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# Diadochic Coinage in Commagene After Tigranes the Great\*

R. D. SULLIVAN

[SEE PLATE 14]

THE workings of native dynasties in the 'international' political systems of East Anatolia and North-west Mesopotamia in the first century before Christ lie for the most part hidden from modern eyes. But extraordinary circumstances could stir ancient authors into providing information on regions otherwise left obscure; one such event was the rapid extension of Armenia into a major empire under Tigranes the Great. Besides frequent mention of activity connected with this process, we find strong reflections in associated coinages.

In a recent article, P. Z. Bedoukian reattributed to Tigranes the Great of Armenia a coinage long ascribed to Antiochus I of Commagene.<sup>1</sup> But for a number of reasons the traditional attribution should be retained and the coinage seen as diadochic—that is, an affirmation in the tradition of Hellenistic kings in the Near East that a fully legitimate dynastic succession has taken place. [Diadochic deliberately echoes *diadochoi*, the term by which the royal successors of Alexander were known. Though unlikely to become a household word, it could be coined—if the pun can stand—to describe the Eastern obsession with dynastic continuity. It might also serve to entice the wary but curious into reading (or beginning) more numismatic articles.]

The main points in Dr. Bedoukian's (hereafter B.) argument are these:

1. In style and fabric this coinage resembles that of Tigranes, whose 'typical features' appear on the portrait wearing the characteristic five-pointed Armenian tiara adorned with an eight-rayed star and eagles. The Artaxiads used this tiara 'without exception' on all their coinage, with 'not a single instance'—apart from the Antiochus coinage—of an issue bearing this tiara being attributed to a non-Artaxiad.

2. Yet the reverse inscription— $\text{BAΣΙΛΑΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY}$ —'undoubtedly . . . refers to Antiochus I of Commagene'.

\* I wish to thank Mr. Eric W. Gray and Dr. Colin M. Kraay of Oxford and Mr. G. K. Jenkins of the British Museum for discussing with me questions arising from this material, as well as Mr. R. A. G. Carson for generous allocation of space for the following views. Inadvertent contributions to classical mythopoeia remain entirely my responsibility.

<sup>1</sup> *NC* 1970, 19–22.

3. 'The generally accepted theory is that Antiochus succeeded his father in 69 B.C. after the defeat of Tigranes by Pompey' [actually, by Lucullus]. The accession date derives 'from Roman sources, when Rome finally took permanent control of Commagene'. Thus in putting the image of Tigranes—if it was that—on his coins, Antiochus, who was 'actually a puppet of Rome, [would have] risked the displeasure of his masters'.

4. The sculptures on Nemrud Dag should have the Armenian tiara if Antiochus had decided to 'adopt' it. Instead there is the 'typical Commagenian tiara' (identical with the Armenian except for adornment with a lion instead of eagles and star), since each dynasty 'displayed its own distinguishing features'.

5. The first mention of Antiochus as king dates to 69 B.C. But if we assume he ruled some years before that, he could then have been named on a coinage of Tigranes 'to show that [he] was an ally', honoured this way because he had 'peacefully accepted the suzerainty of Tigranes' before 69. [Indeed, before 83. No such dual coinage exists for his father Mithradates I, so Antiochus on this showing should be the ruler Tigranes dealt with prior to moving on Antioch in 83, since Commagene lay in his path.]

6. This leaves no coinage of Antiochus I. So we must 'assume that after 69 B.C. he struck coins of the usual Commagenian type, even though none has yet been recognized [?] as his'.

This argument reverses the expected order of priorities, which is to examine the Commagenian dynasty's historical position, sculptural traditions, and inscriptions (including coin legends) before allowing so much to rest on 'the typical features of Tigranes'. Hence these remarks, following the enumeration of Dr. Bedoukian's points above.

