

The Oxford Handbook of the Hellenistic and Roman Near East

Rubina Raja (ed.)

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190858155.001.0001>

Published: 22 April 2025 **Available in print:** 13 May 2025

Online ISBN: 9780190858186

Print

ISBN: 9780190858155

Search in this book

CHAPTER

28 Commagene

Matthew P. Canepa

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190858155.013.80> Pages 471–490

Published: 22 April 2025

Abstract

This chapter analyzes the history, archaeology, and religions of Commagene, a fertile land located between Euphrates River and the Taurus Mountains. It tracks the major political and cultural developments of Commagene from the fall of the Achaemenid Persian Empire in 330 BC, through its emergence as an independent kingdom ca. AD 163/162, and final incorporation into the Roman Empire ca. AD 72/73. The chapter offers an up-to-date interpretation of the region's important archaeological remains, especially those created under its greatest king, Antiochus I, who brought Commagene into prominence and introduced major cultural and religious innovations. Despite the kingdom's small size, its advantageous geographical position, wealth, and the shrewd diplomacy exercised by many of its rulers enabled its rulers to make an outsize impact on the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia in the late Hellenistic and early Roman imperial periods.

Keywords: Commagene, Orontid, Hellenistic, Anatolia, Armenia, Syria, Persia, Iran, Parthia, ruler cult

Subject: Ancient Roman History, Ancient Greek History, Classical Studies

Series: Oxford Handbooks

Collection: Oxford Handbooks Online

Introduction

Commagene was a fertile land located between the Euphrates River and the Taurus Mountains (Str. 2.12.2; 2.14.1–2; 12.1.2; Marciak 2012; Blömer et al. 2021) (fig. 28.1). From at least the beginning of the third century BC, the Seleucid Empire held Commagene along with the lands of the broader region. It was detached along with neighboring provinces by the newly independent Orontid kingdom of Sophene sometime in the mid-third century BC, before falling again under Seleucid sway around 188 BC when empire briefly reasserted control over Sophene. Commagene only became an independent kingdom in its own right ca. 163/162 BC when its Seleucid governor, who claimed Orontid ancestry, succeeded in revolting from the Seleucid Empire and defending his fledgling kingdom against regional rivals. This was the first time that Commagene had formed the core of a distinct polity since the late Hittite principality of Kummuh. The kingdom of Commagene shared frontiers variously with the Seleucid Empire, the kingdoms of Sophene and Cappadocia, the Armenian Empire of Tigranes the Great, and eventually the Roman and Parthian Empires. Its borderlands extended southward into the plains of northern Syria and, at times, over the Euphrates, though it should be emphasized that Commagene's Hellenistic frontiers fluctuated according to which larger kingdom or empire it was incorporated into and with the ambitions and fortunes of its rulers. Despite briefly falling under the sphere of influence of Tigranes II's Armenian Empire (ca. mid-80s–69 BC) and an interlude of direct Roman rule (AD 17–38), the kingdom survived longer than almost all other post-Seleucid kingdoms in Anatolia and the Caucasus through shrewd diplomacy, marriage alliances, and, eventually, close cooperation with the Romans. Indeed, while the kingdom was permanently incorporated into the Roman Empire ca. 72/73, its dynastic scions continued to flourish as Roman aristocrats for decades thereafter. This chapter thus analyzes Commagene's history, archaeology, and religions from the fall of the Persian Empire to its incorporation into the Roman Empire. ↴

p. 472

p. 473 ↴

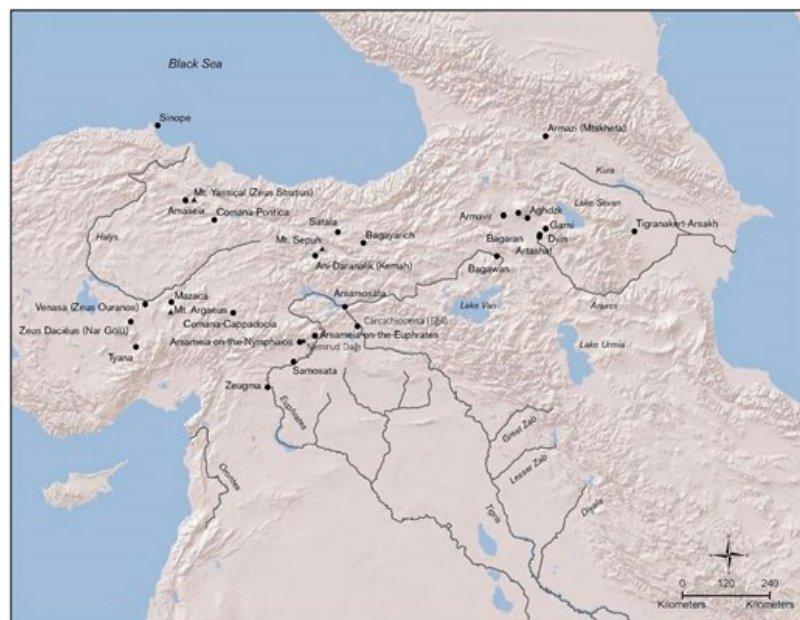


Figure 28.1. Principle sites in Commagene and Neighboring Regions (map adapted from Canepa 2018, Map 4).

Hellenistic Commagene's demographic, linguistic, cultural, and political makeup reflects the region's complex history. At different points in history, its Orontid kings strategically accentuated specific histories and traditions to appeal to select internal and external audiences. Gods with roots in Anatolia's ancient Hittite–Luwian heritage were still worshipped within the Hellenistic kingdom even as they took on elements of Greek

or Iranian religious traditions. With the rise of the Pontic and Armenian empires and eventually Parthia, new currents of post-Achaemenid Iranian kingship gained prominence as ultimately did the political traditions of Rome.

Commagene's ruling dynasty and aristocracy cultivated both Persian and Graeco-Macedonian traditions and familial roots while foregrounding royal and dynastic traditions that tied them to an Armenian-Cappadocian-Pontic politico-cultural continuum. The rulers of the independent kingdom of Commagene traced their ancestry to the Persian Orontid dynasty who ruled as satraps over Achaemenid Armenia and (briefly) Mysia. The Orontids consolidated an autonomous kingdom in the Armenian highlands after Alexander's destruction of the Achaemenid Empire and a branch of the Orontid family governed Sophene under the Seleucids. While the historicity of a direct lineal relationship is by no means clear, the Orontids of Commagene claimed the dynastic heritage of the main Orontid line of Sophene and Greater Armenia, and through it, that of the Achaemenid dynasty. In this regard, Commagene and its ruling family shared many characteristics with other kingdoms that emerged in Anatolia, northern Mesopotamia, and the Caucasus after the fall of the Persian Empire that were similarly ruled by post-satrapal Persian dynasties (Canepa 2017; 2018, 5–7 and 95–121; 2021; Strootman and Versluys 2017; Strootman 2021). Like the Mithradatids of Pontus and Ariarathids of Cappadocia, Commagene's ruling dynasty boasted of an ancestry that grew from and united both the Seleucid and Achaemenid dynastic legacies.

