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Introduction – Commagene in the Interplay of the Global and the Local

The small kingdom of Commagene, located in south-eastern Turkey between the Taurus mountains and the upper Euphrates, is often dealt with as being on the margins of the Hellenistic

Sources of illustrations: *Figs. 1. 3. 19* = L. Kruijer. – *Fig. 2* = Museum of Adıyaman (Photograph: J. Wagner) – *Figs. 4–7. 22. 23* = Museum of Adıyaman (Photograph: L. Kruijer) – *Fig. 8* = Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18200232 (Photograph: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke [Lübke und Wiedemann]). – *Figs. 9. 24–27. 30* = Forschungsstelle Asia Minor. – *Fig. 10* = Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18215866 (Photograph: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke [Lübke und Wiedemann]). – *Figs. 11. 12. 15. 29* = Trustees of the British Museum. – *Fig. 13* = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, IN 1591 (Photograph: Ole Haupt). – *Fig. 14* = Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18204066 (Photograph: Dirk Sonnenwald). – *Fig. 16* = Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18200192 (Photograph: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke [Lübke und Wiedemann]). – *Figs. 17. 18. 20. 21* = Samsat-Archive, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, Ankara Üniversitesi. – *Fig. 28* = Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18248758 (Photograph: Reinhard Saczewski).

[1] The considerations brought forward in the present paper have been developed by the author within the VICI-project *Innovating Objects. The Impact of Global Connections and the Formation of the Roman Empire* (*ca. 200–30 B.C.*) directed by Miguel John Versluys and based at Leiden University. The paper benefitted enormously from several discussions of related issues in Leiden and I wish to express my gratitude to all members of the wider project-team for their critique – most notably Lennart Kruijer. Furthermore, I thank David Biedermann for discussing issues of the portrait of Marc Antony and contemporary Roman potentates and providing me insight into his just finished PhD-thesis *Die Repräsentation von Machthabern in der ausgehenden Römischen Republik* (*44–30 v. Chr.*). I am grateful to Mehmet Alkan from the Museum Adıyaman as well as Aliye Öztan and Tayfun Yıldırım from Ankara University for providing me with access to the material from the Samosata excavations which are the basis of this study. For granting me permission to publish the images in this article I furthermore thank Lennart Kruijer, Jörg Wagner, Karsten Dahmen from the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, the British Museum, The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Ankara University and the Forschungsstelle Asia Minor. Finally, I thank Engelbert Winter and Sebastian Whybrew from the Forschungstelle Asia Minor for their profound critique on an earlier draft and the latter especially for correcting its language and form of expression. To Dilek Çobanoğlu I am thankful for translating the paper's abstract into Turkish.

world[2]. This assumption gave way to the interpretation of the best-known archaeological remains of the kingdom, the *hierothesia* and *temene* erected for the ruler-cult mainly by Antiochos I of Commagene (69–36 B.C.) culminating in the mountaintop-sanctuary of Nemrud Dağ[3], as a visual expression of the »megalomania of a minor potentate«[4]. Although this viewpoint has been rejected or at least moderated by several scholars[5], the visual programme brought forward by Antiochos, which combines motives from the Persian and Greek pictorial repertoire in several ways, is still thought of as only being possible because of the geographical position (and political insignificance) of Commagene in between these two major cultural spheres. The emphasis of the two opposing cultural entities which predominated the region resulted in the evaluation of the Commagenian monuments and the culture they represent as hybrids, accentuating either the Greek[6] or Persian[7] background of the Commagenian dynasty.

How narrow and limiting this perspective is when one seeks to move beyond the explanation of Antiochos' programme as a unique phenomenon at the social and political periphery of the Hellenistic world has recently been shown by Miguel John Versluys. His broad study re-evaluates the visual style(s) chosen by Antiochos and puts the phenomenon in the pan-Mediterranean context of the 1st century B.C. In doing so he applies the concept of *bricolage* through which he interprets the Antiochan style as »a juxtaposition and blending of discrete elements suggestive of different cultural traditions within a single, new style as the result of a conscious appropriation«[8]. Most intriguing about this concept is its emphasis on deliberate choice – thus, highlighting the importance of local agency – which, in concepts focussing on the main presumed cultural entities, Greece and Persia, often plays a subordinate role[9]. Furthermore, this shift of perspective enables us to contextualize the Commagenian example by relating it to comparable phenomena throughout the Mediterranean which show similar developments[10]. The main idea behind this approach is a reasonable integration of Antiochan Commagene in wider Mediterranean and trans-Mediterranean networks in which specific concepts, ideas and their stylistic expression were available and could be appropriated and combined to fit local needs and desires[11]. Although it is well attested in the literary sources that the Commagenian rulers acted consciously on the wider political stage and successfully managed to maintain an astonishing degree of independence until the final annexation by Rome in A.D. 72/73[12] – which was only possible in part due

2 Smith 1985, 275; Smith 1988a, 103; Robertson 1993, 69; Fowler 2005, 128. For the perception of Commagene and even the absence from more recent handbooks cf. Versluys 2017, 13.

3 On the *hierothesia* and *temene* see the recent work by Werner Oenbrink (Oenbrink 2017), for Antiochos' tomb-sanctuary on Nemrud Dağ, see Sanders 1996 and the extensive publication by Herman A. G. Brijder (Brijder 2014) and its review by Michael Blömer (Blömer 2017).

4 Smith 1988a, 103.

5 E. g. Kopsacheili 2011, 24; Jacobs 2012b; Canepa 2015, 81–84; Oenbrink 2017, 173–178; Versluys 2017, 108–254.

6 Cf. Dörner 1981, 8; Pollitt 1986, 275.

7 Cf. Waldmann 1991, 33–38; Fowler 2005, 127–128; Metzler 2012; Stewart 2014, 267.

8 Versluys 2017, 206.

9 Cf. Versluys 2017, 204 f.

10 Versluys skilfully traces analogous phenomena in the material culture of Late Republican and Augustan Rome, the Royal Ideology of the Parthians as well as in religious monumental buildings in the Syro-Levantine region (Versluys 2017, 221–241).

11 Cf. Hodos 2010, 23. In this regard Versluys 2017, 136 talks about a »standard, largely Hellenistic repertoire«.

12 On the history of the Commagenian kingdom, see especially the detailed study by Facella 2006.

to their interconnectedness[13] – the material culture of the region is often interpreted against its presumed Greek or Persian background.

Considering Hellenistic Commagene, two interrelated aspects may be deduced from these general observations. Firstly, the interpretation of its material culture is mainly driven by confronting it with its supposed sources of influence, Greek and Persian, while largely neglecting the agency of the Commagenian kings. As a step to move beyond the idea of the domination of this cultural dichotomy, the perspective must be shifted towards an integration of Commagene into the wider context of developments in other regions of the Mediterranean and Eurasia in the 1st century B.C. Secondly, this shift of perspective needs to be centred on objects. Objects are prime indicators of change and susceptible to detailed alterations which may be conscious or unconscious. They can be purposefully exploited to serve specific functions and are at the same time open to interpretations. This makes objects – and their contextualization – especially in the case of Commagene, where most of the archaeological, literary and epigraphical material available sheds light only on the royal (Antiochan) view, the focal point to study the ongoing processes in the positioning of Commagene in the Hellenistic world.

These introductory considerations are well in line with various theoretical approaches which have been brought forward in scholarship for more than a decade to supersede the outdated view of ancient societies as rather static entities and their »cellular self-sufficiency«[14] which has been favoured up to about 30 years ago. The dominating viewpoint of past scholarship caused several responses which sought answers to various questions that are not easily synchronized with the historical lines offered by the preferred models of that time. Instead, discourses especially from the 1990s onwards strongly emphasized the importance of the fluidity of, and within, societies and consequently elaborated on various aspects of connectivity as the major paradigm to be followed in the study of antiquity[15]. Among the applied theoretical approaches in this line of thinking, globalization theory is a rather recent representative[16]. In respect to its application to the Roman world and its rooting in connectivity, Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys recently argued that »connectivity has always been present to some degree but is, in certain historical periods, characterised by such dramatic punctuations that we can describe them as global«[17].

Although the idea of adopting a theory superficially tied up with the modern world to the study of antiquity did not go uncriticised[18], it inheres in the potential to shift perspectives on

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13 The strong and often fortunate connections between the Commagenian dynasty and Rome become apparent in various situations especially from the reign of Antiochos I onwards (cf. Facella 2005, 94–102; Facella 2010; Wagner 2012, 35–41). On the other hand, the marriage of Antiochos' I daughter Laodice to the Parthian king Orodes (cf. Wagner 1983, 209; Waldmann 1991, 201; Facella 2005, 98) also established a sustainable link between the Commagenian and the Parthian kingdom.

14 Hopkins 1983, p. xi. See also the inspiring thoughts on this quote by Morris 2003, 30 f.

15 A milestone in the research on classical antiquity surely was Horden – Purcell 2000 which triggered a lively and still ongoing debate on connectivity and connectedness in classical societies (on perspectives in the study of classical archaeology triggered by Horden and Purcell, see e. g. Lichtenberger 2015, 204–208).

16 For the few publications making use of the idea of globalization in the study of antiquity from the early 2000s onwards, see Naerebout 2006/2007, 149 n. 1. Of the more recent studies centred around globalization theory and its application to past societies in general and archaeology in particular the contributions of Pitts – Versluys 2015a and Hodos et al. 2017 might be mentioned.

17 Pitts – Versluys 2015b, 17.

18 The most severe critique is to be found in Naerebout 2006/2007. Cf. also Greene 2008, 79 f.

different matters in understanding ancient societies[19]. This shift needs to include the acceptance of the active contribution of objects to the development of societies. The main idea about the *material turn*, in this regard, is that objects are not mere passive reflections of the society they were produced and/or used in but are able to actively contribute to the society's development by stimulating their environment in various ways[20]. It is therefore of crucial importance to investigate these stimuli which were triggered by the objects through the study of the objects themselves – or, to put the question another way: what did a specific object *do* in its social context[21]?

In an attempt to contribute to answering this question, this paper combines ideas from information theory and semiotics which offer a promising approach to it. The most striking overlap of these theoretical approaches is to be found in the importance of an object's stylistic features: the consciously chosen style is, on the one hand, meant to convey a certain message but, on the other hand, the perception of an object with its stylistic designs depends on the context it was exposed to and embedded in. The contextualization of an object is therefore of crucial importance. It offers the opportunity to address questions of meaning and perception of an object in close interconnection with observations deriving from globalization theory. The latter are of special interest when an object shows different influences whether in its stylistic appearance, its used material(s) or techniques which are at least partly non-local. The relation of the global and the local is one of the main concerns of globalization theory and two different but complementary concepts have been brought forward in sociology: *glocalization* and *grobalization*.

The term glocalization was coined by Roland Robertson[22] and is borrowed from an economic concept brought forward by Japanese entrepreneurs who combined global and local aspects in their business[23]. In its economic sense glocalization basically means »the practice of conducting business according to both local and global considerations«[24]. Following Robertson's adaption and theorization by emancipating it from its strictly economic meaning, the concept of glocalization generally describes the reciprocal interactions of global and local conditions. As the outlined concept of bricolage, it strongly emphasizes the agency of local actors and interprets their active role (in making deliberate choices, adaptions, transformations or rejections) as resulting in cultural heterogeneity[25]. This idea directly opposes views that focus on various aspects of cultural

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19 A common tendency in the pluralism of globalization theory also emphasizes the shift of perspectives – in the case of modernity from the former point of reference, the western culture, towards a multi-faceted perspective in which various international influences and processes manifest themselves in individual adaptions (Appadurai 1996; Ritzer 2005, 128). Transferred to antiquity, this shift of perspective should then be understood as an attempt to avoid monocausal views with a strong emphasis on cultural supremacies in order to focus more on reciprocal processes (cf. Hodos 2010, 23–27).

20 »Cultural artefacts [i.e. objects] never stand still, are never inert« as Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss pointedly put it (Hahn – Weiss 2013, 1).

21 Cf. Hicks 2010, 73–79; Versluys 2017, 111.

22 The concept of glocalization as theoretical tool is laid out in Robertson 1994 and Robertson 1995. First thoughts on it are already formulated in Robertson 1992, 173–174 and are contemporary with Erik Swyngedouws applications of the concept in social geography and urban development (Swyngedouw 1992) cf. also Swyngedouw 2004.

23 It derives from the Japanese *dochakuka* which originally denotes the adapting of farming techniques to local conditions (cf. Robertson 1995, 28).

24 Oxford living dictionaries, s.v. glocalization <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/glocalization> (26.02.2018).

25 cf. Robertson 1995, 28–32.

supremacy which are tied up in the discourse of cultural imperialism – a perspective which also echoes in studies of antiquity in general[26] and Commagene in particular[27].

The idea of cultural supremacy is, in turn, seized on by George Ritzer. He introduces grobalization as a complementary concept to Robertson's glocalization[28]. This neologism combines *growing* and *globalization* and is driven by the observation that modern capitalist businesses (and also nations) have a desire to expand[29]. These expansions are integral and partly constitutive elements of globalization and often result not in heterogeneity but cultural homogeneity. This perspective is not necessarily connected to the concept of cultural imperialism but – just as the idea of glocalization – is rooted in the experiences and observations of modern globalization which evokes different responses at the local levels[30]. Whereas glocalization describes the adaption of global impulses to local needs and the reciprocity of the global-local relation, grobalization explains the surrender of local considerations and traditions to the offers of global markets. Although both concepts are initially derived from modern globalization which inheres in a strong economic component, they are adaptable to phenomena in antiquity. Especially in cases where different influences converge, as in the following case study, thinking with the concepts just outlined enables us to thoroughly integrate ancient objects into debates about cultural affiliation and processes of change within ancient societies. In this regard globalization theory can also contribute to the notion of hybridity or hybridization[31] which has become an increasingly popular concept in the study of ancient societies during recent years[32]. The commendable efforts in this field »have formed a powerful and well-intentioned response to earlier ideas of the centrality and homogeneity of colonial and imperial power«[33] – but its predominant association with the mere blending of different influences which create something new[34] somewhat distort the agency of local actors. Basically, almost every object we are concerned with is not pure but

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26 In this regard, the best example which is centred around the question of Roman supremacy is probably the lively debate about Romanization. Hingley 2005 argues for the use of the concept of globalization rather than Romanization (cf. also the opposing critique by Naerebout 2006/2007 and the re-evaluation of the concept of Romanization in the global – local debate by van Oyen 2015). How problematic the emancipation is from the ideas of Romanization and Hellenization – in spite of several successful studies during the last decades – or even the convergence of the ›Roman West‹ with the ›Greek East‹ has recently been emphasized by Prag – Quinn 2013, 1–3.

27 cf. the different evaluations of the Antiochan programme mentioned above.

28 Ritzer 2005, 139–162.

29 Ritzer 2005, 130 f.

30 Ritzer 2005, 130 stresses that the concept of grobalization is an addition to, not a substitute for, glocalization. Localism and regionalism as responses to (or by-products of) globalization have been agreed upon by most sociologists (cf. Wagner 2001, 15–17).

31 Both terms occur frequently but the more promising approach is the focus on the process of hybridization (cf. García Canclini 1995, p. xxvii) which is often inherent in the understanding of hybridity.

32 Cf. van Dommelen 2006, esp. 136–140 or the contributions to an essential conference addressing specifically aspects of hybridization in the Hellenistic East (Kouremenos et al. 2011).

33 Hingley 2015, 39.

34 The concept of hybridization is inevitably connected to the post-colonial perspective of Homi K. Bhabha (Bhabha 1994) who himself interprets the concepts not as mere blending but strategic and selective appropriation of meanings (cf. Bhabha 2012, 13: »Hybridisierung heißt für mich nicht einfach Vermischen, sondern strategische und selektive Aneignung von Bedeutungen […]« [quoted from an interview of Bhabha by Lukas Wieselberg for the ORF-Science-Channel from 2011]) contradicting the general notion of the term hybridization. For the development of the concept of hybridity in theoretical discourses from 19th century biology to post-colonial appropriations, see Bachmann-Medick 2014, 41–46.

