1993, Olbrycht 2014, 179.

<sup>32</sup> Plut. *Antonius* 54.5–6; Calmeyer 1993.

<sup>33</sup> *RIC* II, no. 96; Woytek 2010, 276b.

<sup>34</sup> See annex 2.a, fig. 1 and 3.

<sup>35</sup> Arrian, *Deployment against the Alani* 11–31; Herodian 7.2.1; *HA. Aur.* 11.33. See also Traina 2013.

and are put into the background beside the personification of Armenia or Armenians. Indeed, there is a willingness to characterize Armenia by authentic attributes.

## I.2. Postures of Armenia and Armenians on Roman Coins

Armenia and Armenians have been depicted in four postures throughout the monetary issues.<sup>36</sup> These postures give an insight into the vision that Rome wanted to present about Armenia and their relationships. The posture of the Armenian standing upright was depicted for the first time during the principate of Augustus:<sup>37</sup> he wears large Parthian trousers and a cidaris, and holds a bow in his right hand and a spear in his left. This depiction refers to the *topos* of the barbarian and his warlike *furor*. The intended effect is not to lay stress on the Armenians' strength, but rather to emphasise the Roman victory and present the emperor as the *restitutor pacis*.<sup>38</sup>

This posture contrasts with the three following other postures: Armenia or an Armenian seated, Armenia kneeling, and the falling Armenian. The last ones are regarded as subjection postures in sharp contrast to the Armenian standing upright. The kneeling Armenia posture appears only once in the Roman issues about Armenia.<sup>39</sup> This issue, struck under Augustus, in 19–18 BCE, represented Armenia kneeling with arms outstretched, and hands with the palms upright.<sup>40</sup> It compares to representations of *supplicatio* as depicted in fine arts with the supplicant kneeling, hand stretched open to the one who is being entreated, usually the emperor.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, this representation also evokes the *clementia* of the emperor Augustus and calls on the magnanimity of the emperor, facing the defeated enemy.<sup>42</sup> The *supplicatio* pose is often used during the Roman coronation of the king of the Armenian Kingdom, as for example, in the coronation of the Parthian Trdat I (Tiridates I) in Rome, in 66 CE.<sup>43</sup> It symbolizes the subjection of Armenia and her coming back into the Roman sphere of influence.

Representing the enemy seated appears very frequently in Roman numismatics.<sup>44</sup> The enemies are represented as defeated, disarmed, depicted in an attitude of mourning and sadness. The first issue representing Armenians and Armenia in this way was struck during the principate of Trajan and the type increased during the principate of Marcus

<sup>36</sup> See annex 1.b.

<sup>37</sup> See annex 1.b, fig. 1. *RIC* P, nos. 518–520, 306–307; *RPC* I, no. 2361.

<sup>38</sup> Augustus, *Res Gestae* 13.

<sup>39</sup> See annex 1.b, fig. 2.

<sup>40</sup> *RIC* P, nos. 290–292, 306.

<sup>41</sup> *Caes. Bell. Gall.* 3.98; *Livy* 3.50.5; Freyburger 1988, 501–525. The *supplicatio* is also used within the religious area, see Freyburger 1986.

<sup>42</sup> *Res Gestae* 34.2; *Suet. Aug.* 51. About the representations of the emperor's virtues, see: Charlesworth 1937, 105–133; Wallace-Hadrill 1981; Fears 1984, 27–48; Wallace-Hadrill 1986; Noreña 2001, 146–168.

<sup>43</sup> *Pliny, NH* 30.16–17; *Suet. Nero* 13; *Cassius Dio* 63.3–5. See: Cumont 1933; Lemosse 1961; Stépanian 1975/1976; Wolski 1987, 1999.

<sup>44</sup> See annex 1.b, fig. 3. For example, see *RRC* 1991, no. 468/1 for a pair of Gallic captives; *RIC* II, no. 219 for a Dacian captive; *RIC* IV, no. 289 for a German captive under Marcus Aurelius.

Aurelius.<sup>45</sup> To underscore the subjugation of the Armenians, these coins use visual codes to represent submission, such as the hands tied behind their back.

In contrast to the seated Armenians, the representation of the falling Armenian appears only once on Lucius Verus coinage.<sup>46</sup> This issue is inspired by a coin struck under Trajan's principate when he defeated the Dacians, which was itself inspired itself by a Domitianic coin.<sup>47</sup> It symbolizes both, the pending defeat of Armenia and the *virtus* i.e. the bravery of the emperor, considered as a *protector*. It is the most submissive posture among the four studied above. Indeed, Paul Zanker pointed out this increase in violent representations of the defeated enemy. According to him, this sort of representation emphasized the restoration of order and the guarantee of peace.<sup>48</sup> These attributes and postures emphasize the barbarian character of the Armenians, and so underscore the Romans' victories and the *virtutes* of the emperor.

## II. Armenia on Roman Numismatic Iconography: Ideological Tools

Besides offering a depiction of Armenia, these coins also convey how iconographic and narrative choices influenced the issues. Events represented in these issues reflect historical events though a Roman prism and Roman ideology. Even if questions about the involvement of the emperor in the choice of themes, as well as about the comprehensibility of the coin types have not yet yielded scholarly consensus, it is certain that these events are represented from the Roman point of view, and reflect Roman ideas, mentalities and values.<sup>49</sup> The transmitted message was not clear and straightforward, but had multiple levels of reading and meaning, depending on the education, personal position and province of the beholder.<sup>50</sup> The presence of attributes, conventional symbols and narrative gestures also seen in fine arts improved the understanding of a larger audience. Moreover, the small size of the coins attempts to convey easily understandable codes too.

The coin types in this corpus can be to split into two main categories: on the one hand, the types dedicated to the victory and domination of the Roman Empire, and, on the other hand, types linked to the emperor and his *virtutes*.

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<sup>45</sup> For example, see *RIC* II, no. 642; *RPC* III, no. 2944; *RIC* III, nos. 502, 1409.

<sup>46</sup> *RIC* III, nos. 543–544, 1402–1407. See annex 1.b, fig. 4.

<sup>47</sup> *RIC* II, no. 540. For the Domitian coin, see *RIC* II, no. 284.

<sup>48</sup> Zanker 1988, 53–86.

<sup>49</sup> Lendon (2006, 53–63) disproves the process of legitimization of the issues; *contra* Sutherland (1959, 46–55). For the matter, see: Belloni 1976; Crawford 1983, 50–51; Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 79, 86–87; Burnett 1989, 35–39; Birley 1997, 81, 201; Cheung 1998–1999, 53, 57–58; Noreña 2001; Duncan-Jones 2005; Beckmann 2012, 417; Wolters 2012, 349. For historical testimony, see Suet. *Aug.* 94; *Nero* 25. See also Manders 2012.

<sup>50</sup> Several researchers also reject the notion that the Romans took notice of coin type. Nevertheless, some literary sources point out that the coins have been looked at: Mark 12.15; Cassius Dio 67.25.3; Socrates of Constantinople, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.17. See also Sutherland 1959, 55; Crawford 1983, 47–64; Cheung 1998–1999, 54; Beckmann 2012, 417.

## II.1. Iconographic Types Dedicated to the Domination of the Roman Empire

The issues with the theme of Victory are a broad classification which encompasses the celebration of victories by means of Armenian attributes, representations of Victories, of Armenia and Armenians in positions of subjection, and depictions of historical events. These iconographic types emphasise the domination of the Romans over the Armenians.