In the Hellenistic period, the majority of Commagene's population appears to have spoken Syrian Aramaic, and Roman commentators understood Commagene to be culturally and geographically part of "Syria," not just because of its administrative incorporation (e.g., Plin., *HN* 5.66; Str., *Geog.* 11.12.3, 16.1.22; Lucian., *Syr. D.* 1; Versluys 2017, 38–41). The king, court, and aristocracy spoke Greek, which was the language of administration and royal inscriptions, and possibly cultivated some spoken dialect of western Middle Iranian as a marker of their Persian heritage, though this is not directly attested beyond onomastics and toponyms. From the perspective of both the Roman literary sources and emic characterizations in the epigraphic evidence from Commagene, Armenian royal heritage was largely concomitant with Orontid dynastic claims. Nevertheless, this centuries-long connection to Armenian kings drew Commagene into the Armenian cultural and political orbit where it would often return into late antiquity and the Middle Ages even if it was not as closely or as continuously integrated as Sophene or the Armenian highlands.

Commagene experienced the height of its political power under Antiochus I Theos (ca. 70s–ca. 36 BC). Antiochus I introduced "newly ancient" Iranian cultic traditions across his kingdom strategically crafting and foregrounding a Perso-Macedonian cultural identity (Canepa 2018, 112 and 240–248; Canepa 2021). After the dissolution of Tigranes II's empire (ca. 69/68 BC), Antiochus built numerous dynastic and funerary sanctuaries across Commagene, most notably his own mountaintop funerary monument and cult site at Nemrud Dağı. This contained colossal cult statues, inscriptions, and stelae of his paternal and maternal ancestors stretching back to Darius I and Alexander the Great. While Antiochus I's creations were deeply rooted in the traditions of his dynasty and kingdom, they can also be seen as growing from a wider late Hellenistic phenomenon wherein client kings caught between Rome and Parthia sought to bolster their legitimacy and lineage through similar programs of monumental building and religious renovation. These included the Hasmonaean and Herodian sovereigns of Judaea, the rulers of Emesa, the Ituraeans, and Nabataeans (Kropp 2013; Versluys 2017, 232–241). Indeed, from this perspective, Antiochus I's strategy was not dissimilar to that of Augustus, who, several decades later, appropriated and reinvented earlier Italic and archaic Roman republican traditions to form his own neo-conservative visual and religious imperial idiom (Zanker 1988; Versluys 2017, 221–229).

Ancient literary sources routinely comment on or allude to Hellenistic Commagene's great wealth and agricultural bounty (e.g., Plut., *Ant.* 34.3; Jos., *BI* 1.321.22; Cass. Dio. 49.20.3–5, 23.3–4; Str., *Geog.* 12.2.1). The kingdom's legendary prosperity came not just from the land's considerable agrarian output but also its control of key Euphrates river crossings and overland routes and thus the Eurasian trade that flowed into Rome from

the Parthian Empire (Brijder 2014 170–174). Ancient literary sources routinely comment on or allude to Hellenistic Commagene's great wealth and agricultural bounty (e.g., Plut., *Ant.* 34.3; Jos., *BI* 1.321.22; Cass. Dio. 49.20.3–5, 23.3–4; Str., *Geog.* 12.2.1). Exploration and study of the archaeological history of the region began in the mid-nineteenth century (Brijder 2014, 176–310).

Historical Overview

Hellenistic Commagene encompassed the territory of the late Hittite principality of Kummuh, whose name is detectable in the classical toponym (Messerschmidt 2012, 26; Brijder 2014, 52–53). While continuities with Hittite traditions should not be overstated, Antiochus I may have selectively reinvigorated certain monumental and even cultic traditions stemming from the region's ancient Hittite past as raw material to lend a patina of antiquity to his newly ancient cult architecture and reliefs (Messerschmidt 2008; 2012; Brijder 2014, 53–55). Kummuh was incorporated into the Assyrian Empire and following a revolt, the Assyrians deported the region's inhabitants and replaced with them with a population drawn from Mesopotamia (Facella 2006, 73–78).

p. 475 The history of Commagene under the Achaemenid and Seleucid empires is very murky and we lack clear evidence of many pivotal historical developments. After trading hands between Egypt and the Neo-Babylonian Empire, the region passed into the Persian Empire with Cyrus the Great's conquests. Unlike Melitene to the north, Commagene does not appear in any Persian epigraphic or archival source, and it is unclear which Achaemenid satrapy or subsatrapy controlled it (Klinkott 2005, 451–453; Khorikyan 2017; Marciak 2017, 115). Because Commagene's Hellenistic rulers traced their ancestry to the Orontids, some interpreters have speculated that Commagene might have formed an administrative unit within the Achaemenid satrapy of Armina. This is possible, but no concrete evidence can confirm this. Given the longevity of Persian traditions in the region, likely an influx of Iranian settlers formed the core of the region's aristocracy; however, the Persian Empire left a relatively light infrastructural footprint and no major settlements. An important Persian-period aristocratic residence was constructed at Tille Höyük, a site with previous Assyrian occupation, though the Persian-period structures do not bear the marks of imperially sponsored architecture as witnessed at sites elsewhere in the empire, either those that implant ground plans and architectural forms from the imperial center at, for example, Karačamirli and Dahan-e Gholayman, or those that adapted regional prestige architectures, as at Dascylium (Blaylock 2009, 157 and 171–212; Canepa 2018, 25–28). Despite claims in earlier scholarship that misidentified Hellenistic levels at Samosata as Achaemenid, there is little evidence of continuous administrative occupation at Achaemenid sites discovered in Commagene, including Tille Höyük. This suggests a significant reorganization occurred after Alexander and that the Achaemenid satrapal boundaries and dynastic spheres of influence changed after Alexander as had happened elsewhere in Anatolia and the Caucasus (Marciak 2012, 16; Canepa 2018, 95–98). It is unclear when exactly Commagene became the possession of an Orontid-ruled satrapy or kingdom, although our first indirect evidence suggests that this may have occurred only in the Seleucid period. Only in the later Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods does clear evidence appear linking Commagene and its rulers dynastically and politically to the Orontids.