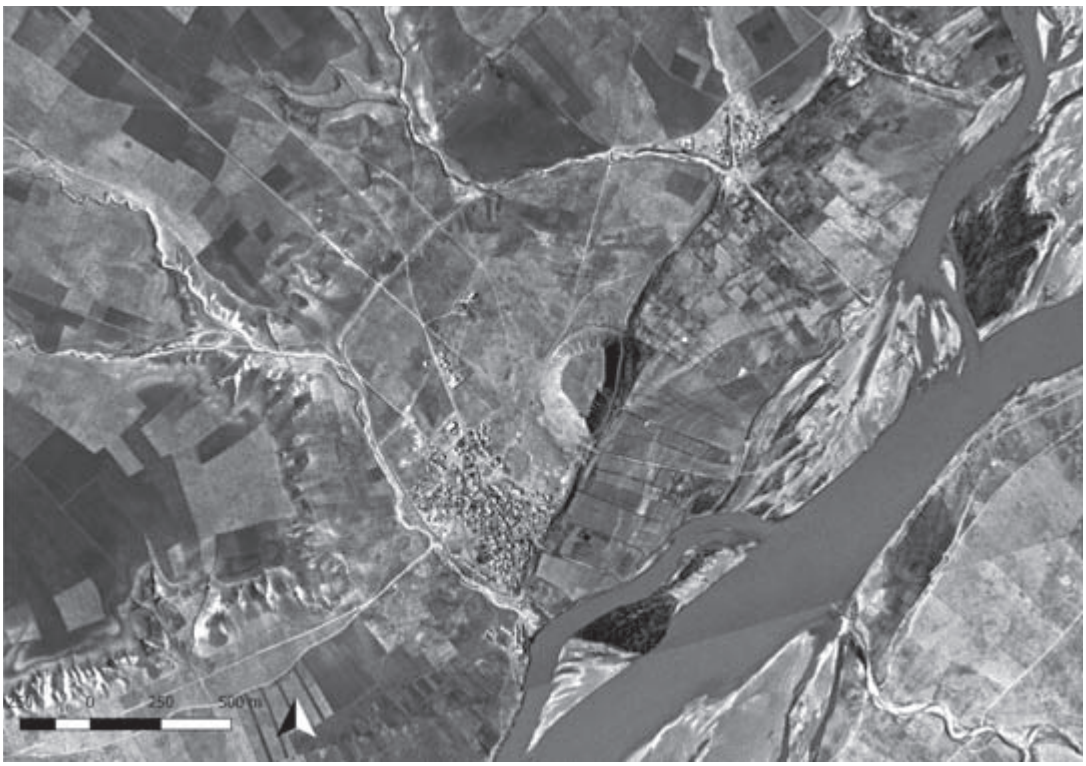

Fig. 1 Aerial view of Samosata exposing the course of the city walls and the prominent Höyük towards the Euphrates in the East

a hybrid in one way or the other[35] and on the conceptual level it is not evident whether the convergence of different elements is due to conscious choice or randomness[36]. In turn, the concept of hybridity has become a kind of universal explanatory model for cultural interaction through its increasing de-spatialization and de-historicization[37].

Picking up the threads of these theoretical approaches and trying to use the gained insights for the benefit of the understanding of processes in the Late-Hellenistic world, the present paper focusses on one single object showing different stylistic influences – the portrait of a ruler from the small kingdom of Commagene.

The Object – an Innovative Royal Portrait from Samosata

To illuminate and evaluate the potential of the theoretical concepts outlined above for object-based approaches to antiquity, a royal portrait from Samosata will, in the following, be the starting point and main focus. The head was discovered in the Samosata salvage-excavations which were

35 cf. Pitts – Verslulys 2015a, 6.

36 Although the importance of intentionality is often stressed, the persisting distinction of intention and randomness is inherent in the concept of hybridity (cf. Kopsacheili 2011, 17).

37 Bachmann-Medick 2014, 43.

carried out from 1978 to 1989 in the course of the construction of the Atatürk reservoir which flooded the whole former capital of the Commagenian kings on the west bank of the Euphrates. The excavations concentrated on the city's Höyük which towered about 50 m above the surrounding city (*fig. 1*) and revealed archaeological evidence from the medieval down to the chalcolithic period[38].

In 1984 the remarkable head of a male statue was found in a layer which yielded the remains of a large luxurious building[39] which most likely is to be interpreted as the *basileion* mentioned by Strabo[40]. It is made from fine white limestone in an elaborate manner (*figs. 2–7*). Being 31,5 cm in height and 20,5 cm in width, it is about life-size and exhibits damage especially to its nose, mouth and left eyebrow. According to the excavators, the head also yielded traces of red colour[41] which could, however, not be verified upon visual inspection. The oval-shaped face with a pointed chin, a small and slightly opened mouth, almond-shaped eyes and gently arched brows framing a very slightly projecting orbit is turned to its right,

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Fig. 2 Late-Hellenistic limestone portrait from Samosata, now in the Museum of Adıyaman

[38] The results of these excavations have been published by their director, Nimet Özgüç who necessarily devotes only a few pages to each period observed during the excavations. In the final publication she goes through the evidence and the most important finds of 30 layers identified at the Höyük (Özgüç 2009). Most scholars, however, follow Zoroğlu 2012, 137 who mentions only 15 layers (cf. Wagner 2003/2004, 135; Brijder 2014, 424). Although the problem of identifying distinct layers also becomes obvious in the documentation and archive of the excavations, kept at Ankara University and kindly made available to the author by Prof. Dr. Tayfun Yıldırım, and the 30 layers of the final publication include layers which Zoroğlu might have merged with others, there seem to have been more than 15 layers. Before these salvage measures, excavations had been carried out by an American team led by Theresa Goell in the 1960s who mainly observed medieval and late-antique remains (Goell 1974, esp. 85. 96–102).

[39] Besides in the final publication (Özgüç 2009, 41–46) and few remarks in preliminary reports (Özgüç 1985, 224–226; Özgüç 1986, 301 f.) the palace and the finds related to it have mainly been dealt with in a summarizing manner (Wagner 2003/2004, 135–139; Zoroğlu 2012; Brijder 2014, 424–428) which made the site known to a broader audience. A more recent study by Orhan Bingöl considered the architectural and decorative elements of the palace in a more thorough way (Bingöl 2013. Cf. also the remarks on the mosaics and wall-paintings from Samosata in Bingöl 1997, 107–118). Currently, a re-evaluation of the palace and a study of the related finds now in the Museum of Adıyaman is being prepared by Lennart Kruijer as his PhD-thesis at Leiden University. For the exact find spot of the head, see below *Contextualizing the Object I*: *The Palace and the Monument's Immediate Setting*.

[40] Strab. 16, 2, 3. This interpretation is generally followed in scholarship (Wagner 2003/2004, 136; Fleischer 2008, 324; Özgüç 2009, 41; Zoroğlu 2012, 139; Bingöl 2013, 17 f.).

[41] Özgüç 1985, 225; Özgüç 2009, 44.

Fig. 3 View in three-quarters of the portrait from Samosata

Fig. 4 Right profile of the portrait from Samosata

Fig. 5 Left profile of the portrait from Samosata

Fig. 6 Back of the portrait from Samosata

Fig. 7 Inscription reading ANTIOXO beneath the left eye of the portrait from Samosata

accentuating the throat lines. The hairstyle is characterized by crescent-shaped strands arranged in overlapping rows whereas the two rows towards the forehead are emphasised through their more detailed execution. Most intriguing, however, is the 2,4 cm wide royal diadem placed around the head and the twelve holes which were drilled into the diadem in a zigzag-line from behind the head's right ear up to the part above its left eye (*figs. 3–4*). These holes must be explained as receptacles for bronze rays forming a radiate crown[42].

The diadem identifies the depicted as a Hellenistic ruler and the find spot within the palace of the Commagenian kings strongly suggests that he should be identified as a member of the Orontid dynasty of Commagene[43]. A unique detail narrows down the possible candidates to only four Commagenian kings. Below the left eye of the portrayed, an inscription reading ANTIOXO […], is incised (*fig. 7*). The letters are superficially chiselled into the limestone and barely legible without the use of oblique lighting. The question of whom the head actually depicts is of crucial importance for its understanding and contextualization. Four members of the Commagenian dynasty with the name Antiochos are known and two of them, Antiochos I and Antiochos III have primarily been identified with the portrayed in scholarship.

42 Fleischer 2008, 324; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Kropp 2013, 84.

43 Zoroğlu 2012, 140 furthermore remarks that the head shows no significant similarities with any known Seleucid royal portrait. Seleucids could in principle also be depicted since Commagene belonged to the Seleucid realm before it gained independence in 163 B.C. and the Seleucids are considered to be their maternal ancestors from the time of Antiochos I (cf. Sanders 1996, 306; Facella 2005, 88; Messerschmidt 2012, 87; Brijder 2014, 101). For the role of the Seleucids in the ideology of Antiochos' kingship cf. Strootman 2016.

Of the other two, the portrait of Antiochos IV, who ruled as last king of Commagene from A.D. 38 to A.D. 72/73, is known from bronze coins he emitted (*fig. 8*). Although the king's depictions on the coins may exhibit some variations[44], they show certain details of his physiognomy which are not to be found in the head from Samosata. Antiochos IV is characterized by contracted eyebrows above deep-set eyes creating a bulge at the root of the nose, a slightly bent nose, a small mouth and a strong jaw. The hair is arranged in thick strands showing no recognizable subdivision and it reaches down the nape where it is combed towards the front. The hairstyle recalls Julio-Claudian portraits[45] and differs remarkably from the Samosata head. Also the contracting eyebrows, the strong jaw and possibly the shape of the nose[46] are distinct from the portrait in the round. Therefore, Antiochos IV has rightly been ruled out in scholarship as the one being portrayed by the Samosata head[47].

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Fig. 8 Obverse of a bronze coin depicting Antiochos IV – not to scale (original dm. 19 mm)

Antiochos II has correctly never been seriously considered as possibly being depicted because he never ruled the kingdom. Although the diadem does not necessarily identify the depicted as a ruling king, its use in the Hellenistic empires is restricted to the actual ruler or his envisaged successor and possibly usurpers[48]. Regarding the lack of information on the person of Antiochos II and his dubious ambitions mentioned in the only preserved ancient literary account[49], the first two circumstances can therefore be ruled out. Furthermore, the possibility that the head depicts a usurper is highly unlikely since it was found within the residence of the Commagenian kings[50]. Above all, the radiate crown contradicts the identification of the head with Antiochos II. In the context of Hellenistic kingship (as well as with Roman emperors) this attribute is usually limited to depictions of rulers, both during their lifetime and after their death (and deification)[51].

For Antiochos I and Antiochos III we face one of the main problems when dealing with archaeological remains from Commagene in general: whereas most of the preserved depictions of a Commagenian ruler show Antiochos I (*figs. 9–10. 25*), there is no evidence for images of Antiochos III[52]. Although Levent Zoroğlu tends towards an identification of the head with An-

44 Dahmen 2010, 105 names the rendering of the hair in front of the diadem and »more ›realistic‹« appearances besides »classicised« ones.

45 Smith 1988a, 121; Dahmen 2010, 105; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Kropp 2013, 86.

46 Zoroğlu 2012, 140 conciliates the rather smooth transition from the forehead to the nose as shown in the portrait with depictions of Antiochos I.

47 Fleischer 2008, 328; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Kropp 2013, 84 f. (but note the hypothetical designation in the caption of Kropp 2013, 85 fig. 40 »Antiochos IV (?)«).

48 Cf. Ritter 1965, 128–169 and esp. Haake 2012 concerning the diadem as royal insignia in the Hellenistic period.

49 The sole account on Antiochos II is the brief remark in Cass. Dio 52,43,1 who states that he was executed in Rome in 29 B.C. on behalf of the senate because he murdered a legate send to Rome by his brother, king Mithradates II. It is therefore very reasonable to assume that he never ruled (Facella 2006, 299 n. 4; Fleischer 2008, 327–328). Cf. Sullivan 1977, 778 n. 189 who remarks that it is hypothetically possible to assume a joint rule of Mithradates II and Antiochos II or an open opposition of the later.

50 See below *Contextualizing the Object I*: *The Palace and the Monument's Immediate Setting*.

51 Cf. Bergmann 1998, 13 f.

52 Blömer 2012a, 96 f. emphasizes the general problem that the historical and archaeological evidence and therefore perception of Commagene is largely based on and dominated by the material preserved form the reign of Antiochos I.

tiochos I on the basis of the smooth transition from the forehead to the nose which also occurs in other images of the king[53], this vague criterion has rightly been rejected[54]. The methodological admissibility of this criterion in a decision in favour of either Antiochos I or Antiochos III is specifically problematic because there is no extant portrait of the latter that this physiognomic detail could be compared to. As the logical next step in the identification of the portrayed, it is therefore necessary to conscientiously consider the dating of the head, since the rule of Antiochos I who died in 36 B.C. and the accession of Antiochos III in 12 B.C. is separated by 24 years.

As Robert Fleischer has demonstrated, the hairstyle closely resembles early portraits of Augustus. The best comparison is the Augustus portrait of the Lucus Feroniae type – a type which Dietrich Boschung closely relates to the Alcudia type[55] – whose hairstyle the Samosata head shows in a reversed and with a slightly modified alignment of the strands[56] (*fig. 11*). The subdivision of the early Augustan portraits is, however, not entirely convincing and the differences observed by Boschung might as well be explained as variations of the main Octavian-type[57]. The *Urbild* of this early portrait-type of Augustus can be dated to 40 B.C. – after Octavian's military success in the Perusian War 41/40 B.C.[58] and the conse-

Fig. 9 Monumental head of Antiochos I at the west terrace of Nemrud Dağ

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Fig. 10 Obverse of a bronze coin depicting Antiochos I – not to scale (original dm. 24 mm)

Dahmen 2010, 104 f. highlights the hiatus in the royal coinage after Antiochos I up to the reign of Antiochos IV which also contributes to the picture.

53 Zoroğlu 2012, 140.

54 Fleischer 2008, 326.

55 The designations of the portrait types of Augustus are those used by Boschung 1993. Boschung lists three specimens of the Lucus Feroniae type (Boschung 1993, 23).

56 Fleischer 2008, 327 remarks that the head from Samosata shows the hairstyle of the Alcudia type »seitenverkehrt und zwar frei, aber doch erkennbar wiederholt«.

57 Smith 1996, 39 f.

58 Boschung 1993, 61–63.

cration of Caesar[59] – and was used until Augustus assumed absolute power. The reference to early Augustan portraiture and the date of the object of reference, the *Urbild* of the Octavian-type, evokes two interrelated questions which are crucial for our further understanding of the Samosata head: How long does it take for the early Augustan portrait-style to travel east and therefore to serve as a model for the Commagenian portrait? In fact, why is the portrait modelled on Augustan prototypes instead of other Roman potentates of the Late Republic? Both questions are especially concerned with the issue of whether or not Antiochos I could possibly have commissioned the portrait.

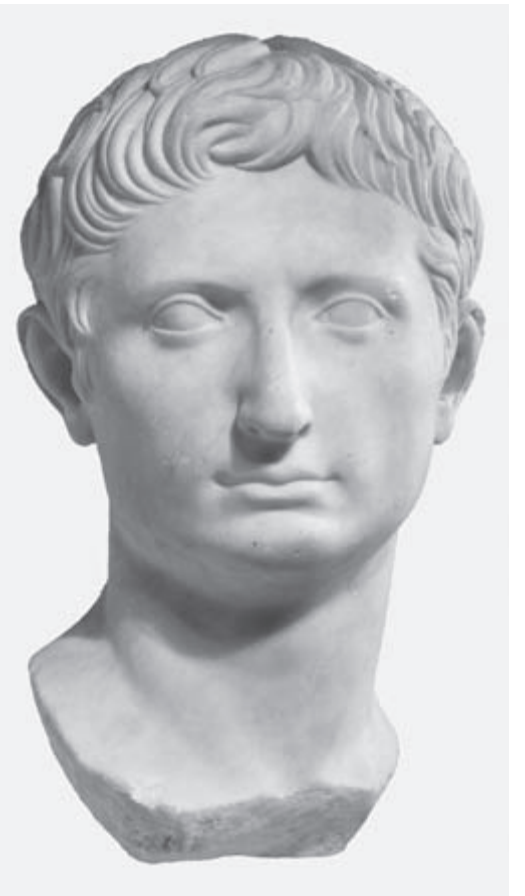

Fig. 11 Marble portrait of Augustus in the Octavian-type

The portrait-types of Roman emperors spread throughout the Empire soon after the official version had been commissioned[60]. This phenomenon is attested by portraits of emperors who ruled very briefly[61] as well as in coinage where provincial emissions almost immediately seize upon stylistic changes on coins emitted by the official mint in Rome[62]. In contrast to the theoretically fast emission of the portraits of Roman potentates, the archaeological record shows that there are hardly any Octavian portraits in the East predating his final victory in 30 B.C.[63]. This lack of evidence is due to the fact that the Eastern Mediterranean belonged to the territory and sphere of influence of Marc Antony[64]. It was also Marc Antony who Antiochos I struggled with during the later phase of his reign[65]. But despite the previous unsuccessful attempt to replace

[59] The final consecration of Caesar took place when Antony became the *flamen* (priest) of Caesar in 40 B.C. For this reason, Octavian also only assumed the title *Divi filius* at this time, which occurs on coins from 39 B.C. onwards (cf. Gesche 1968, 89–91). It seems very likely that the Octavian-type has been inaugurated on this occasion, too (cf. Boschung 1993, 60).

[60] Zanker 1983, 8 f.; Pfanner 1989, 178. On the modes of the spread of portrait types, see e. g. Kluwe 1985; von den Hoff 2005, 115 f.