#### DISCUSSION OF NO. 1

If anything is 'typical' in the fearsome features of Tigranes, it is the heavy, jutting jaw shown on most of his coins (Pl. 14. 1). The portraits on the issues of Antiochus I in the British Museum show the reverse, a small and definitely receding chin (Pl. 14. 2)—just like that on sculptured reliefs of Antiochus.<sup>2</sup> If the risky evidence of facial features is admissible, it inclines away from Tigranes for these coins.<sup>3</sup>

Nor can great reliance be placed on details of the tiara, which were by no means invariable.<sup>4</sup> Artaxiads sometimes omitted the star (Pl. 14. 3), and

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeology* 1952, 137, Fig. 2; at Arsameia, if his: F. Dörner, *Arsameia am Nymphaios* [Hereafter: Dörner, *Arsameia*], Tafel 48–50, with the arguments of J. Young in *AJA* 1964, 34.

<sup>3</sup> And for the variability among even his 'typical features', see *BMC Seleucids*, pl. xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> In reading that 'without exception' all Artaxiad coins used this tiara, we recall troublesome portraits like that published by Seyrig in *RN* 1955, 87 f., no. 5 and p. 117, where a pointed tiara appears on the coin of a royal Tigranes. [Hereafter: Seyrig.]

Tigranes could omit the eagles.<sup>5</sup> Even without going beyond the series for Tigranes in the British Museum one finds five different forms of the five-pointed tiara (Pl. 14. 1, 4–7); at least one other form exists as well.<sup>6</sup> Whether the Nisibis coins belong to Tigranes the Great or to his father (see below), they differ markedly in pose and detail from most other Artaxiad coin-portraits. Conversely, if Antiochus could so closely imitate the tiara's configurations on his sculptures, he could also retain its details when his purposes dictated, as on his coinage (no. 5 below).

*The Armenian Tiara.* The over-all configuration of this tiara would strike an observer sooner than would details of its band of adornment. But this configuration was used in Commagene and Media Atropatene, so B. must concentrate on the differences of adornment. None the less, the tiara worn by Artavasdes of Atropatene (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1162) is the Armenian type if anything: its main difference from the 'typical' one of Tigranes is a sphere flanked by eagles replacing the star flanked by eagles, and even that is variable, with one type showing eagles and no sphere (Pl. 14. 8).<sup>7</sup> The tiara worn by Antiochus of Commagene on his sculptures is identical with that of Tigranes except for a lion replacing the eagles and star, and in fact the Armenian tiara adorned with a *star* also occurs in Commagene.<sup>8</sup> On his coinage the tiara is in every respect the same, for purposes discussed below (no. 5).

Theodore Reinach had no doubt of the virtual 'identité des deux tiaras [on the sculptures of Nemrud Dagh and the coinage], copiées d'ailleurs sur celle de Tigrane. La seule différence, c'est que, sur la stèle, la tiare est ornée d'un lion et, sur la médaille, d'une étoile — mais le lion se retrouve comme type du revers.'<sup>9</sup> In the words of B. V. Head (HN<sup>2</sup> 775), 'On the Nemrud Dagh reliefs

<sup>5</sup> RN 1969, 16, no. 9 with pl. i: cf. fig. 1 on p. 17, with notes 1 and 2. Tigranes III [II] omits them too: MN 1968, 56. Zariadres has neither star nor eagles: MN 1968, 58 with pl. ix. 1; the argument on p. 49 that this is a forgery makes the assumption that a minor king cannot use the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. But coins of Artavasdes of Atropatene show this to be false (NC 1937, 250–4) if they are correctly attributed. If, on the other hand, this is an Artaxiad Artavasdes, then the uniform hypothesis for tiaras perishes.

<sup>6</sup> RN 1969, pl. i. 9.

<sup>7</sup> E. S. G. Robinson in NC 1937, 250–4 and pl. xxxii. 29–30. [Hereafter: Robinson.] Other examples: NC 1913, 273–4 with pl. xiii. 15; RN 1959/60, 26–7, no. 33, with pl. iii; RN 1914, 152 ff.; Sestini in *Descr. Num. Vet.* 491; Imhoof, *Zur gr. und röm. Münzk.* 233. It is worth remembering that this Artavasdes *could* be an Artaxiad, though Robinson thinks not (NC 1937, 250–4). So could the Artavasdes who wears not a tiara but a diadem: MN 1968, 66, attributed to Artavasdes II of Atropatene (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1044 = Artavasdes IV of the Artaxiads in MN 1968). Although there seems no certainty either way, these, if Artaxiads, would destroy the assumption that this dynasty always used the eagles-and-star Armenian tiara. Since doubt can exist about both attributions, the possible ramifications should be noted.