The first coin, dated from Marcus Antonius' expedition, uses Armenian attributes such as the tiara and weapons in order to celebrate victories against the Armenian Kingdom. First, these attributes are central into the field as evidenced by the issue struck by Marcus Antonius (34 BCE) representing the Armenian tiara with a bow and arrow in the background,<sup>51</sup> or the portrait of Marcus Antonius associated with the tiara on the obverse,<sup>52</sup> and the type struck during Augustus' principate depicting the Armenian tiara, quivers, bows and arrows.<sup>53</sup> However, after Augustus' principate, they are pushed into the background behind the head of Armenia or Armenians. Through these representations, the victory of the Romans is symbolized by the seizure of Armenian *regalia* in the form of the tiara; henceforth this symbol of Armenian rule is transferred into the Romans' hands. These first issues are also characterized by the seizure of Armenian weapons: javelins, bows and arrows. The next representation of these attributes is depicted in the scene of the coronation of Artašēs III dated from Tiberius or Claudius' principates,<sup>54</sup> and later, on iconographic types struck during Trajan's principate.<sup>55</sup> The coronation of Artašēs III is the only example which represented the Armenian tiara in the coronation of a future king of Armenia. This exceptional circumstance is explained by the fact that the coin represents the coronation in Artašat.<sup>56</sup>

Regarding the personification of Victories, they appear during Augustus' principate, struck on an *aureus* from the Pergamum mint.<sup>57</sup> On this singular issue, the Victory is cutting the throat of a bull. This distinctive image is also depicted on a Roman Campana relief,<sup>58</sup> and on sculpture,<sup>59</sup> but its origin goes back to the Greek era.<sup>60</sup> Issues depicting the personification of Victory increased in provincial coinage during Nero and Trajan's principates. Victory appears on three issues as the Victory standing right, holding

<sup>51</sup> *RRC* 1991, no. 539/1. See annex 2.

<sup>52</sup> *RRC* 1991, no. 543.

<sup>53</sup> *RIC* P, nos. 515–517.

<sup>54</sup> *RPC* I, nos. 3629–3630.

<sup>55</sup> For example, see Woytek 2010, 590t-2; *RPC* III, no. 2945.

<sup>56</sup> *Tac. Ann.* 2.56.2–3. See below.

<sup>57</sup> *RIC* P, no. 519. See annex 3.

<sup>58</sup> See annex 3, fig. 1. For example, a Campana relief preserved at the British Museum: 1843,0531.44, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?assetId=1511686001&objectId=444413&partId=1](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=1511686001&objectId=444413&partId=1) (accessed: 20 September 2019).

<sup>59</sup> See a specimen conserved into the British Museum: 1814,0704.1488. [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?assetId=931772001&objectId=434835&partId=1](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=931772001&objectId=434835&partId=1) (accessed: 20 September 2019).

<sup>60</sup> See the iconography of a Victory sacrificing a bull on the cover of a bronze mirror discovered at Megara. The artefact dated from c. 375–350 BC. See: [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=461578&partId=1&searchText=megara&page=1](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=461578&partId=1&searchText=megara&page=1) (accessed: 20 September 2019).



a crown and a palm,<sup>61</sup> the Victory inscribing upon a shield<sup>62</sup> and as seated Victory issue on a globe holding a crown, all of which were struck during Nero's principate at Caesarea of Cappadocia.<sup>63</sup> The use of the palm, a symbol of victory, the crown and the globe are details which emphasise Rome's victory and domination. In terms of issues under Trajan, an uncertain Bithynian mint, struck an issue representing Victory with a trophy.<sup>64</sup> A Cretan issue with two variants represents the Victory crowning Trajan with an Armenian at his feet and a trophy after the Trajan's victory in Armenia against Parthians.<sup>65</sup> Trajan is holding either a Nike on a Globe or an eagle. This coinage accumulates images of Armenian subjugation, personifications of Victory, trophies and the triumph of the Emperor, crowned by Victory. Finally, during the principate of Marcus Aurelius, the theme of the Victory over the Armenians appears in copper imperial coinage too thanks to the representation of the Victory standing right holding a trophy.<sup>66</sup> An Armenian in a mourning attitude is seated at her feet.

As with the personification of Victory, Armenia and Armenians appear under Augustus on issues that depict Armenia kneeling<sup>67</sup> and the Armenian standing upright holding weapons.<sup>68</sup> Issues showing Armenia and Armenians increase from Trajan's principate.<sup>69</sup> They are depicted in four postures—standing upright, kneeling, seated, and falling. Except for the Armenian standing upright, they underscore Roman domination by highlighting the subjection of Armenia and Armenians. Some elements of body language, such as inclined head, bound hands, or the weeping figures depicted with their hands to their faces, further emphasize Roman supremacy.

The last category which stresses the Victory and dominion of the Roman Empire over Greater Armenia is the representation of historical events. This category is very interesting owing to its singularity. Only four issues refer more precisely to historical events; one alludes to the meeting of Parthamasiris and Trajan,<sup>70</sup> and three others to coronations of a Roman candidate for the Armenian throne.<sup>71</sup> The meeting of Trajan and Parthamasiris refers to the event which give to Trajan *casus belli* to launch a military campaign into the Armenian Kingdom.<sup>72</sup> Coronation issues are struck during the principates of Tiberius/

<sup>61</sup> *RPC* I, no. 3644.

<sup>62</sup> *RPC* I, no. 3646.

<sup>63</sup> *RPC* I, 3645. See notably annex 3, fig. 2.

<sup>64</sup> *RPC* III, no. 1136. For a picture, see: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1136> (accessed: 20 September 2019).

<sup>65</sup> *RPC* III, no. 33.

<sup>66</sup> *RPC* III Online, 31–32. See annex 3, fig. 3. See below the description of some medallions associated to the Victory, p. 19–20.

<sup>67</sup> *RIC* III, no. 892.

<sup>68</sup> *RIC* P, nos. 290–292, 306. See annex 1b, fig. 2.

<sup>69</sup> *RIC* P, nos. 518–520. See annex 1b, fig. 1

<sup>70</sup> *RIC* II, no. 310, 66. See annex 4a.

<sup>71</sup> See the annex 4b. See below for more explanation, p. 118–119 and Traina – Traina – Kéfélian 2020, 76–86.

<sup>72</sup> Cassius Dio 58; Lepper 1948, 6; Chaumont 1976, 130–131; Cizek 1983, 402–425. For an analysis, see below, p. 120–121.

Claudius,<sup>73</sup> Antoninus Pius<sup>74</sup> and Marcus Aurelius<sup>75</sup> and highlight the subjugation of the Armenian Kingdom. More and more, the domination of the emperor is highlighted. Indeed, Germanicus, the representative of the emperor is depicted as being the same size as Artasēs III, while Antoninus Pius' domination over the next king of Armenia forces the legend to be cut in size. Later, the domination of Lucius Verus is emphasized by the tribunal on which the emperor is seated while the future King of Armenia is represented as a smaller figure below of the tribunal.<sup>76</sup>

All these iconographic issues highlight Roman Victory and domination by their assemblage of iconographic categories, attributes, the postures adopted by the personification of Armenia, Armenians, or candidates for the Armenian throne. They are strengthened by the choice of symbols such as a palm, crown, diadem, weapons on the ground, or the Victory on a Globe.