[61] Pfanner 1989, 178.

[62] I am thankful to David Biedermann who drew my attention to this aspect and confirmed the rapid spread of stylistic alterations from Rome to the provincial coinage.

[63] Boschung 1993, 87 only mentions a bronze statue in Athens of Late-Augustan date (Athens, National Museum, Inv. X 23322) and a posthumous seated statue from Ephesos (Selçuk, Ephesus Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1957).

[64] Cf. Boschung 1993, 87.

[65] Cf. Facella 2006, 243–248.

Antiochos by a supporter and pretender to the throne named Alexandros[66], his son and successor, Mithradates II joined forces with Marc Antony in the battle of Actium like many other rulers of the Eastern Mediterranean[67]. It seems likely that Antiochos I already entered into some kind of alliance/arrangement with Antony after the siege of Samosata ended in the settlement whereby the Commagenian king paid 300 talents to the Romans[68]. Considering the lifetime-portraits of Antiochos I this inevitably leads to the conclusion that if he wanted to follow Roman models it would have been much more prudent to choose those potentates who were active and present in the East. Given the date of the head – after 40 B.C., due to the hairstyle – the strongman to adapt to necessarily would have had to have been Antony[69]. The hairstyle of Antony whose portrait is almost exclusively known from coinage[70] (*fig. 12*), however, significantly differs from the one shown by the Samosata head. The main characteristic of Antony's hairstyle is the short hair consisting of strands which are combed towards his right[71]. It does not distinctively show forked or converging strands (*Gabel-Zangen-Motiv*) – except for a central ›fork‹ which occurs on some coins[72]; the hair at the temples is basically made up by one larger, slightly curled strand and the short hair in the neck is combed towards the front. In all these details, the hairstyle of Antony differs significantly from the one of the Samosata head which inevitably disqualifies Antony as the model for the portrait. These observations lead to the conclusion that the head found in the royal palace of Samosata cannot be a portrait of Antiochos I commissioned in the last years of his reign.

Fig. 12 Obverse of an aureus depicting Marc Antony dating to 34 B.C. – not to scale (original dm 20 mm)

Without referring to the political circumstances and the lack of portraits of Octavian in the East, Fleischer identifies the portrait with Antiochos III (12 B.C.–A.D. 17). He rules out Antiochos I because he is depicted wearing the Armenian tiara exclusively after the defeat of the

66 Plut. Antony 34,2–4. Cass. Dio 49,22,2 reports that Antony killed Alexandros after he settled the fight with Antiochos as a condition for their peace.

67 Plut. Antony 61.

68 Plut. Antony 34,4; Cass. Dio 49,22,1. Oros. 6,18,23 uses the phrase that Antony made peace with Antiochos (»Antonius […] pacem cum Antiocho fecit«). Cf. Ios. bell. Iud. 1,16,7 (322) who says that Antiochos had to hand over Samosata to Antony.

69 After the defeat of the Armenian king Tigranes at the hands of the Romans, Antiochos I benefitted from Pompey's reorganisation of the region in 66/65 B.C., became his friend (App. Mithr. 106 [497]) and also supported him in the final battle of Pharsalos against Iulius Caesar (Caes. civ. 3,4,5; App. civ. 2,49 [202]). Afterwards he was able to keep the throne and become a supporter of the victorious Caesar who granted him the *toga praetexta* (Cic. ad. Q. fr. 2,11,2). After the murder of Caesar, the task of reorganizing the East was taken over by Antony within the second triumvirate (cf. Sullivan 1977, 763–770; Facella 2006, 225–250; Wagner 2012, 35 f.). Up to that point, Octavian had never played an active role in the Eastern Mediterranean.

70 Among the more than 20 sculpted portraits identified with Antony, none remained undisputed in scholarship (cf. Biedermann 2012, 425). For discussions of various portraits identified with Antony cf. Brendel 1962; Grimm 1970; Kyrieleis 1976; Holtzmann – Salviat 1981; Mlasowsky 2005; Biedermann 2012.

71 Mlasowsky 2005, 243. 247. Cf. Brendel 1962, 364 who already states that the hairstyle of portraits ascribed to Antony may vary and therefore are only »approximately similar«.

72 Mlasowsky 2005, 249.

Armenian king Tigranes by Pompey in 66/65 B.C.[73]. As will be argued below[74], this argument is well-founded for lifetime-portraits of the king but loses most of its plausibility when considering the possibility of a posthumous image[75]. Fleischer explains the fact that the hairstyle of the Samosata head follows the early portraits of Octavian instead of the Prima-Porta-type – that after 27 B.C. became by far the most widespread and influential portrait-type of Augustus[76] – with an »*Angleichungstabu*«, which kept the client kings from adopting the classicistic Augustan style in detail[77]. Such a restriction is, however, rather hypothetical. On the contrary, considering the broader picture it becomes evident that the client kings did in fact partly adopt the classicistic Augustan style[78] which Augustus likely implemented to »define an ›imperial‹ manner«[79]. Restricting the imitation of Augustus' portraits by prohibiting the replication of the stylistic details of his hairstyle hardly seems convincing in this light[80]. Apart from the hairstyle, no features allow a more precise dating. The turning of the head, the slightly open mouth and the smooth and motionless rendering of the skin generally adhere to standards of royal Hellenistic portraiture[81] but, as their continuation down to the Augustan period cannot entirely be excluded[82], these features cannot be adduced as criteria for the dating of the head. Nevertheless, the combination of the hairstyle and the physiognomy of the head indicate a Late-Hellenistic date rather than a production in the early Imperial period[83].

In favour of his identification of the Samosata head with Antiochos III and the adaption of an early Augustan hairstyle in a time when it had been supplanted by the Prima porta-type for several years, Fleischer furthermore refers to the portraits of Iuba II (25 B.C. – A.D. 23) and his son Ptolemy[84]. The early portrait of Iuba II, the creation of which is generally related to the occasion of his accession to the throne in 25 B.C.[85], and a subsequent second type[86] also adopt

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73 Fleischer 2008, 327.

74 See *Contextualizing the Object II*: *The Commagenian Royal Portrait-scape*.

75 However, for Antiochos III Fleischer considers the possibility of a posthumous portrait commissioned under Antiochos IV (Fleischer 2008, 329).

76 Boschung 1993, 63–65.

77 Fleischer 2008, 328 f.

78 Cf. Smith 1988a, 140; Kropp 2013, 76–78.

79 Smith 1996, 47. At least the Augustan style quickly »came to be seen as an ›imperial‹ style under his Julio-Claudian successors« (Smith 1988a, 139).

80 Cf. Kropp 2013, 85.

81 Cf. Smith 1988a, 48.

82 Cf. the portrait of Iuba II of Mauretania which was created after 25 B.C. and shows an adaption to early Augustan portraiture (Fittschen 1974, 169; Fleischer 2008, 321–322). Landwehr 2007, 94–99 dates the portrait-type in question even later, to A.D. 5–23, making it not the initial but a subsequent portrait-type of Iuba II.

83 The latter is especially characterized by classicistic forms (cf. Ridgway 2002, 186) and features related to the policy and ideology of Augustus (Hölscher 1987, 34–36; Zanker 1987, esp. 240 f.) which the Samosata head lacks in certain aspects. Especially the parted lips and the turning of the head point to a strong influence of the traditions of Hellenistic royal portraiture.

84 Fleischer 2008, 321–324. 327. 329. Fittschen 1974, 168–173 already emphasizes the relation of the Mauretanian portraits and their Roman models. A similar view with a stronger emphasis on Hellenistic traditions is held by Smith 1988a, 140 f. For the portraits of the Mauretanian kings and their chronology, see Fittschen 1974; Fittschen 1979; Landwehr 2007.

85 Fittschen 1974, 165; Landwehr 2007, 86.

86 Fittschen 1974, 165 f. relates the second type to A.D. 5 when Ptolemy was presented as Iuba's successor. Landwehr 2007, 85–99 identifies three portrait-types of Iuba II which she successively dates 25–5 B.C., 5 B.C.–A.D. 5 and A.D. 5–23.

the hairstyle of early Augustan portraits at a time when the predominant portrait type was the Prima Porta-type (*fig. 13*). Additionally, the portrait of Iuba's son and successor Ptolemy initially resembles those of Gaius Caesar and – after C. Caesar's death – those of Tiberius as the new designated Roman emperor[87]. The link between the Mauretanian kings and Augustus, however, is a much more direct one than in the case of Commagene. Iuba I, father of Iuba II, lost his kingdom and life after the defeat by the Romans in 46 B.C.[88] and his son was brought to Rome as a captive where he was raised among Octavian and other members of the Roman elite[89]. Iuba II was re-installed as Roman client king in 25 B.C. by Augustus to whom he obviously showed his loyalty by following Roman models in his and his son's portrait which differ remarkably from those of his ancestors[90]. Although Christa Landwehr has demonstrated that the modelling of the Mauretanian portraits on the Roman images is not as strong as Fittschen and subsequently Fleischer suggest[91], the appropriation of Roman stylistic features is undeniable and can only be convincingly explained by the close relationship and loyalty of the Mauretanian king to Augustus. Similar phenomena can be traced in the portraits of other client kings who were installed or whose kingship was confirmed by Augustus[92]. The Thracian king Rhoimetalces I

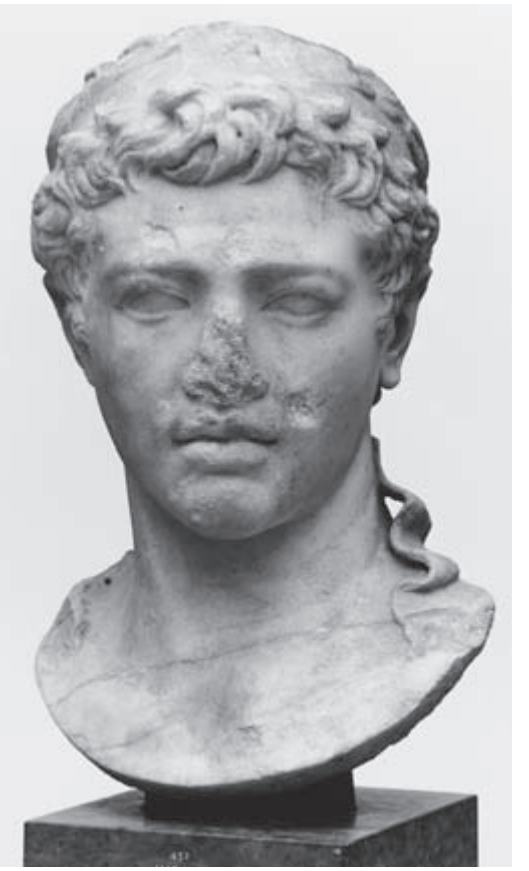

Fig. 13 Marble portrait of Iuba II

87 Fleischer 2008, 322.

88 Iuba I strongly supported Pompey in the civil wars and the alliance of Pompeians and Iuba was defeated near Thapsus resulting in the suicide of the Mauretanian king (R.-Alföldi 1979, 66 f.).

89 Cf. R.-Alföldi 1979, 66. 69.

90 Fittschen 1974, 166–173; Salzmann 2007, 40; Fleischer 2008, 322–324. The expression of loyalty to Augustus by Iuba II is even stronger in his coinage in which he actively displays Augustan symbols on the reverse of some emissions (Salzmann 1974, 174 f.; Dahmen 2010, 101). It has to be acknowledged, however, that he also – and maybe more prominently (cf. Dahmen 2010, 101 f.) – presents himself as an independent Hellenistic ruler on other emissions (Salzmann 1974, 175–177. 182).

91 Landwehr 2007. In her re-evaluation of Fittschen's typology (Fittschen 1974) Landwehr includes considerations on the actual lifetime of Ptolemy and especially the stages of the rulers' lives which – unlike their Roman models – are expressed in their portraits (Landwehr 2007, esp. 85–109). Although this results in an altered typology and chronology it does not affect the considerations brought forward in this paper as the inauguration of the portraiture by Iuba II remains unrevised.

92 In a similar way earlier kings who were dependent on the Romans like Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia (95–63 B.C.), Tarkondimotos I of Cilicia (64–31 B.C.), Lysanias of Chalkis (40–36 B.C.) and Theophanes of Mytilene (mid-

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Fig. 14 Bronze coin of Rhoimetalces I of Thrace depicting the king and his wife on the obverse and Augustus on the reverse – not to scale (original dm. 24 mm)

Fig. 15 Bronze coin of Artavasdes IV of Armenia depicting the king on the obverse and Augustus on the reverse – not to scale

(ca. 11 B.C.–A.D. 12)[93] (*fig. 14*) and the Armenian ruler Artavasdes IV (A.D. 4–6)[94] (*fig. 15*) depict themselves together with Augustus on their coins; the portraits of the client kings and the Roman emperor do not differ remarkably in style[95]. Archelaos of Cilicia (36 B.C.–A.D. 17), after initially supporting Marc Antony until his defeat in the battle of Actium, adopted the classicistic Augustan style in his coinage starting in 17 B.C.[96] (*fig. 16*) and did not alter it until his death[97]. Although securely identified portraits of these kings are only preserved

1st century B.C.) used a more veristic appearance in order to express their loyalty and closeness to the Roman Republic (cf. Smith 1988b; Kropp 2013, 56). This verism continues in the case of the Ituraeans, where Zenodoros of Chalkis (ca. 30–20 B.C.) presents himself on coins in a veristic manner comparable to the one chosen by Lysanias (Kropp 2013, 78–80).

93 RPC 1, 314 no. 1708–1720; Salzmann 2007, 40 f.

94 Bedoukian 1978, 76 no. 163; RPC 1, 571 no. 3843 (in this case it is uncertain whether the coin shall be attributed to Artavasdes III or IV); Salzmann 2007, 41.

95 Apart from the legend the rulers are identified by a diadem whereas Augustus is presented wearing a laurel wreath (cf. RPC 1, 314 no. 1708–1710 [Rhoimetalces I]) or with a bare head (RPC I, 314 no. 1711–1720 [Rhoimetalces I]).

96 His emissions bear the years of his reign starting with year 20. According to RPC 1, 551 no. 3601 this dates to 17/16 B.C. whereas Salzmann 2007, 41 gives 18/17 B.C. as the initial date for the minting of drachmas bearing the portrait of Archelaos.

97 Simonetta 1977, 46 no. 1–6; RPC 1, 551–552 no. 3601–3608; Salzmann 2007, 41.

on their coins, they all seem to relate to the later rather than the early Augustan style[98]. The same holds true for portraits of members of the Herodian dynasty which was one of the strongest supporters and allies of the Romans in the Eastern Mediterranean. Although due to his adherence to the Jewish prohibition of anthropomorphic motifs, no image of Herod himself (40–4 B.C.), who was a contemporary of the Commagenian kings from Antiochos I to Antiochos III, is preserved[99], the portraits of his successors Philip, Agrippa I and II and Herod of Chalkis are known through their coinage. Although showing a certain degree of veristic features, they also appropriated the Julio-Claudian classicism and are likewise not modelled on the early Augustan style[100]. In this respect they differ remarkably from the Mauretanian portraits as well as the Samosata head.

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Fig. 16 Obverse of a drachm depicting Archelaos of Cilicia dating to 17/16 B.C. – not to scale (original dm. 20 mm)

Important conclusions for the classification of the portrait from Samosata can be drawn from the elaborated-upon stylistic and historical considerations deriving from the object itself and the brief overview of appropriations of Augustan models in the portraits of Roman client kings: the ruled out *Angleichungstabu* for Late-Hellenistic kings to the portrait of Augustus following the Prima Porta-type and the appropriation of the early Augustan/Octavian hairstyle in the Commagenian portrait point to an early Augustan date rather than to a later one. Although the quoted case of the Mauretanian portrait of Iuba II, which also draws on an early Augustan model and was inaugurated in 25 B.C., prove the appropriation of earlier styles in the time of the predominance of the Prima Porta-type, it must be taken into account that the political situation in Mauretania was different from contemporary Commagene. Moreover, the appropriation of the early Augustan model in the portrait of Iuba II started only two years after the Octavian style portraits had been superseded by those of the Prima Porta-type. Although it proves the adoption of stylistic features of outdated portrait-types, this specific and consciously chosen recourse is chronologically not too remote from the predominance of the Octavian-portraits it relates to[101]. The mentioned examples of other client kings adopting stylistic features from Augustan models in their portraiture in subsequent years all relate to the classicistic Augustan style. Like the Commagenian kings, these rulers formerly supported Marc Antony and, unlike Iuba II, decided to express their loyalty to Augustus, who only became the preeminent political figure in the East after the defeat of Marc Antony, by adopting the latest, i. e. classicistic Augustan style. If Antiochos III – who only became king in 12 B.C. – would have aimed to express his loyalty to Rome through his portraiture, there is no reason not to adapt his appearance to the

98 This interpretation is strengthened by the Augustan portrait itself as it is shown on the coins of Rhoimetalces I and Artavasdes IV as well as by the long-lasting ›ageless‹ portrait of Archelaos (cf. Salzmann 2007, 41).