By 300 BC, Commagene was a part of the vast Seleucid Empire, which left an equally important cultural and dynastic legacy (Strootman 2021). Seleucus I Nicator founded what later became the most important urban settlement of the independent kingdom of Commagene, the twin cities Seleucia-on-the-Euphrates and Apamea controlling the Euphrates River crossing, known collectively as Zeugma. However, Zeugma became a possession of the kingdom of Commagene only in the first century BC through the intervention of Pompey the Great (Plin., *HN* 5.86; Cohen 1996, 190–196). Under the early Seleucid Empire, the region appears to have been largely left to its local governors. The core of Commagene never experienced the intensive city foundation that was the hallmark of strategically and symbolically important regions of the Seleucid Empire.

Commagene formed part of the independent kingdom of Sophene after Sophene broke away from Seleucid suzerainty in the mid- to late third century before its reincorporation after the Peace of Apamea (188). During these decades, the rulers of Sophene founded many of Commagene's most important fortified royal residence cities. Scholarship is not entirely in agreement over the identity or even number of kings attested in the numismatic evidence or mentioned in the fragmentary classical literary sources for this period (Facella 2006; Marciak 2012; 2017, 113–128). For this reason the archaeological evidence is of especial importance as an anchor for the meager literary and numismatic sources and to fill out and check the epigraphic evidence.

- p. 476 Sometime in the mid-third century BC the Orontid king of Sophene, Arsames, rebelled from Seleucus II and refused to pay tribute to the Seleucid king (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 4.17) and around 227 BC, Arsames offered the Seleucid usurper Antiochus Hierax refuge at his court (Facella 2006, 174–175; Marciak 2017, 116). Arsames founded many of the fortified settlements that the later independent kingdom of Commagene inherited during this period of independence. Among the several Seleucid satraps and clients who were in revolt at the start of Antiochus III's reign, Polybius mentions a king of Sophene named Xerxes who refused to pay tribute (Polyb. 8.23.1–5). Antiochus III advanced on Xerxes and besieged Arsamosata, forcing Xerxes to flee the royal residence. Xerxes quickly sued for peace and returned Sophene to tributary status ca. 212 BC. In addition to giving him generous terms, Antiochus III gave Xerxes his sister (*adelphēn*), Antiochis, as wife. According to a different source, Antiochis then promptly assassinated him on the orders of her brother (John of Antioch, fr. 122; Roberto 2005, 194–195). Strabo (*Geog.* 11.1.4.15) implies that Antiochus III installed two other rulers, Artaxias and Zariadres, as client rulers over the Armenian highlands and Sophene, respectively. This appears to be the same Zariadres mentioned in several early second-century Aramaic inscriptions from Armenian boundary stones, which describe him as the father of Artaxias and an "Orontid" (Marciak 2017, 117–121). After Antiochus III's defeat at Magnesia (190 BC), and facilitated by the conditions of the Peace of Apamea (188 BC), these same rulers were emboldened to assert independence. Aided and abetted by the Romans who recognized them as independent kings, they set about carving off sections of neighboring territories.

Artaxias I's dynastic successors, known in scholarship as the Artaxiads, ruled Greater Armenia until AD 12 and their history is well known from classical sources and the Armenian historiographical tradition, forming an important touchstone for later Armenian royal national identity. In contrast, the later history of the successors of Zariadres is not entirely clear. In 165 BC, Zariadres may have been forced to recognize Antiochus IV's suzerainty or at least brook his army's transit through his lands in the course of the Seleucid sovereign's punitive campaign against Artaxias I (Marciak 2017, 124–126). Zariadres's death appears to have precipitated some upheaval. The next ruler of Sophene who appears in the literary sources is Mithrobouzenes, who ruled sometime before 163 BC and may have been the son of Zariadres. Artaxias I appealed to Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia to make common cause and kill Mithrobouzenes in order to divide Sophene between them, a plot that Ariarathes rejected (Diod. 31.22).

While the Peace of Apamea allowed Sophene to maintain its independence, its terms also allowed the Seleucids to reassert control over Commagene. The treaty explicitly defined the Taurus Mountains as the northern and westernmost limits of Antiochus III's sphere of influence, suggesting that the Seleucids retained Commagene even as Sophene became independent (Polyb. 21.32–43; App., *Syr.* 38–39; Liv. 38.38). Given that Ptolemaeus, Commagene's first independent ruler, appears in our sources initially as a Seleucid governor, it is likely that at this point Commagene was constituted as a separate Seleucid province at least in name. This reincorporation into the empire, however, was short-lived.

Commagene emerged as an independent kingdom in its own right around 163/162 BC when its Seleucid governor (*epistatēs*) detached the region from the Seleucid Empire and expanded its borders, capitalizing on Rome's destabilizing influence and instability in both Sophene and the Seleucid Empire following the deaths of Zariadres of Sophene and Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Around 163/162 BC Commagene's Seleucid governor, Ptolemaeus, began ruling as an independent king. Our only literary source for the event, Diodorus Siculus (31.19a), gives the impression that Ptolemaeus achieved his position as *epistatēs* under the Seleucids and perhaps held the province as governor as Zariadres and Artaxias operated as independent dynasts (Facella 2006, 206–207). Now ruling autonomously, Ptolemaeus quickly joined in with the general rapacity of this unsettled period. He invaded Cappadocia, taking Melitene until driven back over the Taurus Range by Ariarathes IV.

It is unknown whether Ptolemaeus was a member of some provincial cadet branch of the Orontids of Sophene, had married into the family, was a eunuch like the founder of the Pergamene kingdom, or simply fabricated the dynastic claim after he had detached the province from Sophene, though all are conceivable scenarios. Our main source of evidence of Orontid dynastic history comes from Antiochus of Commagene's ancestor stelae at Nemrud Dağı supplemented by coins and scattered literary sources. The twelfth ancestor stela from Nemrud Dağı, which would have contained Ptolemaeus's predecessor, is missing from the line of Antiochus I's paternal ancestors. In fact, the only possible attestations of Ptolemaeus in the epigraphic evidence from Commagene, that is, the inscription from Gerger and the thirteenth ancestor stela from Nemrud Dağı, are also highly damaged (Facella 2006, 201).