## II.2. The Promotion of the Emperor and His *virtutes*

The second main category in this corpus gathers all types related to the emperor and his *virtutes*. At the beginning of the Principate, the emperor is not depicted on the coins in this corpus; even so, some coins issued are indirectly linked to his *virtutes*. Issues from Augustus' principate refer to the implementation of ideology to enhance the emperor's *auctoritas*.<sup>77</sup> After the reassertion of Roman influence over Armenia by his lieutenant Tiberius in 20/19 BCE, Cassius Dio alludes to sacrifices performed for the celebration of the Roman Victory in Armenia.<sup>78</sup> This event is alluded though the type representing Victory cutting the throat of the bull which evokes the *Pietas*:<sup>79</sup> one of the four *virtutes* attributed to Augustus—*Virtus*, *Clementia*, *Iustitia*, and *Pieta*—mentioned on the *Clipeus virtutis*.<sup>80</sup> The kneeling Armenia, arms standing and palm upright refers to the ritual of *supplicatio* and so draws on the *clementia* of the emperor Augustus also inscribed on the *clipeus virtutis*.<sup>81</sup> The other *virtutes* of Augustus do not appear in these issues but they are highlighted in the *Res Gestae* as his *moderatio*.

From 19–18 BCE, a coin intimately linked to the emperor was struck with a legend related to the Armenian victory.<sup>82</sup> While the legend ARMENIA CAPTA is linked to the event, the iconographic field represents the sphinx, one of the symbols of Augustus.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *RPC* I, nos. 3629–3630. See annex 4b, fig. 1.

<sup>74</sup> *RIC* III, no. 619. See annex 4.b, fig. 2. This reverse is associated with another specimen issued representing in the same way the coronation of the King of Quades, see *RIC* III, no. 620.

<sup>75</sup> *RIC* III, nos. 511–513. See annex 4.b, fig. 3.

<sup>76</sup> See below, p. 117–121, for an analysis of historical events.

<sup>77</sup> See: Rich – Willams 1999; Ferrary 2001, 2009; Veyne 2005; Hurlet 2007; Hurlet 2015; Hurlet – Mineo 2009; Edmonson 2009.

<sup>78</sup> Cassius Dio 54.9.4–5.

<sup>79</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 519. See annex 3, fig. 1.

<sup>80</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 316; Zanker 1988, 95.

<sup>81</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, nos. 290–292, 306.

<sup>82</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 513. See annex 5, fig. 1.

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.ikmk.at/object/?lang=en&id=ID56769> (accessed: 25 April 2019). This coin is kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Wien.

Therefore the victory over Armenia is intimately linked with the emperor Augustus, as commander in chief of the Roman army, even if the Victory was achieved by his lieutenants Tiberius, and later Caius.<sup>84</sup>

Depictions of the emperor himself in the corpus date from the principate of Trajan and is represented on a lot of coin types. The emperor appears dominant, triumphant and appeals to his *Virtus*. The first coins struck depict the meeting of Trajan and Parthamasiris; the emperor dominates Parthamasiris, who is located below the tribunal on which the emperor sits.<sup>85</sup> After the seizure of Armenian territory, a coin was issued to celebrate the Roman victory against the Kingdom of Armenia.<sup>86</sup> The reduction of Armenia is now conveyed through the coin legend while the iconographic field represents Trajan standing upright, in military dress, dominating the personification of Armenia seated with the two personifications of rivers Tigris and Euphrates, symbolising Mesopotamia. To underscore the subjugation of Armenia, Trajan stamps his foot on the legs of the personification of Armenia. These coins highlight the emperor as a conqueror, a feature which increases over the centuries. On each type, Trajan appears dominating, though a lot of specific details change according to the issue: the seated Armenia, the Victory crowning Trajan, the trophy, the statue of Victory on a globe held by Trajan. A Cretan workshop struck an issue representing Trajan, in military dress, holding a Victory on a globe in his right hand and a spear in his left.<sup>87</sup> The Victory, standing left, is crowning Trajan; on each side of the Victory and Trajan, a trophy and a seated and disarmed Armenian are depicted. A variant is struck with Trajan holding an eagle instead of the Victory on a globe.<sup>88</sup> A second issue from the same workshop represents Trajan in military dress, holding a Victory on a globe in the company of a seated and disarmed Armenian with a trophy.<sup>89</sup> Finally, it should be noted that only two specimens are issued in Rome;<sup>90</sup> the others are provincial and are struck in Armenia Minor, Ephesus, Bithynia, Crete, and an uncertain workshop.<sup>91</sup>

Representations of Antoninus Pius stand in contrast to those of other emperors. Except for his issue depicting the coronation of a king on the Armenian throne during

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<sup>84</sup> As Hurllet (2015, 55) said: “il se mit progressivement en place l’image, négative, d’un homme de santé fragile qui n’était ni un grand stratège ni un meneur d’hommes sur le champ de bataille et se reposait pour cette raison sur les talents en la matière de ses proches, notamment sur ceux de son fidèle second et ami, Agrippa.”

<sup>85</sup> Woytek 2010, 431, 498, 516, 551; *RIC* II, nos. 310, 669. See annex 4.a.

<sup>86</sup> Woytek 2010, 590v-1, 590t-1, 590v-2, 590v-3, 590t-3; *RIC* II, no. 642. See annex 5, fig. 2.

<sup>87</sup> *RPC* III, no. 31. For a photograph, see <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/31> (accessed: 15 March 2019).

<sup>88</sup> *RPC* III, no. 32. For a photograph, see <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/32> (accessed: 15 March 2019).

<sup>89</sup> *RPC* online, no. 33. For a photograph, see <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/33> (accessed: 15 March 2019).

<sup>90</sup> The meeting of Parthamasiris and Trajan (*RIC* II, nos. 310, 669) and Trajan subjugating Armenia and Mesopotamia (*RIC* II, no. 642). Traina – Kéfélian 2020, 76–86.

<sup>91</sup> Armenia seated with a trophy (*RPC* III, no. 2944); a Victory standing with a trophy from Bithynia (*RPC* III, 1136); Victory crowning Trajan with an Armenian and trophy with its variants from Crete (*RPC* online, nos. 31–32); Trajan with an Armenian and trophy and its variants from Crete (*RPC* online, nos. 33, 39); seated Armenia from an unknown workshop (*RPC* III, no. 6558).

a time of peace, the emperor is always represented in military dress.<sup>92</sup> This issue is struck during a period of peace. Therefore, the emperor is depicted in a *toga* crowning a future King of Armenia whose name is not clearly known. In contrast to the type of Germanicus and Artšaš III, Antoninus Pius dominates the future king. The coronation process is shown in the same way (*supplicatio* followed by the *dextrarum iunctio*), but the coin types highlight more specifically the rituals of *dextrarum iunctio*.<sup>93</sup> The emperor is crowning with his right hand the candidate for the throne, while the future King of Armenia is holding the diadem—a symbol of subordination in this case—in his right hand too. This right handshake refers to the ritual of exchanging *fides*: the emperor must protect the future king as long as he guarantees his *fides* to the emperor.

Later, under Marcus Aurelius, two issues represent the co-emperor Lucius Verus sent to the Orient to take Armenia back under Roman influence, after the coronation of Bakur (Pacorus) by Vałarš IV (Vologases IV) without Rome's agreement and involvement.<sup>94</sup> The first issue represents Lucius Verus galloping and thrusting a spear into an Armenian enemy<sup>95</sup> while the second depicts the coronation of Sohaemus by Lucius Verus.<sup>96</sup> The type of Lucius Verus in military dress galloping derives from an issue from Trajan's principate, inspired by a Domitian issue.<sup>97</sup> In that, Trajan is represented in military dress galloping and transfixing a Dacian enemy, which highlights the emperor as a *conqueror* and *defensor* of the *pax romana*;<sup>98</sup> indeed, the iconography of military emperors increases over the centuries. This iconographic theme promotes also the *virtus* of the emperor by highlighting his bravery in action. Once again, Lucius Verus takes credit for his lieutenant's victory—Staius Priscus—as commander in chief of the army. Compared with the coronation from Antoninus Pius, the domination of the emperor is increased by the platform and seated posture of the emperor, who dominates Sohaemus. Once again, this issue is inspired by a Trajan coin, namely the type showing the coronation of Parthamaspatēs by Trajan.<sup>99</sup>

The devices used on Roman coinage do not fully reflect the complexity of Roman, Armenian and Parthian relationships for two important reasons. The first arises from Roman ideology which highlights Roman victory, domination and the emperor's *virtutes*. The second reason derives from the small size of the coinage; this demands the articulation of simple concepts by using conventional codes, postures and gestures that would be easily understandable.

