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The assembled palace of Samosata: object vibrancy in 1st C. BCE Commagene

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Citation

Kruijer, L. W. (2022, May 24). *The assembled palace of Samosata: object vibrancy in 1st C. BCE Commagene*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3304326>

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Chapter 6. Hellenistic and early Roman sculpture from Samosata (2nd c. BCE-1st c. CE).

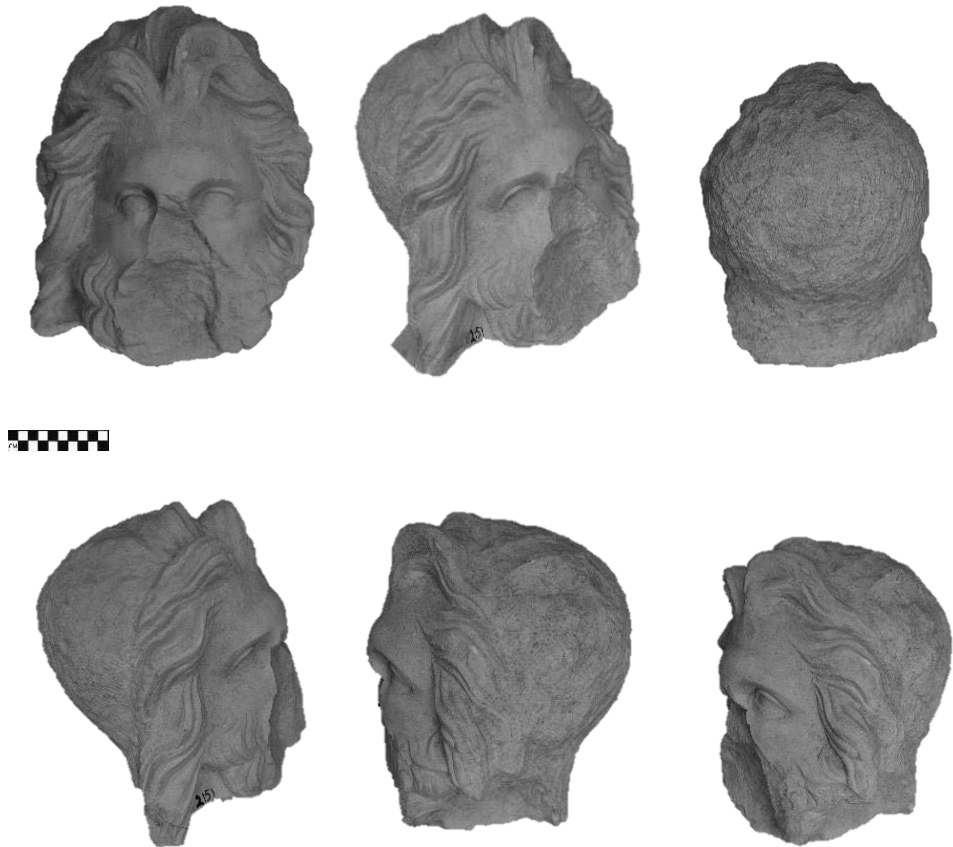
6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the sculptural evidence for the Hellenistic and early Roman periods in Samosata. Most of the sculptural fragments presented here were unearthed during the excavations by Özgüç's team on top of the *höyük*, but the corpus also includes relevant stray finds or gifts to the excavators or to the Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.⁵⁸¹ I limited the overall selection to the Hellenistic and early Roman period, which in practice means approximately the 2nd c. BCE – late 1st c. CE. The material consists of portraits (paragraph 6.2), statue fragments (paragraph 6.3), figurative reliefs (paragraph 6.4), and stelai belonging to the ruler cult of Antiochos I (paragraph 6.5). The paragraphs on portraits (6.2), statue fragments (6.3), and stelai (6.5) each time conclude with brief discussions of their shared palatial and Commagenean context. In a concluding paragraph 6.6, I discuss the complete corpus in relation to Commagenean sculpture.

⁵⁸¹ Although many of these pieces are published for the first time, some were already described and discussed in Özgüç 2009. Cf. Özgüç 2009, pl. 96 fig. 216; pl. 97 fig. 217; pl. 97 fig. 218; pl. 98 fig. 219; pl. 113 fig. 248; pl. 114 fig. 249; pl. 113 figs. 250-251; pl. 116 figs. 252-253. Other scholars dealing with the Late-Hellenistic and early Roman sculpture of Samosata have done so mostly in passing by, selecting only a few individual pieces from the published material. E.g. Zoroğlu 2000, 79-80, fig. 109; Wagner 2003/2004, 136 fig. 7, 137; Bingöl 2013, 110-111, figs. 170-171; Blömer 2012a, 101-102, fig. 3. Note also the remark by Blömer 2014, 66: '*Selbst aus Samosata, das Metropolis der Kommagene und Hauptquartier einer römischen Legion war, sind fast keine Skulpturen überliefert*'. Logically, the remarkable limestone head representing (most likely) Antiochos I wearing a diadem (ID216), has received most attention, whereas less aesthetically pleasing objects remained unnoticed and unpublished in the depot of the Adıyaman Archaeological Museum. In general, no comprehensive overview and discussion of Late-Hellenistic and early Roman sculpture of Samosata has been presented so far. For the head of Antiochos I, see Fleischer 2008; Riedel 2018; and entry ID216 in this chapter.

6.2 Portraits

ID215 - st.84-023



Head of a bearded male, perhaps Zeus.

Measurements: h. 26,3; w. 25,5; width ear-to-ear 19,6; depth (preserved) 21,2; forehead-chin 19,5. Approximately life-size.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: sector j/17, room V, between I8 and I9. Layer IV. Next to ID216.

Current Location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inv. nr. st.84-023).

Preservation: broken in a triangular shape in the lower center of the face. Chin, mouth, nose and large part of the beard are missing.

*Description*⁵⁸²: Head of a bearded male. The face seems to be oval-shaped. The jaws are covered by a beard. The eyes are almond-shaped with eyelids that are very precisely delineated. No iris or pupil is indicated. The brows are gently curving and not protruding but indicated with fine lines. The forehead is prominent. A curious depression in the form of a strip between the forehead and the start of the hair might indicate the location for the attachment or painting of some type of headgear. The long hair is roughly parted in the center and combed to the back in wild, upstanding locks of wavy but not curled hair, giving a mane-like impression. On top of the head, the hair is not rendered. The beard is also rendered in relief, giving a slightly more curled impression.

Discussion: Based on the hairstyle and the beard, this head is generally interpreted as a representation of Zeus.⁵⁸³ Zoroğlu suggested that the head might have belonged to a Roman sanctuary in the *opus reticulatum* structure north of the palace, thus ignoring the find location of the piece.⁵⁸⁴ As argued in the introduction of this paragraph, it is however more likely that ID215 and ID216 were erected together in room V of the palace, where they were found lying between statue base I8 and altar I9 (see chapter 4). The lack of any other sculptural fragments in room V should however make us cautious still.⁵⁸⁵ If indeed ID215 and ID216 were erected together, they probably formed part of an ancestral gallery that included statues of one or more gods.⁵⁸⁶ The presence of Zeus in such an ensemble would fit well with the evidence for a superior position of Zeus at Nemrut Dağı.⁵⁸⁷ A stylistic parallel might be found in the more than life-size marble head with similar wavy but not curled hair found in the temple of Sarapis in Pozzuoli, dated to the 1st c. CE.⁵⁸⁸ Blömer dates ID215 to the 1st c. CE while Riedel suggests that the late 1st c. BCE is also possible.⁵⁸⁹

Literature: Özgüç 1985, 125; Zoroğlu 2000, 77–78, fig. 105; Özgüç 2009, 44, pl.115 fig. 250; Blömer 2012, 101–102 fig. 3; Zoroğlu 2012, 138–139; Brijder 2014, 425, 427 fig. 242d; Riedel 2019, 107.

Date: Late 1st c. BCE – early 1st c. CE.

⁵⁸² Description in the object inventory: ‘*Bir erkek heykelinin çenesinden üstü korunmuş. saçlar arkada ve başın üzerinde işlenmedin bırakılmış. Onda alın üzerinden kabartma olarak iki yana doğru uzun bukleler halinde inmekte. sakal aynı şekilde kabartma olarak belirtilmiş. çıkık alınlı, kaşlar balık kılğı biçiminde ince çizgilerle belirtilmiş. göz bebeği işli. burnu ağız ve çenesi kırık*’.

⁵⁸³ Özgüç 1985, 225; Wagner 2003/2004, 136; Özgüç 2009, 44 with figs. 250a-b; Blömer 2012a, 101; Zoroğlu 2012, 138–139; Riedel 2018, 107.

⁵⁸⁴ Zoroğlu 2012, 139.

⁵⁸⁵ As suggested by Riedel 2018, 107.

⁵⁸⁶ See the introduction to this section.

⁵⁸⁷ Riedel 2018, 112f. See also Blömer 2012a for more evidence for local gods being venerated as Zeus in Commagene.

⁵⁸⁸ Now in the British Museum (1973.0302.2), cf. Pryce and Smith 1892, no. 1529.

⁵⁸⁹ Blömer 2012a, 101; Riedel 2018, 107 and n. 126.

ID216 – st.84-024



Portrait of a young man, probably Antiochos I of Commagene

Measurements: h. 31,5; w. 20,5 about life-size.

Material: fine, white limestone.

Find Location: sector j/17, room V, between I8 and I9. Layer IV. Next to ID215.

Current Location: Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inv. nr. st.84-024).

Preservation: Well preserved. Broken nose and broken left eyebrow and mouth. Broken at the neck.

*Description*⁵⁹⁰: Portrait of a young man wearing a diadem. The face is oval in shape with a slightly pointed and pronounced chin and round jaws, and turns slightly to the right. The mouth is small and somewhat opened. The eyes are almond-shaped; only the right eye has a carved pupil. The eyelids are very precisely delineated. The brows are gently arching and indicated with fine lines. The hairstyle is characterized by crescent-shaped strands arranged in overlapping rows. On the back of the head, the execution is very schematic. The two first rows of locks, oriented towards the forehead, are executed in a more detailed manner. In the center of the first row of locks, two locks curl towards each other, in contrasting movement. Behind the first two rows of locks, a 2,4 cm. wide royal diadem is indicated. It is placed around the head and contains twelve drilled holes (with an average diameter of 1,6 cm.), placed in a zigzag-line from behind the head's right ear up to the part above its left eye. These holes are generally interpreted as receptacles for bronze rays forming a radiate crown.⁵⁹¹ The diadem is knotted in the back. Below the left eye of the portrayed on the left cheek, an inscription reading *ANTIOXO* [...] is incised. The letters are very superficially chiseled into limestone and barely legible without the use of oblique lighting. Traces of red paint were observed on the portrait by the excavators, but their location on the head are unclear; during inspection in 2017, no traces were observed.⁵⁹²

Discussion: It is by and large accepted that the diadem identifies the portrayed as a Hellenistic ruler and, because of the find spot within the palace, as a member of the Orontid dynasty of Commagene.⁵⁹³ The inscription underneath the left eye narrows the identification down to the four members of the Commagenean dynasty who bore the name Antiochos. Of these, Antiochos I

⁵⁹⁰ Description from the object inventory: 'Bir erkek heykelinin boyundan üst kısmı korunmuş. baş sağa doğru hafifçe dönük. saçlar kabartma olarak alev dilimleri şeklinde gösterilmiş. baştaki diademin üzerinde, dol kaşın üzerinden başlayıp sağ kulak arkasına kadar devam eden 12 delik bulunmakta diademin üstünde kalan kısımda saçlar kabaca işlenmiş. alnı öne doğru çıkık. kaşlar balık kılçığı şeklinde ince çizgilerle gösterilmiş. göz çevresi kabartma, göz bebekleri işlenmiş. göz pınarları derin olarak belirtilmiş. yuvarlak çeneli. kulaklar tabii olarak işlenmiş. diadem arkada düğümlemiş. sol olmacık kemiği üzerinde kitabe mevcut. üzerinde kırmızı boya izleri kısmen korunmuş'.

⁵⁹¹ Fleischer 2008, 324; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Kropp 2013, 84; Riedel 2018, 95.

⁵⁹² Özgüç 1985, 225; Özgüç 2009, 44. Riedel 2018, 93.

⁵⁹³ Zoroğlu 2000, 79; Fleischer 2008, 326-329; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Kropp 2013, 85; Riedel 2018, 95.

and Antiochos III have been considered the two most likely candidates in existing scholarship.⁵⁹⁴ Zoroğlu suggested an identification with Antiochos I on the basis of a very general physiognomic similarity (the smooth transition from the forehead to the nose) with the rest of the king's iconography.⁵⁹⁵ The lack of any knowledge concerning the iconography of Antiochos III weakens these physiognomic criteria – we simply cannot know whether Antiochos III did not also have these basic physiognomic characteristics.⁵⁹⁶ For the dating of the head, Fleischer, Kropp and Riedel follow a *terminus postquem* of 40 BCE, as the portrait's hairstyle belongs to (variations of) the main Octavian-type, used by Octavian between 40-31 BCE.⁵⁹⁷ Fleischer identified the head as Antiochos III (12? BCE-17 CE), arguing that Antiochos I should be discarded as this king was solely depicted wearing the Armenian tiara after the defeat of the Armenian king Tigranes by Pompey in 66 BCE/65 BCE.⁵⁹⁸ The adoption by Antiochos III of the much earlier Octavian portrait-type instead of the contemporary Prima Porta-type - which became widespread from 27 BCE onwards - is explained by Fleischer in terms of an '*Angleichungstabu*'; the minor Hellenistic kings would have been restricted in adopting the classicizing Augustan style in detail as it would insult the emperor.⁵⁹⁹ Riedel agrees with Fleischer that a life-time portrait of Antiochos I is not possible but – I think convincingly - discards an identification as Antiochos III.⁶⁰⁰

Instead, Riedel argues that the head should be a posthumous depiction of Antiochos I, commissioned during the reign of Mithridates II (36-20 BCE).⁶⁰¹ He argues that during his reign, Antiochos I would not be expected to follow an Octavian hairstyle, as this would be unusual in the eastern Mediterranean, where it was rather Marc Antony who was the strongman.⁶⁰² Riedel suggests that, by portraying the deceased Antiochos I in the guise of a Hellenistic king and with a subtle reference to the portraiture of Octavian, Mithridates II would have attempted to rewrite

⁵⁹⁴ Antiochos II is discarded as he never became a king of Commagene and thus would not wear a diadem or a radiate crown, see Haake 2012. Antiochos IV (who ruled from 38-72/73 CE) is discarded on the basis of recurring physiognomic traits (contracted eyebrows, deep-set eyes, a bulge at the root of the nose, a slightly bent nose, a small mouth, and a strong jaw) and the Julio-Claudian hairstyle in all his depictions. The hair in those depictions has thick strands without subdivision, reaching down the nape where it is combed to the front, very much unlike the divided locks of the Samosata head. See Kropp 2013, 85-86) and Riedel 2018, 96.

⁵⁹⁵ Zoroğlu 2012, 140.

⁵⁹⁶ Fleischer 2008, 326; Riedel 2018, 97.

⁵⁹⁷ Fleischer 2008, 327; Kropp 2013, 85; Riedel 2018, 97-98.

⁵⁹⁸ Fleischer 2008, 100.

⁵⁹⁹ *Idem*, 328f. He provides similar Octavian-style portraits from the early Imperial period by referring to the portraits of the Mauretanian kings Iuba II (25 BCE -23 CE) and his son Ptolemy, see Fleischer 2008, 321-324, 327 and 329.

⁶⁰⁰ Kropp and Riedel both refute Fleischer's argument for an '*Angleichungstabu*' during the reign of Antiochos III; Riedel provides plenty of examples for the adoption of the classicizing Augustan portrait style by minor kings of the Roman world. See Riedel 2018, 99-103, referring to Smith 1988, 140. See also Kropp 2013, 76-78.

⁶⁰¹ Riedel 2018, 104.

⁶⁰² *Idem*, 99: '*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.*'

history, in some way covering up the assumed problematic early relationship between Octavian and Antiochos I.⁶⁰³

Although ingenious, Riedel's argumentation strongly relies on the assumption that Antiochos I, during his lifetime 1) could *not* have been represented without the Armenian tiara after 66/65 BCE, and that he also 2) could *not* have opted for an Octavian portrait type. I believe, however, that both assumptions are not necessarily self-evident. I am more inclined to follow Kropp's assertion that this is in fact a lifetime portrait of Antiochos I, but intended for a different socio-cultural setting than on his coins and monuments and hence not adhering to the restrictions of those media.⁶⁰⁴ The seemingly more private character of room V, difficult to access in the palace, as well as the perhaps ritual context of that room (with I9, the altar placed in front of pedestal I8, see appendix D4) would allow for a completely different social setting than in, for instance, the king's *hierothesia*, and perhaps allowed for a radically different form of self-representation.⁶⁰⁵ Especially the radiant crown in combination with the altar-like structure, together emphasize a different role for Antiochos I. Whereas the Armenian tiara served to proclaim himself the true and only heir of the Orontid house⁶⁰⁶, a message well-suited for the widely visible iconography on coinage and large-scale monuments, the diadem with bronze radiant crown would instead emphasize the epithet Ἐπιφάνης and perhaps even Θεός, which, importantly, Antiochos I already adopted during his lifetime.⁶⁰⁷ The unicity of this type of representation of Antiochos I might explain the presence of the incised inscription; also during his lifetime, those who were responsible for the execution and erection of the statue would not have been used to this type of representation.⁶⁰⁸ We should furthermore be careful in interpreting the adoption of a specific sculptural hairstyle developed in Octavian portraiture as a necessary representation of the king's political allegiance to Octavian himself. Rather, the hairstyle might more generally be understood

⁶⁰³ Riedel 2018, 125: '*adopting the hairstyle for an image of Antiochos I, who indeed was the contemporary Commagenean 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. (...) 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 Commagenean dynasty in order to be on better terms with Augustan Rome.*'

⁶⁰⁴ Kropp 2013, 85: '*The Armenian tiara with which he is depicted on coins and monuments is a political symbol employed for official iconography. By contrast, the surprising discovery of mosaic floors depicting Greek theatrical motifs such as a brothelkeeper (...) demonstrate a radically different cultural emphasis in the private atmosphere of the royal palace of Samosata, more inclined towards Graeco-Roman culture and the entertainment it had to offer. It would be in keeping with the Hellenized visual arrangement of the palace to find a bust or statue of Antiochos I depicting him according to the 'modern' fashion employed by Octavian. If the portrait was part of a gallery of kings, it would have constituted the Hellenized counterpart to the official portrait gallery on Nemrut Dağı.*'

⁶⁰⁵ Note, however, that a portrait of king Antiochos I wearing the Armenian tiara was probably also present in the palace; see ID520.