The next generation quickly set out consolidating dynastic claims and making strategic marriage alliances. Ptolemaeus's successors, Samus II (ca. 130 BC) and Mithradates I Callinicus (100–70 BC) carry Iranian names, suggesting a deliberate reassertion of an Orontid and Persian identity. Mithradates I married Laodice VII Thea, the daughter of the Seleucid king, Antiochus VIII Gryps, which allowed the dynasty to claim Seleucid descent, while Antiochus I's marriage to Isias Philostorgos, daughter of the Cappadocian king Ariobarzanes I, allowed him to lay claim to Cappadocian's royal heritage as well. As the Armenian Empire expanded across Syria, Tigranes II absorbed the fledgling kingdom into his empire, temporarily stalling the dynasty's ambitions.

Antiochus I Theos

Facilitated by the Romans' destruction of the Armenian Empire (ca. 69 BC), Mithradates I's son and successor, Antiochus I brought the kingdom to the height of its power (Brijder 2014, 63–67; Facella 2006, 205–224). Between Tigranes II's final submission (66 BC) and the death of Mithradates VI of Pontus (63 BC), Pompey reorganized the lands of the former Armenian and Pontic empires. Around 65/64, Pompey confirmed Antiochus I in his throne and enlarged his realm to include the twin cities of Seleucia-Euphrates and Apamea. Together these were known as Zeugma for the bridge over the Euphrates by which they controlled passage between Syria and Mesopotamia (Facella 2006, 230–236). In response to this good fortune, Antiochus I added the epithet *megas* to his title. Doliche, the cult center of Zeus Dolichenus, appears to have entered Antiochus I's possession about this time as well, as attested by one of the king's cult inscriptions (Antiochus I Theos, D). At the same time, Antiochus underscored his connection to the founders of Samosata, Arsamea-Nymphaeus, and Arsamea-Euphrates to emphasize his filiation with the Orontids of Sophene (Antiochus I Theos, A and G). But his ambitions were much larger. Incited by Tigranes II's defeat and implying a claim to the larger Orontid-Armenian inheritance, Antiochus I adopted Tigranes II's so-called Armenian tiara as an insigne of supreme power, which he calls “the *kitaris*.” He specifically states that he was the first of his line to do so in his inscription from Sofraz Köy (SO 6), and he is the first king of Commagene to be portrayed wearing it on coinage.

For a brief period Antiochus I operated with a degree of autonomy between Rome and the Arsacid Empire, although maintaining it was a dangerous balancing act. Despite his official stance of friendship to Rome, proclaiming himself to be *philorhomaïos* (“Friend to the Romans”) in his inscriptions, Antiochus I sought to forge political and marriage alliances with the Arsacids. The Parthian destruction of Crassus’s army in 53 BC seems to have motivated Antiochus to contract a marriage between his daughter Laodice and Orodes II, the Arsacid king of kings (inscription *Kb*, Karakus). In an apparent attempt to hedge his bets during this chaotic period, Antiochus made such strategic decisions as allowing Parthian troops passage over his territory to raid Syria in 51–50 BC while notifying the Romans of the movement and accepting refugees (Cic., *Fam.* 8.10.1, 15.1–2, 4.4; for other examples, see Weiskopf 1992). This calculus allowed Antiochus I to maintain his kingdom, but his Parthian gamble ended in personal tragedy. The next Arsacid king, Phraates IV, murdered her along with his brothers and rivals for the Arsacid throne (Cass. Dio 49.20.5; Brijder 2014, 61).

From Independent Kingdom to Roman Client

After the reign of Antiochus I, Commagene was drawn irrevocably into Rome’s orbit. Antiochus I’s successor, Mithradates II (ca. 36–20 BC), backed Antony (Plut., *Ant.* 61). Although Octavian forgave him, at this point Commagene formally became a client kingdom with Zeugma and Doliche subject to direct Roman rule. In 29 BC Mithradates II’s brother, Antiochus II, was taken to Rome, tried and executed for interrupting communications between Mithradates II and Rome (Cass. Dio 70.43.1). Mithradates II appears not to have had a direct heir. His successor, Mithradates III (20 BC –?) was his nephew, possibly the son of his brother, Antiochus II, or another unknown brother whom Mithradates II had killed (Cass. Dio 54.9.1–3). Mithradates III was succeeded by his son, Antiochus III, whose date of accession is unknown. Antiochus III’s death in 17 AD ushered in a period of internal strife. The nobility and common people both sent embassies to Rome. The nobility asked for Roman rule and the people petitioned for the monarchy (Jos., *Ant.* 18.2.5 [53]; Tac., *Ann.* 42.7). Tiberius decided to put Commagene under Roman military rule, charging Germanicus with its administration, who appears to have laid the groundwork for its conversion into a province (Str. 16.2.3; Tac., *Ann.* 2.56.5; Suet., *Calig.* 14.3; Cass. Dio 59.8.2; Facella 2006, 317–318).

Caligula reversed this policy in AD 38 and restored the monarchy, confirming Antiochus III’s son Antiochus IV, who had been living in Rome (Suet., *Calig.* 16.3). Perhaps in acknowledgment of this subordinate status, Antiochus IV wears only the diadem on his coinage, never the Armenian tiara (Facella 2006, 92–93). Caligula changed his mind but Claudius reconfirmed Antiochus IV’s position after Caligula’s assassination in AD 41 (Suet., *Calig.* 16.3) and Nero enlarged his holdings to include the Cilician coast (Cass. Dio 59.8.2). Antiochus IV was an important player in Roman geopolitics and military affairs in Asia. Between AD 54 and 60 Antiochus IV participated in Rome’s military and political interventions against the Parthians in their struggle over Armenia (Tac., *Ann.* 18.55.1–2; 13.7.37.1–3; 14.26.3) and contributed forces on several occasions to suppress the Jewish revolts (Jos., *BI* 2.18.9 [500] and 5.11.3 [460–464]), even winning glory for himself on the battlefield in AD 70 (Tac., *Hist.* 5.1).