99 Although several honorary statues of Herod from different places in Syria, Asia Minor and Greece are known through inscriptions, none of them have been preserved (cf. Weber 2008, 262–267; Kropp 2013, 73 f.; Krumeich – Lichtenberger 2014). Also, the identification of some portraits in the round as Herod is debated and far from certain (cf. Krumeich – Lichtenberger 2014, 198 f.).

100 Kropp 2013, 74–78.

101 Similar stylistic features in later portrait-types of Iuba II as well as in those of his son Ptolemy are much more likely to directly refer to the initial portrait of Iuba II as the visual expression of dynastic continuity than to the Ocatvian-type itself.

Augustan style contemporary to his times just as the other Eastern client kings did in the same period. Likewise, the phenomenon of adopting elements of the outdated Octavian-type indicates that the commissioning of the Samosata head might tentatively be dated to around the same time as the inauguration of the Mauretanian image of Iuba II. In consequence, a lifetime-portrait of Antiochos I can be ruled out, but the stylistic execution and appearance of the head point towards the earlier reign of Augustus, which is supported by the adherence to the traditions of royal Hellenistic portraiture. This makes the identification of the portrayed with Antiochos III even more problematic. These considerations inevitably lead back to Antiochos I as the one most likely to be portrayed which then leads to an identification as a posthumous depiction of the ruler[102]. This hypothesis is strengthened by the use of an inscription to identify the portrayed which was most probably related to its setting in an ancestral gallery[103]. This need to identify the depicted ruler would in this case, on the one hand, be due to fact that no comparable images of this specific Antiochos were available – which would then point to Antiochos I who is usually depicted with the Armenian tiara – and, on the other hand, might explain why no further additions to the name were made, which might have been necessary if more Antiochoi had been part of the same setting. Consequently, the portrait was most likely commissioned by Mithradates II, the son and successor of Antiochos I. His reign from 36 to 20 B.C. fits the date of the head proposed here based on its stylistic features and execution and offers a plausible hypothesis to explain the inscription. In this context, the radiate crown is also most fitting for a depiction of Antiochos I who is presented as the most prominent member of the Commagenian dynasty[104] – a picture he perpetuated himself through the monuments of his ruler cult. The radiate crown is, furthermore, well-suited to visually express the epithet Ἐπιφανής[105], which in the case of the Commagenian rulers is used by Antiochos I and Antiochos IV[106]. Although the use of the radiate crown is not restricted to rulers bearing this epithet[107], the programmatic appropriation of the attribute supports the identification of the portrayed with Antiochos I rather than Antiochos III. However, the divergence of stylistic features and the difference from other Commagenian royal portraits still need further consideration in order to understand the function of this superficially deviating and innovative object in the Commagenian kingdom.

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102 A posthumous portrait is also suggested by Fleischer 2008, 329, but for Antiochos III, in the time of Antiochos IV. But this hypothesis does not fit the date of the head as it is argued here.

103 Fleischer 2008, 326. Zoroğlu 2012, 140 assumes a secondary use of the head as part of such a gallery. For the reconstruction of the portrait as part of an ancestral gallery within the palace of Samosata, see below *Contextualizing the Object I*: *The Palace and the Monument's Immediate Setting*.

104 For the radiate crown as solar symbol of the divinity of the ruler in close relation to solar gods in the Hellenistic period cf. Bergmann 1998, esp. 54–57. It is remarkable that no lifetime-depiction of Antiochos I shows him with a radiate crown, which also points to a posthumous portrait.

105 cf. Kyrieleis 1986, 67; Smith 1988a, 42; Fleischer 1991, 48; Bergmann 1998, 66; Mittag 2006, 136. For the general use of the attribute to symbolize epiphany in a religious context cf. Bergmann 1998, 42–46.

106 cf. Facella 2006, 228 (Antiochos I); 323 (Antiochos IV).

107 Smith 1988a, 42; Svenson 1995, 19. In this regard, it is notable that the first Seleucid ruler who is depicted wearing the radiate crown is Antiochos IV, who also programmatically combines the attribute with the adoption of the epithet Ἐπιφανής (Fleischer 1991, 47; Bergmann 1998, 61; Mittag 2006, 135–137). Given the links between the Commagenian and the Seleucid kingdoms, a reference to the known Seleucid model might have played a role in choosing this particular attribute. The interconnection of the Seleucid and the earlier Ptolemaic use of the radiate crown (cf. Mørkholm 1963, 20. 68; Fleischer 1991, 47; Bergmann 1998, 58–66) is of minor importance in the Commagenian case.

Fig. 17
View of the excavated remains of the palace at Samosata from the South with the location of the tripartite suite (at a later state of excavation) in the centre

Contextualizing the Object I: the Palace and the Monument's Immediate Setting

As has been argued above, for a thorough understanding of the head, its meaning and impact, it is inevitably necessary to consider the context of the object. This is especially the case when aspects of perception are taken into consideration, since the context at least partly enables us to infer information on the possible recipients. The local context of the portrait can be characterized as being twofold. On the one hand, the actual find-context as an indicator for the original location and setting of the head's erection, i. e. the *spatial context*, is of crucial importance. Additionally, the head can only be evaluated through its integration into the royal portrait-scape of Commagene which will shed light on the traditions and innovations the object exposes[108]. This second aspect relates to the local experiences and visual habits; it might therefore best be called *imagined context*.

Regarding the spatial context, the following information can be given: The head was found in 1984 in the southern room of what has been reconstructed as a tripartite, oblong suite measuring 13 m by 4,50 m in total[109] (*fig. 17*). The ensemble of rooms belongs to a luxurious residence of which 1700 m² have been excavated[110]. The uncovered remains (*fig. 18*) show a large rectangular room of 14,65 m by 20,50 m, probably a courtyard[111], covered with a mosaic around which several units of rooms are arranged. The mentioned tripartite suite directly adjoins the courtyard at its West and two additional rooms decorated with mosaics are connected to it in

108 See below, *Contextualizing the Object II*: *The Commagenian Royal Portrait-scape*.

109 Zoroğlu 2012, 140. The original stone-plan does not reveal the location of the doors but the structure of the walls' remains indicates that the three rooms in question were connected by doors in the eastern part whereas two additional rooms further north were linked to this unit by doors in their south-western corners (Bingöl 2013, 24).

110 For a detailed description of the remains, its measurements and decorative elements, see Bingöl 2013, esp. 19–82. More summarizing accounts are given by Özgüç 2009, 41–43; Zoroğlu 2012, 139–144; Kropp 2013, 107–109.

111 Zoroğlu 2012, 139.

Fig. 18
View of the room in which the head was found from the West showing the base and the ›cult-installation‹

the same alignment to the North[112]. South of the courtyard a large square room of 11 m by 11 m covered with a high-quality mosaic floor of different decorative bands around a central tondo with the depiction of a satyr or theatre mask, was unearthed[113]. South of this large room, a few walls of adjoining rooms have been observed and another row of three rooms partly decorated with mosaics lay opposite to the West of the square room separated by a small corridor. Further rooms which were not excavated completely also adjoined the courtyard to the North, whereas no excavations were carried out east of the courtyard. At the western edge of the building a long corridor with a canal, which seems to have enclosed the whole building, was uncovered. Orhan Bingöl tentatively reconstructed the dimensions of the building by mirroring the preserved part to at least twice the excavated area[114]. The excavators date the first phase of palace, which was recorded in the archaeological remains, to the time of Mithradates I[115]. The weak main argument for this dating is the discovery of a coin of this king[116], but the remains in the northern part of

112 The separation of these rooms from the tripartite suite is due to the oblong southern room of the northern ensemble which opens to the tripartite suite as well as to the courtyard and is therefore interpreted as a small corridor (Zoroğlu 2012, 140). The mosaic of this corridor shows a checkerboard-pattern of black and white tesserae.

113 The partly preserved head is identified either as a satyr (Özgüç 2009, 42; Zoroğlu 2012, 143) or a theatre mask of the *pornoboskos* (Bingöl 1997, 107; Bingöl 2013, 76 f.; Kropp 2013, 109).

114 Cf. Bingöl 2013, 83–91. Already, Zoroğlu 2012, 139 assumes that the building covered an area at least twice as big as the excavated part. Kropp 2013, 107 f. estimates the original dimensions at 4000 m². It is noteworthy that during the excavations a fragment of a mosaic was found in situ in the same layer but about 70 m east of the excavated part of the palace (Özgüç 1985, 222; Özgüç 2009, 41). Unfortunately, no photographs of this mosaic could be found in the excavation's archive at Ankara University, but according to an unpublished plan, it exhibited the same alignment and similar patterns as the mosaics found in the palace. It therefore seems very likely, that the whole residence – which does not necessarily had to have consisted of one single building – expanded at least over the whole east-west extent of the Höyük.

115 Özgüç 1985, 225; Özgüç 1986, 301 f.; Özgüç 2009, 43; Zoroğlu 2012, 144; Bingöl 2013, 111 f.

116 Cf. Özgüç 1985, 225; Zoroğlu 2012, 144; Bingöl 2013, 111 f.

the excavated area probably belong to an earlier phase[117]. Also, some of the lavish mosaics of the palace most likely date to the early 1st century B.C. and therefore to the time of Mithradates I rather than Antiochos I. These bear close similarities to those excavated in the hierothesion of Arsameia on the Nymphaios which can be dated to that time[118]. The southern and western part of the palace and especially some of the wall-paintings which resemble those found in the Herodian palaces in Palestine[119] can be ascribed to Antiochos I[120], although later additions and alterations are also possible. Thus, for now we can distinguish two phases of the palace dating to the time of Mithradates I and Antiochos I, respectively[121]. For the head as part of the mobile interior decor of the residence this date gives the approximate *terminus post quem*.

The room in which the portrait was unearthed is 3,60 m wide and two stone structures were observed at its southern edge (*fig. 19*). The bigger structure is located in the south-eastern corner of the room, measures 1,50 m by 1,50 m at a height of 30 cm and consisted of several limestone blocks. A little to the west of this structure a single limestone block of 0,77 m by 0,70 m with a small (0,48 m wide) stone joining it to the west was uncovered. The adjoining stone showed two steps descending towards its centre and possibly a drain at the bottom[122]. The second structure is interpreted as having served ritual purposes by the excavators[123], whereas the first one is interpreted as a base[124]. The portrait was discovered between these two structures. It was found together with another head which depicts a bearded male with long hair who has been identified as Zeus[125] (*figs. 20–21*) and can roughly be dated to the Late Hellenistic/early Roman period[126]. No other fragments of statues belonging to these heads were discovered and it must remain uncertain whether they originally stood in this room or are even part of the same ensemble[127]. Nevertheless, the find spot substantiates the localization of the original context of the portrait within the palace.

The inscription beneath the head's left eye has correctly been seen as a prime indicator for the original statuary context. The portrait must have been part of an ancestral gallery which explains

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117 Zoroğlu 2012, 144 suggests a peristyle-house as the central element of this first phase.

118 Dörner – Goell 1963, 191–196; Salzmann 1982, 68; Bingöl 1997, 106–110; Zoroğlu 2012, 143 f.; Bingöl 2013, 105–107; Kropp 2013, 109; Oenbrink 2017, 120. Only Hoepfner dates the whole palace to the time of Antiochos I on the basis of its mosaics and the stucco decoration (Hoepfner 1996, 43 note 149) – obviously after personal communication with Nimet Özgüç.

119 Cf. Bingöl 2013, esp. 98–104.

120 Zoroğlu 2012, 144.

121 Cf. Zoroğlu 2012, 144; Kropp 2013, 109. A more thorough dating of the palace and clarity about its different phases will be part of the results of the PhD-thesis carried out by Lennart Kruijer at Leiden University.

122 A drain or hole is mentioned by Özgüç 1985, 225 and Zoroğlu 2012, 140 but not indicated on a drawing in one of the excavation's diaries found in the excavation's archive in Ankara.

123 Özgüç 2009, 44 calls the room »kült odası« (cult-room) and in the mentioned excavation's diary (cf. n. 38. 122) the structure is named »sunak« (altar). In a preliminary report the structure is interpreted to have served blood sacrifices (Özgüç 1985, 225).

124 Zoroğlu 2012, 140.

125 Özgüç 1985, 225; Özgüç 2009, 44; Blömer 2012a, 101; Zoroğlu 2012, 138.

126 Zoroğlu 2012, 139. Blömer 2012a, 101 dates the head to the 1st c. A.D. but it might as well date a bit earlier, to the later 1st c. B.C.

127 If the heads belong to the same ensemble, it most likely was an ancestral gallery which included statues of one or more gods (see below). Zoroğlu 2012, 139 suggests that the head might have belonged to a Roman sanctuary which he reconstructs from walls in *opus reticulatum* found in the layer above the palace but which cannot be verified otherwise.

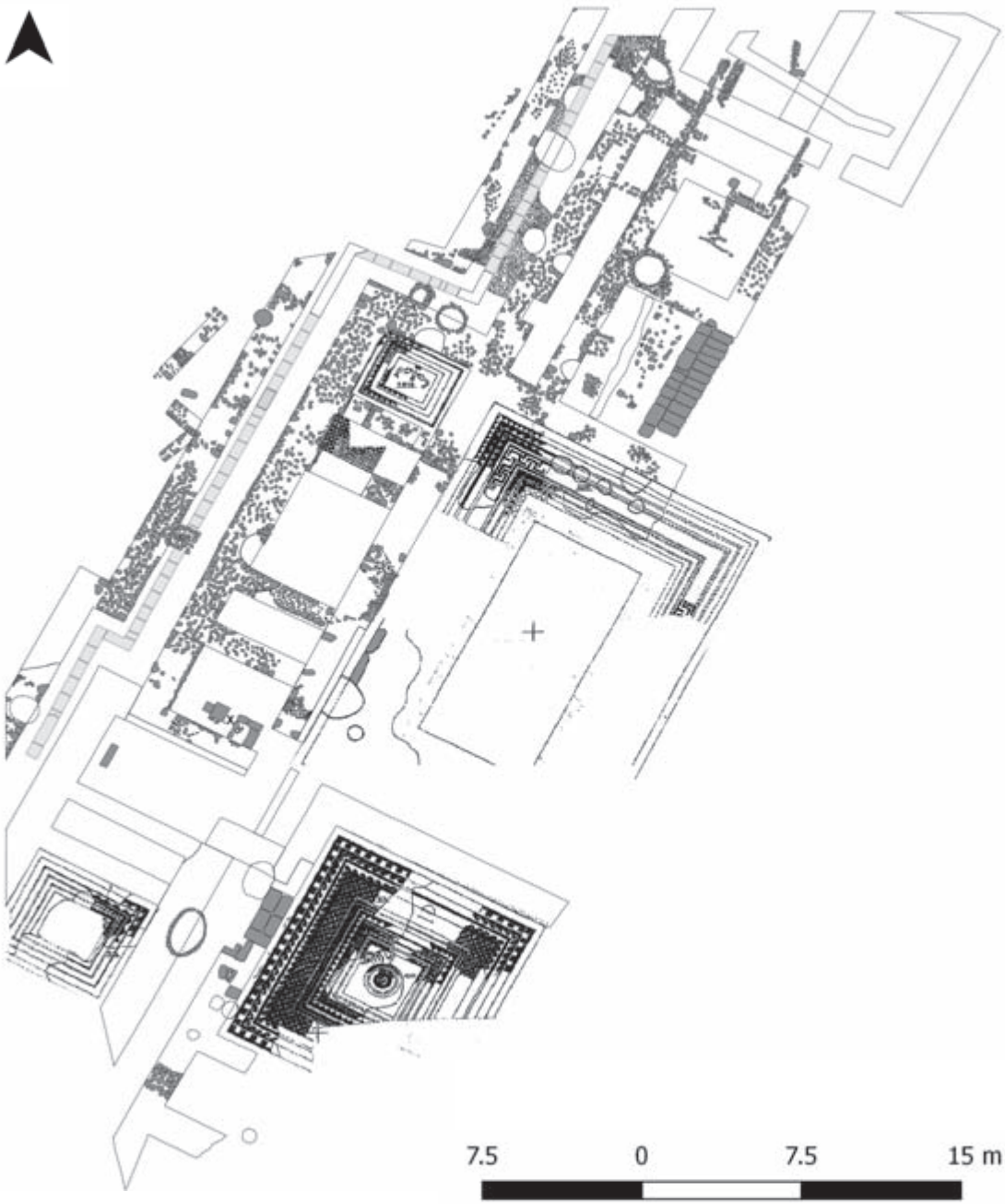

Fig. 19 Plan of the excavated remains of the palace at Samosata with the X indicating the head's find spot

Fig. 20 Find situation of the two heads in the palace of Samosata

the need to identify the portrayed in order to guarantee the correct position within the ensemble[128]. In its final setting, the inconspicuous letters would have hardly been visible or even covered by paint[129]. The name of the portrayed is likely to have been either presented in an inscription, most likely at the statue's base, or painted on the wall behind or next to it. The attribution of the statue to a group of more than one statue is further strengthened by the slightly leftwards turned head and the fact that the holes for the rays of the radiate crown only extend over about two-thirds of the head. This can only convincingly be explained by an emphasis on the head's profile[130]. The main side of the portrait, thus, was its right, which is also indicated by the execution of the pupil on this side, which in contrast to the one on the left, is carved. The turning of the head to its left and the emphasis of the right, in turn, call for at least one counterpart to the statue. Given

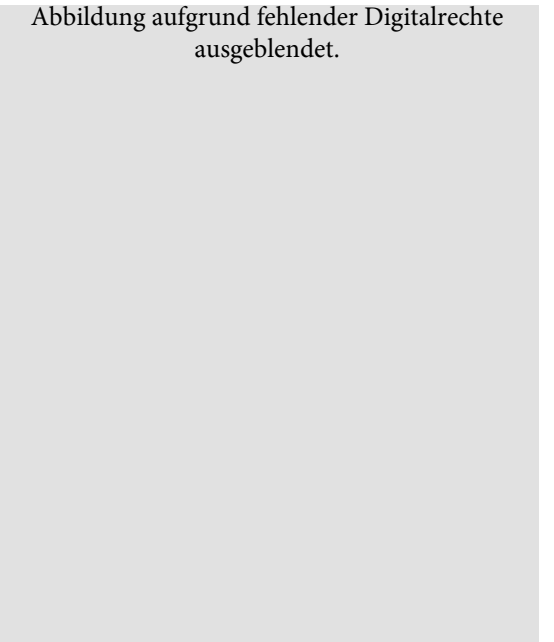

Fig. 21 Limestone head of a bearded male, probably Zeus, now in the Museum of Adıyaman

128 Fleischer 2008, 326; Zoroğlu 2012, 140 f.

129 Fleischer 2008, 326; Zoroğlu 2012, 141. The former covering by paint might be deduced from traces of red colour that are mentioned by the excavators (Özgüç 1985, 225; Özgüç 2009, 44) although the exact position of the traces is not stated.

