The decoration of Armenian princely headdress during the Mongolian period (XIII-XIV centuries)

La decoración del tocado principesco armenio durante el período Mongol (siglos XIII-XIV)

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Resumen: El estudio demuestra que durante el período del dominio mongol eran conocidos varios tipos de tocados principescos armenios, algunos de los cuales contaban con sus propios subtipos, y cada uno de ellos, de una u otra manera, se relacionaba con los tocados mongoles contemporáneos. Con este tipo de tocados están representados los príncipes Orbelian y Proshian en relieves ktitoriales contemporáneos, miniaturas, etc. Sobre la base de dichas imágenes, hemos intentado agrupar y clasificar los tocados principescos según sus características estilísticas y artísticas.

Palabras clave: Dominación mongola; relieve; pintura mural; miniatura; tocado principesco; emplumado; marco de borde ancho; corona.

Abstract: The study shows that during the period of Mongol rule, several types of Armenian princely headdresses were known, some of which had their own subtypes, and each of them, in one way or another, was connected to contemporary Mongol headdresses. Princes of the Orbelian and Proshian houses are depicted wearing this type of headdress in contemporary donor reliefs, miniatures, and so on. On the basis of these images, we have attempted to group and classify princely headdresses according to their stylistic and artistic characteristics.

Keywords: Mongol domination; relief; mural painting; miniature; princely headdress; feathered; wide border frame; crown.

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The central and southern regions of Armenia were freed from Seljuk control through the relentless and protracted liberation efforts of the Zakarian brothers. During this period of relative stability, the political, economic, and cultural life of the country flourished, continuing to progress even amidst the challenges posed by new waves of nomadic invasions.[1] During the Zakarid

1 SHAHNAZARYAN, Artashes; BARKHUDARYAN, Vladimir and others, *History of Armenia, Medieval Period (mid-IV century - first half of XVII century)*, second book, vol. II, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" Publishing house, 2014, p. 229.

period, the Vachutyan government was the most influential in Armenia.[2] Additionally, the renowned Khaghbakyan (Proshyan) and Orbelyan dynasties also wielded significant power.

Soon after the Seljuk invasions, Armenia was overtaken by Mongol tribes in the 13th century. Despite these challenging circumstances, the spiritual and cultural life of Armenia continued to thrive during the Zakarid period. During this period, thanks to the patronage of Armenian princely houses and their skilled political maneuvering, several notable monastic complexes were gradually established across the country, particularly in the southern and central regions. Prominent examples include Goshavank, Geghardavank, Kecharis, Tsaghats Kar, Haritchavank, Noravank, Kobair, Varagavank, Dadivank, and Gandzasar. Additionally, existing monasteries such as Sanahin, Haghbat, Haghartsin, and Tatev were expanded with new buildings.

The aforementioned monastic complexes served not only as spiritual centers, but also as cultural hubs, where the full range of local architectural, sculptural, literary, and artistic traditions converged and flourished. The most compelling evidence of this can be seen in the various reliefs and frescoes that decorate the architectural monuments of these complexes. These artworks, which prominently feature patrons and high-ranking individuals, were of key importance.

In this context, the rulers of the historical Vayots Dzor province - specifically, the representatives of the Orbelian and Proshian princely houses - were the most frequently depicted. Gladzor University, a renowned medieval center of learning, was also directly patronized by them. It was here that scholars such as Yesai Nchetsi, Hovhannes Vorotnetsi, Toros Taronatsi, Momik, Avag, and others received their education, worked, and made significant contributions.

It is important to note that the artworks from the period of Mongol rule often reflect the influences introduced by the foreign conquerors. These influences are most vividly expressed in the sculptural and fresco decorations of 13th and 14th-century historical and architectural monuments, as well as in manuscript illustrations and other forms of art.

In our previous study on the attire of the Orbelyan and Proshyan dynasties, we also explored the decoration of their headdresses. In this article, we will provide a detailed examination of the princely headdresses from the 13th and 14th centuries that either require further clarification or were not covered in our earlier work.[3]

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2 SHAHNAZARYAN, Artashes; BARKHUDARYAN, Vladimir and others, *History of Armenia...*, p. 231.