<sup>8</sup> AA 1965, cols. 216 ff. with Abb. 11. See p. 82, Abb. 51 in F. K. Dörner, *Kommagene: ein wiederentdecktes Königreich* (Gundholzen 1967). [Hereafter: Dörner, *Königreich*.]

<sup>9</sup> *L'Histoire par les monnaies* (Paris, 1902), 245. [Hereafter: Reinach.] References are to his 'La dynastie de Commagène' on pp. 233–48, reprinted from REG 1890, 362–80. This largely supersedes Mommsen's 'Die Dynastie von Kommagene' in *AthMitt* 1876, 27–39. More recent treatments: *IGLSyr* i, p. 10; *IstMitt* 1967, 195–210. See the present *Stemma* II.

he [Antiochus I] wears an Armenian tiara ornamented with a lion.' This is casual but correct, and just what alert contemporaries would have noted. If the tiaras worn in Commagene and Atropatene were not fundamentally equivalent to the Armenian, since only close inspection reveals the difference, then it is difficult to say what they were.<sup>10</sup>

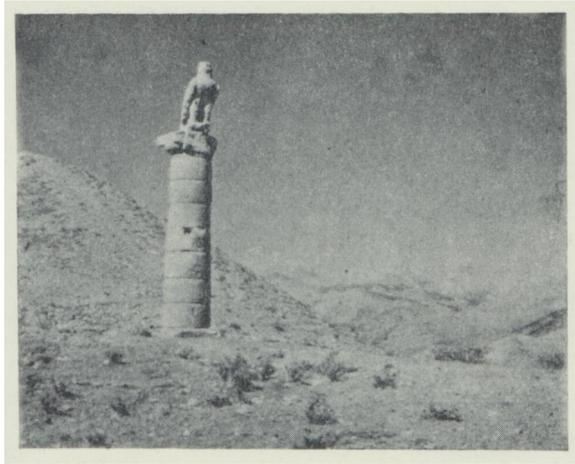


FIG. 1. Eagle column of Mithradates I at Karakuş. Nemrud Dagh in background.

Further, all elements of the Armenian tiara appear prominently in Commagene. Eagles had been given special place at least since Mithradates I (Pl. 14. 9; Fig. 1)<sup>11</sup> and are prominent on both east and west terraces of Nemrud Dagh (Fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> Multi-rayed stars occur often too, notably on the lion orthostat in the west terrace complex (Fig. 3).<sup>13</sup> If examined, the star motif

<sup>10</sup> There is an interesting speculation in Eckhel (*Doctrina Nummorum Veterum* iii [Vienna, 1828], 203) that the developed form of the Armenian tiara may in fact have been of Syrian inspiration: '... quod solem impensius observare Armenii, sive quod regum Syriae cultum volebant imitari. Hujus formae tiara comparet in omnibus posteriorum regum numis, Tigranis, Artavasdis, Antiochi IV Commageni, et filiorum Epiphanis et Callinici, et eodem exemplo in denariis M. Antonii, et Augusti, qui Armeniae devictae testimoniis gloriantur. Neque his constitit novandi amor, nam inserta illi astra, adstantibus nonnquam binis aquilis, in nonnullis Commagenis insculptus scorpius etc.' That tiaras were used in Commagene also to represent the sun's rays is perhaps most apparent in reliefs of Mithra there showing an Iranian tiara with separate rays carved out around it (Fig. 5). Photos in *Bibl. Orient.* 1952, 93–6 with pl. ii. 3; Dörner *Arsameia*, Tafel 52 and p. 209.