130 Fleischer 2008, 326. Zoroğlu 2012, 140 notes the emphasis of the profile through the radiate crown but ascribes it to a secondary use of the head/statue.

Fig. 22 Back of a female limestone head from the palace of Samosata, now in the Museum of Adıyaman

Fig. 23 Right profile of a female limestone head from the palace of Samosata

the spatial context within the palace, the royal diadem of the portrayed, and the inscription, the most plausible interpretation of an ensemble of two or more statues is an ancestral gallery. Of the few other fragments of sculpture which were found in the palace, it is tempting to add another piece to such a group ensemble: the unpublished fragment of a woman's head which has been cut off at the front and therefore unfortunately shows no traces of the face (*figs. 22–23*). Its life-sized proportions[131] would fit those of the ruler's head and the long, wavy hair forms a bun at the back. The hair is executed in a rather schematic way and at the upper left part it is left unfinished without differentiated strains[132]. It was found in the same layer as the male head, a little northeast of the latter, either in the small corridor north of tripartite suite or in the court-

[131] The head is 28 cm high, 17 cm wide and, of its original depth, 9,4 cm are preserved. It bears the excavation's inventory no. St. 84-381.

[132] One might wonder whether the unfinished part also indicates the emphasis of the right profile of the depicted, which again would indicate a group context. But given the poor state of preservation this hypothesis cannot be verified.

yard east of it[133], and may well be contemporary. The arrangement of the head is similar to that of the portrait of a royal woman found at Arsameia on the Nymphaios[134] (*fig. 26*). But it must be noted that the quality of the work in the case of the Samosata fragment is not comparable to either the male portrait from the palace or the queen's head from Arsameia; also, no traces of a diadem are visible which makes it rather unlikely that the pieces actually belonged to the ancestral gallery in question.

In contrast to the interpretation of the ensemble as an ancestral gallery, the head of Zeus and the sacrificial installation in whose immediate vicinity the head was found, at first glance, provide the possibility of identifying the context as a cult room or shrine in which the king was worshipped together with one or more gods as σύνναος θεός[135]. Sacred installations are known from the palaces in Aigai/Vergina and Pergamum where rooms dedicated to the worship of Heracles Patroos[136] and Dionysus[137], respectively, are integrated into the royal residence. But most notably, these places of worship within the palaces proper are exclusively dedicated to gods and show no traces of the integration of rulers. Even in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires

133 The excavation's documentation only gives the grid-square K16 as the find spot and refers to a mosaic which could be in either of the two rooms.

134 See below.

135 I am thankful to the anonymous reviewer of the first draft of this paper who drew my attention to this aspect. The term σύνναος θεός basically means »the putting of the cult image […] of a ruler in an existing temple or its inclusion in a new conjoint temple erected *ad hoc*« (Nock 1930, 3) and often evokes the necessity of a built temple (cf. Préaux 1978, 251–253; Schmidt-Dounas 1993/1994, 75 f.; Steuernagel 2010, 241). However, the incorporation of Antiochos' I tomb-sanctuary on Nemrud Dağ in Nock's fundamental study of the phenomenon (Nock 1930, 25–27) already indicates that other places of joint worship of gods and rulers such as shrines, altars and sacred areas without built architecture are also to be included in the notion of σύνναοι θεόι. For Commagene, inscriptions attest that the ruler-cult fostered by Antiochos I was sometimes integrated into precincts dedicated to other gods. As such, the inscription of the stele from Sofraz Köy mentions Apollo Epikoos and Artemis Diktynna as being venerated in the same place as the ruler (Wagner – Petzl 1976, 210; Wagner 1983, 192) and the cult inscription at Gerger Kalesi/Arsameia on the Euphrates states that the dynastic cult was integrated into the sanctuary of a goddess named Argandene (Dörner – Naumann 1939, 23; Waldmann 1973, 12; Schwertheim 1991, 29; Oenbrink 2017, 8), most likely a local goddess related to Kubaba (cf. Waldmann 1973, 12). Whereas the temenos to which the Sofraz Köy stele belonged was dedicated to the gods by Antiochos I as stated in the inscription (cf. Wagner – Petzl 1976, 215. This view is contradicted by Schwertheim 1991, 35 who assumes the pre-existence of the cult of Apollo and Artemis without further explanation) in Gerger Kalesi, the integration into a pre-existing sanctuary seems likely. This is also most probable at the sanctuary of Iupiter Dolichenus where the fragment of a stele for the Antiochan ruler-cult indicates the integration of the later into the pre-existing sanctuary (Wagner 1982, 136. 161 f.; Wagner 1983, 191; Schwertheim 1991, 35 f.; Waldmann 1991, 67; Winter 2011, 6; Blömer 2012b, 78; Oenbrink 2017, 151. For a more cautious assessment cf. Schütte-Maischatz 2003, 112). However, due to the lack of data, no further information can be obtained on possible differences in the cult-practice and veneration of the rulers in pre-existing or newly founded sacred places.

136 In the round ›tholos-room‹ at the palace of Aigai/Vergina, a dedicatory inscription to Heracles Patroos, the mythical ancestor of the Argeads, has been found which indicates the functioning of the room as a shrine (cf. Andronikos 1984, 42; Nielsen 1999, 82; Hoepfner 1996, 15; Kottaridi 2011, 326). To the contrary, Miller 1972 and Heermann 1986, 252 f. interpret the room as having been used for symposia, but in the light of the scarcity of round symposion rooms in combination with the dedicatory inscription – which Heermann 1986, 253 relates to libation practices at the symposion – this hardly seems convincing. Furthermore, the identification of the apsidal rooms adjoining peristyle I of the palace at Pella as a sanctuary or rooms dedicated to the ruler-cult (Hoepfner 1996, 29; Pfrommer 2004, 165) must remain hypothetical (cf. Nielsen 1999, 91 f.).

137 In Pergamum, a lavishly decorated room in the north-eastern corner of ›palace V‹ is interpreted as a cult-room for Dionysus. The room contained a plinth which most probably supported an altar or statue, and in light of the figurative mosaic showing Dionysian masks this interpretation is likely (cf. Kawerau – Wiegand 1930, 31 f. 61–63; Ohlemutz 1940, 94–96; Hoepfner 1996, 25; Radt 2011, 69 f.; Zimmer 2011, 146 f.; Zimmer 2012, 258).

where various cases attest to the worship of rulers imposed by the royal dynasty itself[138], which in Ptolemaic Egypt included the joint worship with local gods[139], the places of worship are not directly integrated into their palaces[140]. In the attested cases, the worship of a Hellenistic king as σύνναος θεός is always an honour which is bestowed upon the ruler by a polis or private initiative[141] which explains the lack of evidence for this phenomenon within the royal palaces. From Ptolemaic Egypt there is, however, an example bearing witness to the convergence of royal statuary and a sacred place within a royal residential context: a room on the upper floor of the Thalamegos, the Nile-boat of Ptolemy IV described by Athenaeus, was dedicated to Dionysus and in an artificial grotto attached to the room, statues of members of the royal dynasty were displayed[142]. The term συγγενεῖς, which is used for the depicted members of the royal family, possibly also included the divine ancestors of the Ptolemies[143]. However, the same term also indicates that the ensemble was meant to emphasise the Ptolemaic genealogy and therefore is to be explained as an expanded ancestral gallery including divine ancestry. The Commagenian ensemble might be interpreted in the same way if the two heads found together belonged to the same original setting. Although the exact mythological genealogy of the Orontid dynasty is unknown, the superior position of Zeus – among Apollo and Heracles – is attested at Nemrud

138 The Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults were often initiated by the royal dynasty (cf. Habicht 1970, p. VII; Schmidt-Dounas 1993/1994, 75). Cults of the living Seleucid kings were introduced by Antiochos III. (cf. Bikerman 1938, 247–250; Lanciers 1993, 218; Chaniotis 2003, 437). The worship of Seleucid rulers as σύνναοι θεόι in Babylonian and Elamite temples imposed by the kings which has been assumed by Rostovtzeff 1941, 437 is, however, not attested in the literary or archaeological record (Sherwin-White 1983, 158; Sherwin-White 1984; Lanciers 1993, 218f.). For the Ptolemies, see note 139.

139 The Ptolemies ordered the erection of royal statues in all temples of Egypt as it is attested in the decrees of Rosetta, Raphia and others (cf. Otto 1957, 194 with n. 7; Thissen 1966, 69; Fishwick 1989, 342–344; Lanciers 1993, 214f.; Pfeiffer 2008, 79–81). Although Fishwick 1989, 344 argues against the identification of these statues as ἀγάλματα which, in contrast to the εἰκόνες mentioned in the Raphia-decree, would denote a true cult-statue, the mentioned statues were meant to receive sacrifices and other cult practices which were connected to the god worshipped at the place (Pfeiffer 2008, 81). The intention of the erection of such statues, however, is similar to those of a σύνναος θεός (cf. Lanciers1993, 214). In this context, the ξόανον of Ptolemy V and the ναός mentioned in the Rosetta-decree (cf. Fishwick 1989, 343) more explicitly point to the σύνναος θεός-idea and contradict the hypothesis that Ptolemaic rulers only became σύνναοι θεόι after their death (cf. Chaniotis 2003, 439). For a detailed study of the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies, see Fraser 1972, 213–246.

140 In Alexandria the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies must have been integrated in the institution of the ›Sema‹, the burial place of Alexander the Great, which was part of the royal precinct but was a single architectonic unit (cf. Adriani 1966, 242–245). Suet. Aug. 18, 1 mentions the name *Ptolemaeum* which refers to the burial place of the Ptolemies within the ›Sema‹. The whole precinct is called περίβολος (Strab. 17, 1, 8) and τέμενος (Diod. 18, 28, 4) in the literary accounts, attesting to its sacred character. A second place for the veneration of Alexander and the Ptolemies is assumed to have existed in the former burial place of Alexander from where his body is supposed to have been transferred to the ›Sema‹ established by Ptolemy IV (cf. Thiersch 1910, 57–60; Breccia 1932, 41; Bernhard 1956, 137) although the ›Sema‹ might also have been erected at the place of the former burial (Adriani 1966, 243). Moreover, a temple of Isis was part of the royal quarter of Alexandria which – through the close connection and even identification of Isis with the Ptolemaic queens (cf. Thompson 1973, 57–59; Plantzos 2011, 389) – might also have served the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies. For the discussion of the various institutions which were part of the royal quarter in Alexandria, see the author's PhD-thesis *Die Basileia von Alexandria* which is currently being prepared for publication.

141 Schmidt-Dounas 1993/1994.

142 Athen. 5,205e–f.

143 Already Studniczka 1914, 92 and Caspari 1916, 60f. assume that a statue of Dionysus was part of the ensemble. Pfrommer 1999, 112f. suggests Dionysus, Heracles and Zeus amidst the Ptolemies and Alexander the Great.

Dağ[144] and his presence in such a genealogic monument would be in line with the dynasty's ideology. Even the sacrificial installations do not contradict this hypothesis since they have parallels in the Commagenian ancestral galleries at Nemrud Dağ and Arsameia on the Nymphaios where altars were associated with the reliefs and statues, respectively[145]. The Samosata head therefore is best explained as part of an ancestral gallery in the palace of the Commagenian kings. The inscription to identify the portrayed supports the presence of further statues besides Zeus, who is easily distinguishable in his appearance from the ruler, and the diadem in this regard indicates that these statues likewise depicted rulers. The gallery might have included parts of the divine ancestry and installations for ritual practices but the overall setting in the royal residence more firmly emphasises the genealogic aspect instead of the religious one, which is more prominent in the hierothesia.

The concept of presenting the royal lineage in order to strengthen one's position and legitimize the ruler enjoyed great popularity in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Most notably these are known from Ptolemaic Egypt[146] but there are also dynastic monuments of this kind for the Attalids in Pergamum[147] and on Delos[148] and probably for the Antigonids in Macedonian Pella[149]. The programme of chryselephantine statues of Alexander together with his parents and grandparents exhibited in the Philippeion in Olympia also belong to these monuments of dynastic propaganda[150]. Above all, the ancestral galleries of Antiochos I on display at his tomb-sanctuary on Nemrud Dağ (*fig. 24*) provide us with one of the best preserved and most extensive dynastic monuments of this kind from the Hellenistic period[151]. The ancestral gallery is part of the ideologically-charged programme Antiochos I realized at his burial site. East and west of the tumulus, which towers over an approximately 2100 m high peak of the Taurus-mountains, two almost identical statuary programmes were set up whose installation differs due to the terrain[152]. Beside five monumental statues depicting Antiochos I, the personification of Commagene and the syncretistic deities

144 The position of Zeus as father of the gods is furthermore highlighted by the larger dimensions of the dexiosis-relief of the god with Antiochos I and the fact that he is sitting on a throne in the same depiction. The decoration of his headdress also resembles the one of the Achaemenid ancestors of Antiochos I which further emphasises his superior status (Jacobs 2012a, 79f.). Apart from this, the significance of the Zeus-cult in Hellenistic Commagene remains uncertain due to the lack of data, but there are several hints towards local gods being venerated as Zeus in the Roman period (cf. Blömer 2012a), which sheds light on the significance of the worship of a father-god in Commagene.

145 On Nemrud Dağ, block-shaped altars stood before each stele (Sanders 1996, 110. 124; Messerschmidt 2012, 89; Brijder 2014, 101) and in Arsameia two altars were found close to the heads which might have been associated with the statues (Hoepfner 1983, 24; Hoepfner 2012, 123).

146 Athen. 5,205e–f describes a Ptolemaic ancestral gallery in the palatial context of the Nile-boat of Ptolemy IV which included also the divine ancestors of the dynasty. Remains of other Ptolemaic ancestral galleries are known from the Serapeion in Memphis (Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 58–60; Schmidt-Colinet 1996), the *Palazzo delle Colonne* in Ptolemais/Libya (Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 49f.) and Thmuis (Lembke 2000). Two portraits probably belonging to an ancestral gallery depicting the Ptolemies have also been found in the residence of the Mauretanian kings at Cherchel (Fittschen 1979, 221f.). Since Iuba II was married to Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of Cleopatra VII, this Ptolemaic/Mauretanian ancestral gallery makes good sense (cf. Fittschen 1979, 211).

147 Raschdorff 1895, 57–62.

148 Schalles 1985, 127–135.

149 Heermann 1986, 181–193; Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 43–45.

150 For a survey of genealogical groups in the Hellenistic kingdoms, see Hintzen-Bohlen 1990.

151 For the excavations and works carried out on Nemrud Dağ, see esp. Sanders 1996; Brijder 2014.

152 Jacobs 2012a, 77. Further finds made during the excavation are of minor significance for the general programme which is the main concern here.