3 YENOKYAN, Ashkhen, "The Garment of Orbelian and Proshian Princes in the Armenian

Relief images depicting the Armenian princes of the Mongol era have been discovered in several prominent centers of Vayots Dzor, including Yeghegis (13th century), Spitakavor St. Astvatsatsin Monastery (14th century), Noravank (13th-14th centuries), Arates (13th century), Tanahat (13th century), and Tsaghats Kar. Princely images are also featured in the frescoes of Geghardavank (13th century), Kobair, and Haghbat monasteries (13th century), as well as on the reliquary 'Khotakerats St. Nshan' (1300), the 'Gospel of Yeghegis' (1306, illustrated by Sargis Kronavor, MM no. 10525, 140 gr), and the manuscript 'Relic of the New Testament' (13th century, MM no. 155, p. 106 b), among other works.

Notable examples of the attire of the civil elite from this period are depicted in the patron images of the 'Khtskonk Gospel' (1236), which include Brnavor and Tghatikin (illustrated by Ignatios, Nor Jugha, manuscript 36, p. 124b). Additionally, miniature depictions of patrons in Kirakos Tavrizetsi's Gospel (1330)—including Constantine, Avagtikin, and their son Hovhannes—can be found in Nor Jugha manuscript 481(44), p. 9a and 9b, among other works. In the illustrations of the aforementioned manuscript, alongside the patrons' headdresses, there are also various headdress styles featuring characteristics typical of the Mongol period. The study reveals that during the Mongol period, while the Armenian royal outerwear, known as the paregot, experienced some modifications—retaining elements of traditional national decoration—the royal headdress was predominantly influenced by foreign styles, as we will discuss further below. V. Hatsuni categorizes the headdresses of the Tatar period into two distinct groups: "One headdress is worn by Prince Prosh; it is a low, oval-shaped, silk hat…, the second headdress, worn by Burtel, is of Mongolian origin. This dome-shaped headdress features upturned angular edges and a central decorative element, with similar examples found in contemporary Mongolian miniatures". [4] However, it appears that during the 13th and 14th centuries, the decoration of royal headdresses varied significantly. These variations are distinguished by the materials used—such as metal crowns or woven hats—and by their decorative elements, which include feather ornaments, spherical and tufted additions, and wide brim, whether full or two-part, etc. Next, we will categorize and present the aforementioned options based on their stylistic features.

Medieval Art", in MURADYAN, Gohar, TER-GHEVONDYAN, Vahan and others (eds.), *Banber of Matenadaran*, 2024, vol. 37, pp. 102-125.

4 HATSUNI, Vardan, *The History of the Ancient Armenian National Costume*, Venice, St. Lazaro 1924, p. 217.



Fig. 1. *Armenian princes Amir Hasan and Eachi Proshyans on the wall of the Spitakavor St. Astvatsatsin church.* 14th century, Hermitage Museum. Saint Petersburg (Russia). Wikimedia

1. Feathered headdresses

Young Amir Hasan is depicted wearing this type of headdress on the northern wall of the St. Astvatsatsin Spitakavor Church (14th century). His feathered hat has a cylindrical brim that encircles the head and extends down to the nape of the neck. The end of the cylindrical brim at the back of the hat is somewhat obscured in the sculpture. However, based on similar headdresses of Eastern origin, this hat likely ends with a 'vizhak-like' addition designed to cover the neck. The headdresses or crowns of the Artashesyan dynasty are distinguished by their vizhaks, which come in one-piece or three-piece designs. The one-piece vizhaks cover only the neck, while the three-piece versions also extend to cover the ears.[5]

It is important to note that in the images of Mongol rulers from Iran dating back to the early 14th century, we can observe the distinctive features of the headdress in question. This headdress typically consists of a round base that covers the head, a cylindrical brim, and a protective element at

5 TER-GHEVONDIAN, Hayk, *The royal crowns of the Artaxiad Dynasty and their origin*, Venise-St. Lazare, Mkhit'arean Tparan, 1990, p. 22.