In the same case, the thematic issues of Augustus, struck during 19–18 BCE, refer to a military victory by showing the Armenian standing upright and the seizing of Armenian weapons. It endorses the Augustan ideology of the restoration of the *pax romana*, as described in the *Res Gestae* and in sculpture. In fact, the Armenian throne was vacant, and an Armenian embassy came to Rome in order to ask Augustus for an Artšašian

<sup>92</sup> *RIC* III, no. 619. See annex 4.b, fig. 2.

<sup>93</sup> See 3,1 concerning the *dextrarum iunctio* ritual.

<sup>94</sup> Chaumont 1976, 147–148; Chaumont – Traina 2007, 152–153.

<sup>95</sup> *RIC* III, nos. 543–545, 1362–1363, 1402–1407. See annex 5, fig. 3.

<sup>96</sup> *RIC* III, nos. 511–513, 1370–1375.

<sup>97</sup> *RIC* II, no. 534; Woytek 2020, 208. See annex 6.a. For the Domitian coin, see *RIC* II, no. 284.

<sup>98</sup> Manders 2012, 2, 44–48.

<sup>99</sup> *RIC* II, no. 667.

hostage held in Rome.<sup>100</sup> Therefore Tiberius leads the future king, Tigranes III, into Artašat but no military offensive has been recorded in literary sources.<sup>101</sup> Numismatics issue need to be seen into a wider context. This representation of the return of Armenia to Rome's sphere of influence could only be rendered explicable on coins through use of the codes usually used for representing the celebration of Roman victories.

### III. Armenia in Roman Monetary Images: A Source for History

The study of Armenian images and the representation of Armenian and Roman relationships on the Roman coinage is valuable not solely in terms of what it tells us about coins as ideological tools; some of the issues also offer details unknown from other sources.

#### III.1. Historical Details Related to Armenia from the Roman Numismatic Corpus

The corpus of coins related to Armenia provides us with a few historical details, including the meeting of Parthamasiris. The iconographic type of the meeting of Trajan and Parthamasiris represents Trajan, in military dress, seated on a *sella castrensis*, is stretching out his right hand while a king, knee bent, is stretching forth his arms: hand, and palm upright. The scene refers to the event which offered Trajan a *casus belli* to launch a military campaign into the Armenian Kingdom.<sup>102</sup> A plan to invade Armenia had long been harboured by the emperor Trajan to resolve the incomplete project of Caesar to invade the Armenian territory.<sup>103</sup> The coronation of Parthamasiris by Khosrô I (Chosroes I) without requesting Trajan's approval is considered as the long-awaited *casus belli* to legitimate Trajan's military project. Indeed, Khosrô I deviated from the *modus vivendi* established by Nero and Trdat I (Tiridates I): the Arsacid dynasty is allowed to rule over the Armenian Kingdom as long as the Parthian king is crowned by the Roman emperor. In this arrangement, Parthians needed to pledge their allegiance to the Romans though the ritual of *dextrarum iunctio* (*dexiōsis* in Greek) which implied protection by the emperor in exchange for his *fides*. Therefore, Trajan sought to present a *bellum iustum*, justified in the eyes of the gods too: he wished to avoid sanctions and the withdrawal of divine support.<sup>104</sup> The encounter was crucially important for both sides; on the Parthian side, Parthamasiris had high hopes of being crowned by Trajan, just as other Roman emperors had crowned other kings. For Parthamasiris setting his diadem down was part of the handover of power; meanwhile the soldiers regarded this

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<sup>100</sup> Cassius Dio 54.9.4.

<sup>101</sup> Chaumont 1976, 73–82 concerning Augustan policy in Armenia; Dédeyan 2007, 136–137.

<sup>102</sup> Cassius Dio 58. See p. 117, 120–121 for a detailed analysis, and annex 4.a. For a more complete view, see my analysis of this issue in Traina – Kéfélian 2020. Cf. Leeper 1948, 6; Chaumont 1976, 130–131; Cizek 1983, 402–425.

<sup>103</sup> On this question, see Le Guey 1937; Lepper 1948; Malitz 1983, 21–59; Cresci Marrone 2010, 105–121; Sommer 2010, 107–124; Traina – Kéfélian 2020, 69–91.

<sup>104</sup> For religious ritual in war context, see the representations on the Trajan's column.

as signifying the subjugation of Parthamasiris and the victory of Trajan. This issue is a freeze-frame of this point, transmitted in literary source though the *excerpta* of Cassius Dio.<sup>105</sup>

The implementation of the Roman imperial ambition to place the Armenian Kingdom under their control was applied in particular by two distinct policies: the use of a pro-Roman candidate to keep the Kingdom allied to Rome, or the reduction of the Armenian Kingdom to a Roman province.

The reduction of the Armenian Kingdom to a Roman province is not expressly depicted. The only issue referring to the reduction of the Armenian Kingdom is an issue struck between 114–116 CE with the legend ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN PTESTATEM P R REDACTAE traduced “Armenia and Mesopotamia reduced to the power of the Roman people.”<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, the iconography represents the subjugation of Armenia and Mesopotamia to Trajan’s *potestas* though the representation of Trajan standing and putting his foot on the defeated personification of Armenia seated below him. The iconography on the field is inspired by a Domitian issue. In that example, Domitian is shown standing left in military dress, holding, as in the case of Trajan’s coin, a *parazonium* and a spear or scepter.<sup>107</sup> Domitian’s right foot is trampling on the river god of the Rhine. The reduction to a Roman province of the Greater Armenian Kingdom is only noticeable through the legend. Two points need to be made about this Latin expression. First, the expression *in potestatem redigere* is used in Roman law, albeit in a private context, which discusses relationships between the *familia* and *patria potestas*.<sup>108</sup> Secondly, the expression was used to explain the status of Roman provinces. Therefore, the representation of the coin type stresses the notion of Trajan’s dominion over the personification of Armenia whereas the legend keeps us informed of the reduction to a Roman province of the Greater Armenian Kingdom. However, the issue is not sufficient to permit us to comprehend the precise legal status of the Armenian *provincia*.

Apart from this strategy put in place by Trajan, Roman emperors used another solution to solve the problem of the Armenian Kingdom. The application of the reduction of Armenia into a *provincia* would have pushed Rome to expend a lot of resources to maintain it as a province. Differing conceptions of power and cultural features within the Kingdom of Armenia prompted Rome to prefer to install a candidate under Roman influence on the Armenian throne. First, the emperor used the Armenian *obsides* retaining them at Rome to keep the Armenian Kingdom loyal.<sup>109</sup> Then, after the fall of the Artaxēsian, Rome used royal dynasties from territories surrounding the Armenian Kingdom, although these foreign royal dynasts were not well accepted.<sup>110</sup> Rome faced a dead-end situation without managing to achieve a lasting and peaceful position. The war under Nero against the Parthians ended up with a hitherto unpredicted *modus vi-*

<sup>105</sup> Cassius Dio 68.17.1. See Traina – Kéfélian 2020.