⁶⁰⁶ Wagner 1983, 201; Jacobs 2003, 119-120; Facella 2006, 220; Kropp 83-84.

⁶⁰⁷ Riedel 2018, 104 discusses the connection between the bronze radiant crown and the epithet Ἐπιφάνης as well but only in the context of a posthumous portrait.

⁶⁰⁸ Riedel 2018, 104 also suggests this but then in relation to a posthumous portrait of Antiochos I. The argument also holds true for a life-time portrait.

as a form of 'Romanism' – tied to the king's epithet *philorhomaïos* – that was not necessarily tied to one specific Roman general, as, from a Commagenean perspective, these were probably coming and going in rapid succession.⁶⁰⁹ Such a possible cultural representation of the hairstyle need however not have been activated in Commagene at all; other object capacities – for instance the hairstyle's general association with the idea of a ruler – might have been more decisive relational qualities.⁶¹⁰

As explained in the introduction to this paragraph, it is likely that ID215 and ID216 were erected together in room V of the palace, where they were found lying between statue base I8 and altar I9 (see chapter 4). The lack of any other sculptural fragments in room V should however make us cautious still.⁶¹¹ If indeed ID215 and ID216 were erected together, they probably formed part of an expanded ancestral gallery that included statues of one or more gods.⁶¹² The inscription underneath the left eye might have helped those responsible of erecting the statues to separate it from the other statues and '*guarantee the correct position within the ensemble*'.⁶¹³ According to Fleischer, Kropp and Riedel, the inscription would almost not have been visible as it was most likely covered with paint.⁶¹⁴ Several aspects of the statue (the slight leftward turn of the head; the

⁶⁰⁹ See Versluys 2017a. He considers Antiochos I's '*Romanism as a form of Hellenism*', which would indeed suggest that the use of a Roman hairstyle was more a cultural scenario meant to evoke general associations with, for instance, Roman power than to function as a direct representation of a specific political allegiance. If, for the sake of argument, we assume however that the portrait *did* signal an allegiance to Octavian, we might ask why Antiochos I could not have supported him for some time during his life. The argument often encountered for this is that Antiochos I should have instead supported Marc Antony, who was the strongman in the eastern Mediterranean in this period, but this might be questioned. The siege of Samosata of 38 BCE seems, at least to some extent, to have derived from Antiochos I's apparent disloyalty to Antony by allowing Parthian troops to enter Roman territory (Facella 2006, 244–245). Whether or not the siege ended successfully for Antony (Plutarch and Cassius Dio, perhaps as a form of Octavian propaganda, emphasize Antony's failure, while Flavius Josephus and Orosius suggest Samosata was in fact taken, see Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 34.4; Cass. Dio XLIX 20.5; Joseph. *BJ* 16.7 and *AJ* XIV 15.9, Oros. VI18.23. In general, see Facella 2006, 244–248), the relation between Antiochos I and Marc Antony after 38 BCE remains completely unclear (Facella 2006, 249: '*Sulle relazioni che intercorsero tra Antonio e Antioco dopo il 38 a.C. non si sa nulla*'). It is very well possible that only after the death of Antiochos I, presumably in 36 BCE, his son, Mithridates II, started an allegiance with Marc Antony that led up to his military support at Actium in 31 BCE. As such, we cannot entirely rule out that, for instance between 38 and 36 BCE, Antiochos I would have felt more inclined to express an allegiance to Octavian than to Marc Anthony.

⁶¹⁰ Note that the hairstyle of, for instance the Seleucid rulers in the ancestral gallery does not deviate that much from that of the limestone head, cf. Sanders 1996, 2, 240 fig. 468.

⁶¹¹ As suggested by Riedel 2018, 107.

⁶¹² Riedel 2018, n. 127, 107. See the introduction of this section.

⁶¹³ *Idem*, 109. See also Fleischer 2008, 326: '*Nach Zoroğlu würde man eine "Versatzmarke des Künstlers – für eine Aufstellung in einer Galerie der Ahnen – ...nicht so fein geschrieben erwarten". Dieser von ihm verworfene Gedanke trifft aber wohl das Richtige. Gerade weil die Inschrift so flach und fein eingeritzt ist, war sie für den Betrachter kaum zu sehen, da sie wie die Raspelspuren auf der Haut unter dem üblichen farbig getönten Überzug verschwand. Die Inschrift wurde offensichtlich für die Versetzung in einem größeren Zusammenhang, also einer Herrschergalerie, angebracht. Auch der Fundort, die Basileia von Samosata, spricht für diese Annahme*'; Zoroğlu 2012, 140f.; Kropp 2013, 84: '*As this inscription would have disappeared underneath the plaster necessary to conceal evident toolmarks, it was perhaps made in the workshop as an instruction for the placement of the head in a portrait gallery in the palace*'; Riedel 2018, 104: '*(...) the use of an inscription to identify the portrayed which was most probably related to its setting in an ancestral gallery*'.

⁶¹⁴ Riedel 2018, 109. See also Fleischer 2008, 326 and Zoroğlu 2012, 141.

drilled holes which only cover two-thirds of the diadem; and the fact that only the right eye contains a carved pupil) indicate an emphasis on the right profile of the head, suggesting it was turned towards another statue. For a discussion of the possible counterparts, see the introduction of the paragraph.

A possible parallel for a portrait containing an identifying inscription placed on the cheeks is a portrait of Alexander the Great from the Kerameikos in Athens, dated to ca. 200 BCE.⁶¹⁵ This inscription however seems to be of a later date than the portrait itself and much less subtle. An example of Hellenistic sculpture containing incised inscriptions is the 1st c. bronze sculpture with Etruscan inscription (*l'Arringatore*) on the drapery from Cortona but this might be secondary as well.⁶¹⁶ In both cases, the inscriptions were clearly meant to be seen by the viewing audience, something which seems unlikely in the case of ID216.

Literature: Özgüç 1985, 224–226 and Özgüç 1986, 301–302; Zoroğlu 2000, 79; Wagner 2003/2004, 136–137, fig. 7; Özgüç 2009, 44, pl.113 fig. 248, pl. 114 fig.249; Fleischer 2008; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Bingöl 2013, 110–111, figs. 170–171; Kropp 2013, 84; Brijder 2014, 425, 427 fig. 242b–c; Riedel 2018; Kruijer and Riedel 2021, 205.

Date: ca. 40 – 20 BCE.

⁶¹⁵ Mols and Moormann 2016, 26–27, fig. 2. According to the online catalogue of National Museum of Athens, where the portrait is exhibited, these inscriptions were however added at a later date.

⁶¹⁶ Dohrn 1968.

ID240 - st.84-381



Fragment of a female head.

Measurements: h. 28,0; w. 17,0; depth 9,4 (preserved). Life-size.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: sector k/16, probably room XIV, layer IV. The excavators designate the statue fragment to a 'mosaic room 6' in sector k/16. Riedel suggests it might have been found in corridor B3 or B4 or in room 258

XIV. The latter is more likely as the excavators refer to a mosaic room; the pebble floor of corridors B3 and B4 is never described as 'mosaic room 6'.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. st.84-381).

Preservation: Cut off at the complete front side; no traces preserved from the face, only part of the ears. Irregularly cut off at the neck. Fragment was in two parts but glued during restoration.

*Description*⁶¹⁷: A limestone fragment of the backside of a female head. The long, wavy hair is combed to the back, covering the top of the ears and gathered at the back in a bun. The hair is executed in a rather schematic way and at the upper left part it is left unfinished without differentiated strains. The top of the head is roughly rendered. There is a connection hole underneath, which could have attached the head to a bust or a statue. Another hole on the back suggests a restoration of the same break already in antiquity.

Discussion: Perhaps an example of the very popular Hellenistic 'Aphrodite'-type, which ultimately derives from Praxiteles.⁶¹⁸ Riedel discusses whether ID240 might have been part of a statue group, potentially an ancestral gallery, comprising also of ID215 and ID216.⁶¹⁹ An important argument in favor of this is the very rough rendering of the left top of the head, where the hair is not even indicated. This would indicate that the statue had an emphasis on its right profile (just like ID216) and thus was likely placed in relation to another statue.⁶²⁰ As mentioned in the introduction to this paragraph, ID240 is however inferior in quality when compared to ID215, ID216 and the female head wearing a diadem from Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁶²¹ Combined with the lack of a diadem it seems unlikely that ID240 belonged to the proposed expanded ancestral gallery of room V.⁶²² Rather, the find location of the fragment might point to an original location in the nearby recess I10 (h. 1,20; w. 0,70 m.). The reworked back of the portrait would not be visible when placed in the niche and the emphasis on the right profile might indicate that it turned towards a similar counterpart in the almost identical niche I11, 5,40 m. further in corridor A4 (see chapter 4).

Literature: Riedel 2018, 110-111, figs. 22-23.

Date: Late-Hellenistic

⁶¹⁷ Description from the object inventory: '*Bir kadın başının boyundan üstü ve kulakların arkası korunmuş. saçlar kulakların üst kısmını kapatacak şekilde arkaya taranmış ve ensede topuz yapılmış. başın üstü kabaca işlenmiş topozu kırık. saçlar yatay yiv ve setler halinde belirtilmiş. başın her iki yanında kulak arkasından küçük bir parça korunmuş. yuzu ve boynun altı kırık. boynun altında geçme deliği mevcut.*'

⁶¹⁸ Hermay 2006, 106.

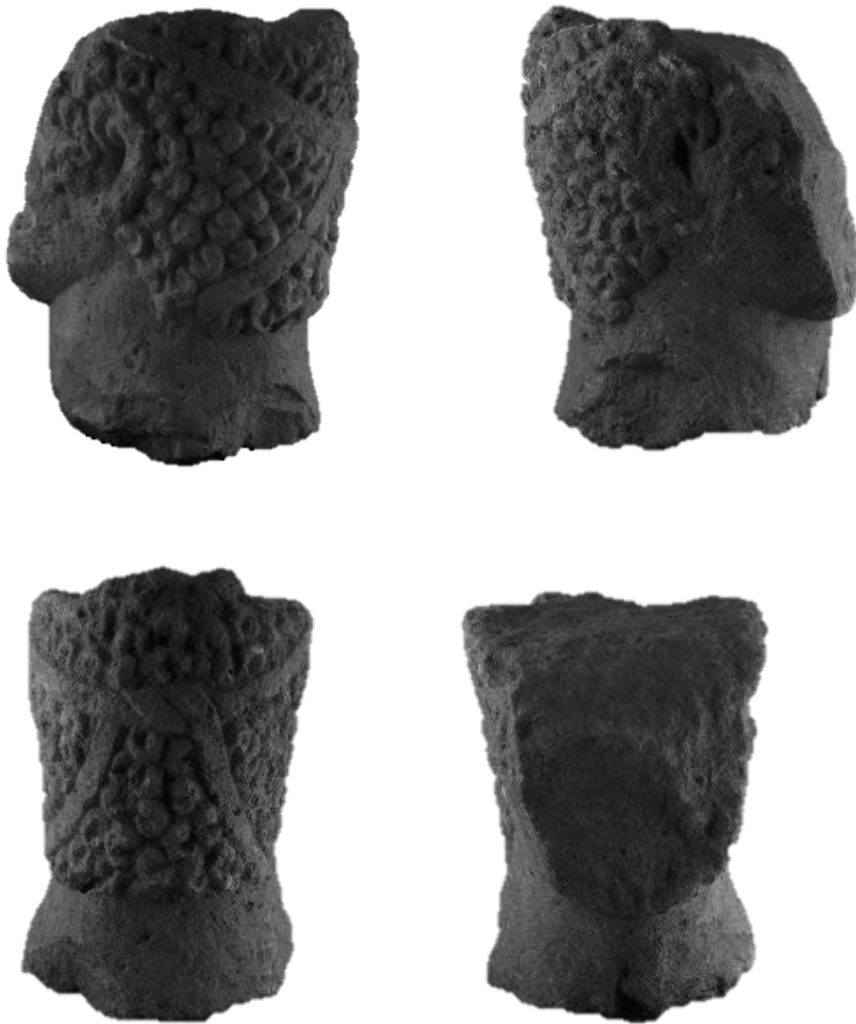
⁶¹⁹ Riedel 2018, 109-110.

⁶²⁰ *Idem*, n.132, 110. In that case, however, the statue would not turn to ID216 when placed in a statue group.

⁶²¹ Riedel 2018, 110. For the head from Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see Hoepfner 1983, 24 and Hoepfner 2012, 123.

⁶²² Riedel 2018, 111.

ID512 - st.17-001



Head and neck of a male figure

Measurements: h. 21,0; w. 14,6.; depth: 15,0 (preserved). Slightly smaller than life-size.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: unclear.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (no inv. nr.).

Preservation: Face is cut off completely; only the ears remain. Irregularly cut off at the neck.

Description: Head and neck of a male from a slightly smaller than life-size sculpture. Oval-shaped face with, it seems, a somewhat square-set jaw. The curly hair is executed in roughly chiselled but clearly articulated polygonal lumps, which continue into considerable whiskers on both sides of the face. The hair does not cover the rather roughly executed ears. Creating a slightly curving line, the hair strongly contrasts with the smoothly polished flesh of the neck. The male wears a thin fillet or diadem (w. 1,10) that is loosely fixed at the back in a simple knot.

Discussion: Identification of the portrait is problematic due to its limited preservation. The execution of the short, frizzy hair perhaps suggests it represents an 'Ethiopian', a distinct iconographical category for depictions of black people that already developed in the pre-Hellenistic ancient world.⁶²³ If the fillet is in fact a diadem, the portrait might portray a Hellenistic king and thus be part of the proposed expanded ancestral gallery in room V of the palace (see introduction to this paragraph). No known depiction of members from Antiochos I's ancestral galleries however fit the characteristics of ID512 so its inclusion in the proposed ancestral gallery remains very uncertain. The hairstyle has some affinities with the portraits of king Ptolemy Apion of Cyrene (150/145-96 BCE), who was partially native Egyptian, and therefore often portrayed with short frizzy hair.⁶²⁴ If the thin fillet is not a diadem, the portrait might instead be a depiction of an athlete of African appearance. The hairstyle and strong contrast between the hair and neck are also witnessed in a black siltstone head of a young, male 'Ethiopian' from Alexandria, dated to 100-75 BCE.⁶²⁵ A radically different possibility is that the statue belongs to the category of so-called Cypro-Archaic or Cypro-Classical male statuary, which is also characterized by a rather schematic, short and curly hairstyle.⁶²⁶

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: unclear.

⁶²³ For a critical analysis of representations of black people in antiquity, see Bindman and Gates 2010.

⁶²⁴ Examples include two marble heads at the British Museum (1861,0725.11 and 1861,1127.55). See Rosenbaum 1960, cat. no. 9, pl. X and Huskinson 1975, cat. no. 63.

⁶²⁵ Now in the British Museum (EA55253; 1875,0810.13), cf. Hinks 1976, 35, no. 25; James and Davies 1983, 56, fig.63; Walker and Burnett 1981, 13, no. 132; Belli Pasqua 1995, 40-1, no. 8, fig.12; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, 246-247.

⁶²⁶ Cf. Sørensen 2017, 63 fig. 5.

ID520



Fragment of a portrait with a diadem containing eagles in relief. Perhaps Antiochos I?

Measurements: h. 8,0; w. 6,0; depth 0,8.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: sector j/19, layer IV.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: Broken on all sides except the front. The right eagle is only partially preserved.

Description: Fragment of a portrait with a diadem containing eagles in relief. The fragment shows a well-articulated, slightly curving horizontal band with three eagles in relief depicted in three quarters, with partly spread wings, heads in profile, and facing towards the left. Below and above the horizontal band, a surface with lightly incised lines is visible, irregularly waving from the top left to the right bottom; perhaps the lines in these surfaces indicate the hair of an approximately life-size portrait. Above and more or less parallel to the band or diadem runs a ridge that might indicate the start of another type of headgear, perhaps an Armenian tiara.