The End of the Kingdom of Commagene

As the first-century frontier between the Roman and Parthian Empires coalesced in this region, the Euphrates crossings became supremely important for the Romans to defend against Parthian incursions (Cic., *Fam.* 8.10.1; Str., *Geog.* 16.746, 749; App., *Syr.* 48; Cass. Dio 49.13; Plin., *HN* 5.86; Weiskopf 1992). Indeed, paranoia about the royal family's potential collusion with the Parthians precipitated its final incorporation into the Roman Empire in AD 72 (Jos., *Ant.* 7.7.1 [219–221]). Despite his loyal service to the Romans, Antiochus IV's great wealth and, most critically, his kingdom's strategic location on the frontier with Parthia raised suspicions and in the end the Romans found it expedient to integrate the kingdom into the empire (Speidel 2005 [2009]). In AD 72 the governor of Syria, Caesennius Paetus, accused Antiochus IV and his son of conspiring with the Parthians to rebel against Rome. Paetus invaded Commagene and although Antiochus IV put up no resistance, he sent the king in chains to Rome. Arriving in the Peloponnesus, Vespasian stopped his journey, granted him clemency, and gave him a stipend to support him and his family (Jos., *Ant.* 7.7.1–3 [227–244]). Commagene was thereafter joined administratively to the province of Syria, and Roman legions were stationed in Samosata and Zeugma to defend the Euphrates crossings (Speidel 2005 [2009]; Facella 2006, 336; Brijder 2014, 75).

p. 480 Antiochus IV and his descendants lived in Rome, becoming thoroughly integrated into the Roman aristocracy, holding high office and enjoying the favor of emperors. His granddaughter, Julia Balbilla (born AD 72) was a poet and traveling companion to the emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabina, leaving an inscription on the colossi of Memnon ↳ boasting of her ancestry (Rosenmeyer 2008). Remembered primarily for his funerary monument on Athens's Mouseion Hill, his grandson, Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus (AD 65–116), boasted of his membership in the Arval Brotherhood, a consulship (AD 109), and praetorian rank bestowed by Trajan; as an Athenian citizen, he was honored for holding the office of *archon* and serving as a *choregos* and an *agonothetes* (*IG* II.2, 3451; *CIL* III, 552; Plut., *Moralia* 628a–b; Paus. 1.25.8; Wu 2016).

Cultural and Archaeological History of Commagene

Like Cappadocia, Pontus, and the Armenian highlands, Sophene and Commagene initially resembled an Achaemenid satrapy with royal and aristocratic estates forming the economic and infrastructural backbone and the population dispersed in villages. Their royal residences first functioned as strategically placed strongholds rather than Greek-style *poleis*. Commagene's main settlements, including Samosata, Arsamea-on-the-Nymphaeus, and Arsamea-on-the-Euphrates, were all founded by the Orontids of Sophene. The Orontids of Commagene embellished these sites, which served as important points of pride and evidence of dynastic continuity. In fact, the only major Orontid royal residences that the later independent kingdom of Commagene did not encompass were Arsamosata and Arg(i)athicerta/Carcathaiocerta (mod. Eğil), the site of the royal necropolis of the Orontids of Sophene (Str. 11.14.2; Plin., *HN* 6.10.26; Ptol., *Geog.* 5.13.22; *Buzandaran* 4.24, trans. Garsoïan 1989, 157; Canepa 2018, 112 and 227–229).

The personal names and toponyms of the royal foundations of the Orontids of Sophene accentuated their Persian dynastic claims and Iranian cultural roots. They bore names such as Xerxes and Arsames (Old Persian Ršāma, “he who has the strength of heroes”), which was a common name within the Achaemenid family and among Persian elite. Samus possibly derived from the Avestan Sāma, father of the Avestan hero Kərəsāspa, which would attest to some tradition of Iranian religious or epic lore within the family (cf. *Yāšt* 13.136; Justi 1895, 280–281). Moreover, naming cities as the “joy of” or “happiness of” the founder was a characteristically Orontid-Artaxiad practice evoking Achaemenid traditions, and it occurs as a pattern in several foundations, such as Samosata (Mid. Persian/Parthian *Sāmašād, Old Persian *Sāma-šiyāti-; Canepa 2018, 109).

Although the Orontids of Sophene foregrounded Persian onomastic and architectural traditions, they did not reuse sites tied to Achaemenid (or Seleucid) satrapal rule as their main residences. None of the Orontids' major

settlements were continuously occupied from the Achaemenid through the early Hellenistic period. This holds true within both Sophene and Commagene. For example, if it had been advantageous to them, the early Orontids of Sophene could have rebuilt or reoccupied Tille Höyük, a site that preserved a significant Achaemenid-era manor house. Instead it was abandoned ↵ after Alexander's invasion, only later growing into a small frontier village, but never a royal residence (Blaylock 2009, 157 and 171–212). Instead, the Orontids chose new sites for royal residences to consolidate an independent royal identity. In this they followed a remarkably similar strategy as their dynastic forebears in Greater Armenia (Canepa 2018, 98–104).

p. 481

Samosata was founded sometime in the mid-third century BC on the site of Neo-Hittite Kummuh. The archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence all point to a foundation by Samus (I) of Sophene, whom Antiochus of Commagene names as the grandfather of Arsames I in a fragmentary inscription (OGIS 394; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 14.1; Cohen 2006, 187–189; Schottky 2006; cf. Facella 2006, 172–173). The ancient site of Samosata now lies under the waters of the reservoir of the Atatürk Dam. But before the waters rose, two seasons of salvage excavations were conducted (Özgüç 1986; 1987; 1996; Canepa 2021; Kruijer and Riedel 2021). Since it controlled an important crossing on the Euphrates, Samosata had a long occupation history, and the site revealed numerous levels stretching back to the Bronze Age with the excavator and later interpreters identifying a variable number of levels. Özgüç (2009) saw some thirty levels stretching back to the Chalcolithic period while Zoroğlu (2012) in his re-examination lists fifteen layers. Significantly, however, despite such discrepancies the excavator and later interpreters all agree that there is a gap between the Assyrian and early Hellenistic/Orontid levels with no significant Achaemenid remains (Özgüç 1996). Although initially identifying a layer distinguished by orthostated walls, an altar, and courtyard as Achaemenid, after further excavation and study, the site's excavators revised their initial working hypothesis and conclusively assigned it to the Hellenistic period (Özgüç 1996, 213; 2009, 41–46; Canepa 2018, 102–103).

Above this layer, the excavators documented a later palace built in the early Hellenistic period, which used an archaic limestone orthostat treatment of the walls and torus bases to evoke Achaemenid architecture (Mellink 1984, 449; Özgüç 1996, 214; 2009, 46–48, plans 13–14, plate 119.258–259 and plate 120.260a–b). Its use of “sub-Achaemenid” Persian architectural forms is conceptually continuous with post-Achaemenid Orontid structures in Greater Armenia, as is the palace's location at a site of ancient significance without satrapal connotations. Still more, Samosata evinces an analogous pattern of development when compared to Arsamosata in Sophene. Founded in the mid- to late third century BC by Arsames, son of Samus I, it too had a similar gap between the Urtian and Hellenistic occupations (Ögün 1971; 1972; Tirats'yan 2003, 131). The Orontid kings of Commagene built a palace at Samosata in the first century BC, which was decorated with rich mosaics and frescos (Özgüç 2009, 41–46, plates 101–116; Zoroğlu 2012). Like similar architecture in Arsamea-on-the-Nymphaeus the later Hellenistic palace of the Orontids of Commagene imposed a rather abrupt shift in architectural style emblematic of the later dynasty's close entanglement with the contemporary Graeco-Roman world (Canepa 2018, 109–110).