Fig. 2. *Armenian princes Bughta and Burtel Orbeyans on the cross-stone erected by his brother Burtel Orbelyan*. 1318. Noravank. Photo by Arsen Harutyunyan

the back, such as a mantle, designed to shield the neck. These headdresses were typically adorned with feathers or other spherical embellishments. It is important to note that the number of feathers attached to a headdress was a key indicator in the hierarchical system of princely titles. The type of feathers was also significant; for instance, in the Mongol army of Yuan China, owl feathers served as indicators of rank. This demonstrates that feathers were equally important decorative elements in both China and the Mongol Empire.[6]

6 ERDENEBAT, Ulambayar, "Garments of the Medieval Mongolians", in SATTAROVA, Liliya and ARSLAN, Saruul (eds.), *Proceedings of International Forum of the Museums of Turkic World, Costume collections in the museums of Eurasia: the Study and Interpretation*, The Museums of Turkic World International Forum, 22-24 September 2015, Ulan-Bator, Star Printing, Bursa, 2017, pp. 367-368. See also, HALBERTSMA-HEROLD, Ulrike, *Clothing Authority: Mongol Attire and Textiles in the Socio-political Complex*, (unpublished master's thesis, Leiden University [?], 2008), p. 49. Learn more about feathered Mongolian headdresses in: SITDIKOV, Ayrat and MAKLASOVA, Lyudmila, "Male Feathered Headwear of 13th 14th Centuries", in VOVCHENKO, Natalia G. and ZENTES, Joachim (eds.), *European Research Studies Journal*, XX, Special Issue (2017), pp. 352-361.



Table 1. *Feathered headdresses*

1. 1. *Amir Hasan Proshyan on the wall of the Spitakavor St. Astvatsatsin church*. 14th century. Hermitage Museum. Saint Petersburg (Russia). Wikimedia

1. 2. *Armenian princes Bughta and Burtel Orbelyans on the cross-stone erected by his brother Burtel Orbelyan*. 1318. Noravank. Photo: Arsen Harutyunyan

1. 3. *Marginal ornament in the Gospel dated to 1307.* Miniaturist Toros Taronatsi, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS Arm. 3, f. 193v. Photo: Yale University, Beinecke Library

1. 4. *Persian miniature "Jami al-Tavarikh" by Rashid ad-Din.* 14th century. Berlin State Library, Oriental department, Diez A f. 70, p. 49. Photo: Berlin State Library, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bd/DiezAlbumsExecution.jpg

The voluminous top decoration of Amir Hasan's headdress (Fig. 1) is likely made of feathers,[7] as evidenced by similar headdresses depicted in Persian manuscript illustrations of the Mongols.[8] In the case of these headdresses, it is also evident that the feathers are affixed alongside other multi-branched decorations.[9]

It is believed that Bughta Orbelyan is depicted wearing a feathered hat on the cross-stone (khachkar) erected by Prince Burtel (Fig. 2). Although the khachkar sculpture is partially weathered, the voluminous decoration on Prince Bughta's head suggests that it was also adorned with feather ornaments, similar to those on Amir Hasan's headdress.[10]

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7 HOVSEPYAN, Garegin, *Khaghbakyans and Proshyans in the History of Armenia,* in CHOOKASZIAN Babken (ed.), B. Publishing house, Antelias, Lebanon, The Armenian Catolicosate of Cilicia, 1969, p. 112. See also, MNATSAKANYAN, Stepan, T*he Armenian Secular Relief Images in IX-XIV centuries,* Yerevan, Publishing house of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1976, p. 143.

8 HILLENBRAND, Robert, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran", in KOMAROFF, Linda and CARBONI, Stefano (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in W andestern Asia, 1256-1353*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Yale University press, 2002, p. 136, fig. 161. See also, SWIETOCHOWSKI, Marie Lukens and CARBONI, Stefano (eds.), *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images, Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994, pp. 8, 13.