Discussion: Although the fragment is small and curious, it is very likely that it belongs to a slightly larger than life-size portrait of a Hellenistic king wearing an Armenian tiara with a decorated diadem. Especially the unusual curve of the horizontal band and the hair-like incisions below and above it suggests it is part of the upper left side of a three-dimensional portrait; perhaps showing

the area right above the left ear. The most direct parallels for the diadem derive from two *dexiosis* reliefs that show Antiochos I with abundant eagle iconography. The *dexiosis* relief from Sofraz Köy ('SO') shows Antiochos I shaking hands with Apollo *Epekoos*, with the king wearing a five-pointed Armenian tiara that contains a large eagle flapping its wings above a laurel wreath.⁶²⁷ Underneath the laurel wreath, a diadem, placed around the tiara, is adorned with a row of eagles in relief with their wings partly spread. The king's neckband too contains a row of eagles in relief.⁶²⁸ A *dexiosis* relief from Zeugma ('BEc') is very similar and also contains a diadem adorned with a row of eagles in relief, with the wings partly spread; the large eagle on top is however not preserved and the neckband, according to Rose, contains a row of lions instead of eagles.⁶²⁹ Apart from the obvious Hellenistic-period role as symbol and protector of royalty (together with the lion), the eagle on the Commagenean reliefs seems more specifically connected to Apollo.⁶³⁰ It also seems to be linked to Armenian royal concepts as well; the five-pointed Armenian tiara was adopted by Antiochos I after the defeat of Tigranes II of Armenia in 69/68 BCE.⁶³¹ Depictions of Tigranes II wearing the five-pointed Armenian tiara on coins do however not show rows of eagles, but are restricted to an iconography of an eight-rayed star flanked by two eagles in profile facing each other.⁶³² The row of eagles in relief, with wings partly spread, is also witnessed on the diadem placed over the Persian tiara of Darius on the ancestral stele on the North socle (I-1) of the Eastern Terrace.⁶³³ The fourth and seventh Persian ancestors of the ancestral gallery show the same feature.⁶³⁴ The row of eagles on a tiara is however also not known from Achaemenid iconography, which suggests that it was an invention under Antiochos I that should be understood as a form of

⁶²⁷ Wagner 1975, 55-56; Wagner and Petzl 1983; Wagner 2000, 16-7; Crowther and Facella 2003, 71-74, no. 3; Brijder 2014, 141-144.

⁶²⁸ Wagner and Petzl 1983, 206: 'Die Wahl der Symbole ist von der Person des jeweils dem König gegenüber dargestellten Gottes abhängig: so zeigt die Tiara unseres Reliefs -neben dem Adler- einen Lorbeerkrantz zur Verehrung des begrüßten Gottes Apoll; eine Reihe von Adlern findet sich außerdem auf dem Diadem, das um die Tiara gelegt ist, und auf dem Halsband des Königs.'

⁶²⁹ Rose 2013, 221: 'The diadem, worn at the top of the forehead, is decorated with a row of four eagles in profile, and a row of lions appears on his metal neckband.' For the *dexiosis* from Zeugma ('BEc'), see Early 2003, 8-56; Facella and Crowther, 2003, 41-80; Jacobs and Rollinger 2005; Facella 2006, 233-234, 287-288; Crowther and Facella 2012, 74-75, figs. 54-56; Brijder 2014, 152-155. Note that the *dexiosis* stelai from Zeugma and Sofraz Köy are very similar to ID691 ('Sx'), the *dexiosis* stele found on the banks of the Euphrates near Samosata, see Brijder 2014, 152. Although the depiction of Antiochos I is not preserved there, it is very likely that this stele too depicted the king with a diadem adorned with eagles in relief.

⁶³⁰ Note that the eagles on the Commagenean coins seem to have slightly different associations; Facella demonstrates that, in the later coins of Samosata, an eagle rests on Tyche's branch, which, according to Butcher, might reference a foundation myth of the city (Butcher 2004, 231). Facella also mentions that other bronzes from Samosata occur with an eagle on the reverse type of a sitting Zeus, something very common for the Antiochene type of the 1st c. BCE. For the frequent occurrence of the eagle on coins of the Commagenean and Sopenian kings, see Bedoukian 1983. In general, see Facella 2021, 153-154.

⁶³¹ Facella 2006, 281.

⁶³² Bedoukian 1964, 303-306; Young 1964, 29-34; Sullivan 1973; Sullivan 1990, 194.

⁶³³ Sanders 1996, I 407-408, II 185 figs. 334-335. The stele of Darius on the west terrace (south socle- 1) is too worn to discern any decoration, but a similar diadem with eagles in relief might be expected here. See Sanders 1996 II, 204 figs. 383-384. For more comments on eagles at Nemrut Dağı, see Sanders 1996 I, 407-408.

⁶³⁴ Sanders 1996 I, 407.

'Persianism'.⁶³⁵ If we confine the identification of the portrayed of ID520 to either Antiochos I wearing the Armenian tiara or Darius wearing the Persian tiara, it seems that the former is more likely, as it would explain the multifaceted structure of the diadem and the rim above it, something which is not to be expected for the Persian tiara. The find location and layer make it very well possible that the portrait was erected inside the palatial structure, perhaps in the expanded ancestral gallery together with ID215, ID216, and ID512 (see introduction to this paragraph). It is however unlikely that Antiochos I would be portrayed twice in the same ancestral gallery and the identification of ID216 seems irrefutable. The find location of ID520, in sector j/19, furthermore is so far removed from room V that another location in the palace is also possible. The idea of two very different representations of king Antiochos I, one wearing a solar crown placed on a diadem and one with a five-pointed Armenian tiara, placed inside the same palace would in some way also fit very well with a king that was so actively and consciously experimenting and innovating in terms of his self-representation. The lack of more detailed contextual evidence makes it however impossible to assess if these portraits were visible contemporaneously or represent two different phases in the visual program of king Antiochos I.

Literature: unpublished.

Date: Late-Hellenistic; mid-1st c. BCE.

ID130 – st.83-013



⁶³⁵ For Persianism, see Strootman and Versluys 2017; Versluys 2017, 213-219. Note that neither of these publications discuss the eagle motif. It must be mentioned that the motif was not entirely alien in Achaemenid art, cf. Sanders 1996: *'the motif is reminiscent of the line of birds, lions, and bulls on the baldachin of Xerxes at Persepolis; processions of birds are also found on the shields of the earlier Urartians, contemporary allies of Kummuhu/Commagene'* (Theresa Goell 1977-1980).

Head and neck of a female, perhaps Aphrodite

Measurements: h. 16,50; w. 10,50. Much smaller than life-size.

Material: crystalline marble.

Find location: sector i/16, layer I.

Current Location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inv. nr. st.83-013).

Preservation: Broken at the neck, broken and worn at the front, especially the nose, mouth and chin. Left ear is broken. Burnt at the left profile of the face.

*Description*⁶³⁶: Head and neck of a young female from a small statue. Rather rectangular shaped face with rounded chin and jaws. The figure is shown frontally, but with her head turned slightly to the right. Small, seemingly closed mouth. Almond-shaped eyes with precisely delineated eyelids. No pupils or irises are indicated. The brows are strongly arching. Only a small part of the ears is visible; the rest is covered by hair. The hair is parted in the center and combed to the sides. The wavy, even curly strands of hair are very clearly separated in a stylized, but in a rather course manner. At both sides of the head, a thick lock of hair falls down the neck, behind the ears, and curls upwards at its end. An upstanding, crescent shaped crown runs across the head and protrudes above the hair; it is possible that this represents a *stephané*, a type of Hellenistic metal coronet⁶³⁷, or just a more common fillet. The part of the head that continues behind the *stephané* is not carved; no hair is indicated here. A flattened stump of iron dowel preserved on the underside of the neck suggests that the portrait was intended for attachment to a statuette.

Discussion: Perhaps a rather course reworking of the very popular Hellenistic 'Aphrodite'-type.⁶³⁸ The *stephané* is an often recurring element in the portraiture of classical Greek goddesses (often Aphrodite) as well as Hellenistic queens.⁶³⁹ The first representations of queens wearing a *stephané* are found in Ptolemaic iconography, especially that of queens Arsinoë II and Arsinoë III, and, later, of Cleopatra VII.⁶⁴⁰ Among Seleucid queens, the iconography of queen Cleopatra Thea (ca. 125/6

⁶³⁶ Description in the object inventory: '*baş hafif sağa yatmış durumda. diademli. diademir sol kenarından, sol kulakla başın üzerinin üçte ikisi kırık. başın tepesi konik şekilde oyulmuş. boynun altından başlayıp başa kadar uzanan bağlantı deliği mevcut. boyunda deliğin metal bağlantısı korunmuş. saç alında ortadan ikiye ayrılarak kulak üstünden arkaya çekilmiş ve arka ortada tuturulmuş. kulağın arkasından iki bukle boyna doğru sarkarak öne doğru kıvrılmış. burnu, ağzı ve sol yanağı tahrip olmuş.*'

⁶³⁷ Lichtenberger et al. 2012, 402–405. It is generally assumed that they were made of gold, cf. Burr Thompson 1973, 28–29.

⁶³⁸ Hermay 2006, 106.

⁶³⁹ Smith 1988, 431. Smith's assertion that the *stephané* was exclusively used for deceased and deified queens is not followed anymore, cf. Eule 2001; Connelly 2007; Dillon 2010.

⁶⁴⁰ Newell 1937, 101 fig. 1–2 and 106 fig. 11. Thompson 1973, 28–29.

– 121 BCE), with *stephané*, bears some similarities.⁶⁴¹ None of these queens however are known with the two long curly locks hanging behind the ears. The 2nd-1st c. BCE bronze Aphrodite of Satala depicts a female goddess - identified either as Aphrodite or the Armenian goddess Anahit in the guise of Aphrodite – with curled hair, parted in the middle and combed to the back, with two curly locks of hair hanging free behind the ears as well as a small *stephané*.⁶⁴² Compare also the small, marble, female head wearing a *stephané* from the Athenian agora, which Stewart identifies as Aphrodite and dates to 200 – 86 BCE.⁶⁴³ While keeping in mind that royal or divine images could also serve as prototypes for generic idealized portraits of female subjects (or specifically goddess votaries), it might be possible that the portrait depicts a female deity, either Aphrodite or a goddess in the guise of Aphrodite.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 44, pl. 115 fig. 251.

Date: ca. 2nd - 1st c. BCE?

ID678 – st.84-381



⁶⁴¹ *Coins*: Houghton and Lorber 2002, 465-7 and 469-81 nos. 2258-77.

⁶⁴² Engelmann 1878, 150-152 fig. 20. Mitford 1974, 236; Ridgway 2001, 324. In the British Museum, cat. no. 1873, 0820.1.

⁶⁴³ Stewart 2012, cat.no. 15, 328; fig. 38, 308.



Head and neck of a young female

Measurements: h. 14,50; w. 9,90; d. 9,20 (preserved). Much smaller than life-size.

Material: crystalline marble.

Find Location: sector k/16, layer IV.

Current Location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inv. nr. St.84-381).

Preservation: Broken at the neck and at the right upper part of the head (restored with plaster by the museum). Broken and worn at the mouth, nose and ears. Worn and scratched across the face and hair.

Description: Head and neck of a young female from a small statue. Oval-shaped face with rounded chin and full rounded jaws and cheeks. The subject is shown frontally, but with her head turned slightly to the right. Small, closed mouth and small, triangular shaped nose. Relatively large, almond-shaped eyes, with sharp eyelids, indicated with a single line. No iris or pupil is indicated. Brows are strongly arching. Low forehead. The ears are visible but slightly covered by the hair. The hair is either extremely worn or very roughly executed. It seems to be combed in large locks to the back, and fastened very tightly, creating a rather flat impression. At the back, the hair is gathered in a small bun. It seems that the figure wears a diadem, which runs across the forehead, perhaps partially covers the ears and disappears underneath the bun at the back.

Discussion: Identification of the subject is uncertain. The possible diadem might indicate a queen or a goddess but we have to keep in mind that royal or divine images could also serve as

prototypes for generalized portraits of female subjects (or, more specifically, goddess votaries).⁶⁴⁴ The head nonetheless seems to have similarities with portraits of Ptolemaic queen Berenike II (273-221 BCE), which are also characterized by rounded cheeks, and a tight, flat hairstyle.⁶⁴⁵ A good comparison is a small marble portrait from Amanthus (Cyprus)⁶⁴⁶ and a more than life-size marble head from Alexandria, more securely identified as Berenike II.⁶⁴⁷ The find location in the Hellenistic layer IV of the palace might however point to a Late-Hellenistic date.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 45, pl. 116 fig. 117.

Date: Mid-late Hellenistic (?).

General discussion: This paragraph presents seven fragments of sculpted portraits from Samosata that can be dated to the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. They differ in size, style, material, estimated dating and find location. For some of the fragments, however, a shared context might be considered (ID215, ID216, ID240, ID512 and ID520). Riedel cautiously suggested that ID215, ID216 and, less likely, ID240 might have been part of the same ensemble.⁶⁴⁸ It is likely that this ensemble was located in room V of the palatial structure, as ID215 and ID216 were found there lying between statue base I8 and altar I9 (see chapter 4). The inscription underneath the left eye of ID216 as well as its slightly turned head (towards the left) are furthermore indications of a statue group. Such an ensemble, according to Riedel, would most likely have been an ancestral gallery which included statues of one or more gods.⁶⁴⁹ He compares the setting with a room on the upper floor of the *Thalamegos*, the Nile-boat of Ptolemy IV described by Athenaeus, where statues of members of the royal dynasty were displayed side by side with statues of Dionysus, and perhaps also Herakles and Zeus.⁶⁵⁰ Just like in this Ptolemaic context, the proposed ensemble in Samosata might have emphasized the dynastic genealogy, reaching all the way into its mythological, divine ancestry.⁶⁵¹ Riedel furthermore suggests that '(t)he gallery might have

⁶⁴⁴ Bennett 1980, 474.

⁶⁴⁵ Kyrieleis 1975, 94-101.

⁶⁴⁶ Now in the British Museum (BM GR 1894,11-1.725). Higgs and Kiely 2009, cat. no. 2, 411-415, figs. 2a-e. This statue (h. 5,70; w.5,00; d. 6,20) was a surface find during the BM Turner Bequest expedition to Amathus in 1893-1894; it is unknown from which area of the site it derives.

⁶⁴⁷ Now in Kassel (SK115). Felgenhauer 1996, 204-208, cat.no. 98; Gercke and Zimmermann-Elseify 2007, 212-214, cat.no. 66. See also Smith 1991, 208.

⁶⁴⁸ Riedel 2018.

⁶⁴⁹ *Idem*, 107-117. Riedel convincingly discards the possibility of a cult room in which the king was worshipped together with one or more gods as σύνναος θεός (cf. Nock 1930; Riedel 2018, 211 n.135). He argues that, in case cult rooms are present inside Hellenistic palaces, these never include the worship of rulers (*Aigai/Vergina*: e.g. Kottaridi 2011, 326; *Pergamon*: e.g. Zimmer 2014). The veneration of rulers among gods in a σύνναος θεός setting is only attested in separate locations from the palace; Riedel provides the example of the 'Sema' in Ptolemaic Alexandria (Riedel 2018, 112 n.140; Riedel 2020).

⁶⁵⁰ Pfrommer 1999, 112.

⁶⁵¹ Riedel 2018, 112.

included parts of the divine ancestry and installations for ritual practices but the overall setting in the royal residence more firmly emphasizes the genealogical aspect instead of the religious one, which is more prominent in the hierothesia.⁶⁵² Apart from the obvious link to the ancestral galleries of Nemrut Dağı (and perhaps also at Arsameia on the Nymphaios and Kâhta), the presentation of the (real or invented) royal lineage as part of a dynastic visual program was very popular in the Hellenistic period; ancestral galleries are well-attested for the the Ptolemaic, Attalid, Antigonid, Mauretanian and Arsacid (Parthian) dynasties.⁶⁵³ It is noteworthy that the ancestral gallery in the palace of Samosata (and perhaps also the one in Arsameia on the Nymphaios) adheres more to this globalized ancestral gallery practice, which almost without exception consists of statues and busts, and less to that of Nemrut Dağı, where reliefs are used instead.⁶⁵⁴

Combined with the inscription of ID216 and its diadem, it is thus expected that more statues depicting rulers were part of this ancestral gallery. Riedel considers but discards ID240 as a possible addition to the ensemble because of the inferior quality and the lack of a diadem.⁶⁵⁵ Below, I argue that, based on its find location, ID240 should indeed be discarded in this context as it seems more likely that it was erected in the small recess of I10 in corridor A4. Two portrait fragments, ID512 and ID520, should however be seriously considered as potential members of the ensemble. Both limestone portraits wear a diadem and might therefore have been part of the ancestral gallery; ID520 moreover was found inside the palace in Hellenistic layer IV. Whereas ID512 cannot be easily identified or dated, there is good reason to assume that the small fragment of ID520 belongs to a portrait of Antiochos I wearing the five-pointed Armenian tiara. If this identification is right, it either means that the palace contained two very different statues of Antiochos I (one with a solar crown, the other with the Armenian tiara) or it means we have to reconsider the identification of ID216 as Antiochos I. Considering the evidence for ID216 and the

⁶⁵² Riedel 2018, 113.

⁶⁵³ For the ancestral galleries at Nemrut Dağı, see Sanders 1996; Brijder 2014; Strootman 2016; and Versluys 2017a. For Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see paragraph 10.5.1 of this dissertation. Two preserved inscriptions (GÜa, no. 2003/30; GÜb, no. 2003/7) from the private collection of Neşet Akel (Güzelday, Kâhta) suggest the existence of a Commagenean ancestral gallery here, but it is not clear (yet) whether statues were part of this, cf. *infra* n. 165. For ancestral galleries in the 'big Hellenistic world', see Hintzen-Bohlen 1990; Munk-Højte 2002; Versluys 2014, 130-135; Hekster 2015; Riedel 2018, 113. Note that the practice is older; Versluys mentions for instance the rock relief at Behistun, where the ancestors of Darius I are listed as a foundation charter of the Achaemenid dynasty (Versluys 2017a, 130f). Versluys also discusses the private ancestor galleries of Republican Rome and the ancestor gallery in the porticoes of the Forum Augustum (Versluys 2017a, 132 with n. 113-115). Note that Facella 2006, 276-278 links the ancestral practices of Commagene to the ancestor cult in Armenia. Messerschmidt 2011, 300-304 has argued for Late-Hittite tradition lingering on in the Commagenean ancestral cult but this is debated (cf. Jacobs 2016, n.13).