According to the inscriptions of Antiochus I of Commagene, Arsames founded fortified settlements at Arsamea-Euphrates (present-day Gerger) and Arsamea-Nymphaeus (Eski Kale), a building campaign that took place during Arsames's rebellion ↵ from Seleucus II (Facella 2006, 174–175). The most significant remains from these sites date to the first century BC when they became important fortresses and ritual centers for the first-century Orontid sovereigns of the kingdom of Commagene. Although occupied in the Middle Bronze Age, Arsamea-on-the-Nymphaeus did not host an important settlement in the Achaemenid period. The site hosted an elite palace or villa in the early Hellenistic period whose remains were subsequently built over or integrated into late Hellenistic and Roman buildings (Hoepfner 1983, 79–83). Much like the early Orontid palace at Samosata, the Orontid structure used simple Achaemenid-style torus bases suggesting that Arsames made use of “Persianizing” architectural forms in establishing his new royal identity (Hoepfner 1983, 6–7; 2000, 58; Dörner and Goell 1963, 175–184).

p. 482

Arsamea-on-the-Euphrates has not received as much attention as Arsamea-on-the-Nymphaeus. The site was only cursorily surveyed by the early twentieth-century expedition (Dörner et al. 1939, 86–91; Waldmann 1973, 123–141; Sanders 1996, 1:175–377). Nevertheless, this settlement fits the pattern of Arsames’s other foundations: it is a virtually impregnable fortress set atop a flat-topped rocky outcrop. We know from an inscription at the site that it hosted the tomb and sanctuary of Antiochus I’s grandfather, Samus II, and a sanctuary of a goddess called Argadene (Antiochus I, G 50). A small number of ossuary niches carved into the cliff face hint at elite inhabitants who adhered to Iranian mortuary strictures. In order to make this dynastic connection tangible, Antiochus of Commagene carved a rock relief of his grandfather (Canepa 2018, 111). As it is unexcavated, we do not know about the nature of Arsames I’s original constructions at the site, though its scale, the funerary niches, and the monumental rock relief that Antiochus carved into its cliffs indicate that it was a significant settlement.

Antiochus I’s Cult Reforms and Dynastic Sanctuaries

Commagene’s most distinctive archaeological features come from the reign of Antiochus I. Antiochus I designed a new official cult that foregrounded Iranian deities and religious traditions, though not necessarily consonant with later “orthodox” Zoroastrianism as it coalesced under the Sasanians and solidified in the Middle Ages (Canepa 2018, 240–248; 2021; de Jong 2021). Antiochus introduced a new state pantheon of culturally complex deities who were identified, and in most cases portrayed visually, in both Greek and Iranian idioms: Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, Artaganes-Heracles-Ares, and the Tyche of Commagene. The cult protocol (*nomos*) that Antiochus I instituted honored the gods of Commagene, himself, and, secondarily, his Persian and Macedonian ancestors. It demanded that the inhabitants of Commagene go the nearest sanctuary (*temenos*) to celebrate the anniversaries of the king’s birthday and coronation. The members of the priesthood he established were meant to celebrate these events monthly in addition to the two large yearly festivals. The cult protocol does not resemble Zoroastrian rituals known from the late antique period; however, the cult’s general outlines and their open-air installations parallel contemporary Armenian Zoroastrianism and religious practices. Just as important, Antiochus I himself understood that he established the cultic institutions on Persian models and portrayed the pantheon and its cult as arising from his ancestors’ “ancient knowledge.” Given the makeup of the new pantheon and parallels between Commagene’s cult rituals and those of Orontid-Artaxiad Armenia, it is probable that Antiochus I drew on some lingering familial memories. But it is equally likely that he “filled in the blanks” with contemporary religious practices within Anatolia and the Caucasus and, possibly, the Parthian Empire. The open-air sanctuaries of Orontid and Artaxiad kings of Armenia, which included statues of the gods, the king, and his ancestors, likely provided the most powerful and dynastically significant precedent. Although Antiochus I’s conception of Persian religion derived from contemporary Iranian religious traditions within Anatolia and the Caucasus, the sites’ basic constituents and many of the cult terms and practices engaged contemporary ruler cults, regionally and across the Iranian world (Canepa 2018, 202–203 and 248).



Figure 28.2. View of the east terrace of Antiochus I's *hierothesion* and tomb (Nemrud Dağı, Turkey). © Matthew P. Canepa.



Figure 28.3. Relief stela portraying Antiochus I clasping hands with Artaganes-Heracles-Ares, *hierotherision* of Arsamea-on-the-Nymphaeus (Eski Kale, Turkey). © Matthew P. Canepa.



Figure 28.4. View from Arsamea-on-the-Euphrates with relief portraying Samus II and inscription of Antiochus I (Gerger, Turkey). © Matthew P. Canepa.

Antiochus I built sanctuaries throughout his kingdom for his newly instituted dynastic cult (Brijder 2014, 83–163; Canepa 2018, 240–248). These were divided between sites that hosted what he termed an *hierothesion*, the supreme cult sites collocated with a royal funerary monument, and a simple *temenos*, which were much more numerous and located throughout the kingdom. Two of the major *hierothesia*, the king’s own mountaintop funerary monument at Nemrud Dağı and his father’s at Arsamea-on-the-Nymphaeus, are known archaeologically, although the *hierothesia* at Arsamea-on-the-Euphrates and many of the smaller *temenē* are attested only epigraphically (figs. 28.2–28.4). Most of these open-air sanctuaries shared similar characteristics, such as altars, cult images, and inscriptions, though not all were built to the same monumental scale and only the *hierothesia* were collocated at tombs. Antiochus I’s own funerary monument centered on the king’s colossal funerary tumulus, as did a tomb for the royal women at Karakuş built by Mithradates II, which did not, however, seem to host a cult site (fig. 28.5). Antiochus I’s father’s tomb at Arsamea-on-the-Nymphaeus appears to have been in either the rock-cut hall or cave, while the bones of Samus II were likely interred in one of the rock-cut niches in the cliff side at Arsamea-on-the-Euphrates. Nemrud Dağı and Arsamea-on-the-Nymphaeus both featured colossal cult statues arranged around altars and numerous inscribed relief stelae portraying divinities, the

king, or the king clasping hands with the gods. These flanked the main altars or lined the processional ways that led to and through the cult sites.