Fig. 24 Reliefs depicting Achaemenid ancestors of Antiochos I on the west terrace of Nemrud Dağ

Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and Artagnes-Heracles-Ares[153] framed by a guarding eagle and lion at each side, several relief-slabs were erected. Five of them relate to the monumental statues showing Antiochos I in *dexiosis* with each of the deities and the lion-horoscope. The other slabs show the ancestors of Antiochos I of which 15 depict his paternal and 17 his maternal lineage[154]. On his father's side Antiochos I claimed descent from Darius I who is presented on the first stele. He is followed by the Achaemenid kings up to Artaxerxes II who married his daughter to Orontes, satrap of Armenia[155]. Consecutively, three Armenian satraps and four Armenian kings are depicted. The last two stelae present the grandfather and father of Antiochos I who successively ruled the Commagenian kingdom after its separation from the Seleucid Empire in 163 B.C. From his mother's side Antiochos I claimed descent from Alexander the Great through the Seleucids. Antiochos' mother Laodice, the daughter of the Seleucid king Antiochos VIII Grypos, enabled him to do so[156]. In accordance to the depictions of his paternal ancestors, the stelae showing his maternal linage start with Alexander the Great followed by the Seleucid kings up to Antiochos VIII. The last four stelae bore the images of women of the Seleucid dynasty whose identity is not known with certainty. It ended with Laodice who is either interpreted as Mother or daughter of Antiochos and who shared the same name[157]. The identification of most of the depicted is possible due to inscriptions on some of the fragmen-

153 The depicted are identified by the extensive cult inscriptions at the back of the statues, the *nomos* (cf. Jacobs 2012a, 78). For the inscription, see its edition and translation in Sanders 1996, 206–224. The names of the gods are stated in lines 53–58 (cf. Sanders 1996, 209).

154 For the ancestral galleries of Antiochos I on Nemrud Dağ cf. Sanders 1996, 254–355; Jacobs 2002; Messerschmidt 2012; Strootman 2016.

155 Cf. Xen. an. 2,4,8. 3,5,17. The marriage of Orontes and Artaxerxes' II daughter Rhodogune is also mentioned in the inscription on the stele from Nemrud Dağ (Sanders 1996, 294). See also Jacobs 2002, 77; Messerschmidt 2012, 90.

156 Jacobs 2002, 79; Messerschmidt 2012, 94 f.

157 Consequently, the only well-preserved stele depicting Isias Philostorgos is identified either with a grandmother of Seleucid origin (Sanders 1996, 374 f.) or the wife of Antiochos I (Jacobs 2000, 303 f.). A depiction of the wife and daughter of Antiochos I among his ancestors might be explained by their death prior to his reign (Strootman 2016, 223).

tarily preserved stelae[158]. The male figures are furthermore distinguished through different costumes: the Achaemenid kings wear a richly decorated long garment and a tiara orthé as royal insignia[159]; the Armenian satraps are depicted in trousers under a horizontally and vertically girded long garment with a conical, pointed tiara and the Armenian kings expose the same attire but most likely wear the Armenian tiara which ends in five points and is richly decorated[160]. Antiochos' grandfather and father, in turn, wear the same costume as the satraps of Armenia. His male maternal ancestors are all shown wearing a short military dress and the Hellenistic diadem.

Fig. 25 Left profile of the limestone portrait of Antiochos I from Arsameia on the Nymphaios, now in the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep

Although the ancestral gallery on Nemrud Dağ is carved in relief and most probably much more extensive than the one in the palace of Samosata, it shows the awareness of the Commagenian kings of the propagandistic value of such an ensemble. This is further strengthened by the find of two life-sized heads of a man and a woman in the hierothesion at Arsameia on the Nymphaios. The female head was discovered at the southern edge of the eastern terrace, whereas the male head was found a couple of metres further south along the slope of the west-plateau[161] upon which the main architectural structures of the hierothesion were erected[162]. Given their find spots, it seems likely that they originally stood on the southern edge of the eastern part of this plateau on the terrace where the female head was unearthed[163]. The male limestone head (*fig. 25*), now in the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, is partly damaged at the nose and mouth as well as on the top of the headdress but otherwise well preserved. The face is characterized by clear, sharp lines accentuating the softly curved eyebrows and the straight nose. The eyes are opened wide and the large pupils are painted in a fading dark colour[164]. The mouth is slightly

158 Cf. Sanders 1996, 254–355.

159 Jacobs 2002, 80 f.; Jacobs 2012a, 79 f.

160 The reliefs are badly preserved (cf. Sanders 1996, 254–306) but part of an Armenian tiara might well have belonged to one of the depictions of the Armenian kings (cf. Brijder 2014, 369 fig. 225, 9. Brijder 2014, 374 attributes it to the 9th stele of the west terrace). Jacobs 2002, 81–82 assumes that after the Achaemenid kings each of the depicted is wearing the conical, pointed tiara. For the characterization of the Armenian tiara in Commagenian depictions, see Young 1964, 30 f.

161 Cf. Dörner et al. 1965, 215.

162 For these, see the publications by Wolfram Hoepfner (Hoepfner 1983, Hoepfner 2012) and the latest critical re-evaluation of the material and esp. of Hoepfner's reconstruction by Oenbrink 2017, 16–123. The excavations led by Friedrich Karl Dörner are published in Dörner – Goell 1963 and Dörner et al. 1965.

163 Hoepfner 1983, 24; Hoepfner 2012, 123.

164 Dörner et al. 1965, 215 mention a black pupil and a brown iris.

open. The main characteristic feature of the head is the richly decorated tiara of the Armenian type. It shows a flap in the neck and two others turned up on each side and wrapped around the lower part of the tiara. The upper, keel-shaped part is decorated with dots on the front and 14-rayed star surrounded by an ivy-garland on three sides on the left and right side. Although the upper end is partly destroyed, it is obvious that the tiara was crowned by five points, each decorated with a single branch showing lancet-shaped leaves. The headdress doubtlessly identifies the depicted as Antiochos I[165] who most likely commissioned the main construction-works in the hierothesion of Arsameia[166]. The female head (*fig. 26*) is kept in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations at Ankara and is only slightly damaged at the nose and at her right eye-brow. The face shows sharp lines as well as a similar execution to the male head in general. Above a slightly opened mouth, a straight nose and sharp eye-brows, the long, wavy hair is parted in the middle and forms a bun at the back. The woman wears a diadem which identifies her as a Hellenistic queen and thus, in addition to the male head, as a member of the Orontid Commagenian dynasty. Although the exact identification of the portrayed is uncertain, the existence of at least two life-sized statues also points to the existence of an ancestral or at least dynastic gallery in the hierothesion of Arsameia[167].

Fig. 26 Limestone head of a Commagenian queen from Arsameia on the Nymphaios, now in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara

165 Antiochos I is the first Commagenian ruler wearing the Armenian tiara. Helmut Waldmann's identification of the king on the inscribed stele from Samosata found at Selik (Waldmann 1973, 36–39. 150) and on the dexiosis-relief at Arsameia as Mithradates I must be rejected since the stele has rightly been attributed to Antiochos I through comparable stelae found in the vicinity of Samosata (Wagner 1983, 202; Crowther – Facella 2011, esp. 360–363). Beside Antiochos I, the Armenian tiara is only attested for his son and successor, Mithradates II, on the relief at the tumulus of Karakuş (Wagner 1983, 210).

166 Cf. Hoepfner 2012, 129. An earlier phase of the hierothesion in the times of Mithradates I is attested in the big cult inscription of Antiochos I carved in the rock at the site (Dörner – Goell 1963, 40 f. lines 28–34 [edition and translation of the inscription]. Cf. Hoepfner 1983, 51; Waldmann 1991, 80). This phase could not be traced in the archaeological record although the recent re-evaluation of the architectural decoration by Werner Oenbrink highlighted the possibility of the architecture to be dated to both reigns, Mithridates I and Antiochos I (Oenbrink 2017, 119–123). Hoepfner 1983, 51; Waldmann 1991, 80–127 and Brijder 2014, 291 f. also assume an initial phase under Mithridates I.

167 Hoepfner 1983, 24; Hoepfner 2012, 123.

Another Commagenian ancestral gallery has recently been identified by Charles Crowther and Margherita Facella near Kâhta[168], now submerged in the Atatürk reservoir. This can be reasoned from the preserved inscriptions in the collection of Neşet Akel but it must remain uncertain whether any statues were part of this gallery[169].

The overall context of the heads found at Arsameia and of the Samosata head as parts of ancestral galleries strongly suggests that besides the reliefs from Nemrud Dağ, such ensembles in the round also formed an important part of the self-representation of the Commagenian kings. For this purpose, both sacred (Nemrud Dağ, Arsameia and Kâhta) and royal/residential places (Samosata) were used to present the royal lineage, although it must be kept in mind that the sacred places are those belonging to the ruler cult and therefore as inevitably connected to the Commagenian kings as their residence. However, the differences in appearance, especially of the male heads of the considered Commagenian ancestral galleries in Arsameia and on Nemrud Dağ in contrast to the Samosata head, which bears several similarities to the portraits of other Hellenistic rulers[170], calls for a closer look and explanation by considering it as part of the Commagenian royal portrait-scape.

Contextualizing the Object ii: the Commagenian Royal Portrait-scape

Besides the immediate but lost spatial context of the presumed ancestral gallery, the object's position in the royal Commagenian portrait-scape – its imagined context – must be considered. This is of crucial importance for addressing questions pertaining to the function and meaning of the portrait and it also illuminates the innovative character of the head. The phrase *royal portrait-scape* refers to the sum of all the royal portraits which existed in the Commagenian kingdom[171]. Necessarily, this portrait-scape did not remain static throughout the history of the kingdom, since each ruler or other members of the dynasty might have added to the existing depictions of his predecessors or altered the original contexts in various ways[172]. Considering the royal Commagenian portrait-scape as a whole, each ruler who added his portrait (or the portrait of another family member) to those of his forebears expanded and therefore altered the portrait-scape. The royal portrait-scape therefore reveals the self-perception of each Commagenian king as well as the perception of his predecessors and the specific role within the dynasty of each of its members. Furthermore, some alterations in the portrait-scape must be explained as direct examples of Commagenian glocalization since they seem to be local reactions to transregional and global trends and incidents. This is of crucial importance when considering the Samosata head which we

168 Crowther – Facella 2014.

169 Cf. Crowther – Facella 2014, 266 with n. 33.

170 Kropp 2013, 85 calls the Samosata head »the Hellenized counterpart of the official portrait gallery on Nemrud Dağ«.

171 From the practical perspective, of course, only those portraits preserved in the archaeological record can be considered.

172 Already the arrangement of another portrait together with existing ones alters and expands the original context. Other alterations would be the change of the original setting through moving the depictions to other places or the extinguishing of images (e. g. *damnatio memoriae*). Although these hypothetical considerations might well have taken place in Commagene (e. g. the extinguishment for potential images of Antiochos II), none of them are actually attested in the archaeological record.

have interpreted as a posthumous portrait of Antiochos I who, during his lifetime, chose to be depicted in a conspicuously different way.

Considering the eight Commagenian kings, the portraits of five of them are known: Samos II, Mithradates I, Antiochos I, Mithradates II and Antiochos IV[173]. The general appearance of Samos II is known from a small emission of bronze coins which bear his head and name. He is shown with large eyes, contracted eye-brows, a hooked nose and a prominent chin. The most intriguing detail in his depiction is the headdress. Samos II wears a conical, pointed tiara which might initially have been intended to emphasize the satrapal status of the depicted[174] and which on some coins shows fringes at the back which might refer to a diadem[175]. The same tiara (without visible fringes) occurs in the 4 m high relief which has been carved into the rock face at Gerger Kalesi/Arsameia on the Euphrates (*fig. 27*). According to an inscription this relief also shows Samos II; the plateau of Gerger Kalesi served as his tomb and installations for the cult of the ancestors of Antiochos I[176]. The plateau was transformed into a castle by the Mamelukes and further evidence for this hierothesion is therefore scarce[177]. The depiction of Samos II, commissioned by Antiochos I[178], presents the king in Persian attire. Beside the conical tiara he wears a long garment which is vertically girded between his legs, exposing his trousers. The torso is further covered by a kind of cuirass[179]. The same garment is chosen by Antiochos I to depict his predecessors on the reliefs of his ancestral gallery at the hierothesion on Nemrud Dağ. Although the latter two examples are posthumous images of Samos II, the coins testify that the king presented himself in the manner of a satrap.

Fig. 27 Relief depicting Samos II at Gerger Kalesi/Arsameia on the Euphrates

173 There is no depiction of Ptolemy, the founder of the dynasty (although he must have been depicted among the predecessors of Antiochos I in his ancestral gallery on Nemrud Dağ (Sanders 1996, 271 f.; Messerschmidt 2012, 93), Mithradates III and Antiochos III. Mithradates II is most likely depicted on the dexiosis-stele at Karakuş (Wagner 1983, 210).

174 As such it seems to have been used to depict the ancestors of satrapal status in the ancestral gallery of Antiochos I on Nemrud Dağ (cf. Young 1964, 30; Sanders 1996, 296).

175 Alram 1986, pl. 8, 240.

176 For the inscription, see Waldmann 1973, 141; Facella 2006, 205 f.

177 Dörner – Naumann 1939, 17–29. 86–91; Oenbrink 2017, 7–9.

178 Facella 2005, 87; Facella 2006, 206; Wagner 2012, 34; Versluys 2017, 78.

179 Dörner – Naumann 1939, 19 call the garment »Panzerjacke« which, together with the rest of the attire, they relate to the practicality for riding (Dörner – Naumann 1939, 20). It must be the same garment which Brijder 2014, 329 calls »(leather) cuirass« when talking about the depictions of Antiochos' Armenian ancestors in the ancestral gallery on Nemrud Dağ.

Fig. 28 Obverse of a bronze coin depicting Mithradates I – not to scale (original dm. 18 mm)

This is most likely due to the political supremacy of the Armenian kings who were direct neighbours with the kingdom of Commagene[180]. Given the political circumstances, the conical, pointed tiara must be interpreted as the expression of taking on a subordinate role to the Armenian king in order to avoid dangerous political tensions. A second depiction of Samos II has tentatively been identified on another emission of bronze coins in the name of the king[181]. They show the head of a beardless man with large, voluminous locks and a radiate crown. Some scholars interpret the radiate crown as a derivative from those shown on Seleucid coins[182] and therefore see the coinage of Samos II as anticipating the assumed convergence of Achaemenid and Greek cultural elements in the programme of Antiochos I[183]. But it must be noted that the identification of the head on the coins is debateable. In principle, nothing qualifies the depicted as king. If the depiction would have followed Seleucid models, one would expect a diadem as a sign of the royalty of the portrayed[184]. Also the physiognomy of the two emissions discussed here, as far as the small (and for the most part) poorly preserved coins allow for its identification, differ from each other which makes it rather unlikely that the depicted is supposed to mean the same person. Marianne Bergmann has therefore suggested identifying the head with the radiate crown as Helios[185], who is a well-known deity in the Commagenian pantheon at least from the times of Antiochos I[186]. This leaves us with the only secured depictions of Samos II wearing the conical, pointed tiara as his main characteristic.

This he shares with Mithradates I whose appearance can only be deduced from his coinage[187] (*fig. 28*). He shows similar physiognomic features as his father and predecessor Samos II which are most likely meant to indicate kinship as well as dynastic continuity as a means of legitimation: large eyes, contracted eyebrows and a slightly hooked nose. The chin is not as prominent as in the depictions of Samos II. The main feature which characterizes the depicted as a Commagenian ruler is the conical, pointed tiara which Mithradates I inherited from his predecessors.

180 The Armenian and Commagenian dynasties even share a common genealogy. Both claim descent from Orontes, the Achaemenid satrap of Armenia under Dareios III and Alexander the Great (cf. Jacobs 2002, 77).

181 Taşyürek 1975, 42, no. I,1; Svenson 1995, 23; Wagner 2012, 34; Brijder 2014, 538.

182 Babelon 1890, p. CCIX; Facella 2005, 90; Facella 2006, 208 and Wagner 2012, 34 see a direct reference to Antiochos VI.

183 cf. Facella 2005, 90; Facella 2006, 208; Wagner 2012, 34.

184 Only Babelon 1890, 217 no. 1 mentions a diadem which is, however, not visible on the coins (cf. Brijder 2014, 538 fig. 2, 2). Traces of the diadem are obviously missing, especially in the neck of the depicted where one would expect a knot and possibly hanging ends. Also the voluminous locks leave no clear space for the depiction of a diadem (Bergmann 1998, 55). Cf. also Alram 1986, 82 no. 241, who does not mention a diadem but calls the depiction »Kopf des Königs als Helios mit Strahlenkrone«.