⁶⁵⁴ For similar observations see Kropp 2013, 85; Riedel 2018, 116-117.

⁶⁵⁵ Riedel 2018, 107-117.

location of ID520 in the far south of the palace, far removed from room V, the first option is most likely, meaning ID520 was erected separately from the proposed ancestral gallery.

6.3 Statue fragments

This paragraph presents and discusses six fragments of statues with a human subject and four fragments of statues with an animal subject, all deriving from the *höyük* of Samosata and dated within the Hellenistic and early Roman timeframe.

Human subjects

ID89 - st.82-199



Upper torso of a male

Measurements: h. 22,3; l. 28,4; w. 15,5, smaller than life-size.

Material: marble.

Find Location: sector j/15, layer IV.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (st.82-199).

Preservation: Broken at the neck and waist. Both arms are broken at the shoulder. Worn, especially at the chest and at the back. Deeper scratches on the belly.

*Description*⁶⁵⁶: Upper torso of a nude and muscled male subject. Part of a smaller than life-size statue. The left shoulder is raised and the right shoulder lowered, perhaps indicating a contrapposto pose. The chest and abdominal muscles are well indicated. At the back, the spine is rendered with a straight, deep groove. The long hair forms a trapezoid shape (12,0 x 12,0 x 8,0) at the back, starting from the neck, with a strong separation between the hair and the flesh of the back. Two long locks of wavy hair are falling onto the left shoulders and back. One lock of wavy hair falls on the back at the right side. One bronze attachment point remains at the right side of triangular hair on the back.

Discussion: Identification is uncertain; perhaps the long locks of hair falling on the shoulder point to a representation of Apollo or Dionysus but it remains unsure. The slightly curving posture suggests that statue was part of a statue group. The unusual inorganic treatment of the trapezoid-shaped hair at the back might be a late-Hellenistic or Roman appropriation of the typical Archaic *kouros*-hairstyle.⁶⁵⁷ In terms of material, style and proportions, it might be part of ID327, and form a sculpture of ca. 1,40 m. high. It is also possible that ID584 belongs to these fragments. Özgüç dated the statue broadly to the Roman period⁶⁵⁸, but the find location just beside the palace in J 15, in the 'palatial' layer IV might make a slightly earlier dating possible as well. The marble material furthermore suggests that the piece was imported from outside of Commagene, which, together with its refined execution, make it stand out from the fragments in the rest of this catalogue. If we assume a location of the statue inside the palace, we might hypothesize that the sculpture was erected in the nearby symmetrical suite, perhaps in a central position of room III, which potentially would make it visible from room XIV as well.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 35, pl. 96 fig. 216.

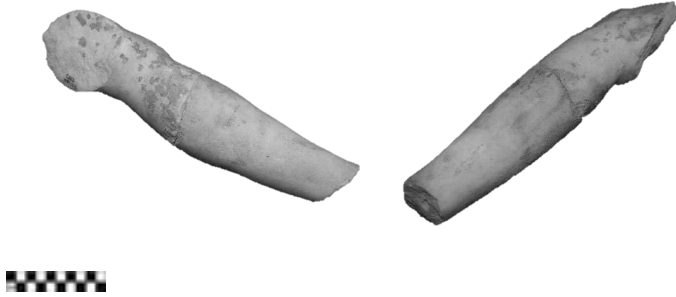
Date: Roman, 1st c. CE?

⁶⁵⁶ Description in the object inventory: 'ayakta duran bir heykelin boyundan itibaren karnına kadar olan kısmı. Sol omuz hafifce yukarı kalkık, sağ omuz düşüktür. Kollar omuz bitiminden itibaren kırıktır. Göğüs ve karın kasları iyi bir biçimde belirtilmiştir. arkada boyun bitiminden itibaren sırta kadar inen yelpaze biçiminde saçlar ile arka omuz üzerinde uzanan saç bukleleri arkaikkrosları hatırlatmaktadır. sırtta omurganın uyuntusu iyi bir biçimde işlenmiştir.'

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Fullerton 1990 with many examples.

⁶⁵⁸ Özgüç 2009, 35.

ID327 - st.85-316



Fragment of left leg

Measurements: l. 0,38; w.8,5; depth 8,7. Smaller than life-size.

Material: marble.

Find Location: sector n/14, in the structure in *opus reticulatum*.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. 85-316).

Preservation: broken right above the knee and broken right above the ankle. Heavily worn at the knee. Broken in two parts, restored after excavation.

*Description*⁶⁵⁹: Fragment of a left leg. Part of a smaller than life-size statue. The leg seems to be almost fully stretched. The muscles near the knee cap are well rendered. At the bottom, a connection hole is located, to connect the left foot.

Discussion: Context suggests a 1st c. CE dating, but this remains uncertain. In terms of material, style and proportions, it might be part of ID89, and form a sculpture of ca. 1,40 m. high. It is also possible that ID584 belongs to these fragments.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Roman, 1st c. CE?

⁶⁵⁹ Description in the object inventory: 'heykelin diz kapağına yakın yerinden bileği kadar olan kısmı iki parça olarak ele geçmiştir. iri grenli mermerden yapılmış olup, üzeri çok iyi perdahlanmıştır. Normalden küçük boyda bir erkek heykelinin sol bacağına ait bir parçadır. büyük bir ihtimalle dizden hafifce kırılmış olan bu bacak öne doğru atılmıştır. diz kapağına yakın yerdeki bacak adaleleri güzel bir biçimde gösterilmiştir.'

ID584 - st.83-1002



Fragment of right foot in sandal on curved pedestal

Measurements: l. 8,5 w. 8,8 h. 6,3. Somewhat smaller than life-size.

Material: Marble.

Find Location: sector I/16, layer II.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum in box labelled '1983 etütlük'.

Preservation: broken at the top and at two sides. Very worn on the foot and toes.

Description: Fragment of right foot in a sandal on curved pedestal. Part of a slightly smaller than life-size sculpture. The pedestal has a profiled rim. The bottom and side of the lower part have rough incision marks. The presence of a sandal is indicated by a slightly protruding rim which runs on top of the foot and most likely indicates the sandal's strap. It leads towards a large space between the big toe and the next toe.

Discussion: The incision marks probably indicate that this part was meant to fit into another carrier. The curved shape might indicate that it was placed on top of a column, but this remains uncertain. In terms of size (somewhat smaller than life-size) and material (marble), the fragment might belong to ID89 and ID327, but this can only remain a hypothesis.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: uncertain, probably Roman

ID87 - st.82-197



Sculpture fragment with drapery

Measurements: h. 20,4; w. 12,0; l. 18,0.

Material: marble.

Find Location: sector j/15, layer II.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. st.82-197).

Preservation: broken at the top.

*Description*⁶⁶⁰: Sculptural fragment with vertical drapery on three sides. The fourth side as well as the bottom are flat. On what appears to have been the most visible side, the drapery is folding in a more oblique and complex manner, while the drapery on the other side merely consists of three straight vertical folds.

Discussion: The limited preservation makes it difficult to assign the fragment to a statue type or style. The excavators date the statue to the Roman period and suggest it must have been a female subject, but especially the latter remains unclear. As it was found in periodic layer II, it might indeed be dated to the imperial Roman period.

Literature: previously unpublished.

⁶⁶⁰ Description in the object inventory: '*küçük boylu bir kadın heykelini belden aşağısı, elbisesi dikey pliseli*'.
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Date: Roman?

ID328 - st.85-315



Fragment of a left hand

Measurements: l. 14,8; w. 9,3. Wrist: 7,6 x 6,0. Slightly larger than life-size.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: sector n/14, in the structure in *opus reticulatum*.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (cat. nr. St.85-315).

Preservation: Broken at the wrist. Upper part of the thumb is broken, index finger completely missing, middle finger complete, no nails, ring finger partially, pinky not preserved.

*Description*⁶⁶¹: Fragment of a left hand. Part of a slightly larger than life-size statue. Hand makes a fist around a hole. The outside of the hand is smooth but without much detail. The middle finger, completely preserved, is roughly executed; the nail is not indicated. Remarkable detail on the inside of the hand.

⁶⁶¹ Description in the object inventory: 'heykelin yalnızca eli, baş birinci. üçüncü ve dördüncü parsaklar kısmen eksik olarak bulunmuştur. normal büyüklükteki bir heykele ait büyük bir ihtimalle mızrak tutan a sol elidir. oldukça düzgün yapılmış, ancak fazla detaya inilmeyerek mızrak tutma hali ifade edilmiştir.'

Discussion: Probably the hole inside the fist indicates that the statue was originally holding an object, perhaps in metal, for instance a royal scepter (see ID514).⁶⁶² The dating is uncertain, but the context might indicate a 1st c. CE date.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Uncertain, perhaps Late-Hellenistic or early Imperial?

ID514 - st.85-1001



Fragment of a left hand

Measurements: h. 6,5; w. 3,7; l. 6,0. Slightly smaller than life-size.

Material: limestone

Find Location: perhaps palace (see current location).

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: broken at the palm, close to the wrist. Thumb is partially broken and very worn. The elongated object worn inside the hand (perhaps a spear or staff) is broken at the top and bottom. Small damages on top of the pinky and ring finger.

⁶⁶² See ID514 for a further discussion.

Description: Fragment of a left hand. Part of a slightly smaller than life-size statue, or a statue of a child. The rather flat and almost completely unworked backside suggests this part was not visible and pushed against the body. Hand makes a fist around an elongated object, perhaps a spear or staff or scepter. The outside of the hand is smooth and with very limited detail; perhaps some subtle suggestion of veins can be observed. The upper sections of the fingers, bending inwards, are executed without much detail, no nails are indicated. The inside of the hand is almost not rendered.

Discussion: The box in which it is currently located suggests that it was found within the palace. The excavators apparently labelled it as architectural decoration, but it is, without doubt, a fragment of figurative sculpture. The fragment is similar to ID328 as it is also a limestone left hand that holds an elongated object and shows very limited detail in the execution of the fingers. The other fragment is however larger, has detailed rendering of the palm of the hand and the elongated object was probably executed in metal.

If the fragment (and perhaps also ID328) indeed derives from a statue that was erected in the palace, and if this statue represented the known Commagenean gods or members of the Commagenean dynasty, some hypotheses can be formulated as to what kind of elongated object is held in this left hand. The colossal statues of Antiochos I, Zeus-Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes on Nemrut Dağı for instance hold a bundle of tamarisk twigs, a so-called *barsom*, in their left hands, resting on their laps.⁶⁶³ On the stele from Sofraz Köy, Apollo carries a bundle of laurel twigs in his left hand.⁶⁶⁴ On most *dexiosis* stelai, Antiochos I holds the royal scepter in his left hand.⁶⁶⁵ The large quantity of royal scepters in Commagenean royal iconography as well as its overall thin and undifferentiated shape makes it the most likely hypothesis for both ID328 and ID514. The dating is uncertain, but the palace-context might indicate a 1st c. BCE date.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: uncertain, Late-Hellenistic?

⁶⁶³ Brijder 2014, 143; Versluys 2017a, 55. Brijder explains that the *barsom* (or *bareçman*) was held together with a thong or ribbon and was held by *magoi* during the Persian period. See Brijder 2014, 90-91 with further literature.

⁶⁶⁴ Brijder 2014, 143.

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. the *dexiosis* stele from Selik (Brijder 2014, 135) as well as the stele with Antiochos I and Artagnes-Herakles from the West Terrace on Nemrut Dağı (Versluys 2017a, 71, fig. 2.24). Also on other types of stelai, we see the royal sceptre in the left hand, cf. the honorary stele from Kılafık Hüyük (Brijder 2014, 148). For the royal sceptre, see Strootman 2007, 372-374.

Animal subjects

ID361 - st.86-268



Head of a lion

Measurements: h. 7,5; w. 9,8; depth 5,5. Less than life-size.

Material: limestone

Find Location: sector i/18, palace room VIII or IX, layer IV, in the debris on top of the floor.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. st.86-268).

Preservation: Entirely broken at the bottom and the lower part of the face; the snout and mouth have not been preserved. Broken below the right ear.

*Description*⁶⁶⁶: Fragment of a head of a lion. Probably part of a less than life-size statue or applique. Back is roughly rendered. Very symmetrical face with carefully executed, almond-shaped eyes (l. 2,0; w. 1,2) that have clearly indicated eyelids. No indication of pupils or irises. A strong frown with clearly articulated wrinkles or tufts of hair between the eyes. Short forehead. Two small, rounded ears on top of the head. Long, stylized manes with flame-like locks. Three articulated locks between the ears. Smaller locks of hair in front of the ears, covering the lowest section of the ears. The nose and mouth are pierced from the back.

⁶⁶⁶ Description in the object inventory: 'arkası kabaca düzeltilmiş. alev dilimi şeklindeki yeleler barok biçimde başı çevrelemekte. dik kulakların içi oyulmuş. gözler badem şeklinde gösterilmiş. göz kapağı kabartma bir hatla belirtilmiş. alın kırışıkları belirgin. kırık burun ve ağzın içi arkadan delinmiş'.

Discussion: The fact that the nose and mouth are pierced from the back might indicate that the fragment was part of an applique. The general characteristics of the lion's eyes, frown, ears and manes show strong parallels with the overall Commagenean dynastic lion imagery (see also the introduction to this paragraph). Especially the famous lion horoscope from the west terrace of Nemrut Dağı forms an important parallel, as it shows the same type of almond-shaped eyes and relatively small, rounded ears on top of the head.⁶⁶⁷ Also, its very stylized, flame-like locks - exactly three locks between the ears and much smaller locks in front of the ears - are very similar to ID361. The typical frown with strong wrinkles or tufts of hair between the eyes, however, is lacking in the lion horoscope. Especially the colossal limestone lions of Nemrut Dağı do show this more aggressive expression, often indicated with tufts of hair between the eyes.⁶⁶⁸ Both the sandstone lions and the limestone lions of Nemrut are rendered in the same flame-like, stylized manner as witnessed in ID361. As such, it is very well possible that the fragment should be assigned to the dynastic Commagenean lion-repertoire, and date to the mid-1st c. BCE. Its function as an applique might for instance be explained as an adornment of a royal throne, as witnessed on, for instance, the throne of the colossal Zeus-Oromasdes on the east terrace, the throne on the third *dexiosis* stele with Antiochus I and the enthroned Zeus-Oromasdes of the east terrae, and the sandstone *dexiosis* stele of Antiochus I and the enthroned Zeus-Oromasdes from the West Terrace.⁶⁶⁹

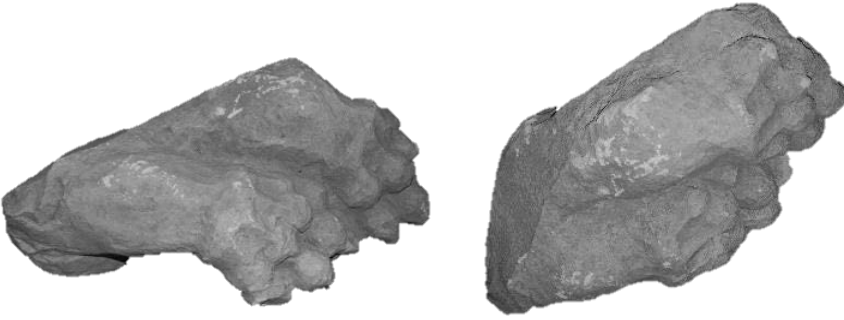
Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Late-Hellenistic, mid-1st c. BCE?

⁶⁶⁷ Sanders 1996 II, 180, figs. 324-325.

⁶⁶⁸ As also observed by Brijder 2014, 113. Not that the ears of the colossal limestone lions are placed more to the side of the face and also lack the smaller locks of hair in front of them.

⁶⁶⁹ Sanders 1996 I, 187-189 (colossal statue east terrace), 226-227 (third *dexiosis* relief, eastern terrace) 242-243 (third *dexiosis* relief, western terrace); Sanders 1996 II, figs. 241-242, 288; Brijder 2014, 88 fig. 43a, 108.



Left and right forelegs of a lion

Measurements: h. 21; l. 48; w. 37, approximately life-size.

Material: limestone

Find Location: sector g/15, layer II.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. ID84-493).

Preservation: broken at the top of the legs. Worn on top of the left leg.

*Description*⁶⁷⁰: Left and right forelegs of a lion. Probably part of an approximately life-size statue of a recumbent lion, with the legs placed in front of the animal. Left leg is placed slightly further away from the body than the right leg. Both legs are wide and have clearly articulated muscles, rendered in a rather course manner. For both paws, four clearly articulated sheaths and claws are visible.