<sup>11</sup> See esp. his eagle column at Karakuş: photograph in *Archaeology* 1952, 139. Excavation report on this monument in *IstMitt* 1969/70, 266–76.

<sup>12</sup> Treccani, *Enciclopedia*, 'Nemrud Dagh', fig. 54 has a close-up photo of one.

<sup>13</sup> For photos with discussions of the local significance: *Archaeology* 1952, 138–9 (T. Goell), and Dörner, *Königreich* 26–30, with Abb. 16. The garment worn by Mithradates (Antiochus?) on the dexiosis relief at Arsameia is covered with eight-rayed stars: Dörner, *Königreich* 58, Abb. 34 = *Arsameia*, Tafel 48–50. Antiochus also wears such a garment:

leads to contemporary Parthians, related to both Commagene and Armenia.<sup>14</sup> But stars of this type, like the lion walking right, are too widespread to be relied on for evidence: they appear even on the coinage of Juba of Mauretania (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 65) and his father, and B. himself remarks that 'this type of lion is common on the coins of Galatia and Samosata of this period'.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the Galatian use is only a subsequent one by Amyntas [36–25 B.C.], and the Samosata issue seems late too, though one would expect this city to favour the same motifs as its ruler did. If any meaning at all can be rescued from such uses of these figures as Juba's, it could lie in his situation as distant marital relative of the East Anatolian aristocracy through his former wife Glaphyra (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 171), who became by Herod's son Alexander the mother of King Tigranes IV of Armenia (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> T 149).<sup>16</sup> Similarly, any conscious imitation of East Anatolian motifs by Amyntas could stem from his dynasty's relationship to the Armenian house—a son of Deiotarus I had married a daughter of Artavasdes II<sup>17</sup>—or from his own eastern holdings (in the western Regnum Antiochi, later so called after Antiochus IV of Commagene, though I know no evidence of claims that far west by Commagenian monarchs in the first century B.C.). To the extent that Tigranes the Great had controlled this part of Cappadocia and Cilicia,<sup>18</sup> Amyntas might claim to be his local 'successor' in much the same way Antiochus of Commagene and Artavasdes of Atropatene had done (no. 5 below). But these strained explanations show the difficulty of basing our conclusions on the 'evidence' of motifs and the necessity of seeking the honorand's motives if we do.

*Artaxiads and the Tiara.* The question of variants and their significance underlies B.'s 'not a single instance' approach. Depending on what one stresses, Armenian tiaras either appear on Commagenian sculptures and Median coins or they do not. Even the problem of which coins belong to

*Archaeology* 1952, 137, fig. 2. How unusual *that* is I cannot say. No starred *Persian* robes in *Iranica Antiqua* 1964, 133–52. To one who seeks in rage and despair after starred *Parthian* robes, there does at least appear an unstarred robe of somewhat similar design on an Arsacid relief at Bid Zard: *Iranica Antiqua* 1963, 155–68 and pl. lvi. 2 (cf. liii). A relief of an ancestor with pointed Iranian tiara at Gerger has this robe (unstarred?): Dörner, *Kommagene* (1939), Tafel 1 with pp. 17 ff. and 44. Cf. Dörner, *Arsameia* 198. A similar robe is pictured in O. Hamdy Bey, *Le Tumulus de Nemroud Dagh* (Constantinople, 1883), pl. 33; a *starred* robe is on pls. 23 and 31, and the radiate Mithra crown on pl. 23 and 29. A second relief showing Armenian tiara and starred robe: pl. 27 (cf. 25). A crisp, sensible discussion of the Iranian clothing and tiaras here, with references to the classical sources, is in Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin, 1890), 300–2. See also Dörner, *Arsameia* 213 ff.

<sup>14</sup> e.g. G. MacDonald, *Catalogue . . . Hunterian Collection* iii, 609–17 and pl. lxxix. 24, 27, 30. See the remarks on Parthian origins for the Nike and eagle motif in *NC* 1937, 250–4.

<sup>15</sup> *Hunterian Collection* iii, pl. xcvi. 14 and 26.