185 Bergmann 1998, 55. Cf. Babelon 1890, p. CCIX; Alram 1986, 82; Facella 2006, 208 who mention the affinity to Helios.

186 Facella 2006, 208 n. 41.

187 Cf. Taşyürek 1975, no. II; Brijder 2014, 538–540. As Antiochos' I father, Mithradates I was also depicted among the paternal ancestors of his son on Nemrud Dağ, but these images are too badly preserved and in general to schematic and non-individualistic in their execution to deduce any further details (cf. Brijder 2014, 328 fig. 206,15. 333). However, Mithradates I is also most probably depicted wearing a conical, pointed tiara on the reliefs of Nemrud Dağ (Young 1964, 34).

This specific form of tiara is used in the paternal ancestral gallery of Antiochos I on Nemrud Dağ to distinguish two different groups of his ancestors. Firstly, the three satraps of Armenia following Artaxerxes II wear this tiara. It serves as distinctive visual symbol between the preceding Achaemenid kings wearing a richly decorated tiara orthé[188] and the following group of four Armenian kings wearing the Armenian tiara[189]. The conical, pointed tiara was obviously chosen to indicate the subordinate status of the Armenian satraps to the Achaemenid »king of kings« and subsequently to the Seleucids[190]. Only the ancestors of Antiochos I from 260 B.C., when Armenia became an independent kingdom, are depicted wearing the Armenian tiara[191]. Secondly, the immediate predecessors of Antiochos I as Commagenian kings – Ptolemy, Samos II and Mithradates I – are depicted wearing the conical, pointed tiara. In accordance with the Armenian satraps, this expresses a subordinate role of the Commagenian dynasty to the kings of Armenia as has been suggested for the lifetime-portrait of Samos II. A similar case is attested in the coinage of the neighbouring kingdom of Sophene[192] where the rulers also show a type of tiara which differs from the Armenian one and in some cases is also of pointed shape[193]. It is noteworthy that these coins predate the existence of the Commagenian kingdom[194].

Whereas Samos II and Mithradates I present themselves – and are presented as such in the ancestral gallery of Antiochos I in his hierothesion on Nemrud Dağ – as subordinate to the Armenian kings, a provocative alteration in the royal Commagenian portrait-scape is introduced by Antiochos I. From the defeat of Tigranes of Armenia and Pompey's re-organisation of the region in 66/65 B.C. onwards[195], the most distinctive attribute in the depictions of Antiochos I is the Armenian tiara (*figs. 9–10. 25*). This tall headdress is characterized by its keel-shaped form which ends in five points[196] and is often lavishly decorated. It has flaps at the neck and two additional ones turned upwards at the sides at its lower part which are held in position by a decorated diadem[197]. This specific headdress of Antiochos I has rightly been interpreted as the tiara worn by Armenian kings to which it shows striking similarities in both form and decoration[198] (*fig. 29*).

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188 Jacobs 2002, 80 f.

189 For the differentiation of tiaras found on the sculptures on Nemrud Dağ, see Young 1964.

190 Cf. Jacobs 2002, 77; Brijder 2014, 328–332.

191 On the interrelations, dynastic connections and political implications of the Commagenian kings exposed in the ancestral galleries of Antiochos I, see Jacobs 2002, 77–82.

192 Sophene might best be regarded as a semi-autonomous part of Armenia whose rulers declared themselves kings and whose dynasty is strongly interconnected with the Armenian one (cf. Bedoukian 1983, 72 f. arguing for a perception of Sophene as an independent kingdom in the Hellenistic period).

193 Alram 1986, 66 notes these especially for Abdissares and Xerxes and relates them to some kind of Arsacid fashion. However, Arsames I already wears this tiara on some coins (Bedoukian 1983, 82 no. 2).

194 All three rulers in question date to the 3rd century B.C. (cf. Bedoukian 1983, 82. 84 f. Note the remarks by Alram 1986, 66 who partly disagrees with Bedoukian. But these disagreements do not alter the general dating of the coins given here).

195 Wagner 1983, 203 suggests the adoption of the Armenian tiara by Antiochos in as early as 69/68 B.C. after the retreat of Tigranes from Syria since he views the immediate appropriation of the Armenian royal insignia in 66/65 B.C. as too provocative to Pompey.

196 Metzler 2012, 112 f. interprets the points as feathers rooted in strong eastern/Mesopotamian traditions.

197 Cf. the definition by Young 1964, 30 f.

198 Young 1964, 31. The star amidst two antithetic eagles, in particular, which decorate the tiara's keel-shaped body on some Antiochan coins directly copy the headdress of Tigranes of Armenia (Wagner 1983, 205). But also the frequently occurring lion (e. g. on the dexiosis-stelae from Nemrud Dağ or Arsameia [cf. Metzler 2012, 111 figs. 87. 88]) or reduced iconographic details (like the star on the head from Arsameia discussed above) might be explained

In the inscribed stele from Sofraz Köy Antiochos I himself calls this form of royal headdress *kitaris* of which he proudly reports that he was the first Commagenian king who adopted it[199]. Furthermore, the monumental statues on Nemrud Dağ as well as the preserved dexiosis-reliefs[200] present the king wearing the same costume as his Armenian predecessors in the ancestral gallery – consisting of boots and trousers beneath a long horizontally and vertically girded garment, a short cuirass-like garb decorated with a diamond-shape pattern in which stars are depicted and a long coat[201]. Apart from the characteristic features of Antiochos' I attire[202], no specific features such as his physiognomy can be observed which might help to identify an image of the king with a reasonable degree of certainty. He is presented as an ageless, beardless[203] ruler with smooth and motionless skin and angular facial features whose main characteristic is a straight nose. These facial features are, of course, far too general to allow a firm attribution of images to Antiochos I[204] but, on the other hand, do not preclude the identification of the Samosata head as a portrait of this king[205].

Fig. 29 Obverse of a tetradrachm depicting Tigranes the Great of Armenia (British Museum, London, Mus. no. RPK, p193A.2.Tig) – not to scale

After the reign of Antiochos I, the extant evidence for royal portraits in Commagene is scarce. The son and successor of Antiochos I, Mithradates II is most likely depicted on the stele at Karakuş (*fig. 30*), since the inscription upon the abacus of the column supporting the stele identifies him as the one who commissioned the tumulus in the vicinity of which the column was

as a recourse to the Armenian prototype, although it must be emphasized that the lion is generally attested in the iconographic repertoire of Hellenistic monarchs and that it might have held a special meaning to Antiochos I as the astrological sign either of his birth (cf. Waldmann 1973, 169 f.; Wagner 1983, 205) or an important date to him and the Commagenian dynasty (Maurice Crijns also considers the accession to the throne of Mithradates I or this in combination with the birth of Antiochos I [Brijder 2014, 589]).

199 Wagner – Petzl 1976, 206 f.; Wagner 1983, 201. For the text of the stele which was discovered by Jörg Wagner in 1974, see Wagner – Petzl 1976, 213–222. The relevant expression πρῶτος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν κίταριν is to be found in lines 5–6.

200 Fragments of a life-sized statue found in Arsameia on the Nymphaios – especially the fragment of a shoulder with coat (EK 03) and the pieces of an arm (EK 158) and possibly a leg (EK 1019) – also show a similar costume and might well have belonged to the statue of which the head wearing the Armenian tiara is the best-preserved piece (Hoepfner 1983, 20–24).

201 The images of the king on the dexiosis-reliefs are much more nuanced than the one presented by the monumental statues (cf. Jacobs 2012a, 78 f.).

202 It must, however, be noted that neither the attire in general nor the Armenian tiara in particular – although mainly attested in images of Antiochos I – should be considered as sufficient proof for the identification of the depicted as this king. This was assumed by Young 1964, 34 but rightly rejected by Waldmann 1973, 150. Although Waldmann's rejection is based on the mistaken attribution of the dexiosis-relief from Selik to Mithradates I (Waldmann 1973, 36–39), the relief at the tumulus of Karakuş, most likely showing Mithradates II in this attire, should serve as cautionary tale against basing the identification of portraits as Antiochos I solely on the attribute of the Armenian tiara.

203 Smith 1988a, 104 interprets the beardlessness as »feature of Hellenistic royal appearance«.

204 The facial features of Antiochos I are, e. g., remarkably similar to those of the depictions of Apollo-Helios-Mithras-Hermes executed in the same setting (cf. e. g. Brijder 2014, 97 figs. 50. 387; 232 a. d. f. i).

205 Fleischer 2008, 326 rightly emphasizes the generic aspect in the portraits of Antiochos I in contrast to Zoroğlu 2012, 140 who tentatively sees parallels in the secured portraits of the king and the Samosata head.

Fig. 30 Stele on top of a column at the tumulus of Karakuş showing the dexiosis of Mithradates II (right) and his sister Laodice (left)

erected[206]. The stele shows Mithradates II and his sister Laodice to whom the king bids farewell[207]. Although the relief is badly weathered, the Armenian tiara has rightly been identified by Jörg Wagner[208], and the general costume also seems to resemble the dress of Antiochos I. Obviously at Karakuş, Mithradates II follows the attire promoted by his father. This seems reasonable since the monument, as one of the hierothesia of the Commagenian ruler cult, is inevitably linked to the monuments of Antiochos I. But the Samosata head, which also most likely dates to the time of Mithradates II, already indicates a shift in the Commagenian royal portrait-scape and should caution against viewing the relief at Karakuş as the general self-presentation of Mithradates II.

Finally, the portrait of Antiochos IV is handed down again through coinage (*fig. 8*). The last ruler of the Commagenian kingdom significantly breaks with the tradition of his ancestors,

206 Wagner 1983, 208–213.

207 Wagner 1983, 210. The tumulus at Karakuş, which according to its inscriptions was a hierothesion, was erected by Mithradates II as the burial site of Isias, wife of Antiochos I and mother of Mithradates II, Antiochis, sister of Mithradates II and her daughter Aka as well as to serve as memorial for Laodike, who was married to the Parthian king Orodes (cf. Wagner 1983, 208–212; Blömer 2008, 104).

208 Wagner 1983, 210.

depicting himself very much in line with the fashion of Julio-Claudian portraiture as has been outlined above[209].

Within this frame of the royal Commagenian (male) portrait-scape, the Samosata head constitutes one of three major alterations which can be observed through time: the first alteration is launched by Antiochos I who presents himself wearing the Armenian tiara instead of the conical pointed headdress of his predecessors. The second change is attested by the Samosata head after the reign of Antiochos I when the Armenian tiara as immediate headdress of the royal portrait[210] is abandoned in favour of the Hellenistic diadem in combination with a general appearance following royal Hellenistic iconography. The last alteration is to be observed in the portraits of Antiochos IV who presents himself in a fashion clearly resembling the Julio-Claudian portraiture showing »a clear example of loyal accommodation to imperial style«[211].

The Head, its Meaning and the Matter of Perception

The shift in the royal Commagenian portrait-scape which the Samosata-head reveals can be interpreted as an indicator of the awareness of the Commagenian rulers of the significance of stylistic features as conveyers of specific messages. This interpretation is based on premises deriving from information theory and semiotics and its applications to archaeological matters in which style has rightly been defined as the key to the understanding of the intended impact of objects on their recipients[212]. The basic idea of semiotic approaches to material culture is that the stylistic rendering of an object is capable of conveying messages to the viewer. The producer, respectively the patron who commissioned the work, choses the style of the object with regard to the message or messages he wants to communicate. In semiotic terms the style is interpreted as visual code which must be decoded by the recipient. Although the pragmatic level of semiotics[213] takes into account the possibility of divergence between the producer/patron and the recipient and rightly grants the viewer active agency in the process of perceiving and interpreting the object[214], it must be acknowledged that especially the elites intended to convey messages through their monuments and objects whose style was inevitably tied to their self-presentation[215]. The stylistic appearance of the posthumous portrait of Antiochos I in the ancestral gallery of the palace at Samosata was

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209 See above, *The object – An Innovative Royal Portrait from Samosata*.

210 The tiara as a symbol and insignia of Commagenian royalty, however, was still used up to the time of Antiochos IV when it occurs among the iconographic repertoire of his coinage (cf. Taşyürek 1975, 43 no. VIII,2; Wagner 2012, 40; Brijder 2014, 557 no. 11,2). But it is noteworthy that the Armenian tiara only occurs on the reverse (of coins showing the sons of Antiochos IV, Epiphanes and Callinicus), on the obverse and not in combination with the king's portrait itself.

211 Smith 1988a, 140.

212 Cf. Wobst 1977; Hölscher 1987; Zanker 1987, esp. 264–293. In this regard, style is understood with von den Hoff 2007, 48–50 not only as a tool for the analysis of meaning but also taking into account style as a marker of reception and »changing modes of viewing« (von den Hoff 2007, 50).

213 For the three levels of semiotics – semantics, syntactics and pragmatics – see Hölscher 2014, 667–669.

214 Cf. Hölscher 2014, 669.

215 Cf. Earle 1990. Miller 1982 furthermore emphasizes the emulation of specific forms or symbols – which also need to include their stylistic and iconographic expressions – by lower social strata in hierarchical societies. This means that within ancient societies stylistic alterations, their adoption or neglect visible in the material culture, can serve as indicators for reciprocal processes within the society.

certainly deliberately chosen in order to convey specific messages. And these messages, whether in their entirety or only partially, must have been discernible and comprehensible to the viewers of the ensemble – a group which through the location of the statue and its restricted accessibility can be characterized as exclusive rather than inclusive. This means that a semiotic approach to the Samosata head, with due consideration of its spatial and imagined context, at least partly enables one to get an idea of at least some of the object's viewers[216].

Reconsidering the head's stylistic features, these can basically be traced back to non-local influences: firstly, the overall appearance with the smooth rendering of the skin, the parted lips and the turning of the head follows the tradition of Hellenistic royal portraiture. Although the Commagenian kingdom is *per definitionem* a Hellenistic monarchy, its royal portrait-scape up to the Samosata head notably differs from those of other Hellenistic kingdoms. The adaption of stylistic and iconographic features connected to the royal Hellenistic repertoire is therefore a novelty in its own right as they have never been used this prominently before. On the other hand, the Commagenian society must have been well aware of how other Hellenistic kings presented themselves and that e. g. the diadem was an insignia reserved for them. This becomes obvious in earlier Commagenian monuments which draw on Hellenistic models such as the mentioned coins of Samos II with the depiction of Helios, and even more the reliefs showing the maternal ancestors of Antiochos I on Nemrud Dağ and the head of a Commagenian queen from Arsameia. Also, more immediate contacts with the media of royal self-presentation, of which coins are the most mobile, must have contributed to the Commagenians' awareness of images of Hellenistic royalty[217]. In this regard, the majority of Commagenian society will surely have identified the Samosata head as the image of a king. The radiate crown will, therefore, likewise have been recognized as a symbol highlighting the glory and god-like status of the depicted. The precise identification of the portrayed might on the other hand have been more problematic since the head lacks the hitherto used characteristics of male royal Commagenian portraits – the pointed conical or the Armenian tiara. It might have become more obvious in the original context but this, of course, must remain an unprovable hypothesis. The same holds true for the lost body of the statue with its possibly specific garment, other attributes or even a prominent inscription which might have helped to identify Antiochos I. But the general context as part of an ancestral gallery within the royal residence of Samosata must have inevitably forced the viewer to identify the portrait as a Commagenian king depicted in a way that conveys Hellenistic royalty but largely neglects the local Commagenian traditions of royal portraiture. In this sense the Samosata head reveals a more dramatic change in the royal Commagenian portrait-scape than the earlier shift conducted by Antiochos I himself through the adoption of the Armenian tiara which did not constitute a radical visual departure from the previous headdress, the pointed conical tiara, and was most likely known to the Commagenians from their powerful neighbour.

Secondly, the hairstyle modelled on early Augustan/Octavian portraiture must also have been perceived as non-local. Although due to the mentioned lack of portraits of Octavian in the Eastern Mediterranean, probably almost no Commagenian would have been able to establish the link between the Roman princeps and the Samosata head, the difference of the hairstyle compared to other royal Hellenistic portraits might well have been noticed by some. Others

[216] On the difficulties in tracing the recipients of ancient objects and their reactions to the them cf. Hölscher 2014, 678 f.

[217] The same holds true for the Armenian tradition which must also have been known to a considerable part of Commagenian society. Otherwise, the takeover of the Armenian tiara by Antiochos I is hardly comprehensible.

might well have interpreted the fashionable arrangement of the hair as part of the Hellenistic tradition, which again would indicate its perception as a non-local detail intruding into the royal Commagenian portrait-scape. Roman viewers of the portrait, e. g. members of Roman embassies who must have visited the palace in Samosata occasionally, might be more capable of deciphering this stylistic detail. Their acknowledgement of a posthumous portrait of Antiochos I showing him as Hellenistic monarch influenced by the superior Roman princeps might well have been the impact the Commagenian king hoped for. In this light, the choice to appropriate elements of the Octavian portrait can also be interpreted as serving a double intention. On the one hand, it generally refers to Augustus to whom Commagene necessarily had to show loyalty after initially having supported his opponent. This must also have been the reason for abandoning the Armenian tiara for a posthumous portrait of Antiochos I which was inevitably connected to the Armenian kingdom and as such also used in the propaganda of Marc Antony[218]. On the other hand, adopting the hairstyle for an image of Antiochos I, who indeed was the contemporary Commagenian king to Octavian, evoked a historical interconnection between Commagene and Rome, by at the same time ignoring the problematic episode of having supported Marc Antony. Although this idea is very hypothetical concerning the actual intended impact of the portrait, it is tempting to take into account the interpretation of the ancestral gallery as a very specific case of re-invented or, better, re-defined tradition and history by the Commagenian dynasty in order to be on better terms with Augustan Rome.