9 HILLENBRAND, Robert, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid...", fig. 161.

10 It is also important to highlight that Mongolian women's headdresses included a voluminous decoration, but their structure was entirely different and bore no resemblance to men's



Fig. 3. *Prince Vakhtang, "New Testament Relic".* 13th century. MM no. 155, p. 106b https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f8/Prince_Vakhtang.jpg

St. Mnatsakanyan includes the headdress of a rider depicted on the tympanum of Holy Cross Church at Tanahat Monastery in the group of feathered headdresses. Unfortunately, this headdress is poorly preserved, and many details remain unclear.[11] The study reveals that hats with voluminous adornments are predominantly associated with young individuals. This is supported by the princely sculptures discussed earlier, as well as by figures wearing similar hats in the miniatures of Toros Taronatsi.[12]

2. Headdresses with cylindrical brim and pointed top

In the 13th-century manuscript *Relic of the New Testament* (MM 155, p. 106b), Prince Vakhtang, the son of the affluent merchant Umek and Mamakhatun, daughter of Hasan-Jalal, prince of Khachen, is shown wearing such a headdress. His name is associated with two notable manuscript and miniature works. The first is a Gospel manuscript copied in 1279 (MM 5669), and the

feathered headdresses. KADOI, Yuka, "Chinese and Turko-Mongol elements in Ilkhanid and Timurid arts", in FLOOD, Finbarr Barry and NECIPOĞLU, Gülru (eds.), *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture, vol. II: From the Mongols to Modernism*, Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2017, p. 637.

11 MNATSAKANYAN, Stepan, T*he Armenian Secular...*, p. 147.

12 YENOKYAN, Ashkhen, "The Garment of the Orbelian and Proshian Princes in Armenian Medieval Art", *Bulletin of Matenadaran*, 37 (2024), p. 103.



Table 2. *Headdresses with cylindrical brim and pointed top*

2. 1. *Prince Vakhtang, "New Testament Relic"*. 13th century. MM no. 155, p. 106b, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f8/Prince_Vakhtang.jpg

2. 2. *Fragment from the miniature "Nativity" Scene of Jesus Christ . Four Gospels*. 1330. New Jugha. MS 47 (43), f. 2r. Miniaturist Kirakos of Tabriz. Djghavna anapat. Photo: DER-NERSESSIAN, Sirarpi and MEKHITARIAN, Arpag, *Armenian miniatures from Isfahan*, Brussels, Les Editeurs d'Art Associés / Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1986, p. 115, fig. 52.

2. 3. *Fragment from the miniature "Beheading of John the Baptist", Gladzor Gospel*. 1300-1307, f. 92b. Miniaturist Toros Taronatsi and painter of "green foundation". Los Angeles, Charles E. Young Research Library, Special Collections. Photo: MATHEWS, Thomas F. and TAYLOR, Alice, *The Armenian Gospels of Gladzor. The Life of Christ Illuminated*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001, plate 13



Table 3. *Variants of headdresses with wide brim and spherical (or other) attachments*

3. 1. *Eachi Proshyan on the wall of the Spitakavor St. Astvatsatsin church*. 14th century, Hermitage Museum. Saint Petersburg (Russia). Wikimedia

3. 2. *Fragment of the "Nativity" Scene of Jesus Christ, Gospel*. 1362. Nor Jugha, MS 404 (172), f. 1v. Miniaturist Hovhannes. Berkri. Photo: DER-NERSESSIAN, Sirarpi and MEKHITARIAN, Arpag, *Armenian miniatures...*, p. 146, fig. 69

3. 3. *Fragment from the miniature of patrons of "Gospel of Khtskonk"*. 1236. Nor Jugha, MS 36, f. 124b. Miniaturist Ignatios. Horomos. Photo: MATEVOSYAN, Karen, *Ani and Its Citizens,* Yerevan, Publishing house "Matenadaran", 2021, p. 319, fig. 47.