<sup>106</sup> See annex 5, fig. 2. Chaumont 1976, 130–143.

<sup>107</sup> *RIC* II, 278.

<sup>108</sup> Gaius, *Inst.*, 2.135a. Thanks to Chris Rodriguez for his help on juridical aspects.

<sup>109</sup> See Chaumont 1976, 73–81.

<sup>110</sup> See Chaumont 1976, 81–100.

*vendi*: henceforth Parthians and Romans established a compromise.<sup>111</sup> Rome allowed the Parthians to set up on the Armenian throne, but in return they had to show their allegiance to the emperor and their *fides*. Coin issues depict the coronation of the candidate by the emperor or his representative. Three of these coronations have been depicted on coins. The three coronations use the same gestural code and ritual of *dextrarum iunctio*, even if the surrounding detail differs.<sup>112</sup> The emperor or his representative is shown putting a diadem on the head of the future King of Armenia with his right hand. At the same time, the future King of Armenia is also touching the diadem with his right hand. This abbreviated scene symbolizes both the handover of power and the oath sworn between the new king and the emperor. It evokes the *dextrarum iunctio* or *dexiōsis* which imply his *fides*, also used by Achaemenids, Parthians, Armenians, and Commagenians.<sup>113</sup> On the first coronation issue, Artasēs III seems to wear both the tiara and the diadem. This exception ensues from the coronation which has taken place in Artasat,<sup>114</sup> so Artasēs III is crowned at the same time with the Armenian *regalia* to legitimate him upon the Armenian throne, and with the diadem, a symbol of subordination to Rome.<sup>115</sup>

While the meeting between Trajan and Parthamasiris is related in Roman literature, the issue under Antoninus Pius depicting the coronation of a king of Armenia is the only source for this event.<sup>116</sup> No textual source deals with this coronation and the place where it happened. Thanks to the mention among the imperial titulature on the coin of Antoninus Pius' third consulate, we are able to estimate this coronation as happening between 140 and 143 CE. While the other coronations are made within the context of a military campaign, the Antoninus Pius type differs by showing the emperor in a *toga* which refers to the civil sphere. This coronation took place in a time of peace, without military intervention. Antoninus Pius holds in his left hand a *volumen*, symbol of authority, while with his right hand, he crowns the future King of Armenia with a diadem. Their two right hands seal the oath between the Roman emperor and the new king of Armenia, safeguarded by gods and specifically by *fides*.<sup>117</sup> This ritual implies that the emperor agreed to protect the supplicant while the supplicant have to offer his *fides* in return. The identity of the King of Armenia is not accurately known. It could be notably Sohaemus, who had been enthroned twice; this could be his first coronation before he was removed by Pacorus (Bakour).

The third coronation issued depicts Lucius Verus on a platform crowning the future king of Armenia: Sohaemus. Struck under Marcus Aurelius, this last issue refers to the

<sup>111</sup> See Stépanian 1975/1976; Chaumont 1976, 116–123; Wolski 1987; Traina 2019.

<sup>112</sup> Freyburger 1988, 501–525. See above, p. 115–116, 117.

<sup>113</sup> Diod. Sic. 16.43.4; XVI, 43, 4; Masson 1976, 94; Mari 2012, 199; Traina, Kéfélian 2020, 81–82. See also the representation in Nemrut Dağı.

<sup>114</sup> See above, 107–108, 112, 114, 115. Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.3. A lot of detail is given by Tacitus about the candidate and the feelings of the Armenians about Zenon of Pontus. He will be named with the Armenian name of Artasēs (III) in tribute to the Artasēs who had created the Armenian Royal dynasty of the Artasēsian (Artaxiads). This king, who is not Armenian, will be the rare Roman candidate to be recognized. Tacitus gives us the reason for the long reign of this king in troubled times; this arose from Zenon's shared taste for hunting and feasting, two preoccupations of the Armenian nobility. Tacitus also notes that, the new Artasēs III was accepted by the Armenian population.

<sup>115</sup> The diadem was also part of Armenian and Parthian *regalia*. See for example Tigran's tetradrachms: <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41742390r> (accessed: 20 September 2019).

<sup>116</sup> *RIC* III, no. 619. For the matter, please see Traina – Kéfélian 2020.

<sup>117</sup> Freyburger 1988, 16–32.

iconography of Parthamaspatēs' coronation by Trajan.<sup>118</sup> The symbolism is the same as that explained before. Lucius Verus is shown putting the diadem on the head of Sohaemus while he is touching the diadem from his right hand. The gestural code remains the same and facilitates our understanding of the event represented. As emphasised by Suspène, this coronation type deviates from the violence of coins celebrating Roman Victory and the subjugation of Armenia.<sup>119</sup> This is also the case of the coin issue celebrating the meeting between Trajan and Parthamasiris discussed below.

### III.2. Complexity of Some Issues: The Case of the Representation of the *Supplicatio* of Parthamasiris

Amid this numismatic corpus, some of the iconographic representations are complex; this is the case for the meeting of Trajan and Parthamasiris struck on aureus and sestertius. As it has already been explained above, the area available for the engraving is limited by the small size of the coin. In a lot of cases, the message is conveyed in shorthand by using easily understandable visual tropes. This is notably the case with the Victory types which first exhibit the victory of the Roman Empire and the defeat of his enemy. This type can refer of course to a deeper and more complex meaning as for example the ideology of Roman dominion, *auctoritas* or the idea of *pax orbis terrarum*, but the iconography used is easily understandable from the use of simple gestures and codes.<sup>120</sup>

Nevertheless, some types are singular and depict specific events of Roman-Armenian-Parthian relationships which can be used as a complementary source to our other records. The study of the issue illustrating the meeting between Parthamasiris and Trajan is really fascinating despite its complexity and its narration.<sup>121</sup> Literary sources for this event give us so many details that permit us to make a comparison with the coin. The coin type is often confused with a coronation and therefore misunderstood. As already discussed, the iconographic type represents Trajan, in military dress, seated on a *sella castrensis* and stretching out his right hand, and flanked by the praetorian prefect on a platform. Below, on the ground, a king, knee bent, is stretching forth his arms and hands, palms upright, and is looking at Trajan with an imploring gesture. The suppliant is surrounded by soldiers wearing their helmet and three *signa militaria*. The scene depicts not a coronation, but rather the rite of *supplicatio*.<sup>122</sup> First, the legend on the issue REX PARTHVS differs too from the legend found in types depicting a coronation, such as REX ARMENIIS DATVS. Secondly, even though both the coronation and the scene evoke the ritual of the *dextrarum iunctio* implying the suppliant's fides, the coronation is depicted by the act of the emperor crowning the future king by putting the diadem on his head from his right hand while the king of Armenia is touching the diadem from his right hand too. On this coin type, Trajan is only represented with an outstretched right hand in

<sup>118</sup> *RIC* II, no. 667. See annex 6.b.

<sup>119</sup> Suspène 2012, 275.

<sup>120</sup> Toynbee 1956, 205–226; Galinier 2000, 141–161.

<sup>121</sup> Woytek 2010, 431, 498, 516, 551; *RIC* II, nos. 310, 669. See annex 4.a.

<sup>122</sup> See Traina – Kéfélian 2020, 80–85 and, above about the coronation scene, p. 117–120.



this issue. The hypothesis that this shows a coronation must be dismissed and the type needs to be interpreted instead as showing another scene.