These considerations concerning the audience of the ancestral gallery necessarily take an elite perspective assuming rather well-trained recipients. This is especially true for the stylistic rendering of the hair. However, the setting of the object within the ancestral gallery of the Commagenian residence as a place of restricted accessibility is perfectly in-line with such assumptions. But although this iconographic detail does shed light on a very small group of possible viewers, its general significance should not be over-estimated. The overall appearance of the head following the traditions of Hellenistic royal portraiture must have been well-known and recognized by the majority of the ancestral gallery's recipients. In doing so, the Samosata head unfolds the potential to draw in different groups of viewers, being both socially close and distant[219].

How these viewers actually perceived the image is a very different issue and beyond the possibilities of Commagenian archaeology at this point. This is due to, generally, the lack of data which might illuminate social processes and daily life within the Commagenian society. In order

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218 That the tiara obviously functioned as symbol of the Armenian kingdom for the Romans becomes apparent in the coinage of Marc Antony depicting the tiara in order to proclaim his campaign against Armenia in 36 B.C. (cf. Newman 1990, 49 f., no. 35,1 dating the emission to 35 B.C.). However, when Antony and Cleopatra appointed their son Alexander Helios heir to the Armenian throne two years later (Cass. Dio 49,41,3; Plut. Antony 54,4–5), the tiara was also featured on coins (Newman 1990, 50, no. 34,3).

219 This nuances the model formulated by H. Martin Wobst which focuses on the transmission of messages through stylistic means and identifies the main target group as socially distant from the emitter / producer of the message – out of the subsequent categories emitter – socially closest – socially close – socially distant – very distant (Wobst 1977). For Hellenistic royal monuments in general, and Commagenian ones in particular, it rather seems that they tried to address as many viewers as possible which, as in the case of the Samosata head, could be achieved by conveying supplementary messages via stylistic means. The large inscription of Antiochos I on Nemrud Dağ supports this suggestion for it indirectly states that everybody coming to visit and worship the place is addressed by the monument and its components (cf. Sanders 1996, 213 [lines 228–237]). Besides, the inscription also reads as a description of the exposed iconographic programme to ensure its proper understanding as intended by Antiochos I (cf. the edition and translation of the inscription in Sanders 1996, 206–217).

to trace and evaluate the impact of the alterations in the Commagenian royal portrait-scape in general, and the one revealed by the posthumous portrait of Antiochos I in particular, it would be inevitable to investigate as well, from the Commagenian kingdom, portraits other than the royal ones'. The comparative perspective to the wider Hellenistic world shows that royal portraiture did affect local portraiture, especially of the elites[220], which might be seen as a general phenomenon. A badly preserved rock-cut relief in Haydaran about 7 km north of the ancient Commagenian city of Perrhe dating to the second half of the 1st century B.C. or the final phase of the Commagenian kingdom, points in the same direction[221]. The depicted dexiosis of a man and a woman at least shows that the costume worn by the kings and queens was obviously also appropriated in the self-presentation of the local elite: whereas the woman wears chiton and himation, the man is presented in trousers, a long tunica-like garment and a coat. He seems to be beardless and judging from the preserved contour of his head he was not wearing any headdress[222]. The Haydaran relief therefore indicates the local elite's awareness of the royal stylistic features in general but is hardly suited to testify to the appropriation of stylistic nuances as exposed by the posthumous portrait of Antiochos I from Samosata.

For the second group of identified targeted viewers – those more familiar with and socially closer to the Roman princeps – it is even more difficult to discern the impact of the object. Although the perception of the Commagenian client kings by the Romans can partly be gleaned from Roman literary sources, which in general offer negative judgements, stressing the opportunism of Antiochos I or stylizing Antiochos IV as a tyrant[223], we do not know how the actual trained viewer perceived the ancestral gallery in the palace of Samosata. But here, the same holds true as for the first group of recipients: regardless, if the hairstyle of the posthumous portrait of Antiochos I was recognized as referring to the portrait of Octavian, the whole head must have been perceived as depicting a Hellenistic king. In this respect, the Commagenian portrait must have been a familiar depiction of a – from a Roman perspective – (semi-) independent ruler of a client kingdom referring to the tradition of Hellenistic royal portraiture. However, it might also have been acknowledged that although Antiochos I is presented in a Hellenistic tradition, his portrait does not expose features like other Hellenistic kings of the 1st century B.C., most notably Mithradates VI of Pontos stylizing himself as a rather anti-Roman independent Hellenistic ruler in the tradition of Alexander the Great, with long hair and a youthful appearance[224]. In this regard, the moderate Hellenistic tradition of the Samosata head fits well into the agenda of the Commagenian dynasty, demonstrating their independence and legitimization without directly confronting the increasingly strong power that is Rome by following the Armenian style appropriated by Antiochos I himself.

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220 In general, there are not too many private Hellenistic portraits preserved (cf. Stewart 1996, 240) or published (cf. von den Hoff – Schultz 2007, 6) but the elites' tendency to appropriate the rulers' portraiture can nonetheless be observed. Cf. Fleischer 1991, 134 (for the Selelucids); von den Hoff 2007, 54–57 (also acknowledging the influence of contemporary developments and trends in the rulers' portraits themselves). In Ptolemaic Egypt, with its long tradition in portraiture, it is more difficult to evaluate certain stylistic features. But some can be traced back to the growing Hellenistic influence (cf. Bothmer 1996, 221–226) which most likely was fostered by the Ptolemaic dynasty.

221 On the tomb and relief, see Waldmann 1971, 113–115. For the relief and its interpretation, see Brijder 2014, 213 f. and especially Blömer 2011.

222 Blömer 2011, 396.

223 Cf. the conclusive discussion by Facella 2005, 94–102 of the relevant sources, especially Cicero and Cassius Dio.

224 Cf. Smith 1988a, 121–124; Smith 1988b, 493; Stewart 1993, 337; Arıkan Erciyas 2001, 116; Højte 2009, 146. 148.

Commagenian Glocalisation and its Consequences

Turning back to the initial attempt to illuminate the ongoing processes of the positioning of Commagene in the Hellenistic world beyond the monumental programme of Antiochos I, the comprehensive analysis of the Samosata head, its spatial and imagined context and the considerations concerning its intended and actual impact, could make significant contributions. As the preceding considerations have hopefully demonstrated, the highlighted subsequent alterations in the royal Commagenian (male) portrait-scape attest to the awareness of the Orontid kings of the changing political situations. From presenting themselves as subordinate to the Armenian kings during the second and first half of the 1st century B.C., the image of the Commagenian king significantly changed under Antiochos I from 66/65 B.C. onwards, when he adopted the Armenian tiara after the defeat of Tigranes by Pompey. In this power-vacuum he presented himself as an independent Hellenistic ruler emphasizing his paternal lineage and his willingness to claim parts of the Armenian legacy in the region[225]. While doing so on a stylistic level, Antiochos I also acted as Φιλορώμαιος which was in fact part of his official title[226] and can be deduced from e. g. his letters to Roman governors informing them about Parthian military activities[227]. As has been outlined in the beginning, the monuments of Antiochos I present themselves as a »juxtaposition and blending of discrete elements suggestive of different cultural traditions within a single, new style as the result of a conscious appropriation«[228]. The same holds true for the second shift in the Commagenian portrait-scape exemplified by the Samosata head. After the defeat of Marc Antony and the generally increasing Roman influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Commagenian kings had to present themselves to Augustus as loyal in order to maintain their independence. A logical, but nevertheless drastic alteration was the abandonment of the Armenian tiara, and respectively, the tiara in general. In this way Antiochos I is recognizably presented as an independent Hellenistic king while abandoning potential former ambitions expressed by the Armenian tiara. In the rendering of the hair, the portrait (on the other hand) appropriates stylistic features of early Augustan portraits to evoke to some of its viewers closeness to the Roman princeps. The conscious convergence of Hellenistic traditions with slight Roman stylistic additions must be regarded as being acceptable to a presentation of Antiochos I in a time of growing Roman influence on the Commagenian kingdom under his successors. The dominant general appearance as a Hellenistic king with a diadem and a radiate crown can therefore be interpreted as an indicator of Commagenian independence, which in the last modifications under Antiochos IV is abandoned in favour of a thoroughly pro-Roman appearance of the king's portrait.

The appropriation and convergence of different styles reflecting changes in the contemporary political and social landscape shows parallels to other Late-Hellenistic kingdoms, most notably in Mauretania. In this context, the available material shows that the Commagenian kings were well-aware of global developments in many situations and expressed their claims and the position of their kingdom accordingly, for which comparable phenomena can be traced in several

225 Antiochos I even married off his daughter Laodice to the Parthian king Orodes (cf. Wagner 1983, 209; Waldmann 1991, 201; Facella 2005, 98) which shows well his manoeuvring in between the Roman and Parthian spheres of influence.

226 Facella 2005, 87–94 where the inscriptions exhibiting the title of Antiochos I are collected and discussed.

227 Cf. Facella 2005, 94–98.

228 Versluys 2017, 206.

Late-Hellenistic/early Roman client kingdoms. This is most strikingly exemplified by the kings' portraits which were consciously used to convey specific messages and exposed various influences of local and non-local origin, addressing different groups of viewers at different levels. The Samosata head, combining stylistic features in a subtle way, is therefore as innovative as it is a representative of Commagenian glocalization: it is innovative because it is unprecedented in the royal Commagenian portrait-scape and its stylistic features consciously appropriated elements from the Hellenistic and Roman repertoire which were blended into a local portrait in a unique way[229], making the head a prime example of how a local dynasty positioned itself in a changing and increasingly interconnected world.

Abstract: The Late-Hellenistic kingdom of Commagene between the Euphrates river and the Taurus mountains and its archaeological remains are often dealt with as being dominated by ›Greek‹ and ›Persian‹ influences. However, this view marginalizes local agency, which becomes apparent in the stylistic elements appropriated from a Hellenistic koine in order to visualize royal ambitions as well as political realities.

Through the lens of approaches from globalization theory the paper illuminates how the detailed investigation of a Late-Hellenistic royal portrait from Samosata can open up prevailing ways of thinking and lead to a better understanding of local adaptation- and transformation-processes in Commagene. The portrait is to be identified as a posthumous image of Antiochos I which was part of an ancestral gallery in the royal palace at Samosata. This is especially instructive because it differs from the known images of Antiochos I, which show him wearing the Armenian tiara, and instead presents the ruler as an independent king following traditions of Hellenistic royal portraiture slightly influenced by the portraits of Octavian. The difference of the portrait from Samosata compared to previous depictions of Commagenian rulers must be explained by the changed political situation after the battle of Actium. In this context, Antiochos I is on the one hand presented as an independent Hellenistic ruler, whereas the stylistic detail of his hair – obviously inspired by Octavian's portrait – aims at the benevolent reception of viewers familiar with Roman iconography. Similar reactions due to the increasing importance of Octavian/Augustus in the whole Mediterranean can be observed in the portraiture of other Hellenistic rulers but the reference to Octavianic instead of Augustan portraiture point to a very conscious process of adaptation and appropriation in the case of Commagene. Thus, the posthumous portrait of Antiochos I must be regarded as a visual expression of the Commagenian dynasty's conscious agency in positioning themselves in a changing local and global environment.

Kommagenische Glokalisierung und die Frage der Wahrnehmung – Zu einem innovativen Herrscherporträt aus Samosata

Zusammenfassung: Das späthellenistische Königreich Kommagene zwischen Euphrat und Taurus sowie dessen archäologische Hinterlassenschaften werden häufig als zwischen ›griechischen‹ und ›persischen‹ Einflüssen stehend betrachtet. Diese Einschätzung marginalisiert jedoch die

[229] On the creation of something new by locally appropriating elements stemming from a global repertoire cf. Hodos 2015, 247 f.

lokalen Entscheidungsträger, die sich für ihre Monumente bewusst der Formensprache einer hellenistischen Koine bedienten, um ihren Ansprüchen sowie der politischen Realität Ausdruck zu verleihen.

Durch die Linse globalisierungstheoretischer Ansätze beleuchtet der Beitrag, wie durch die detaillierte Betrachtung eines späthellenistischen Herrscherporträts aus Samosata die Perspektiven bestehender Denkmuster erweitert werden und dies zu einem besseren Verständnis lokaler Adaptions- und Transformationsprozesse in Kommagene führt. Das Porträt kann als posthumes Bildnis Antiochos' I. als Teil einer Ahnengalerie im Palast von Samosata identifiziert werden. Dies ist aufgrund der sonst von Antiochos I. bekannten Ikonographie mit armenischer Tiara besonders aufschlussreich, da sich das Bildnis aus Samosata an hellenistische Herrscherporträts anlehnt und Einflüsse des Porträts von Oktavian aufweist. Die Andersartigkeit des Herrscherporträts aus Samosata im Vergleich zu den vorherigen Darstellungen kommagenischer Herrscher ist den veränderten politischen Verhältnissen nach der Schlacht von Actium geschuldet. Dabei wird Antiochos I. einerseits als unabhängiger hellenistischer Herrscher präsentiert, andererseits zielt das stilistische Detail seiner an Oktavian orientierten Frisur auf eine wohlwollende Rezeption bei Betrachtern ab, die mit der römischen Ikonographie vertraut waren. Derartige Reaktionen auf die steigende Bedeutung Oktavians/Augustus' im gesamten Mittelmeerraum lassen sich auch in den Porträts anderer späthellenistischer Herrscher fassen, doch deutet der Rückbezug auf Oktavian anstelle einer Bezugnahme auf Augustus im kommagenischen Fall einen besonders umsichtigen Adaptionsprozess an. Das posthume Porträt Antiochos' I. ist somit visueller Ausdruck des bewussten Handelns der kommagenischen Dynastie, die sich sowohl lokal als auch global positionieren musste.

Kommagene küyerelleşmesi ve Algilama sorunu – Samosata`dan bir Yenilikçi Hükümdar Portresi Hakkinda

Özet: Fırat ile Dicle arasındaki Geç Hellensitik Dönemi Kommagene Kraliyeti ve de arkeolojik mirasları genelde ›Yunan‹ ve ›Pers‹ tesirlerinin arasında kalmış olarak görülmektedir. Fakat bu değerlendirme, talep ve de gerçekçi siyasi anlatımlarını ifade etmek için anıtlarını Hellenistik bir Koine`nin biçimleyici diline bağlı kalarak oluşturmuş olan, yerel karar yetkililerini sadece marjinalleştirmektedir.

Küreselleşme kuramsal yaklaşımlar ışığı altında alınmış makalede Samosata`nın Geç Hellenistik Dönemi`ne ait bir hükümdar portresini detaylıca incelenmesiyle mevcut düşünce kalıbını genişletip, Kommagene`deki yerel intibak ve dönüşüm süreçlerini daha iyi anlayabilmesine olanak vermektedir. Portre, I. Antiochos`un ölümünden sonra yapılmış olup, bir atalar galerisine ait olarak yorumlanmasıyla Samosata Saray`ında bulunmuştur. Bu, aslında I. Antiochos`un tanınan Ermeni Tiara`lı ikonografisinden daha faza bilgi vericidir. Çünkü Samosata`dan bilinen görüntü Hellenistik Dönemi hükümdar portrelerine dayanmakta ve de ayrıca Oktavian portresinin etkilerini ortaya koymaktadır. Samosata`dan bilinen hükümdar portresinde, önceki Kommagene hükümdar betimlemeleriyle yapılan karşılaştırma sonucunda, tespit edilen farklılaşması Actium Savaşı`ndan sonraki siyasi değişimlerine borçludur. Burada I. Antiochos bir yandan bağımsız Hellenistik Dönemi bir hükümdar olarak sunulmakta, diğer yandan stilistik detayındaki Roma ikonografisi özelliği olan Oktavian`ın saç şekliyle gözlemleyici için yardımsever özelliği ile etkisini bırakmaktadır. Bütün Akdeniz bölgesinde Oktavian/Augustus`un öneminin

artması başka Geç Hellenistik Dönemi hükümdar portresinde de gözlemlenmektedir. Lakin Augustus`un yerine Oktavian resmine yönelimiyle Kommagene`deki davada oldukça itinalı bir intibak sürecini yansıtmaktadır. I. Antiochos`un ölümünden sonra yapılmış portresi böylelikle Kommagene hanedanının bilinçli eyleminin görsel bir beyanını ortaya koymakta olup, bu hem yerel hem de küresel konumlandırılması gerekmektedir.

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