Discussion: As discussed in the introduction to this paragraph, lion imagery is ubiquitous in the dynastic monuments of Late-Hellenistic Commagene, especially on Nemrut Dağı. The positioning and execution is however rather different from the known lion-repertoire on Nemrut Dağı and other dynastic contexts. In none of the Commagenean parallels, lions are depicted in a recumbent position, with the legs positioned adjacent but asymmetrical to one another. The articulated execution of the muscles in the forelegs is also uncommon. The excavators assigned the piece to the late-Hellenistic period, but the find context makes it also possible that this is too early. Based on their similarities concerning their proportions, material and overall sculptural style, it is likely

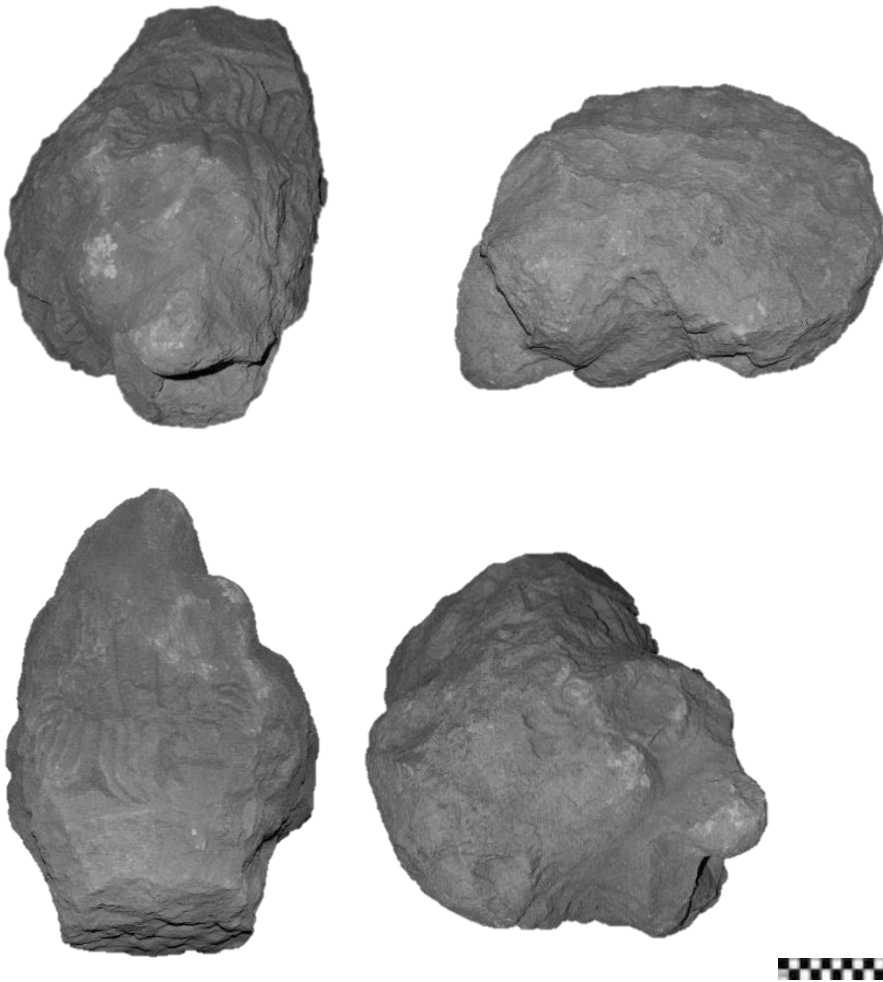
⁶⁷⁰ Description in the object inventory: 'oturan bir aslan heykelinin öne uzanmış bacakları ve ayakları korunmuş. ayaklar dört parmaklı. parmaklar ikişer boğum olarak gösterilmiş. tırnaklar belirtilmiş. ayak bileği boğumlu. Kırık'.

that the large lion head (ID220) and the forelegs of a lion (ID219) belonged to the same life-size lion sculpture in a recumbent position. In general, life-size statue of recumbent lions are ubiquitous in antiquity, for instance witnessed in the famous 2nd c. BCE marble lion of Knidos.⁶⁷¹

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 36, pl.98 fig. 219.

Date: Uncertain. Probably Hellenistic-Roman.

ID220 - st.84-492



⁶⁷¹ Jenkins 2007.

Head of a lion

Measurements: h. 40,0; l. 33,0; w. 30,0; approximately life-size.

Material: Limestone

Find Location: sector i/15, layer II, where it was used as building material for the structure of a floor.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. st.84-492).

Preservation: Broken at the neck. Badly damaged and worn on all sides. Especially the left part of the face is missing; the left eye is missing and large part of the left side of the snout and mouth. Ears are missing.

*Description*⁶⁷²: Head of a lion. Probably part of an approximately life-size statue of a lion or integrated into a wall or architectural feature. The execution seems a bit coarse, but this might be caused by the heavy damage. Rounded face, with a forehead in a triangular shape. The mouth is opened, with the tongue hanging out and canine teeth visible at the right side. The right nostril of the relatively protruding snout is indicated. Strongly articulated cheek bones protrude underneath the eyes. Relief underneath the rather rhombus-shaped eye, which contains a pupil. All around the head, manes are shown in flame-shaped embossments. On the forehead, the manes are triangular in shape. On top of the head, behind the manes, a fragment of a flat band can be observed.

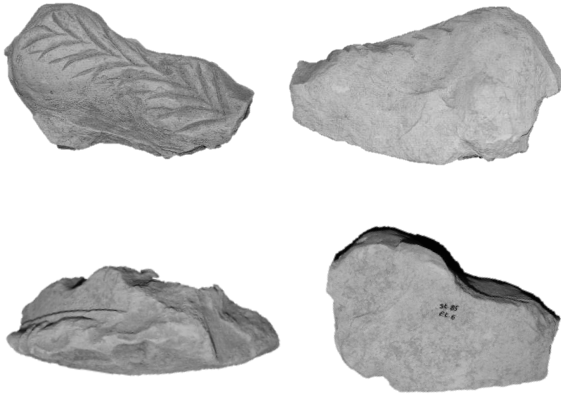
Discussion: Based on their similarities concerning their proportions, material and overall sculptural style, it is likely that the large lion head (ID220) and the forelegs of a lion (ID219) belonged to the same life-size lion sculpture in a recumbent position. The flat band at the top backside of the head might indicate that the statue was integrated into a wall or an architectural feature. The flame-like locks of the manes share some similarities with the dynastic Commagenean lion repertoire, but the absence of lions in a recumbent position in this Commagenean corpus would make the proposed statue rather anomalous.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 45, pl. 116 fig.253.

Date: Uncertain. Probably Hellenistic-Roman.

⁶⁷² Description in the object inventory: 'bir aslan heykelinin başı kısmen korunmuş. baş çevresinde yeleler alev biçiminde kabartmalarla gösterilmiş. alın üçgen, göz çevresi kabartma, göz bebekleri birer kabartı olarak gösterilmiş elmacık kemikleri çıkık. ağız açık, dil dışarı doğru sarkmış. köpek dişleri belirtilmiş. yüzün sol tarafı kırık.'

ID516 - st.85-1003



Undefined sculptural fragment

Measurements: l. 14,0; w. 8,0; h. 6,2.

Material: limestone

Find Location: Perhaps palace (see current location). Precise location unclear.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: Broken at the sides.

Description: Limestone sculptural fragment with decoration. Perhaps part of a small statuette. The fragment has a flat bottom. It has an overall elongated shape with curved sides. On one side seems to protrude a continuation. On top of the fragment, a series of v-shaped incisions decorate the fragment, perhaps to indicate the fur of an animal? At the sides, the locations of the breaks allow for the original presence of (hind-)legs, but it remains unclear.

Discussion: Perhaps a small statuette of a lion? The location of the fragment in the box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça', might be an indication that it was found in relation to Late-Hellenistic material. The excavators seem to have considered it an architectural (decorative) fragment.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Uncertain. Probably Hellenistic-Roman, perhaps Late-Hellenistic.

General discussion: This corpus of statue fragments is highly heterogeneous as the pieces strongly differ in terms of their size, style, material, estimated dating and find location. Three fragments of marble sculpture (ID89, ID327 and ID584) however, might be considered part of the same sculpture or sculpture group. The relative proportions of the torso (ID89) and leg (ID327) both suggest a statue of ca. 1,40 m. high, while the foot (ID584) also suggests a statue that is less than life-size. Although the fragments were found in three different locations and layers, it is possible that it was erected inside the structure in *opus reticulatum*, where ID327 was found. Together with D678, these are the only sculptural fragments in marble from the presented corpus.

For the four sculpture fragments with an animal subject, it is noteworthy that they all represent lions, although the identification of ID516 remains largely uncertain. Based on their similarities concerning proportions, material and sculptural style, it is likely that the large lion head (ID220) and the forelegs of a lion (ID219) belonged to the same life-size lion sculpture in a recumbent position. Lion imagery is ubiquitous in the dynastic monuments of Late-Hellenistic Commagene, especially on Nemrut Dağı, where it occurs in tandem with the eagle motif.⁶⁷³ Apart from the diadem decoration on ID520 (see above), no further evidence for eagle decoration is attested in Samosata. Lions occur on Nemrut Dağı as guardian animals, horoscopes and attributes of deities, both on reliefs and as sculpture in the round.⁶⁷⁴ The evidence for lions as decorative motifs on tiaras, diadems, neckbands and torques was subdivided by Goell into lions in profile ('motif 1') and lion's heads ('motif 2').⁶⁷⁵ Since Goell's work on Nemrut, the corpus of lion iconography in the

⁶⁷³ Goell in Sanders 1996, 406-407 and 415-417 discusses the lion motif on Nemrut Dağı.

⁶⁷⁴ Lion sculpture on Nemrut Dağı includes: 1) a sandstone three-headed lion, guarding the main entrance to the west terrace (Goell 1957, 16; Sanders 1996 II, 283-285 figs. 585-591; Jacobs 1997, 172; Brijder 2014, 127, 128 figs. 78a-d); 2) four colossal limestone lions on the east and the west terrace, cf. Sanders 1996 II, 76-81 figs. 142-149 and 152-153, 108-110 figs 108-110, 112 fig.210; Brijder 2014, 100 fig. 54, 113 fig. 65a-b; 3) six large sand stone statues of lions that are part of the six pairs of sculptures of lions and eagles flanking the rows of *dexiosis*- and lion horoscope stelai on the east terrace, the west terrace, and on the stepped platform on the east terrace, cf. Sanders 1996 II, 168-173 figs. 301-311, 276-279 figs.570-575, 577-578; Jacobs 1997, 176-178; Brijder 2014, 4 fig.4, 94 and figs. 47a-b (the sandstone lion which originally stood at the northern side of the stepped altar platform on the eastern terrace), 48a (lion and eagle on the west Terrace) and 48b (north of the row of the *dexiosis* reliefs, on the west Terrace); 4) two stelai, one on the east terrace and one on the west terrace, that contained a so-called lion horoscope. Only the latter was well preserved, cf. Sanders 1996, 176-80, figs.318-325; Versluys 2017a, 72 fig. 2.25 and 2.26. Brijder 2014, fig. 70a-b and 71a-b, with reconstructions; 5) the left and right sides of the thrones of the colossal statues, which, according to Brijder, are shaped like lions in a stylized way. Only the throne of Zeus-Oromasdes is executed in more detail, cf. Brijder 2014, 91: '*The fronts of the 'forelegs' are moulded in the shape of lion legs, seen frontally, stylized and only indicated in rough outlines (...)* Only those of Zeus' throne are rendered in more detail. In each of them we recognize the lion's head, neck, bulging chest and forelegs with strong paws'; 6) the sandstone *dexiosis* stele of Antiochus I and the enthroned Zeus-Oromasdes from the West Terrace, which shows a throne with lion-shaped sides. The lions here have horns and pointed ears, cf. Sanders 1996, 158 figs. 281-282, 160-163, figs 285, 288, 290-291; Brijder 2014, 91 and figs. 51, 203c.

⁶⁷⁵ Goell in Sanders 1996, 406-407. The lions of motif 1 recur on the tiara, diadem or neckband of Antiochos I. They are mostly depicted in a row, with legs bent and one of each pair of legs advanced, as if walking. They are oriented in the same direction as Antiochos I. Witnessed on 1) the Commagene *dexiosis* of the west terrace (see Sanders 1996 II, 154 fig. 274); 2) the Apollo-Mithras *dexiosis* on the west terrace (Sanders 1996 II, 157 fig. 279); 3) the Artagnes-Herakles *dexiosis* on the west terrace (Sanders 1996 II, 165 fig. 296). Motif 2, the lion heads, also occur on other figures besides Antiochos: 4) the colossal statue of Zeus-Oromasdes 284

dynastic monuments of Commagene has grown substantially.⁶⁷⁶ From this evidence, it seems safe to say that, apart from the obvious Hellenistic-period role as symbol and protector of royalty (together with the eagle), the lion in Commagene is more specifically connected to Zeus, Heracles and to Antiochos I himself, the latter of course especially witnessed in the Lion Horoscope.⁶⁷⁷ The large corpus of lion depictions in the dynastic Commagene does not contain any recumbent lions, as witnessed for ID219 (perhaps combined with ID220). It therefore unlikely that the proposed statue belonged to the dynastic visual program. ID361, a smaller frontal lion head that might have functioned as an applique adheres more to the dynastic lion repertoire of Commagene; it is not unlikely that it adorned a piece of furniture, for instance a throne.

6.4 Figurative reliefs

This paragraph presents and discusses four figurative relief fragments that derive from Samosata and date within the Hellenistic and early Roman timeframe. The fragments differ in size, style, material, estimated dating and find location. ID88 and ID519 are however similar in material, size and style and might have been of a similar type and function. Only to the large relief ID298 a secure

on the West Terrace wears a torque ending in two lion's heads, cf. Brijder 2014, 88 fig. 43a, 108; 5) the stele of Mithridates I Kallinkos on the east terrace shows the king with a torque around his neck which, according to Goell, 'quite certainly [ends] in confronting lion heads' (Goell in Sanders 1996, 274); 6) the stele of Darius I with a torque with lion's heads (Sanders 1996 II, 185-186, figs.334-336); 7) the third stele of the Iranian ancestors with a torque with lion's heads (Sanders 1996 II, 207, fig. 390); 8) the sixth stele of the Iranian ancestors with a torque with lion's heads (Sanders 1996 II, 212 fig. 401); 9) the dagger case of Antiochos I with a lion's head on the *dexiosis* with Zeus-Oromasdes on the west terrace.

⁶⁷⁶ A non-exhaustive overview of lion iconography in Hellenistic/Early-Roman Commagene: 1) lions occur on a variety of contexts that depict the lion's skin worn by Artagnes-Herakles. Examples are the *dexiosis* stele of Selik (Brijder 2014, 84); the *dexiosis* stele with Antiochos I and Artagnes-Herakles at Arsameia on the Nymphaios; or the relief at Arsameia at the Euphrates (Brijder 2014, 226-227 and fig. 147a-c.); 2) a large limestone lion was found at the tumulus of Karakuş (Wagner 1983, 210; Brijder 2014, 209, 210 fig. 127a-b and 128a-d); 3) on the Artagnes-Heracles *dexiosis* stele at Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaeus, Antiochos I wears a (golden) neckband, with a row of lions (cf. Brijder 2014, 108); 4) on a *dexiosis* stele showing Antiochos I and Artagnes-Herakles from Selik, the king's Armenian tiara contains a row of small lions (cf. Brijder 2014, 84); 5) a sima with lion-head protome from Dülük Baba Tepesi (Oenbrink 2019, 91, Si1, pl. 42, 1-2, probably imperial period); 6) sima fragment with lion head (Brijder 2019, 91, Si2, Taf 42, 3-4, imperial); 7) limestone fragment of the manes of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, EK1001, pl. 26); 8) limestone fragment of the fur of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, 21, EK339, fig. 11, pl. 27B); 9) limestone fragment of the upper jaw of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, 22, EK1058, fig. 11, pl. 26A); 10) limestone fragment of the manes and ear of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, 22, EK1057, fig. 11, pl. 26D); 11) limestone fragment of the foot of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, 22, EK342.1060, fig. 11, pl. 27A); 12) lions on the reverse of coins issued in Samosata, from Antiochos I onwards, often contain lion iconography (see for instance Facella 2006, 484 fig. 49; Facella 2021, 153); 13) perhaps the find of a planet-like star in relief from Arsameia on the Nymphaios indicates the existence of a third Lion Horoscope here (Goell in Sanders 1996, 460).

⁶⁷⁷ As also observed by Facella 2021, 153. See also Dahmen 2010, 106.

find location can be ascribed (inside the structure in *opus reticulatum*); the correct find context of the other three fragments remains unclear.

ID298 – st.85-451.



Relief with bearded male deity, perhaps Zeus.

Measurements: h. 74,5; w. 49,0; depth 24,0 (less than life-size).

Material: limestone

Find Location: sector n/14, layer III, in the *opus reticulatum* structure.

Current Location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (st.85-451).

Preservation: Broken at the top and at the front side. Head and hands of standing figure are missing. Right foot was broken but glued after excavation. Upper part of scepter is broken.

*Description*⁶⁷⁸: Relief with bearded male deity, standing upright with his weight resting on the right leg. The left free leg is slightly bent. The figure is depicted wearing only sandals and a himation, which is draped with a thick bunch of fabric over his left shoulder and wrapped around his waist. The muscles of the broad-shouldered torso are well-defined and developed. The right arm opens to the side, the elbow rests on a support. The raised, left arm holds a large scepter. Only the lower section of the curly beard is preserved.

Discussion: The relief is of high quality. Blömer discusses the piece in relation to other evidence (such as ID215) for the central position of Zeus in the royal and aristocratic religious life of Commagene.⁶⁷⁹ The type belongs to very standard Zeus iconography; compare, for instance, with a statue of Zeus in the late-Hadrianic north nymphaeum of Perge.⁶⁸⁰ There, Zeus holds a *phiale* in the palm of his right hand, which could also be expected for ID298. The location in the structure in *opus reticulatum* makes an early-mid roman date likely.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 35, pl. 97 fig. 217; Blömer 2012, 101.