3. 4. *Fragment from a Persian manuscript*. 1341. Housed at the Kuwait National Museum, MS 741, f. 2r. HILLENBRAND, Robert, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran", in KOMAROFF, Linda and CARBONI, Stefano (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in W andestern Asia, 1256-1353*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Yale University press, 2002, fig. 261

second is a volume of the epistles of the Apostle Paul ("Relic of the New Testament" MM 155).[13] In this final manuscript, the miniature we are examining is preserved, showcasing the hat of Prince Vakhtang as depicted in the referenced version. It bears a close resemblance to the headdress of Amir Hasan Proshyan described earlier (Fig. 3). The same cylindrical brim is apparent, and in this instance, it is also distinctly interrupted at the back, covering the neck. However, the outer decoration differs here: while Amir Hasan's headdress terminates in feathers, this one features a pointed, unadorned top at the part that covers the head.[14]

The stylistic similarities between the headdresses of Amir Hasan and the young Vakhtang are likely linked to the shared cultural traits of the historical Syunik and Artsakh regions, reflecting their close historical connections.[15]

3. Headdress with wide, full brims

In Armenian princely attire from the Mongol period, two distinct versions of these headdresses are known: one featuring a plain top and the other topped with a ball-like decoration. Bughta and Burtel Orbelyan are depicted wearing headdresses with plain tops in the Yeghegis Gospel dated back to 1306 (MM 10525, 140v) (Fig. 4). Eachi Proshyan also wears a similar headdress on a silver, gold-coated reliquary "Khotakerats Holy Cross" (1300) (Fig. 6).

Wide-brimmed headdresses and hats with spherical attachments were also typical among high-ranking Mongolian men.[16] Often, a precious stone was affixed to the crown, likely symbolizing the wearer's status and rank in society.[17] It is believed that the ball-shaped decoration crowning the wide-

13 HAKOBYAN, Hravard, *Miniatures of Artsakh-Utik in the 13th-14th Centuries*, Yerevan, Khorhrdain grogh, 1989, p. 65 (in Armenian).

14 It is worth noting that, according to G. Hovsepyan and H. Hakobyan, Prince Vakhtang's cap features black and gold ribbons at the back. See, HOVSEPYAN, Garegin, "Vakhtang, son of Umek", in HOVSEPYAN, Garegin (ed.), *Materials and Research of Armenian Art and Culture History*, vol. A, Jerusalem: Publishing house of St. Yakobeants, 1935, p. 4. HAKOBYAN, Hravard, *Miniatures...*, p. 68. However, this issue remains contentious for us.

15 It is known that Vakhtang's aunt, Minakhatun, was the second wife of Tarsaitch Orbelian. It is possible that after the death of his father, Umek, the young Vakhtang lived in the expansive estates of the Orbelyan family. The Proshyan and Orbelyan families were prominent princes of the Syunik province. This may explain the stylistic similarities observed in their headdresses. For more detailed information about Prince Vakhtang, see HOVSEPYAN, Garegin, "Vakhtang...", p. 4; ULUBABYAN, Bagrat, *Khachen Princedom in X-XVI centuries*, Yerevan, Publishing house of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1975, pp. 217-225. HAKOBYAN, Hravard, *Miniatures...*, pp. 65-71.

16 KADOI, Yuka, "Chinese and Turko-Mongol ...", p. 637.

17 HALBERTSMA-HEROLD, Ulrike, *Clothing Authority...*, p. 48.





Fig. 4. *Armenian princes Bughta and Burtel Orbelyans*. Yeghegis Gospel. 1306. Illustrator Sargis Kronavor, MM no. 10525, p. 140v

Fig. 5. *The Miniature of patrons of "Gospel of Khtskonk"*. 1236. Horomos, illustrated by Ignatios, Nor Jugha, manuscript 36, p. 124b. Photo: MATEVOSYAN, Karen, *Ani and Its Citizens*, Yerevan, Publishing house "Matenadaran", 2021, p. 319, fig. 47



Fig. 6 *Eachi Proshyan, a fragment from reliquary "Khotakerats Holy Cross"*. 1300. Treasury House of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin. Photo: Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin

brimmed hats in Persian miniatures depicting the Mongols was also crafted from precious stone.