Figure 28.5. Tumulus of the royal women with pillar and stela, Karakuş, Turkey. © Matthew P. Canepa.

Although evidence is sparse, it appears that Commagene's first three kings deliberately conformed their religious traditions to those of the Seleucids. Some have speculated that an early cult inscription from Sofraz Köy might provide us with a glimpse of a pre-Antiochan-reform dynastic pantheon, which centered on Apollo Epēkoos and Artemis Diktynna (Crowther and Facella 2003). Moreover, after Rome's absorption of the kingdom, sanctuaries built in the region appear to return to this pre-reform cult, venerating Apollo and Artemis in an unmixed state (Brijder 2014, 421–423). If these indeed reflect the original cult, the choice of Apollo and Artemis would suggest that Antiochus I's immediate predecessors sought to reinforce their new Seleucid dynastic connections, perhaps even providing a precedent for Antiochus I's dramatic, politically motivated shifts in religion and royal identity. Even so, Antiochus I's efforts to renew, or perhaps better, reinvent Commagene's Iranian religious traditions are even more remarkable. The sculptural style and iconographies of the colossal cult statues, reliefs, and stelae of Antiochus I's *hierotheresia* and *temenē* are deliberate neoconservative inventions intended to impart a sense of antiquity and grandeur to his new cult and royal claims. While the iconographies and cult appropriated and reinterpreted aspects of Orontid Armenian and Parthian traditions, the artistic program was not an outgrowth of a timeless "oriental" or Persian tradition nor the barbarous creations of imperfectly "Hellenized" natives, as an earlier tradition of scholarship often interpreted it (Versluys 2017, 185–219 and 249–254; Hauser 2021). Instead, Antiochus I's program was a "newly ancient" invention analogous to the programs of other late Hellenistic dynasts who were equally intent on rooting their newly formed kingdoms in a prestigious past and making that past visible and interpretable to external audiences (Kropp 2013). Indeed, the primary audience for these grand, monumental, and cultic statements was not the inhabitants of Commagene, who abandoned Antiochus I's creations unfinished immediately after his death, and to whom his new monuments might have even appeared as eccentric and outlandish impositions on their religious landscape and life (Canepa 2021, 95–97). Rather, they were directed to rival dynasts in the region and primarily to the great powers who lay in rapacious wait to the east and west: the Arsacids and Romans.

Conclusion: The Place of Commagene in the Hellenistic World

Scholarship has often described Commagene as lying between “East” and “West”; however, as this chapter has demonstrated, “East” and “West,” “Greek” and “Persian” were not stable or monolithic cultural or political siloes. Similar to those of the Ariarathids of Cappadocia and Mithradatids of Pontus, the Orontids’ conjoined Perso-Macedonian lineages and traditions reflected the aspirations of ambitious sovereigns just as much as regional histories. The later Orontids of Commagene were certainly conscious of occupying an important, though precarious, place between the Graeco-Roman and Iranian worlds culturally and politically, yet an opposition between these cultural and political spheres came into high relief only with Rome’s destruction of the Pontic and Armenian empires and the encroachment of Parthia. The Orontids, more often than not, succeeded in deftly navigating and resolving these seemingly impossible diplomatic and military situations in their favor. The artistic, cultic, and diplomatic initiatives that Antiochus I in particular spearheaded responded to the opportunities and anxieties of this volatile period. Despite the kingdom’s small size, its advantageous geographical position, wealth, and the shrewd diplomacy exercised by many of its rulers enabled it to make an outsize impact on the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia in the late Hellenistic and early Roman imperial periods.

Bibliography

Blaylock, Stuart. 2009. *Tille Höyük*. Vol. 3(1), *The Iron Age: Introduction, Stratification and Architecture*. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.

Blömer, Michael, Stefan Riedel, Miguel John Versluys, and Engelbert Winter, eds. *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods: Commagene in Its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*. Oriens et Occidens 34. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Brijder, Herman, ed. 2014. *Nemrud Dağı: Recent Archaeological Research and Preservation and Restoration Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Canepa, Matthew P. 2017. "Rival Images of Iranian Kingship and Persian Identity in Post-Achaemenid Western Asia." In *Persianism in Antiquity*, edited by Rolf Strootman and Miguel John Versluys, 201–222. Oriens et Occidens 25. Stuttgart: Steiner.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Canepa, Matthew P. 2018. *The Iranian Expanse: Transforming Royal Identity through Architecture, Landscape and the Built Environment (550 BCE–642 CE)*. Oakland: University of California Press.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Canepa, Matthew P. 2021. "Commagene before and beyond Antiochus I: Dynastic Identity, Topographies of Power and Persian Spectacular Religion." In *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods: Commagene in Its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*, edited by Michael Blömer, Stefan Riedel, Miguel John Versluys, and Engelbert Winter, 71–101. Oriens et Occidens 34. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Cohen, Getzel M. 1996. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Cohen, Getzel M. 2006. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Crowther, Charles and Margherita Facella. 2003. "New Evidence for the Ruler Cult of Antiochos of Commagene from Zeugma." In *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens*, edited by Gudrun Heedemann and Engelbert Winter, 41–80. Asia Minor Studien 49. Bonn: Habelt.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

de Jong, Albert. 2021. "Dynastic Zoroastrianism in Commagene." In *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods: Commagene in Its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*, edited by Michael Blömer, Stefan Riedel, Miguel John Versluys, and Engelbert Winter, 253–294. Oriens et Occidens 34. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

p. 488 Dörner, Friedrich Karl, Rudolf Naumann, Friedrich Karl Dorn, and Josef Keil. 1939. *Forschungen in Kommagene*. Berlin: Deutsches archäologisches Institut.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Dörner, Friedrich Karl and Theresa Goell. 1963. *Arsamea am Nymphaios: Die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mithradates Kallinikos von 1953–1956*. Berlin: Mann.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Facella, Margherita. 2006. *La dinastia degli Orontidi nella Commagene ellenistico-romana*. Studi ellenistici 17. Pisa: Giardini.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Facella, Margherita. 2010. "Darius and the Achaemenids in Commagene." In *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, edited by Pierre Briant, 379–414. Paris: de Boccard.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

French, David H., John Moore, and Harry F. Russell. 1982. "Excavations at Tille 1979–1982: An Interim Report." *Anatolian Studies* 32: 161–187.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Garsoïan, Nina, trans. and comment. 1989. *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut'iwkn')*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hauser, Stefan R. 2021. "Hellenized Iranians? Antiochus I and the Power of Image." In *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods: Commagene in Its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*, edited by Michael Blömer, Stefan Riedel, Miguel John Versluys, and Engelbert Winter, 45–70. *Oriens et Occidens* 34. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Hoepfner, Wolfram. 1983. *Arsamea am Nymphaios*. Vol. 2, *Das Hierothesion des Königs Mithradates I Kallinikos von Kommagene nach den Ausgrabungen von 1963 bis 1967*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.