Date: ca. 1st -2nd c. CE

⁶⁷⁸ Description in the object inventory: 'baş ve eller eksik, bacaklar ve gövdenin üst bölümü ile sağ ayak kırık yapılandırılmış. mızrağın orta kısmı eksik. yüksek kabartma, ayakta bir tanrı heykelini tasvir etmektedir. ayaktaki figürün vücut ağırlığı sağ ayağa verilmiş, sol bacak dizden hafifce kırık ve geride tasvir edilmiştir. sağ kol yana açılmış, dirsekten kırılarak öne doğru uzatılmış, bir desteğe dayatılmıştır. sol kolda yana uzatılmış, dirsekten kırılarak yukarıda aksik olan yerden mızrağa dayanmaktadır. tek parça kumaştan oluşan elbisesi sol omuzu örtmüş, arkadan aşağı sarkmıştır. elbise belde kalın bir bant şeklindedir. belden aşağısını bşleklere kadar örtmektedir. kıvrımlar kalındır, figürün göğüs kasları aşırı bir şekilde belirtilmiştir. figürün ayağında sandalları vardır. zeus dolichenus tipi olabilir.'

⁶⁷⁹ Blömer 2012a, 99-102.

⁶⁸⁰ Mansel 1975, 93, fig. 59; Pehlivaner 1996, no. I. Now in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 3729).



Fragment of a small stele with left part of torso

Measurements: h.10,6; l. 7,1; w. 6,7. Much smaller than life-size.

Material: limestone

Find Location: Perhaps from the palace (see current location) but the object inventory says the piece derives from the lower town, in layer III.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: Broken at the top and bottom as well as on the left side (where the torso is expected to continue). Back side is damaged but not entirely broken. Heavily damaged at the front side. Large part of the chest is broken and the location where a face is expected is completely chipped off.

Description: Fragment of a small stele with left part of torso. Probably part of a much smaller than life-size depiction of a semi-nude male subject. Front side is worked as well as the right side, which is flat and has a smooth surface. Three small circular protrusions at the left arm pit. A thin vertical strip running parallel to the left arm with small, unclear detail protruding on the right side towards and over the edge of the fragment. Perhaps, the protrusions at the arm pit and the vertical strip are part of a mantle or the like worn over the shoulder, but it remains uncertain. At the right top of the front side of the relief, remains of a type of headgear seem to be preserved. It runs on top of the thin vertical strip and continues slightly over the right edge of the fragment. It consists of thin incised lines that fan out in a circular mode; perhaps the separate rays of a sun crown? Traces of red paint are visible on the left part of the left arm, on the right side of the fragment and on the back side of the fragment.

Discussion: Unusual shape and size, perhaps comparable to ID519? The identification is problematic. If indeed the semi-nude man wears a sun crown and a mantle, a logical Commagenean parallel would be the ubiquitous *dexiosis* reliefs figuring the semi-nude Apollo-Helios-Mithras-Hermes or Apollo *epekoos*, who both wear sun discs with rays.⁶⁸¹ What makes this comparison problematic, however, is the fact that in the *dexiosis* iconography, the left shoulder is always completely covered with a mantle, often fastened with a disc-shaped brooch on the right shoulder. ID88's uncovered shoulder and its little circular protrusions at the left arm pit, perhaps a type of brooch or decoration, do not correspond well with this standard *dexiosis* iconography. The dating is uncertain, but the palace-context might indicate a 1st c. BCE date.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Unclear. Late-Hellenistic?

ID519 - st.85-1006



⁶⁸¹ *Apollo-Helios-Mithras-Hermes*: cf. the basalt *dexiosis* stele from Samosata, with a youthful and semi-nude Apollo-Mithras-Helios Hermes wearing a mantle and a sun disc with twenty rays. See Brijder 2014, 132-135, esp. 132 n.283 with further literature. *Apollo epekoos*: the basalt *dexiosis* stele from Sofraz Köy (Üçgöz), with Apollo *epekoos*. See Brijder 2014, 141-144, esp. 141 n.305 with further literature.

Fragment of a small stele with legs of a figure

Measurements: h. 8,0; l. 11,0; w. 5,2

Material: limestone.

Find Location: Perhaps from the palace (see current location).

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: Upper side is completely broken. Front side is heavily damaged at the left. Back side is worn or broken at the bottom.

Description: Fragment of a small stele with legs of a figure. Bottom is flat. The left and the right side of the fragment are flat and polished. The back side is worked in a course manner. The front side depicts the legs and feet of a figure, perhaps seated, executed in a rough manner. The left leg is vertical and seems to be stretched, while the right leg is standing outward, in an oblique position, perhaps loosely resting on the side of the left foot. A protruding rim is located on top of the left leg and probably broken off on top of the right leg. It is unclear what it represents. Right of the left leg, a vertical strip runs along the left leg and left of the right leg, an L-shaped protrusion seems to frame the figure. Perhaps part of a chair or a throne? Traces of red paint on the right side of the fragment.

Discussion: Unusual shape and size, perhaps comparable to ID88? Identification is problematic. The dating is uncertain. The very course execution makes a stylistic comparison difficult, although the loose positioning of the right leg suggests a Hellenistic or Roman date. The palace-context might indicate a 1st c. BCE date.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Unclear. Late-Hellenistic?

6.5 Stelai pertaining to the Antiochan ruler cult

In total, four stelai pertaining to the Late-Hellenistic ruler cult of Antiochos I have been ascribed to Samosata and its nearby surroundings (ID688 = Sa, ID689 = Sy, ID690 = Sz and ID691 = Sx).

ID688



Inscription stele 'Sa'

Measurements: h. 32,0; w. 22,0; depth 15,8; h. (letters) 1,1-1,3.

Material: dark-grey basalt

Find Location: Samosata (or surroundings).

Current location: Stone heap with finds assigned to Samosata in the depot of the Adiyaman Archaeological Museum; no inventory number.

Preservation: broken away above, left, below and at the back.

Description: The fragments contains adjoining faces with inscriptions in Greek. The right return face contains an inscription with a vertical dividing line. The text contains a description of the responsibilities of the *hierodouloi* (sacred slaves) on the front side and the two final sections of the *nomos* inscription on the right return side.

Inscription:

'(A) And the sacred slaves consecrated by me and the children of these and all their descendants are to be released from the burden of all other responsibilities to be undisturbed and they are to apply themselves to ministering to the festivals (?) and serving gatherings. It is to be permitted for no one, neither king, ruler, nor priest, nor official to enslave to himself these sacred slaves, whom I have dedicated to the gods and to my own honour in accordance with the divine will, or their children or their descendants, who shall continue this family at any later time; nor yet to alienate them to another in any manner, nor to injure any of them or divert them away from this ministry; rather the

priests are to take care of them, while the kings, officials and private persons, for whom the gratitude of the gods and heroes for their piety shall be held in store, are to protect them.

(B) Pierced through by the unerring arrows of Apollo and Herakles in his evil heart, the root of an unjust life, let him experience bitter pain in the innermost feelings of his good-hating character, and through the wrath of Hera let him find injustice-hating punishment, which is the inexorable servant of heavenly justice, a most bitter avenger of impious character; through the thunderbolts of Zeus-Oromasdes let that person's family, since it shares in his evil blood, and the whole of his household, which stained god's earth by offering reception and shelter to impiety, be consumed in hostile fire. Whoever, however, has a mind pure of unjust living, and eager for holy actions, with confidence let them look upon the countenances of the gods, and walk in the cheerful steps of the blessed, and let them lead a good life through happy paths to (the fulfilment of) their own hopes as a result of their honour for us.⁶⁸²

Discussion: The fact that the inscription runs across the right edge and backs side of the stele suggests that the stele was free-standing. The sections of the *nomos* inscribed on the right return side is also known from Nemrut Dağı (N171-191), Arsameia on the Nymphaios (A151-165; 228-242), Zeugma (BEd 2-5) and the fragments ID689 and ID690 from Samosata (Sz 10-24; SyR 3-15).⁶⁸³ Crowther and Facella demonstrated that ID688 (Sa) is different from ID689 (Sy), ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) in terms of letter-size and line-interval.⁶⁸⁴ The overlap in text with ID689 and ID690 furthermore make it unlikely that it was meant to be seen in combination with any of the other three stelai. It is therefore indeed likely that the stele represents a separate *temenos* in or near Samosata. Crowther and Facella argued that this stele fragment was exceptional as it was found between the archaeological remains of the 1979-1989 Özgüç Campaigns and, for that reason, would arrive from the top of the *höyük*, evidencing a *temenos* at that location.⁶⁸⁵ The find context of many of the fragments from the stone heap in the corner of the depot of the Adiyaman Archaeological Museum is however less straightforward than suggested by Crowther and Facella. Especially for the pieces without a labelled mark telling the sector and stratigraphic layer, as is the case with ID688, it is impossible to assign a specific find location other than a general 'Samsat

⁶⁸² Translation from Crowther and Facella 2011, 359. For a transcription of the badly preserved inscription see Crowther and Facella 2011, 357-358.

⁶⁸³ Crowther and Facella 2011, 356.

⁶⁸⁴ *Idem*, 362.

⁶⁸⁵ *Idem*, 355: 'All three stelai were found away from original contexts (...) A new element is now added by the discovery, during a survey of the epigraphical collection of Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, of a fragment of a cult inscription which seems to belong to an additional text deriving from the settlement mound of Samosata itself'; and 362: 'The discovery of Sa adds an important new element to our picture, because it points to the presence of a separate *temenos* assemblage for the ruler cult on the acropolis itself'. See also 356 with n. 7.

and surroundings'.⁶⁸⁶ Crowther and Facella argue that the stele belongs to the 'syncretistic' phase of Antiochos I's ruler cult, which they date to the later period of the latter's reign.⁶⁸⁷

Literature: Crowther and Facella 2011, 355-366, pl. 51-53; Blömer 2012, 101 n.19; Brijder 2014, 138, fig. 86d-e.

Date: Late-Hellenistic.

ID689



Inscription stele 'Sy'

Measurements: h. 98,0; w. 50,0; depth 20,0-24,0; h. (letters) 2,3-2,6.

Material: basalt.

⁶⁸⁶ The unlabelled fragments from the heap of stones in the depot consists for a large part of stray finds from the lower city and its environs done by the Özgüç team, as well as pieces that were gifted by farmers from the wider area during (or even long after) the excavations. Some of the fragments might also derive from the multiple smaller trenches in the lower town opened by Özgüç, for instance near the Urfa Gate. Even *if* the stele fragment was unearthed on top of the *höyük* it is still unlikely it was found in an actual Late-Hellenistic context as it is not mentioned anywhere in the preserved documentation.

⁶⁸⁷ Crowther and Facella 2011, 363 with more literature. See also, more recently, Jacobs 2021. Note that Versluys 2017a, 178-182 argues against the whole notion of a 'Greek' versus a 'syncretistic phase'.

Find Location: In 1935, Giulio Jacopi found it stored in the elementary school of Samsat, but it was probably found between the village and the settlement mound.⁶⁸⁸

Current location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inner garden).

Preservation: Broken in two adjoining pieces. As one piece, broken at the top and at the right side; almost half of the stele is missing. Front side has a water channel cut along its length.

Description: Inscriptions in Greek on the front and back side. The front has the prologue of the cult text. The back side and the sides have the final lines of the sacred law (*nomos*).⁶⁸⁹

Discussion: Waldmann, Crowther and Facella have argued that it is very likely that this stele was freestanding and went together with a second stele, that contained the rest of the cult text and

⁶⁸⁸ Jacopi 1936, 21; Dörner and Naumann 1939, 30.

⁶⁸⁹ (A) [... Έγώ δ'εγενόμην]

[γενεθλίοις] σώματο[ς] έμου Αύδναίον εκκαιδε[
[κάτη, διαδήμα]τος δέ [Λών δεκάτη, ας αφιέρωσα
[μεγάλων δαιμόν]ων επι[φανεΐαις. Προσκαθωσίω-]
[σα έκατέραι τουτ]ω[ν εξής θύο ημέρας ...]
[...]
[Χώραν τε ίκαν]ήν και π[ροσόδους εξ αυτής άκινή-]
[το]υς εις [θυσι]ών πολυτ[έλειαν άπένειμα, θερα-]
[π]είαν τ[ε άνέ]γλειπτο[ν και ιερεις έπιλέξας συν]
πρεπου[σαις ε]σθήσι Π[ερσικώι γένει κατέστη-]
[σ]α, κ[ο]σμον τε κ[α]ι λιτουργίαν πάσαν άξίως τύ-]
[χης έμης και δαιμόνων υπέροχης ανέβηκα.]
(B) [θεών χειρας επί κακών τιμωρίαν άνδρών ·] αι[ς άσε-]
[βης τρόπος όφειλομένας δίκας άπα]ραιτητοις τε<ί->
[σειεν όργαις. Απόλλωνός τε και 'Ηρακλέους άναμ]αρτήτοις βέλε-
[σιν καρδίαν πονηράν άδίκου βίου ρίζαν διηλουμέ]νος εχέτω πι-
[κρόν άλγος εν μεισαγάθου τρόπου σπλάγχνοις.] 'Ηρας τε χό-
[λωι μεισάδικον ποιήν ουρανίου δίκης άθώπευτ]ον ύπηρέτιν τι-
[μωρόν ασεβούς τρόπου πικροτάτην εφευρισκ]έτω, Διός τε
[Όρομάσδου κεραυνοις γένο]ις ε[κείνου παν ο]περ κοινωνει κα-
[κού αίματος οικός τε ολ]ος, οστις ύ[ποδοχ]εύς και στεγανο-
[μος άσεβείας γενηθείς] εμίανε γην θεού, πολεμίωι πυρί
[φλεγέσθω. Όσοις δέ κα]θαρός μεν νους αδίκου ζωής, επιθυ-
[μητής δε οσίων έργων] θαρρούντες μεν εις θεών άπο-
[βλεπέτωσαν όψει, ιλ]αροις δε μακάρων ιχνεσιν επι-
[βαινέτωσαν, εύδαίμο]σιν δε άτραποις εξ ήμετέρας
[τιμής βίον αγαθόν εις] ελπίδας όδηγείτωσαν ίδιαις ·
[ούτοι τε πάντες άφ' ύ]ψηλού φρονήματος πλησίον
[όρώντες Διός μέγαν] ουράνιον οίκον εγγύς
[όφθαλμοίς ώσιν τε θ]εών εύχάς δικαίας και θυσι-
[ας έπιτελείτωσαν ό]σίαις, ήμέτερόν τε κόσμον
[άναβημάτων και κλέ]ος αίώνος ύμνούντες και γε-
[ραίροντες άπαρχαις] πρεπουσας επήκοον άγίοις
[εύχαίς ευμενή τε σ]υναγωνιστην αγαθών έργων
[εαυτοις Όρομάσδην ε]χέτωσαν Δία, προς εκείνωι τε
[παραστάτην 'Ηραν Τελε]ίαν, ετι δε Άρτάγηνην 'Ηρακλεα
[και Μίθρην Απόλλω και] 'Ηλιον 'Ερμη τε πολυφωνότατ[ον]
[θεών · πάντας τε] δαιμόνων ευμενών χαρ-
[κτήρας αψευδεις προφ]ήτας ευτυχούς βίου και συν-
[αγωνιστάς τόλμης αγαθ]ής διά παντός εύρισκέτωσαν.

Transliteration from Waldman 1973, 30-32.

nomos; one would have to walk around the two stelai, starting with the front of ID689 (Sy).⁶⁹⁰ Crowther and Facella argued that ID689 (Sy) and ID691 (Sx) cannot belong to the same *temenos* as they both contain the prologue to the sacred law and, more so, are different in terms of the size and interlinear spacing of the letters.⁶⁹¹ ID688 (Sa) also cannot serve as the twin stele to ID689 (Sy) as its letter-size and line-interval are too small in comparison.⁶⁹² ID690 (Sz) most probably derives from a *temenos* at Selik and also differs in lettering (see ID690). The find location suggests that the stele belonged to a *temenos* that was located in or near Samosata, but the exact location cannot be established.⁶⁹³

Literature: Jacopi 1936, 21-26, pl. 27 fig. 100; Dörner and Naumann 1939, 30-43, pl. 5, 1-2; Waldmann 1973, 28-32 nr. 3, pl. 12; Crowther and Facella 2011, 354, 362; Brijder 2014, 136-137 fig. 86 a-c.; Oenbrink 2017, 144, n. 395; Versluys 2017a, 85.

Date: Late-Hellenistic

⁶⁹⁰ Waldmann 1973, 29; Crowther and Facella 2011, 361. See also Brijder 2014, 137.

⁶⁹¹ Crowther and Facella 2011, 362. Followed by Brijder 2014, 137.

⁶⁹² Crowther and Facella 2011, 362.

⁶⁹³ Crowther and Facella suggest it is likely that the related *temenos* was located in the lower city instead of on the citadel (Crowther and Facella 2011, 363; followed by Brijder 2014, 137) but the lack of a primary archaeological context makes it impossible to tell.

ID690



Dexiosis stele 'Sz'

Measurements: h. 133,0; w. 60,0; depth 27,0 (max.); h. (letters) 1,8; h. (figures) 106,0, less than life-size.

Material: basalt

Find Location: Selik, 9,5 km. north of Samsat

Current location: London, British Museum (G52/od; inv. nr. 1927,1214.1)

Preservation: Large circular destruction at the back suggests a use of the piece as the bed-stone for an olive press.