Eachi Proshyan is depicted on the southern wall of the St. Astvatsatsin Spitakavor Church (14th century) wearing a wide-brimmed headdress with a spherical attachment. A similar headdress appears on patrons in the fresco on the western wall of the Katoghike Church at Kobair Monastery (13th century). Additionally, the "Khtskonk Gospel" (Fig. 5) (illustrated by Ignatios, Horomos, 1236, Nor Jugha, manuscript 36, 124b) features Brnavor, another patron, donning a wide-brimmed hat with a similar ball-like attachment.[18]

18 For a more detailed examination of this manuscript and its miniature, see DER-NERSES-



Table 4. *Headdresses with wide complete brim*

4. 1. and 4. 2. *Armenian princes Bughta and Burtel Orbelyans. Yeghegis Gospel*. 1306. Miniaturist Sargis Kronavor, MM no. 10525, fol. 140v, https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1539236489591217&set=a.121476658033881

4. 3. *Eachi Proshyan, a fragment from reliquary "Khotakerats Holy Cross"*. 1300, Treasury House of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin. Photo: Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin

4. 4. Illustration from the Persian manuscript 'Shahnameh. 1330's. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. HILLENBRAND, Robert, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran", in KOMAROFF, Linda and CARBONI, Stefano (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan...*, fig. 45

These types of headdresses also appear in the Gospel of 1362, specifically in the "Adoration of the Magi" episode within the "Birth of Christ" scene. Here, the Magi are depicted wearing hats adorned with the decorative elements that capture our interest (Berkri, illustrated by Hovhannes, Nor Jugha, manuscript 404 (172), p. 1b).

Variants of hats that interest us are also found in Georgian art, particularly in the frescoes of Sapara Monastery. In the composition titled 'The Dedication of the Temple to St. Saba, Beka, the son of Sargis I Jagheli, and his son Sargis II are depicted wearing similar hats.[19] These hats also bear a resemblance to Mongolian hats; however, as noted in Persian manuscripts, the Mongolian styles more commonly feature ball-like or tufted addition rather than unadorned versions with a plain surface.[20]

The significant changes in the Armenian princely attire during the Mongol rule are evident in the surviving works of art, including miniatures depicting Armenian princes, relief images, frescoes, and more. However, these changes were not limited to the clothing of the aristocracy; they also became evident in the attire of the civil elite and common people. This is illustrated by various scenes in contemporary Armenian miniatures. For instance, sev-

SIAN, Sirarpi and MEKHITARIAN, Arpag, *Armenian miniatures from Isfahan*, Brussels, Les Editeurs d'Art Associés / Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1986, pp. 60-61. MATEVOSYAN, Karen, *Ani and Its Citizens*, Yerevan, Publishing house "Matenadaran", 2021, pp. 356, 429.

19 PREOBRAZHENSKI, Aleksandr, *Donor Portraits of Medieval Russia: 11th - Early 16th Centuries*, Moscow, Severnyĭ palomnik, 2010, p. 25 (in Russian).

20 ERDENEBAT, Ulambayar, "Garments of the Medieval...", p. 368.



Fig. 7. *Beshqen Orbelyan.* 14th century. Noravank. Photo: Anna Leyloyan

eral variations of eastern-style headdresses appear in the miniatures by Toros Taronatsi, Toros Sarkavag, Hovhannes the Illustrator, and Kirakos Tavrizetsi. These headdresses can be seen adorning characters such as sirens, shepherds, magi kings, and others.

4. Headdress with wide, bipartite brim

These headdresses resemble those with a wide, complete brim, with the key difference being that in this case, the wide brim is divided into two parts. These headdresses were commonly worn by Mongol leaders. The wide brim featured a two-part design that could be turned back or lowered as needed for sun protection.[21] Additionally, the hat crown was adorned with a precious stone, signifying the wearer's high status and rank.[22] This style of headdress was also reflected in the luxurious clothing worn by the Armenian elite of the time. Beshken Orbelyan (Fig. 7) is depicted wearing this type of headdress on the rotunda of Burtelashen Church in Noravank (14th century),

21 SWIETOCHOWSKI, Marie Lukens and BABAIE, Sussan, *Persian Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989, p. 21.