Justi, Ferdinand. 1895. *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Marburg: Elwert.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Khorikyan, Hovhannes. 2017. "The Administrative Division of the 13th Satrapy of Achaemenid Persia in the Reign of Darius II." *Метаморфозы истории* 10: 174–180.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Klinkott, Hilmar. 2005. *Der Satrap: Ein achaimenidischer Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume*. Frankfurt: Verlag Antike.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Kropp, Andreas J. M. 2013. *Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC–AD 100*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Kruijer, Lennart and Stefan Riedel. 2021. "Transforming Objectscapes in Samosata: The Impact of the Palatial Complex." In *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods: Commagene in Its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*, edited by Michael Blömer, Stefan Riedel, Miguel John Versluys, and Engelbert Winter, 185–230. *Oriens et Occidens* 34. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Marciak, Michal. 2012. "The Historical Geography of Sophene." *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 52: 295–338.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Marciak, Michal. 2017. *Sophene, Gordyene, and Adiabene: Three regna minora of Northern Mesopotamia between East and West*. Impact of Empire 26. Leiden: Brill.

Mellink, Machteld J. 1984. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *American Journal of Archaeology* 88.4:441–59.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Messerschmidt, Wolfgang. 2008. "Kommagene in vorhellenistischer Zeit." In *ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΡΟΦΟΣ ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΗ: Neue Funde und Forschungen zwischen Taurus und Euphrat*, edited by Engelbert Winter, 1–35. *Asia Minor Studien* 60. Bonn: Habelt.

Messerschmidt, Wolfgang. 2011. "Grabstele eines Herrschers von Kummuh: Zu den späthethitischen Wurzeln des kommagenischen Königs- und Ahnenkultes." In *Von Kummuh nach Telouch: Archäologische und historische Untersuchungen in Kommagene*, edited by Engelbert Winter, 283–308. *Dolichener und Kommagenische Forschungen* 4. Bonn: Habelt.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Messerschmidt, Wolfgang. 2012. "Kommagene vor Alexander – Eine kurze Kulturgeschichte des Landes vom Chalkolithikum bis

p. 489 zur Eisenzeit." In *Gottkönige am Euphrat: Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene*, edited by Jörg Wagner, 23–31. 2nd ed. Mainz: von Zabern.

Michels, Christoph. 2008. *Kulturtransfer und monarchischer "Philhellenismus": Bithynien, Pontos und Kappadokien in hellenistischer Zeit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Öğün, Baki. 1971. "Haraba Kazıları, 1969: Haraba Excavations, 1969." In *Keban Projesi Çalışmaları 1969: Keban Project 1969, Activities*, 39–46. Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Öğün, Baki. 1972. "Haraba Kazısı, 1970: Haraba Excavations, 1970." In *Keban Projesi Çalışmaları 1970: Keban Project 1970, Activities*, 75–79. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Özgüç, Nimet. 1986. "Samsat 1984 Yılı Kazıları." *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 7: 221–227.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Özgüç, Nimet. 1987. "1985 Yılında Yapılmış Olan Samsat Kazılarının Sonuçları." *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 8(1): 297–304.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Özgüç, Nimet. 1996. "The Early Hellenistic Findings at Samsat." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 46: 213–216.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Özgüç, Nimet. 2009. *Samsat: Sümeysat, Samosata, Kumaha, Hahha, Hahhum*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Roberto, Umberto. 2005. *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta ex historia chronica*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 154. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Rosenmeyer, Patricia. 2008. "Greek Verse Inscriptions in Roman Egypt: Julia Balbilla's Sapphic Voice." *Classical Antiquity* 27(2): 334–358.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Sanders, Donald H., ed. 1996. *Nemrud Dağı: The Hierotheseion of Antiochus I of Commagene; Results of the American Excavations Directed by Theresa B. Goell*. 2 vols. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Schottky, Martin. 2006. "Ziaelas." In *Brill's New Pauly*. ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e12217090.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Speidel, Michael Alexander. 2005 [2009]. "Early Roman Rule in Commagene." *Scripta Classica Israelica* 24. Reprinted in Speidel, Michael Alexander. *Heer und Herrschaft im römischen Reich der hohen Kaiserzeit*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009: 563–580.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Strootman, Rolf. 2021. "Orontid Kingship in Its Hellenistic Context: The Seleucid Connections of Antiochos I of Commagene." In *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods: Commagene in Its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*, edited by Michael Blömer, Stefan Riedel, Miguel John Versluys, and Engelbert Winter, 285–318. *Oriens et Occidens* 34. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Strootman, Rolf and Miguel John Versluys, eds. 2017. *Persianism in Antiquity*. *Oriens et Occidens* 25. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Tirats'yan, Gevorg A. 2003. "On the Towns of Armenia in the Pre-Hellenistic Period (6th–4th Centuries BCE)." In *From Urartu to Armenia: Florilegium Gevorg A. Tirats'yan in Memoriam*, edited by Ruben Vardanyan 127–138. Neuchâtel: Recherches et publications.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Versluys, Miguel John. 2017. *Visual Style and Constructing Identity in the Hellenistic world: Nemrud Dağ and Commagene under Antiochos I.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Waldmann, Helmut. 1973. *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I.* Leiden: Brill.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Waldmann, Helmut. 1991. *Der kommagenische Mazdaismus.* Tübingen: Wasmuth.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Waldmann, Helmut. 1994. "Der Nemrud Dag, seine Terrassen und das indische Somaopfer." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 44: 107–124.

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Weiskopf, Michael. 1992. "Commagene." *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*. <http://www.iranicaonline.com>.

p. 490 Wu, Ching-Yuan. 2016. "'Live Like a King': The Monument of Philopappus and the Continuity of Client-Kingship." In *Perceiving Power in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Francis K. H. So, 25–47. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Zanker, Paul. 1988. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Zoroğlu, Levent. 2012. "Samosata: Ausgrabungen in der kommagnischen Hauptstadt." In *Gottkönige am Euphrat: Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene*, edited by Jörg Wagner, 134–146. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)