Description: Front side has a relief of a *dexiosis* scene between Antiochos I and Artagnes-Heracles. Antiochos I wears a belted tunic and cloak, and, on his right hip, a four-lobed dagger. He furthermore wears the Armenian tiara, adorned with lions, as well as a neck band, equally adorned with lions. In his left hand, the king holds a royal sceptre. Artagnes-Heracles is depicted nude, with pronounced (abdominal) muscles in his short torso. He has the Nemean lion skin draped over

his left arm and his club carried upright in his left hand. The inscribed back side and edges contain fragments of the *nomos*.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹⁴ ... ὁπως] εκαστος ἐν [ἐραῖς]
[ἡμέραις ἀνελλιπη χορ]ηγίαν λαμβάνων ἀσυκοφάντ[η]
[τον εχη την εορτήν εὐωχοῦ]μενος, οπου προαιρείται. Τοις τε
ἐκπώμασιν, οἷς ἐγὼ καθιέρωσα, διακονέισθωσαν, ἕως αν εν ἱερῶι
[τόπωι συνόδου κοινῆς με]ταλαμβάνωσιν. Δεκάτη δε ἐμῆνῳ[ι]
[ὡς ὁ νόμος κελεύει] τὰς ἐπιθύσεις καὶ θυσίας ἱερεὺς ὁ[ς]-
[τις ὑπ' ἑμὸν καθίσταται] ἐπιτελείτω, τὴν τε ἐσθήτα παρα-
[λ]αμβά[ν]ων Ἱερσι[κὴν] καὶ γέρατα κατὰ νόμον τον αὐτὸν ἐ[ξ]
[αιρ]οῦμενος, τα λοιπ[ά] δέ ἀ[πό] των ἱερῶν τοις παρατυγχάνου –
[σιν δια]νέμων εἰς ἀνυπεύθ[υνο]ν ευωχίαν. Οἱ δε καθω[σ]ιωμένοι
ὕ[π']
[έμου] ἱεροδουλοι καὶ τού[των] παιδες] ἐγγονοὶ τε πάντες α –
[παρ]ενόχλητοι μεν τῶ[ν] ἄλλων ἀπάντων] ἀφείσθωσαν, ταῖς
[δε θ]εραπειαῖς τῶν [λειτουργιῶν τε καὶ] των συνόδων
[προ]σκαρτερε[ί]τωσαν. Μηδενί δε ὅσιον ἐ[σ]τω, μήτε βασι-
[λει] μήτε δ[υνάστη] μήτε ἱερεῖ μήτε ἀρχο[ντι], τούτους ἱερο-
[δο]ύλους, οὐ[ς] ἐγὼ θεοις τε καὶ τιμαῖς ἐμαῖς κατὰ] δαιμόνιον
[βο]ύλησιν ἀν[έ]θηκα, μηδε μην παῖδας ἐγγόν]ους τε ἐκείνων,
[οι]τινες αν ἐ[ν] ἀπαντι χρόνῳι τούτο γένος δ[ι]αδέχωνται
Μήτε αὐτῶ[ι] καταδουλώσασθαι μήτε εἰς ἐ]τερον ἀπαλλο-
τριῶσαι τρό[πωι] μηδενί μήτε κακῶσαι τινα] τούτων ἢ περι-
σπάσαι θερα[πείας] ταύτης, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελίσθ]ωσαν μεν αυ-
τῶν ἱερεῖς, ἐπαμυνέτωσαν δε βασιλεῖς τ]ε καὶ ἀρχον-
τες ιδιώτα[ι] τε πάντες, οἷς ἀποκείσεται πα[ρ]ὰ θεῶν καὶ η-
ρώων χάρις [εὐσεβείας. Ὅμοίως δε μηδε κώμας, ας] ἐγὼ καθιέρωσα
θεοις τούτο[ις], μηδενί ὅσιον ἐστω μήτε ἐξι]διάσασθαι μή-
τε ἐξάλλο[τριῶσαι] μήτε μεταδιατάξαι μήτ]ε βλάψαι κατὰ
μηδένα τρ[ό]πον κώμας ἐκείνας ἢ πρόσδοον, ἦν ἐγὼ κ]τήμα θεοις
ἀσυλον ἀν[έ]θηκα. Ωσαύτως δε μηδε ἀλ]λην παρεῦ-
ρσιν εἰς ὕβρι]ν ἢ ταπεινῶσιν ἢ κατὰλυσιν ὧν ἀφωσί]ωκα θυσιῶν
καὶ συνόδων [ἐπιμηχανήσασθαι μηδενί κατὰ τιμῆς] ἡμετέ-
ρας ἀκίνδυν[ον] ἐστω. Τύπον δέ εὐσεβείας, ἦν θεοις καὶ] προγῶ-
νοις εἰσφέρει[ιν] ὅσιον, ἐγὼ παισίν ἐγγόν]οις τε ἐμοῖς ἐ]μφανῇ
καὶ δι' ἐτέρων [πολλῶν καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐκτέθει]κα, νομίζω
τε αὐτούς κ[αλὸν] υπόδειγμα μιμήσασθαι γένους] καὶ θεῶν αὐ-
ξοντας αἰ[ε]ί [συγγενεῖς] τιμάς, ὁμοίως τ' ἐ]μοί πολλά
προσθήσε[ιν] ἐν ἀκμῇ χρόνων ιδίων, εἰς κό]σμον οικειον οἷς
ταῦτα πράσ]ουσιν ἐγὼ πατρώους πάντα]ς θεοὺς ἐκ Περσί-
δος τε καὶ Μ[ακετίδος] γῆς Κομμαγηνῆς τ]ε εστίας εἰλεως
εἰς πασαν χάρ[ιν] εὐχομαι διαμένειν. "Ὅστ]ις τε ἀν βασιλεύ[ς]
ἢ δυνάστη<ς> ἐ[ν] μακρῳι χρόνῳι ταύτην] ἀρχ παραλάβη, νό-
μον τούτον κα[ί] τιμάς ἡμετέρ]ας διαφυλάσσων καὶ παρά της
[ἐμ]ῆς εὐχῆς εἰλεως δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς πάντα]ς ἐχέτω. Δαιμο-
[ν]ῳι δε γνώμηι ταύτην ἀναγραφῇν εὐσεβείας πρόφητιν ἐποιη-
[σά]μην, ἐφ' ἧς ἱερά γράμματα δι' ὀλίγης φωνῆς θεσπίζει μέγαν θε-
[ων] νουν πολίταις καὶ ξένους, ὁμοίως βασιλευσιν, δυνάσταῖς,
[έ]λε[υθ]έροις, δούλοις, πασιν ὅσοι φύσεως κοινωνουντες ἀνθρω-
[πίν]ης, ονόμασι <γ>ένούσ η τύχης διαφέρουσιν τούτοις.
(Transcription from Waldman 1973, 34-35).

Discussion: Crowther and Facella argued that ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) are very similar in terms of their lettering and are therefore likely to have had a similar provenance.⁶⁹⁵ Like others, including Brijder, they suggested these stelai belonged to a *temenos* that was located in the lower city of Samosata.⁶⁹⁶ Recently, Blömer however suggested that ID690 (Sz) did not belong to a *temenos* in Samosata, arguing that the find context points to the existence of a *temenos* at Selik itself, something which makes the connection to ID691 (Sx) more problematic but not impossible.⁶⁹⁷ For a more elaborate discussion of the mode of visibility in this stele, see paragraph 8.3.2 of this dissertation.

Literature: Hamdi Bey and Efendi 1883, 29-30; Humann and Puchstein 1890, 184. 368-372 fig. 52; Fraser 1952, 96; Dörner and Goell 1963, 48 with n.13, 89 with n.173; Waldmann 1973, 33-42, nr. 4 pl. VII-IX; Sanders 1996, 456; Eldem 2010, 70; Crowther and Facella 2011, 354-366; Crowther and Facella, 2012, 70, 79, fig. 51a-d; Brijder 2014, 135–36; figs. 85a-b, 99 (A 2); Messerschmidt 2011, 295; Oenbrink 2017, 144, n. 395; Versluys 2017a, 85-86 fig. 2.37.

Date: Late-Hellenistic.

⁶⁹⁵ Crowther and Facella 2011, 355 with n.3. Already suggested by Yorke 1898, 313. *Contra* Fraser, who disconnected ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx), see Fraser 1952, 101. Instead, he suggested that there was a connection between ID690 (Sz) and a fragment (AD) of a lower section of a relief stele from Palas (30 km south of Selik), see Fraser 1952, 96 with n.2.

⁶⁹⁶ Waldmann 1973, 33–42; Crowther and Facella 2011, 363; Brijder 2014, 135.

⁶⁹⁷ Blömer 2012a, 101. Followed by Versluys 2017a, 85-86. See also Blömer 2017, 103: ‚Für die Hauptstadt Samosata sind, wie auch für Zeugma, jeweils zwei Temene sicher nachzuweisen. Brijder folgt zudem der einschlägigen Forschung, indem er davon ausgeht, dass auch die Stele aus Selik (Sz) ursprünglich in Samosata stand, so dass dort die Existenz von drei Temene postuliert werden kann. Die im Buch an späterer Stelle (S. 196–199) sehr präzise nachgezeichneten Fundumstände der Stele sprechen allerdings m. E. dafür, dass bei Selik, immerhin 12 km von Samosata entfernt, ein eigenes Heiligtum existierte.‘ Perhaps the stress on similar or deviating types of lettering should not be taken too rigidly in our designation of stelai to specific *temene*. It is not inconceivable that the same stonemasons were responsible for *dexioseis* of different *temene*, while the erection of *dexioseis* with different lettering within one and the same *temenos* should perhaps not necessarily be ruled out. This might explain why ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) are very similar in terms of their lettering but did not belong to the same *temenos*.



Dexiosis stele 'Sx'

Measurements: h. 78,7; w. 35,6; depth 30,5; h. (letters) 1,8; h. (with stone plinth) 106,0; h. (figures) ca. 105,0. Less than life-size.

Material: dark-grey basalt

Find Location: found by H.J.B. Lynch's father , who brought it to London 'from the banks of the Euphrates near Samosata'.⁶⁹⁸

Current location: London, British Museum (not on display, mus. nr. 108834; inv. nr. 1914,0214.60).

Preservation: Broken at the bottom and left side; left half, with Antiochos I is missing.

Description: Front surface contains a relief depiction of a *dexiosis* scene between Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and, most probably, Antiochos I (missing). The youthful deity is depicted wearing a mantle that is fastened with a disc-shaped brooch on his right shoulder. His head is surrounded with a sun-disc that contains twenty rays. The reverse carries an inscription in Greek with the king's titulature and a prologue to the sacred law.

Inscription:

'The Great King Antiochus, the God, the Righteous One, has inscribed this declaration of his respect – commanding intention – in which he presents a law of common devotion – on sacred stelae, fulfilling

⁶⁹⁸ Yorke 1898, 313.

all this in accordance with divine preordination. I came to believe piety to be, of all good things, not only the securest possession, but also the sweetest enjoyment for men; it was this judgment that was for me the cause of my fortunate power and its most blessed employment; and throughout my whole life I was seen by all men as one who thought holiness the most faithful guardian and the incomparable delight of my reign. Because of this I escaped great perils against expectation, readily gained control of desperate situations, and in a most blessed way obtained the fulfillment of a life of many years. After succeeding to my ancestral kingdom and setting up the images of Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, and Artagnes-Heracles-Ares, – images of their most venerable power – I made the honour of the great gods grow in step with my own fortune and joined to the representations in stone of the heavenly deities, that are set up and united in groups, the representation of my own appearance conform their shape, receiving the benevolent right hands of the gods, preserving a proper depiction of the undying concern which they often showed me to my assistance in my frightful struggles.’⁶⁹⁹

Discussion: Crowther and Facella argued that ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) are very similar in terms of their lettering and are therefore likely to have had a similar provenance.⁷⁰⁰ Recently, Blömer

⁶⁹⁹ Βασιλευς [μέγας Αντίοχος]
 [Θε]ος Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανής [Φιλορώμαιος καὶ]
 Φιλέλλην, ὁ ἐκ βασιλέω[ς Μιθραδάτου Καλ]-
 [λι]νίκου καὶ βασιλίσσης Λ[αοδίκης Θεας Φιλα]-
 [δέ]λφου, τῆς ἐκ βασιλέω[ς Ἀντ]ιοχου Ἐπιφανους Φι]-
 [λ]ομήτορος Κα<λ>λινίκου, τουτ[ον τύπον ιδίας γνώ]-
 μης νόμον τε κοινῆς εὐσεβ[είας εἰς χρόνον]
 ἀπαντα προνοίαι δαιμόνων[ν στήλαις ἐνεχάρα]-
 ξεν ἱεραις. Ἐγὼ πάντων ἀγα[θων οὐ μόνον κτη]-
 σιν βεβαιωτάτην ἀλλὰ κ[αὶ] ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην]
 ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμισα τη[ν εὐσεβειαν, τὴν αὐτήν]
 τε κρίσιν καὶ δυνάμεων ε[ὐ]τυχοῦς καὶ χρήσεως μα]-
 καρίστης αἰτίαν ἐσχον, πα[ρ] ὅλον τε τὸν βίον ὦ]-
 φθην ἅπασι βασιλείας ἐμ[ῆς καὶ φύλακα πιστοτά]-
 την καὶ τέρψιν ἀμείμητον [ηγούμενος τὴν οσιό]-
 τητα. Διὰ καὶ κινδύνους με[γάλους παραδόξως]
 διέφυγον καὶ πράξεων δυσ[ε]λπιστων εὐμηχάνως]
 ἐπεκράτησα καὶ βίου πολυετοῦς μακαρίστως ἐπλη]-
 ρώθην. Ἐγὼ πατρῶϊαν βασιλ[είαν παραλαβὼν εὐθέως]
 Διὸς τε Ὀρομάδου καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἑρ]-
 μου καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλούς [Ἀρεως τοῦτο νέον τέ]-
 μενος παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως [ἐκτίσα καὶ τύχης ἐ]-
 μῆς ἡλικιωτίν Θεων μεγάλω[ν τιμὴν ἐποιήσαμην,]
 ἐν ἱεραις τε λιθεῖαι μίας περιο[χῆς ἀγάλμασι δαιμο]-
 νίοις χαρακτηρὰ μορφῆς ἐμῆς [δεχόμενον Θεων εὐμε]-
 νεις δεξιᾶς παρέστησα, με[μί]μηκα δίκαιον φυλάσ]-
 σων ἀθανάτου φροντίδος [τῇ πολλᾷ κίς ἐμοὶ χει]-
 [ρ]ας οὐ[ρανί]ους εἰς β[οη]θείᾳ [ν ἀγώνων ἐξέτειναν.]

Transcription from Crowther and Facella 2003, 69. Translation taken from Brijder 2014, 134.

⁷⁰⁰ Crowther and Facella 2011, 355 with n.3. Already suggested by Yorke 1898, 313. *Contra* Fraser, who disconnected ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx), see Fraser 1952, 101. Instead, he suggested that there was a connection between ID690 (Sz) and a fragment (AD) of a lower section of a relief stele from Palas (30 km south of Selik), see Fraser 1952, 96 with n.2.

and Versluys have however suggested that ID690 (Sz) did not belong to a *temenos* in Samosata, arguing that the find context points to the existence of a *temenos* at Selik itself, something which makes the connection to ID691 (Sx) more problematic but not impossible.⁷⁰¹

Literature: GIBM IV 1048a; Yorke 1898, 313; Wilhelm 1929, 127-130; Keil 1940, 129-134 pl. 8-9; Dörrie 1964, 129-131; Waldmann 1973, 16-27 nr. 2 pl. 5, 6; Crowther and Facella 2003, 68-71 pl. 8, 1-3; Facella 2006, 232; Crowther and Facella 2012, 70 fig. 52a-b; Brijder 2014, 132, 134-135 fig. 84a-c, 99 (A1); Oenbrink 2017, 144, n. 395; Versluys 2017a, 85.

Date: Late-Hellenistic.

General discussion: These Antiochan reliefs have already received ample scholarly attention, but since they share the same overall dynastic context as the palatial structure they cannot be ignored in this overview. These type of basalt stelai can be found throughout Commagene and, when not found in the so-called Antiochan *hierothesia*, they are generally interpreted as indicators of the presence of so-called *temene*, sanctuaries belonging to the ruler cult of Antiochos I.⁷⁰² The *dexiosis* stelai witnessed in ID690 ('Sz') and ID691 ('Sx') portray king Antiochos I in a *dexiosis* (hand-shake) with the gods from the ruler cult's pantheon.⁷⁰³ The text on these *dexiosis* stelai as well as on the inscribed stelai (ID688 'Sa' and ID689 'Sy') largely coincides with the almost completely preserved Great Cult Inscriptions and *nomos* (sacred law) that we know from the *hierothesia* (tomb-sanctuaries belonging to Antiochos I's ruler cult) at Nemrut Dağı and Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁷⁰⁴ It is generally assumed that the ruler cult would have been present and visible in one or more *temene* in Samosata, as it was the capital of the kingdom and the location of the dynasty's palace.⁷⁰⁵ The four stelai presented here are suggested in existing scholarship as representative of the presence of *temene* in Samosata, but, as I discussed in the separate entries, it is debated whether all four were originally erected in Samosata. In fact, we have seen that, for none of the four stelai, we can say with certainty whether their presumed *temene* were located inside or even near Samosata itself. ID688 (Sa) was merely found in association with the Samsat finds in the depot of the archaeological museum of Adıyaman; ID689 (Sy) was found in the elementary school by Jacopi in the 1930s; ID690 (Sz) was found in Selik; and ID691 (Sx) was found at 'the banks of the Euphrates Near Samsat'. Stelai can travel easily, making these secondary

⁷⁰¹ Versluys 2017a, 85-86; Blömer 2017, 103: 'Für die Hauptstadt Samosata sind, wie auch für Zeugma, jeweils zwei Temene sicher nachzuweisen. Brijder folgt zudem der einschlägigen Forschung, indem er davon ausgeht, dass auch die Stele aus Selik (Sz) ursprünglich in Samosata stand, so dass dort die Existenz von drei Temene postuliert werden kann. Die im Buch an späterer Stelle (S. 196-199) sehr präzise nachgezeichneten Fundumstände der Stele sprechen allerdings m. E. dafür, dass bei Selik, immerhin 12 km von Samosata entfernt, ein eigenes Heiligtum existierte.' See also the entry for ID690 above.