Since the compromise between Nero and Trdat I (Tiridates I), an Arsacid was able to rule over the Armenian throne as long as the Arsacid was crowned by the Roman emperor or his representative. During the principate of Trajan, the Arsacid king of Armenia, Axidares (Ashkhadar), was removed by Khosrô I (Chosroes I) to allow the coronation of Parthamasiris without the Roman's agreement. While Trajan was invading the Armenian Kingdom in spring 114 CE, Parthamasiris decided to come to Elegeia to resolve the crisis and hoping to legitimate his position by receiving coronation from Trajan's hands. Parthamasiris laid down his diadem at Trajan's feet hoping that he would be crowned by the emperor as before since the principate of Nero. This issue depicts a "freeze-frame" of the meeting of Trajan and Parthamasiris and more especially the *supplicatio* of Parthamasiris, interpreted as a *redditio* from the Roman's side, and the coronation process on Parthamasiris' side. Parthamasiris hopes were in vain, however, because Trajan's long-term project was to reduce Armenia to a Roman province. The coronation of Parthamasiris without the explicit approval of Trajan and the behavior of Parthamasiris was regarded as a *casus belli* favouring Trajan's plan to invade the Armenian Kingdom. The surviving text of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* depicts the misunderstanding between the Parthian king and the Romans.

The legend REX PARTHVS is often misunderstood and needs to be read as "Parthian missing king." According to Bernareggi, the legend should be "King of Armenia" and not "Parthian king,"<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, this legend is entirely appropriate to the situation. Cassius Dio helps us to understand this legend. In his first attempt to contact Trajan, Parthamasiris called himself as King of Armenia.<sup>124</sup> Having received no response, he tried a second time without using the title. This detail allows us to conclude that Trajan did not recognize Parthamasiris as "King of Armenia," but only as a Parthian usurper king. This is exactly the meaning of this legend. Parthamasiris is not called Armenian king on the coin for the reason explained above. He is an Arsacid Parthian king illegitimately seated on the Armenian throne.

This issue is a unique specimen in the corpus and is very close to the events detailed in the *excerpta* of the *Roman History* of Cassius Dio. It demonstrates how much the iconography is able to articulate a complex narrative.

### III.3. The Increasing Prominence of Armenia on the Roman Sources<sup>125</sup>

The image of the Armenian Kingdom on the Roman coinage is sporadic in the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Principate. The principate of Augustus can be regarded

<sup>123</sup> Bernareggi 1982, 190. For more details, see Traina – Kéfélian 2020, 85–86.

<sup>124</sup> Cassius Dio, 68.18.

<sup>125</sup> This data is a first step study. To be complete, these coin issues relating to Armenia must be recontextualized and offset not only in the overall monetary production of an individual emperor but also in terms of their evolution over time. This is the aim of a monograph in preparation on the image of Armenia on Roman coins; the present article offers a very limited overview in the perspective of this paper.

as an exception with five different iconographic issues and fourteen coin types.<sup>126</sup> The first issues related to Armenia are struck in gold and silver coinage only. The gold issues were destined to circulate in elevated social circles. On Augustus' coinage, a dichotomy is noticeable in terms of iconographic differences between the gold and silver coinage too. Coins related to Augustus (sphinx)<sup>127</sup> and the celebration of the Victory through the sacrifice of a bull<sup>128</sup> are struck on gold, while Marcus Antonius and Augustus' silver issues deal with Armenian attributes, personification of Armenians and the depiction of the Armenian standing upright.<sup>129</sup> After this, issues from the first part of the 1st century are all provincial coinage (Caesarea in Cappadocia) and are only struck in silver.<sup>130</sup> Armenian images appear again on imperial coinage under Trajan. Nevertheless, only two issues of the imperial coinage represent the Roman victory over the Parthians in the Armenian Kingdom; for the most part, the coins are copper provincial issues from mints in Ephesus, Bithynia, Crete, and Armenia Minor.<sup>131</sup> However, during Trajan's principate, Armenian images appear on copper coinage also through two issues struck in both gold and copper imperial coinage (Parthamasiris and Trajan's meeting and Trajan triumphant placing his foot on Armenia with the two river gods representing Mesopotamia).<sup>132</sup> Thus, six different iconographic issues are dated from Trajan's principate with nineteen coin types.<sup>133</sup> This new trend of striking issues related to Armenia on copper coins is strengthened during the principate of Antoninus Pius with sestertius issues depicting coronations of a new king on the Armenian throne and a new King of Quadi.<sup>134</sup> In any case, none of these issues can be compared to the important issues under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus' principate. The principate of Marcus Aurelius reached a frenzy with the numerous issues struck. Even though only four different iconographic topics are issued, 87 associated die combinations have been analyzed.<sup>135</sup> From this point forward, imperial issues depicting Armenia appear in aureus, denarius, sestertius, dupondius and as. The personification of Armenia, struck before on silver and then also on copper coins, is represented for the first time on gold coins. The coronation of Sohaemus by Lucius Verus, a theme previously struck on the aureus and sestertius, appears now on the dupondius. The Victory with a seated Armenian appears also for the first time in imperial coinage, as opposed to provincial coinage in which this theme is commonly used. Finally, the type showing Lucius Verus on horseback and thrusting a spear at a fallen Armenian is also struck on aurei, denarii, asses.

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<sup>126</sup> See the annex 7.

<sup>127</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 513.

<sup>128</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 514.

<sup>129</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, nos. 518–520; *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, nos. 515–517; *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, nos. 291–292, 306.

<sup>130</sup> The issues of the coronation of Artashes III by Germanicus (*RPC* I, nos. 3629–3630) and several Victories from Nero's principate (*RPC* I, nos. 3634, 3644–3646) are struck in Caesarea in Cappadocia. These Neronian victory issues could have been used to supply the soldiers' pay during the Roman and Parthian military campaign in Armenia.

<sup>131</sup> *RPC* III, nos. 31–39, 39, 1136, 2054, 2944–2945, 6558.

<sup>132</sup> *RIC* II, nos. 263a, 669.

<sup>133</sup> See the annex 7.

<sup>134</sup> *RIC* III, no. 619 and *RIC* III, no. 620 regarding the other coin type coronation by Antoninus Pius.

<sup>135</sup> See the annex 7.

Armenian iconography appears also in other contexts, such as Roman medallions or Roman clay medallions. Roman medallions draw their inspiration from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus' coinage and Trajan's one too. Medallions related to the Armenian and Parthian campaigns are numerous and are struck between 164/165 and 168/169.<sup>136</sup> Some of them are easily associated with the Armenian campaign thanks to the legend ARMENIA on the exergue. This is notably the case with the type depicting Lucius Verus on horseback and transfixing a fallen Armenian with two soldiers behind him,<sup>137</sup> or a Victory standing with her head facing right, holding a palm in her right hand, and erecting a trophy on the right.<sup>138</sup> Below the trophy, two Armenian captives, in an attitude of mourning, are wearing the cidaris. The first captive is sitting on the left with hands tied in front of him, while the second captive, on the left, is standing with hands tied behind his back. The iconography of the coins, the cidaris, and the legend ARMENIA reinforce the attribution of these medallions to the Roman victory over the Armenian Kingdom. Whereas some of them are associated with the legend ARMENIA, other medallions representing Armenia and Parthia appear without legends. This is notably the case of a medallion illustrating Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius standing face to face, holding a spear in their right hand, while they are being crowned by Victory behind them.<sup>139</sup> At their feet are seated two river gods, the Tigris and Araxes or Euphrates<sup>140</sup> whereas an Armenian, wearing what looks to be a cidaris, is kneeling between the two emperors with his hands bound at his back. This medallion refers to Trajan's coinage celebrating his Armenia and Mesopotamian victories by representing him standing and holding a spear with, at his foot, the river gods Tigris, Euphrates and the personification of Armenia.<sup>141</sup> All these medallions emphasise the Roman victory and therefore the subjugation of Armenian too.