22 HALBERTSMA-HEROLD, Ulrike, *Clothing Authority...*, p. 48.



Table 5. *Headdresses with wide, bipartite brim*

5. 1. *Hovhannes, the son of the patrons of the manuscript. Four Gospels*. 1330 New Jugha. 481 (44), f. 9v. Miniaturist Kirakos of Tabriz. Djghavna anapat. Photo: DER-NERSESSIAN, Sirarpi and MEKHITARIAN, Arpag, *Armenian miniatures*..., fig. 67

5. 2. *Costandin, the orderer of the manuscript. Four Gospels*. 1330. New Jugha. 481 (44), f. 9r. Miniaturist Kirakos of Tabriz. Djghavna anapat. Photo: DER-NERSESSIAN, Sirarpi and MEKHITARIAN, Arpag, *Armenian miniatures*..., fig. 66

5. 3. *Illustration of the first small "Shahnameh"*. 1300-1330. New York, Metropoliten Museum. HILLENBRAND, Robert, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran", in KOMAROFF, Linda and CARBONI, Stefano (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*..., fig. 4

5. 4. *Amir Hasan Proshyan, on the southern wall of Spitakavor St. Astvatsatsin Church*. 14th century. Currently housed at the History Museum of Armenia. Photo: History Museum of Armenia

5. 5. *Beshken Orbelyan*. Noravank. 14th century. Photo: Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan

while Amir Hasan Proshyan is shown in a similar headdress on the southern wall of Spitakavor St. Astvatsatsin Church (14th century) (Fig. 8). Pictorial representations of similar hats can be found in the Gospel illustrated by Kirakos Tavrizetsi (1330, Nor Jugha, manuscript 481(44), 9a and 9b). Here, Constantine and his son Hovhannes, one of the manuscript's patrons, are depicted wearing comparable headdresses.[23]

5. Princely crowns

Relief images of crowned princes have also been preserved from Noravank and Yeghegis. In Noravank, Smbat Orbelyan can be found depicted on the northern inner wall of the monastery vestibule, while Burtel Orbelyan is depicted on a cross-stone (khachkar) dedicated to his brother Bughta. In Yeghegis, the tympanum of the Orbelyan princely palace features a donor relief of Tarsaitch Orbelyan and his wife, Minakhatun, with Tarsaitch adorned in a

23 For a more detailed discussion of this manuscript, see KIWRTEAN, Yarutyun, "Miniaturist Kirakos of Tabriz (1330)", in HOVSEPYAN Garegin; SIMONYAN, Simon and others, *Hask, Yearbook of Armenian Studies*, vol. 2 (1949-1950), pp. 115-130. DER-NERSESSIAN, Sirarpi and MEKHITARIAN, Arpag, *Armenian miniatures*..., pp. 88-93. DANIELYAN, Inesa, "The Collection of Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts in Isfahan and the Gospel of Kirakos of Tabriz (1330 A. D.)", *Series Byzantina. Studies on Byzantine and Post -Byzantine Art*, Vol. XV, Warsaw, Neriton Publishing house, 2017, pp. 55-71.





Fig. 8. *Amir Hasan Proshyan, on the southern wall of Spitakavor St. Astvatsatsin Church*. 14th century. Currently housed at the History Museum of Armenia. Photo: History Museum of Armenia

Fig. 9. *Tarsaitch Orbelyan and Minakhatun.* Yeghegis, 13th century. Current location unknown. Photo: Garegin Hovsepyan



Fig. 10. *Smbat Orbelyan, on the northern wall of the Noravank Church vestibule (gavit).* 13th Century. Photo: Karen Matevosyan

princely crown (Fig. 9). Similar to the princely headdresses mentioned earlier, the crowns also come in various styles. For instance, Smbat Orbelyan's crown (Fig. 10) features a distinctive three-pointed design, with the central point elevated above the side points, each embellished with a spherical decoration. Several variations of these crowns are documented in Persian man-



Table 6. *Princely crowns*

6. 1. *Smbat Orbelyan, on the northern wall of the Noravank Church narthex (gavit)*. 13th Century. Photo: Karen Matevosyan

6. 2. *Illustration from the first small "Shahnameh"*. 1300-1330. Currently housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York. Photo: SWIETOCHOWSKI, Marie Lukens and CARBONI, Stefano (eds.), *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images, Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994, fig. 105