⁷⁰² In general, see Facella 2006, 250ff.

⁷⁰³ For which, see Petzl 2003; Jacobs and Rollinger 2005.

⁷⁰⁴ Crowther and Facella 2012, 71-76; See also Brijder 2014, 132ff.

⁷⁰⁵ Crowther and Facella 2011, 341-354; Crowther and Facella 2012, 71-76; Brijder 2014, 132ff; Versluys 2017a, 86-86.

contexts anything but proof for *temene* in Samosata. We should allow for the possibility that the strong resemblance between ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) in terms of their lettering⁷⁰⁶ means that *both* belonged to a *temenos* in Selik.⁷⁰⁷ If this would be the case, we are left with only two contenders for *temene* in Samosata, namely ID688 (Sa) and ID689 (Sy) for two separate *temene* in Samosata. It is impossible to say whether these were located in the Lower Town or on top of the *höyük*; they may even have been located outside the city walls. Be that as it may, it can still be expected that Antiochos I commissioned a *temenos* for his ruler cult in the royal area of his kingdom's capital. If we consider the many parallels between the palace of Samosata and the 'palatial' structure of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, which was completely integrated into the *hierothesion*, a similar connection between the palace and a possible cult site would not be surprising (see paragraph 10.5.1 for a further exploration of this idea).

6.6 The sculptural evidence for Hellenistic and early Roman Samosata in its Commagenean context

The presented overview of sculptural fragments adds an important corpus of material to our broader understanding of the sculpture of Commagene for the Hellenistic and early Roman period. There is in fact not much known about sculpture in Commagene from the 9th/8th c. BCE up until the 1st c. BCE dynastic monuments of Antiochos I.⁷⁰⁸ The amount of 'pre-Antiochan' known sculpture is sketchy at best.⁷⁰⁹ Depictions of his predecessors are still restricted to the visual program of Antiochos I himself⁷¹⁰, and, besides such royal portraiture, there is also not known any

⁷⁰⁶ Crowther and Facella 2011, 355.

⁷⁰⁷ Thus combining the arguments of Blömer 2012a with those of Crowther and Facella 2011.

⁷⁰⁸ As remarked in several places by Blömer, e.g. Blömer 2014, 8: '*Festzuhalten ist, dass mit dem Ende der luwischen und aramäischen Königreiche ein tiefgreifender Umbruch verbunden war, der sich nicht nur in einer Verschiebung von Siedlungsmustern äußert, sondern auch in einem kulturellen Wandel. Das Ende der Herrschersitze leitete das Ende des epigraphischen und sculpturalen Habitus ein. Die lokale Kunstproduktion kam weitgehend zum Erliegen*'. See also Blömer 2012a, 113: '*In general the production of sculptures (and inscriptions) ceased after the fall of the Assyrian empire and was revived only after the establishment of Roman rule. With the notable exception of the royal monuments commissioned by Antiochos I and his son Mithridates II there is virtually no sculpture at all from the Hellenistic period*'. For the Syro-Hittite figurative reliefs and hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of Kummuh, see Hawkins 1970; Hawkins 1975; Hawkins 2000; Özgüç 2009, pls. 133-136. The sculpture that can be ascribed to the reign of Antiochos I has been extensively published and discussed, e.g. Sanders 1996; Brijder 2014 and Versluys 2017a. For a regional and global contextualization of (*inter alia*) the visual program of Antiochos I, see recently Blömer et al. 2021.

⁷⁰⁹ As has been argued extensively by Blömer in different places, e.g. Blömer 2014, 66: '*Die Statuen und Reliefs vom Nemrut Dağ, die Dexiosis-Stelen aus den temene des Herrscherkultes Antiochos I. oder die Ausstattung des hierotheseions von Arsameia a. Nymphaios sind allgemein bekannt und auch in den Handbüchern zu hellenistischer Plastik vertreten. Ungleich schlechter ist es um die Kenntnis regionaler Plastiken hellenistischer Zeit außerhalb des königlichen Kontextes, vor allem aber um die Kenntnis regionaler Plastik römischer Zeit, bestellt*'. See also Facella 2006, 199-224 and 299-337 for the epigraphic material.

⁷¹⁰ Riedel 2018, 118. These include the large rock-cut relief depicting Samos II at Arsameia on the Euphrates (Humann and Puchstein 1890, 355; Dörner and Naumann 1939, 17-29; Waldmann 1973, 123-141; Dörner 1987, 32-33; Facella 2006, 205-208; Cohen 2006, 152; Blömer and Winter 2011, 70; Brijder 2014, 222-228; Versluys 2017a, 78 fig. 2.33); the ancestor gallery at Nemrut Dağı (e.g. Sanders 1996; Brijder 2014; Versluys 2017a, 57-68, fig. 2.16); and the so-called *stephanophoros* stelai depicting Antiochos I with Mithridates I

other type of sculpture known that was commissioned by a predecessor of Antiochos I.⁷¹¹ The evidence for non-dynastic sculpture from the period leading up to the Antiochan program is equally scarce⁷¹² although two pieces could be briefly mentioned. The first is a Hellenistic-period, limestone grave stele from north-Commagene that has no specific find context.⁷¹³ It depicts two figures in profile; a standing, beardless man on the left wearing a so-called *kausia*⁷¹⁴, facing a seated woman wearing a *chiton* with *chlamys* on the right, holding each other's hands. The second example of possibly pre-Antiochan sculpture in Commagene is the rock-cut relief from Haydaran (Taşgedik), located near Perrhe on the ancient road from Samosata via Perrhe to Melitene.⁷¹⁵ This very worn and largely destroyed relief depicts a woman in a *chiton* and *himation* (left) and a man with trousers, a *tunica* and a mantle (right), facing one another, with a lying crescent moon supporting a star between them,⁷¹⁶ was however recently dated by Blömer to the second half of the 1st c. BCE, perhaps stretching into the first half of the 1st c. CE, making it rather contemporaneous or later than the Antiochan sculpture.⁷¹⁷ This scarce evidence leaves us with

(Goell in Sanders 1996, 248, 448-449 note that Sanders himself interpreted these stelai as depicting Antiochos I and Mithridates II). There is numismatic evidence for the depictions of Antiochos I's predecessors but this material is not within the scope of this chapter. For a good recent discussion of the numismatic evidence in relation to the iconography of dynastic portraits, see Riedel 2018, 118-123. For Commagenean coins in general, see Butcher 2004; Facella 2006, 481-487 figs. 45-55; Facella 2021, 139-161.

⁷¹¹ Although there is good reason to presume a pre-Antiochan phase to the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, it seems that the two life-sized limestone heads found near the so-called Mosaic Rooms belong to the profound restructuring and embellishment of the sanctuary under Antiochos I, see Dörner et al. 1965, 215; Hoepfner 1983, 24; Hoepfner 2012, 123. Recently, evidence from a private collection of antiquities nearby Kâhta suggests that we might expect more (sculptural) material related to Mithridates I (ca. 100 BCE – ca. 70 BCE) in the future. For this Neşet Akel Collection from Kâhta (Güzelçay), see *infra*, n. 165.

⁷¹² Unfortunately, the excavations undertaken by the Forschungsstelle Asia Minor on Dülük Baba Tepesi have not yielded any Hellenistic-period sculpture (e.g. Winter (ed.) 2011, 1-282). Recent excavations by the Forschungsstelle in the urban centre of Doliche (Keber Tepe) are likely to unearth more Hellenistic phases, as for instance already evidenced by the results of the urban intensive surveys (See Blömer, Çobanoğlu and Winter 2019, 103-186).

⁷¹³ Blömer 2011, 401-402, pl. 75, 1. Exhibited in the inner garden of the museum.

⁷¹⁴ Blömer 2011, 401-402. See also Janssen 2007, 92-94, 143-152, 244-264.

⁷¹⁵ The key-publication is Blömer 2011, 395-406, pls. 72-73. For earlier mentions of the relief, see Kalkandelen 1951, 29-32 with fig. on p. 30; Waldmann 1973, 113-115; Colledge 1977, 91; Sinclair 1990, 75. The male figure's dress is hardly visible due to the bad state of preservation but Blömer discerns a *tunica* covered with a mantle and wide trousers. He is beardless and does not wear a headdress. His opened, right hand is raised and stretched towards the woman.

⁷¹⁶ The heads are depicted in profile and the bodies in three-quarter. Importantly, the relief shows many similarities with the Late-Hellenistic dynastic Commagenean evidence, most notably the *dexiosis* relief of Karakuş, when considering its composition, posture and dress (interpreted as a 'Greek' *chiton* and *himation* of the woman and 'Iranian' trousers of the man), cf. Blömer 2011. However, the male figure of Haydaran is definitely not a king, considering the lack of a headdress. Another important difference with the *dexiosis* of Karakuş is the lack of an actual hand-shake in the relief of Haydaran; Blömer interprets the raised right hand of the male figure instead as a 'Betgestus', which however also seems to occur on Nemrut Dağı. See Blömer 2011, 400. Blömer suggests that the depicted man must have belonged to the Commagenean aristocracy and had close connections to the Commagenean king. Blömer 2011, 405: *Jedoch ist davon aus zu gehen, dass der Auftraggeber über Kontakte und Verbindungen zum königlichen Hof verfügte, dass er zur kommagenischen Aristokratie oder den Freunden des Königs zählte*.

⁷¹⁷ Blömer 2011, 397-398: *Insgesamt ist deutlich zu erkennen, dass die späthellenistischen kommagenischen Bildwerke den besten Referenzpunkt für das Relief von Haydaran bilden. Nahe liegt daher eine Datierung in*

the question what sculpture looked like in pre-Antiochan Commagene. The one stele without context cannot serve as a good indicator of any sculptural tradition in Hellenistic Commagene.

Whereas the corpus presented in this chapter still contains several sculptural pieces that likely can be assigned to the Antiochan phase proper (ID215/ID216/ID520/ ID361/ID514/ID516 and Antiochan stelai ID688/ID689/ID690/ID691), the material also cautiously broadens the corpus of pre-Antiochan sculpture. The two smaller than life-size female portraits of crystalline marble (ID130 and ID678), might for instance both be dated to the Hellenistic period broadly and do not necessarily belong to the Antiochan program. The two pieces share their marble materiality as well as an adherence to a standardized supra-regional iconography, but the execution of both is rather coarse. While the material itself was likely imported into Commagene, it is well possible that the statues themselves were produced locally. Limestone portrait fragments ID240 and ID512 might equally provide a small window onto the sculptural tradition of Commagene that is pre-Antiochan or at least non-Antiochan. Again, both pieces seem to follow a supra-regional iconography, although much remains unclear about the dating and character of especially ID512, which might be a much older 'Cypro-Archaic' import as well. The coarse execution of the otherwise standardized hairstyle of ID240 suggests a local production. A less standardized iconography is witnessed in ID88 and ID89, the small limestone stelai that both seem to portray (male?) figures in a rather coarse style. The pieces both show traces of red painted decoration and, according to their current location in the museum depot, might belong to the Hellenistic period, and perhaps the palace.

Moving to the state of knowledge concerning the royal and non-royal sculpture of the *post*-Antiochan phases in Commagene, we are again confronted with a very limited corpus. If we consider the royal portraiture and commissions of Antiochos I's successors, we have to conclude that, while some sculptural evidence is available for Mithridates II (ca. 36 BCE – ca. 20 BCE)⁷¹⁸,

der letzten Hälfte des 1. Jh v. Chr. Denkbar wäre aber auch noch eine Entstehung in der letzten Phase kommagenischer Souveränität vor der Annexion durch die Römer im Jahr 72/73 n. Chr.' (398). Blömer convincingly argues that the relief cannot be directly connected to a tomb (contra Waldmann 1973, 113-115) nor a cult site.

⁷¹⁸ Most importantly at the tomb of Karakuş, where the preserved sculpture comprises of a statue of an eagle placed on top of a pillar on the south side of the mound; a fragment of a statue of a bull on top of a pillar on the north-east side; and a *dexiosis* stele. See Humann and Puchstein 1890, 217; Waldmann 1973, 56-57; Dörner 1975, 60-63; Wagner 1983, 196-213; Facella 2006, 303-306; Blömer 2008, 103-104; Blömer and Winter 2011, 96-99; Brijder 2014, 206-217; Versluys 2017a, 79-81. I do not here deal with the otherwise very important shrine or sanctuary for Zeus Soter at Damlica, which was erected under Mithridates II but which only contains an inscription. See Şahin 1991, 101-105; Facella 2006, 307-309; Blömer 2012, 109-114; Blömer and Winter 2011, 150-155; Brijder 2014, 147-148; Versluys 2017a, 98; Collar 2021, 328; Jacobs 2021, 233. I also do not include the evidence from Sesönk (Dikili Taş), which has long been thought to be the burial mound of Mithridates II, but recently has been convincingly dated to the Roman period (see Blömer 2008 and Blömer and Winter 2011, 175-176, followed by Brijder 2014, 199-206). It contains statues of an eagle, a bull and a seated couple, probably erected on top of the three sets of Doric columns that are placed around the mound. For earlier studies (where the burial mound is still

the later Commagenean kings - Mithridates III (ca. 20 BCE-12 BCE), Antiochos III (12 BCE -17 CE) and Antiochos IV (38 CE-72 CE)– remain largely silent and unknown.⁷¹⁹ For Roman Commagene, the evidence is considerably larger, although 1st c. CE material remains scarce. In Samosata itself, at least two Roman grave reliefs have been recorded, both dating to the 2nd and 3rd c. CE.⁷²⁰ An important corpus of Roman sculpture from North-Syria was analyzed by Blömer, but almost all finds date to the 2nd c. CE and later.⁷²¹ Important evidence for mid- and later Imperial Roman sculpture furthermore derives from contexts such as the excavated necropolis of Perrhe⁷²², the grave reliefs of Zeugma⁷²³, the sanctuary at Direk Kale⁷²⁴, and the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus at Dülük Baba Tepesi.⁷²⁵

Three fragments from the catalogue of this chapter cautiously add to our knowledge of post-Antiochan Commagenean sculpture of the later 1st c BCE and the 1st-2nd c. CE. Some of these fragments are associated with the structure in *opus reticulatum* (cf. ID298/ID327/ID328). The high-quality marble torso fragment ID89 and the marble leg ID327 that might belong to it, are likely imports and must have belonged to a statue group. The adherence to supra-regionally standardized iconography is witnessed also in ID298, the limestone relief depicting a Zeus-like figure. Other marble (ID584) and limestone sculptural fragments (ID328/ID87/ID229/ID220) might also be assigned to this early Roman period, but their preservation and limited contextual information should make us cautious.

connected to Mithridates II), see Humann and Puchstein 1890, Dörner 1987, 47-49; Comfort and Ergeç 2001, 41.

⁷¹⁹ Note, however, that Fleischer 2008 assigns to Mithridates III the limestone head from the palatial structure of Samosata (ID216 in this chapter and identified to Antiochos I by Riedel 2018).

⁷²⁰ For one grave relief see Jacopi 1936, 24 fig. 103; another one in Serdaroğlu 1977, 66-70 fig. 27.

⁷²¹ Blömer 2014. The only piece of sculpture cautiously associated with Samosata in this catalogue is Blömer 2014, 205, cat. no. A II 12, pl. 36, 3-4, a statue of a seated female subject, dated to the 2nd- 3rd c CE. The earliest 'Commagenean' material from this catalogue comprises of Blömer 2014, 322 cat. no. C II 2, pl. 95,3, an altar with relief from Dülük Baba Tepesi dated to 57/58 CE.

⁷²² Erarslan and Winter 2008, 179-187, pl. 25, 1; Blömer and Facella 2008, 189-200, pl. 28; Blömer and Lätzer 2008, pl. 33.

⁷²³ Wagner 1976; Parlasca 1982; Skupinska-Løvset 1985, 101-129; Künzl 2001, 513-528; Parlasca 2005, 231-239.

⁷²⁴ Hoepfner 1966; Wagner 1983, 194; Facella 2006, 280; Blömer and Winter 2011, 100-105; Brijder 2014, 421-423.

⁷²⁵ Extensively published in the Asia Minor Studien, e.g. Winter 2011, 2017. Note that the recently started excavations at the urban centre of ancient Doliche (Keber Tepe) have already unearthed a mid-Imperial bath complex, with some sculptural fragments, in general see Blömer, Çobanoğlu and Winter 2019, 103–186. More sculptural evidence for the Roman period in Commagene derives from Sesönk (Hoepfner 1983, 67-69, pl. 39) and grave reliefs and rock-cut reliefs scattered across the landscape (Zeyrek 2007, 117-144; and Ergeç 2003 (South Commagene); Dörner and Naumann 1939, 47-50 pl. 9,1). See also Blömer 2012b.