<sup>16</sup> *PIR*<sup>1</sup> T 149; cf. T 150.

<sup>17</sup> Cic. *Ad Att.* v, 21, 2; F. Stähelin, *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater* (ed. 2, Leipzig, 1902), 92, 97, 108, 114; A. Zwintscher, *De Galatarum Tetrarchis* (Leipzig, 1892), 24 f.

<sup>18</sup> W. Calder and G. Bean, *Classical Map of Asia Minor*, co-ordinates GH–fg.



FIG. 2. Nemrud Dagh, West Terrace. Eagles and heads of syncretistic divinities, with Antiochus and Commagene (personified) behind.

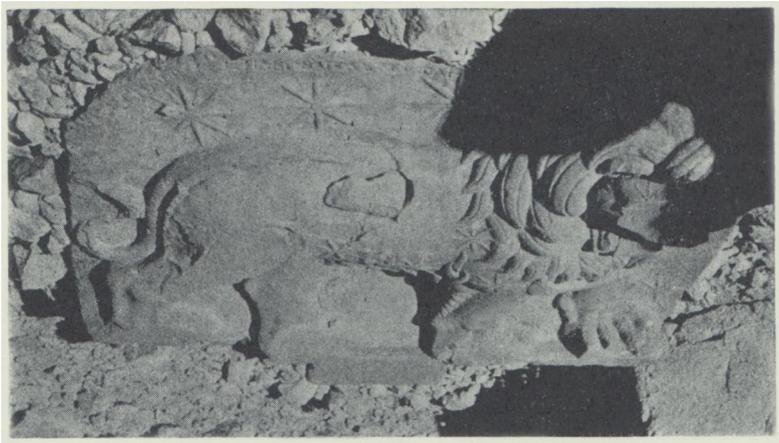


FIG. 3. Lion orthostat relief from West Terrace, Nemrud Dagh.

Tigranes the Great and which to others of that name has too often been approached through variants. But it will not do to be dogmatic about these canons in view of the small number of coins actually available. As Bedoukian shows elsewhere,<sup>19</sup> to only four [at most, since those of Tigranes III (II) could as well fit Tigranes IV (III)] Artaxiads—Tigranes II, III, IV (my I–III) and

<sup>19</sup> *MN* 1968, 41–66 with pls. ix–xi. The remainder of my no. 1 refers to this article.

Artavasdes II—out of eleven<sup>20</sup> can we firmly attribute issues of the type under discussion. Three others have at best controversial coinages: one doubtful coin apiece for Artaxias II and Tigranes V (my IV) and reattribution to the father of Tigranes the Great of the Nisibis issues thought to be his own (below).



FIG. 4. Tigranes the Great: Head l. / Seated Zeus: βασιλεως / μεγαλου (reversed) / Τιγρανου / φιλελλην (B.M.; cf. *RN* 1955, p. 87, no. 3).

B.'s statement that the 'characteristic Armenian tiara [is] distinctly different from the tiaras used on the coinage of adjacent lands such as Commagene or Media' must be further qualified in the case of the Nisibis hoard. These Nisibis coins, in differing from other Artaxiad issues—the portraits face left (like an unpublished one in the British Museum: *Pl. 14. 3*; *Fig. 4*) with lappets unlike the rest—remind us of the risks involved in assigning crucial importance to some features but not others: the statement of distinctive difference assumes a key role for adornments if it is to be valid for Media and Commagene, and further assumes the series of Antiochus already proved not his.