6. 3. *Tarsaitch Orbelyan.* Yeghegis, 13th century

6. 4. *Abagha Khan, miniature from the Persian manuscript The History of Mongols.* 15th century Housed at the Aga Khan Museum, Toronto. Photo: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%90%D0%B1%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D1%85%D0%B0%D0%BD#/media/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:AbaqaOnHorseArghunStandingG-hazanAsAChild.jpg

6. 5. *Fragment from the illustrations of "Shahnameh"*. 1330. Housed at the Chester Beatty Library. Dublin. HILLENBRAND, Robert, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran", in KOMAROFF, Linda and CARBONI, Stefano (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan...*, fig. 189

uscripts depicting the Mongols,[24] and these influences can also be seen in the Armenian context. This is illustrated by the depictions of the Magi kings' headdresses characteristic of the Mongol period, as seen in Toros Taronatsi's illustration of the Nativity in "The Bible of Yesai Nchetsi" (1318). The three-pointed crowns, reminiscent of Smbat Orbelyan's headdress, further highlight this connection.[25]

Tarsaitch Orbelyan is depicted wearing a princely crown in the relief on the tympanum of the Orbelyan royal palace in Yeghegis, a detail noted by Garegin Hovsepyan, the first researcher of this composition.[26] Crowns featuring similar symmetrical designs were also popular in Mongol culture,

24 LOUKONINE, Vladimir and IVANOV, Anatoli, *Persian miniatures*, New York, Parkstone Press International, 2023, p. 17. SWIETOCHOWSKI, Marie Lukens and CARBONI, Stefano (eds), *Illustrated Poetry...*, p. 105. DARNLEY, Elizabeth, "Mongol Costume in Art: A study of Mongol Clothing in Contemporary Art", 2012, https://www.academia.edu/10069337/Mongol_Costume_in_Art_A_Study_of_Mongol_Clothing_in_Contemporary_Art

25 AVETISYAN, Avetis, *Gladzor School of the Armenian Miniature*, Yerevan, Publishing house of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1971, fig. 35.

26 HOVSEPYAN, Garegin, "The Generation of Tarsaitch Orbelian and Mina Khatun", *Hask, Yearbook of Armenian Studies*, 1948, A year, p. 3.

often embellished with a variety of precious stones.[27] While Smbat Orbelyan's crown is characterized by its three-pointed design, Tarsaitch's crown features a straighter and more symmetrical form, with a gently curved upper section.

Another noble figure adorned with a crown-like headdress is identified from the cross-stone (khachkar) erected in memory of Bughta Orbelyan, where Burtel Orbelyan is depicted wearing a crown or princely headdress. The headdress of Burtel Orbelyan bears resemblance to those of Princes Hasan and Grigor Haterk in Dadivank (13th century), characterized by their elevated front sections. It is posited that similar headdresses were also present in the Armenian princely attire of the pre-Mongol era.[28]

This example shows that, during the Mongol rule, in addition to the aforementioned forms, variations of the Armenian princely headdress from the pre-Mongol period continued to be preserved.

6. Conclusion

This study reveals that during the Mongol rule, various versions of the Armenian royal headdress were known, each with its own subtypes. Furthermore, each of these variations shared connections with contemporary Mongol headdresses in one way or another. Among the variations mentioned, Burtel Orbelian's headdress decoration, depicted on the cross-stone khachkar dedicated to Bughta Orbelyan in Noravank, stands out. It's style is primarily associated with the headdress of Princes Hasan and Grigor of Haterk (in Dadivank), as well as the Zakaryan princes (in Haritchvank). These parallels demonstrate that while Armenian princely attire was influenced by foreign cultures due to the demands of the time, many elements of pre-mongolian period, were also preserved alongside these influences. These details continued to hold significance in Armenian high-class and princely clothing.

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27 HILLENBRAND, Robert, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid...", figs. 182, 189 etc.

28 YENOKYAN, Ashkhen, "The Garment of Orbelian and Proshian Princes...", p. 104.

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