The image of Armenia also appears on Roman clay medallions applied on dimpled vases produced along the Rhône river.<sup>142</sup> This piece was discovered from archaeological excavations in the city of Lyon.<sup>143</sup> A clay medallion depicts Armenia seated on the left, head to the right. She is easily recognizable though the trapezoidal tiara and the weapons composed of a bow, on the left side, and the quiver, in the exergue. To underscore the Armenian identification, the legend AR/ME/NIA has been added to the right of the field. Three dating criteria help to establish a chronology and typology for this kind of medallion on "Terre Sigillée claire B": these are, first, the topics depicted, secondly, the archaeological context, and finally the clay and its varnish.<sup>144</sup> Based on the brown glaze on the piece, the Armenian medallion could belong to second phase (i.e. dating between

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<sup>136</sup> Gneccchi 1912: Lucius Verus 2–7, 13, 23 (reuse the reverse of 164 (34) for another celebration), 28–30, 34, 39. See pl. 72, 2, 4–6, 10; pl. 74,8; pl. 75, 2–3, 6; Yévadian 2018, 368–371.

<sup>137</sup> Gneccchi 1912: Lucius Verus 4.

<sup>138</sup> Gneccchi 1912: Lucius Verus 13; pl. 72, 10.

<sup>139</sup> Gneccchi 1912: Lucius Verus 23 (for the description) and 34 (for the coin above); pl. 74,8 & 75,6.

<sup>140</sup> The coin is celebrating Armenian victory, it should be Tigris and Araxes. Nevertheless, it refers to a Trajan's coin representing Armenia and Mesopotamia (through the river gods Tigris and Euphrates). So it is difficult if it could be either Araxes or either Euphrates.

<sup>141</sup> Woytek 2010, 590v-1, 590t-1, 590v-2, 590v-3, 590t-3; *RIC* II, no. 642. See above, p. 118.

<sup>142</sup> Wuilleumier – Audin 1952. See the annex 8.

<sup>143</sup> Wuilleumier – Audin 1952.

<sup>144</sup> Hugues 1969, 95–96; Desbat 2006.

the 160's and the end of the 2nd century), or the third phase (i.e. dating from the beginning of the 3rd century). It must also be considered that in the last phase, motifs become scarce and the forms of the vases become more and more simple. In the case of the vessel currently under discussion, only the medallion and a small part of the handle have been preserved, but no rim, neck, handle, shoulder, or foot. Their survival would surely have helped us to determine the date of the medallion based on the chronological evolution of typologies. On the base of the motifs used, it would be more likely to date from the second phase which began in the 160's. This medallion could derive from the coinage of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus minted to celebrate their Armenian victory. The coin of a seated Armenia, struck under Marcus Aurelius, should probably be regarded as having influenced the iconography of the medallion.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, the Armenian motifs disappear from Roman coinage after Marcus Aurelius' principate. So, though we are dealing here with medallions of bronze and clay, they expand our understanding of depictions of Armenia on Marcus Aurelius' coinage, and show that the coins had impacts on the influence of the Armenian iconography in other plastic arts.

Besides, the title ARMENIACVS appears during the principate of Marcus Aurelius alongside the titles of PARTHICVS MAXIMVS and MEDICVS.<sup>146</sup> The title appears in laws of Lucius Verus from 163, while the latter is only adopted by Marcus Aurelius for a second occasion. The *Historia Augusta* reports the reasons why the emperor did not adopt the title in 163;<sup>147</sup> he refused to adopt the title in 163 because he had not participated in the war before withdrawing and accepting it in 164. This title is borne by both emperors until the death of Lucius Verus in 169 CE. As with the monetary depiction of Armenia, the title disappears under Marcus Aurelius' principate from the Roman coinage.<sup>148</sup>

Therefore, Marcus Aurelius' principate saw the energetic production of a wide variety of coin types which had an impact on the production of the image of Armenia in the Arts. Besides, the emergence of ARMENIACVS as an imperial title, and the variety of denominations used to depict Armenia emphasise this tendency. This is all the more marked as the coinage related to Armenia stopped and does not appear again in Roman coinage.

Despite having the Roman ideology, and a view of the Roman relationship with Armenia and Parthia seen through a Roman lens, the choice of motifs indicates that there was a deliberate choice to represent Armenia by means of authentic attributes even if they were made to conform with conventional Roman motifs. The themes struck exclusively reflect the dominion and subjugation of Rome over the Armenians and Parthians and do not capture the complexity and nuance of Roman-Armenian and Parthian relationships. Nevertheless, some historic issues, notably coronations or unique events, are considered important to the study of the subject, while taking account of the fact that they offer a view on these events through a Roman lens. The study of issues shows that the image of Armenia increased under Marcus Aurelius' principate and reached a climax in terms of the number of thematic issues, the 87 coin types, the increase of the Armenian image

<sup>145</sup> See the annex 8.

<sup>146</sup> For example, see *RIC* III, no. 160.

<sup>147</sup> *HA*, *Verus* 7.1–2.

<sup>148</sup> However, the title of *Armeniacus* reappears during Diocletian's Tetrarchy.

on gold, silver and copper coinage, the use of the title of *Armeniacus* and the appearance of Armenia on metal and clay medallions.

Romans issues dealing with Armenia end suddenly after this efflorescence of issues under the principate of Marcus Aurelius. The disappearance of Armenia from Roman coins does not arise from the end of Roman military campaigns in Armenia or their diplomatic relationship, but rather from a multiplicity of facts and especially the change of thematic issues and geopolitics. Geopolitical changes result notably from the rise of the Sassanians who changed the geopolitical balance in these regions: the Parthians and Romans were brought closer together and formed an alliance against the Sassanians who ousted the Arsacids from the Parthian Empire.

## Annex 1: Representations of Armenia and Her Postures

### a) Armenia monetary motifs

Personification of Armenia



CNG Group, Mail Bid Sale 75  
RIC I 306<sup>149</sup>

Armenian captive



CNG Mail Bid Sale 76, Lot 1504  
RIC III 892<sup>150</sup>

King of Armenia enthroned



CNG Auction 97, Lot 672  
RIC III, 512<sup>151</sup>

<sup>149</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=179205|227|975|04b31fd7ac5e1e49df1813f8e4862900> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>150</sup> New auctions of the coin formerly held by CNG and sold during Mail Bid Sale 76 in 2017 (lot 1504), <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=1435571|2931|1338|727da4ef31e921f4931d64e08b1fb5d3> (accessed: February 19, 2021).

<sup>151</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=704280|1303|672|93e9b8942ee576fb73f01aa94591d47e> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

## b) Postures of Armenia on Roman coinage

Upright



NAC Auction 52  
Lot 306  
*RIC* I 519 <sup>152</sup>

Kneeling



CNG Group, Mail Bid Sale 75  
*RIC* I 306 <sup>153</sup>

Seated



NAC Auction 111  
Lot 731 *RIC* III 508 <sup>154</sup>

Crouching



NAC Auction 67  
Lot 169  
*RIC* III 545 <sup>155</sup>

## Annex 2: Armenian Attributes on Roman Coinage

a) Marcus Antonius



NAC Auction 72, Lot 518  
*RRC* 1991, 539/1 <sup>156</sup>

Marcus Antonius



NAC AG, Auction 70, Lot 198  
*RRC* 1991, 543 <sup>157</sup>

Augustus



NAC AG, Auction 120, Lot 684  
*RIC* P, 515–517 <sup>158</sup>

<sup>152</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=320434|575|306|d0210dfd8d5c88ae0bf201faa5fdb> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>153</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=179205|227|975|04b31fd7ac5e1e49df1813f8e4862900> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>154</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=1371535|2760|377|877425128055d0c87af05fee29e48661> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>155</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=541285|965|169|2c0864ce4c037249b05fc4c2265405c1> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>156</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=588113|1061|518|63aff85b6d66fcca19c5d07e885d082e> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

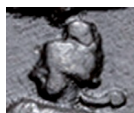
<sup>157</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=587794|1059|198|508e832777f969016f8bdef28c14d2aa> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>158</sup> Auction 120, Lot 684; Ex NAC sale 52, 2009, 304 <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=1703204|3821|684|226319d4596d6a5511c03b1de6dc3f50> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

b) Cidaris



159



160

c) Tigran II tiara



Armenian coinage

Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 1, Lot 644 <sup>161</sup>

**Annex 3: Victory on Roman Issues Related to Armenia (Some Examples)**



CNG Triton XI, Lot 716  
*RIC P* 514 <sup>162</sup>



Leu Numismatik Web Auction 1  
Lot 915  
*RPC I* 3634 <sup>163</sup>



CNG Mail Bid Sale 76, Lot 1504  
*RIC III* 892 <sup>164</sup>

**Annex 4: Historical Events Related to Armenia**

a) The meeting of Parthamasiris and Trajan



NAC Auction 59, Lot 982  
*RIC* 669a = Woytek 551v2 <sup>165</sup>

<sup>159</sup> NAC, Auction 52, Lot 306: <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=320434|575|306|d0210dffd8d5c88ae0bf201faa5fdbae> (accessed: February 19, 2021).

<sup>160</sup> CNG, Electronic Auction 359, Lot 204: <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=809274|1515|204|685bd453c8814e37630476814db5b8c8> (accessed: February 19, 2021).

<sup>161</sup> <https://www.biddr.com/auctions/leu/browse?a=148&l=131060> (accessed: February 19, 2021).

<sup>162</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=201820|265|716|78ffac3de8f41af5da776fa52f413803> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>163</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=1008781|1959|915|95a9afa9d27aece77844e873877dde73> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>164</sup> New auctions of the coin formerly held by CNG and sold during Mail Bid Sale 76 in 2017 (lot 1504) <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=1435571|2931|1338|727da4ef31e921f4931d64e08b1fb5d3> (accessed: February 19, 2021).

<sup>165</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=404339|725|982|39cefe0666b84db44690a0e679aaf2ac> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

## b) The coronation issues

Germanicus-Artašēs



Fotografie Lübke & Wiedemann,  
Leonberg  
Numismatik Lanz München,  
Auction 94, Lot 178  
*RPC I*, 3629-3630 <sup>166</sup>

Antoninus Pius- ?



CNG, Mail Bid Sale 84, Lot 1035  
*RIC III*, 619 <sup>167</sup>

Lucius Verus-Sohaemus



CNG Auction 97, Lot 672  
*RIC III*, 512 <sup>168</sup>

**Annex 5: Emperor on the Roman Issues Related to Armenia (Some Examples)**

Münzkabinett Online  
Catalogue, RÖ 465  
*RIC I<sup>2</sup>* 513 <sup>169</sup>



CNG Mail Bid Sale 66, Lot 1436  
*RIC II* 642 <sup>170</sup>



NAC Auction 67, Lot 169  
*RIC III* 545 <sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=19592|21|178|8671e7b4d35f3d498f22e225db70bd9> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>167</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=356049|635|1035|f43ab0083021e44f114916db97c387bd> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>168</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=541285|965|169|2c0864ce4c037249b05fc4c2265405c1> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>169</sup> Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Münzkabinett: <https://www.ikmk.at/object?lang=en&id=ID56769> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>170</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=75854|80|1436|df106029b619b896fe5d8c0363d4258b> (accessed: February 19, 2021).

<sup>171</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=541285|965|169|2c0864ce4c037249b05fc4c2265405c1> (accessed: June 21, 2019).



### Annex 6: Trajan's Issues Compared with Lucius Verus' Issues

	Trajan's issues	Lucius Verus' issues
Coronation		
	<p>CNG Electronic Auction 264, Lot 408  <i>RIC</i> II 667 = Woytek 594v–23 <sup>172</sup></p>	<p>CNG Auction 97, Lot 672  <i>RIC</i> III, 512 <sup>173</sup></p>
The emperor killing a fallen enemy		
	<p>CNG Mail Bid Sale 60, Lot 1668  <i>RIC</i> II 534 <sup>174</sup></p>	<p>NAC Auction 67, Lot 169  <i>RIC</i> 545 <sup>175</sup></p>

### Annex 7: Summary Chart of Issues according to Principates and Denominations (Please see p. 121–124 and footnote no 125.)

#### Republican

Issuer	Number of types struck	Metal	Denomination
Marcus Antonius	2 (2 coin types)	Silver	Denarius

<sup>172</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=446615|816|408|58926ebc94421da2b84cd71b610e0298> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>173</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=541285|965|169|2c0864ce4c037249b05fc4c2265405c1> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>174</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=7837|20|1668|74dbd1111727a31a2b825d615d80b2e7> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

<sup>175</sup> <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=541285|965|169|2c0864ce4c037249b05fc4c2265405c1> (accessed: June 21, 2019).

*Imperial*

Principate	Number of iconographic types related to Armenia struck	Metal	Denomination	Imperial or Provincial coinage
Augustus	5 (14 coin types)	Gold Silver	Aureus Denarius	Imperial and Provincial coinage
Tiberius/Claudius	1 (2 coin types)	Silver	Drachm Didrachm	Provincial coinage
Nero	3 (4 coin types)	Silver	Didrachm Hemidrachm	Provincial coinage
Trajan	6 (19 coin types)	Gold Bronze	Aureus Sestertius Provincial bronzes	Imperial and Provincial coinage
Antoninus Pius	2 (2 coin types)	Bronze	Sestertius	Imperial coinage
Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus Pius	4 (87 coin types)	Gold Silver Bronze	Aureus Denarius Imperial bronze: sestertius, dupondius, asses Provincial bronzes	Imperial and Provincial coinage

**Annex 8: Armenia on a Clay Medallion**

Clay medallion depicting Armenia. Lyon, musée & théâtres romains (num.inv.: 2000.0.2623)

© photo: Ch. Thioc, J.-M. Degueule

## ABBREVIATIONS

- CNG – Classical Numismatic Group inc., <http://www.cngcoins.com>
- Gneccchi – F. Gneccchi, *I Medaglioni romani*, 3 vol., Milano 1912.
- Leu – Leu Numismatik AG, <https://leunumismatik.com>
- NAC – Numismatica Ars Classica, <https://www.arsclassicacoins.com>
- Mahé 1993 – Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, nouvelle trad. de l'arménien classique par Annie et Jean-Pierre Mahé, Paris 1993.
- OGIS – W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, Lipsiae 1903–1905.
- RIC<sup>1</sup> – C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage: From 31 BC to AD 69*, London 1984.
- RIC II – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage: From Vespasian to Hadrian*, London 1926.
- RIC III – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London 1968.
- RPC I – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, O. P. Ripollès et al., *Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London–Paris 1992.
- RPC II – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, M. Carradice et al., *Roman Provincial Coinage II: From Vespasian to Domitian 69–96*, London–Paris 1996.
- RPC III – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, J. Mairat et al., *Roman Provincial Coinage III: Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96–138)*, London–Paris 1995.
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