Overemphasis on variants leads directly to the unfortunate practice of assigning anomalous coins almost *ipso facto* to rulers heretofore unrepresented. Thus a 'new type' with illegible inscription goes to Artaxias II 'in the absence of any feature identifying this coin with that of any of the other rulers'. But the unreliability of this is not far to seek: the 'entirely new design' on the reverse of a recent tetradrachm of Artavasdes II fails to disqualify it as his since the inscription says it is (compare our present case). Similarly with the 'new elements' on a coinage of Tigranes III (my II), who has a 'distinguishing

<sup>20</sup> Counting the Judaeo-Cappadocian Tigranes V but not the three Medes who ruled all or part of Armenia: Artavasdes I and II, and Ariobarzanes II (*PIR*<sup>3</sup> A 1044; 1162; 1164). Artavasdes, *Rex Armeniorum* (*PIR*<sup>3</sup> A 1165), is much later. The attributions in *MN* 1971, 137–9 with pl. XXXV to Artavasdes III are on stylistic ground alone, and unconvincing. On Tigranes V (my IV) there, see next note.

bearded portrait' on some coins but no beard at all on others (yet absence of a beard furnishes a conclusive argument for the one coin given to Tigranes V).<sup>21</sup>

*The Nisibis Tigranes.* If these strange Nisibis coins do belong to Tigranes the Great, as Seyrig thinks, then any normative approach to his remaining coinage falters and the attempt to give him the coinage of Antiochus perishes. B.'s arguments (*MN* 1968, 52 f.) for reattributing the Nisibis coins to his Tigranes I are unsatisfactory, as is lack of explanation for the unusual dating (123–96 B.C.) for Tigranes. (Since I find no firm evidence that he reigned at all, my numeration begins with Tigranes the Great.) First, MacDonald's general objections in 1902 hardly preclude regnal dates for the Nisibis hoard (published 1955).<sup>22</sup> Second, a different style need not require a different monarch.<sup>23</sup> Seyrig suggests that the Nisibis coins may have been minted locally. If they were, Tigranes the Great is more likely than his father to have issued them so far from the primary Armenian holdings: he ruled at least as far south-east as Arbela and Nineveh (Strabo xi, 14, 15, 532), but I know no evidence that his father ever did. As B.'s own examples of variant coins for Artavasdes II and Tigranes III show, stylistic arguments cannot be decisive. Third, it is a distortion to call Tigranes the Great 'an enemy of Parthia from the beginning': he married three of his children into the Parthian royal house (two became queens), and his long reign involved frequent alliances and close co-operation with Parthia, despite periods of conflict.

Nor was encouragement of Hellenic cultural elements an anti-Parthian action before Vologases I in the mid-first century A.D.;<sup>24</sup> the Parthians had long provided such encouragement themselves. Mithradates II, who married a daughter of Tigranes, was outstanding in this (e.g. *OGIS* 430). We need not wonder at the conjunction during his kingship of increased Hellenic usages and renewed Iranian pressure westward: both policies looked toward succession to the last Seleucids, whose expulsion Mithradates began and his protégé, Tigranes, accomplished. The contemporary Parthian monarch Orodes II (son-in-law of Antiochus I of Commagene) can even be described as something of a Hellenist: ἦν γὰρ οὔτε φωνῆς οὔτε γραμμάτων ὁ Ὀρώδης Ἑλληνικῶν

<sup>21</sup> Further trouble over this in *MN* 1971, 137–9: a circular argument based on the assumption that all coins of Tigranes III (B.'s IV) are bearded. This ignores the inconsistency regarding beards shown for Tigranes II (B.'s III) in *MN* 1968, 63 f., nos. 26–30. The usual assumption that Tigranes III and Erato ruled intermittently over a span of years can explain the coinage naming both. A period of restored rule could provoke the ΝΕΟΣ on some of these coins, and there is no convincing reason on present evidence to see Tigranes IV (B.'s V: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 149) on them.

<sup>22</sup> As Seyrig shows: *RN* 1955, 114. Mithradates III (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> M 452) of Commagene married Iotape (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 44), daughter of Artavasdes I of Media Atropatene. The rest of the Commagenian line springs from them: Stemma II.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 114–16: review of the stylistic question for these coins.

<sup>24</sup> So firmly established was numismatic use of Greek that Iranian legends appear on Parthian coins not until Vologases I (c. A.D. 55): R. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (London, 1963), 270 note 28 and 278 note 47. The reaction against non-Iranian elements on coinage may have begun after the reign of Vonones I (11/12 A.D.): *NC* 1967, 13–27, esp. 14 f.

ἄπειρος. After the victory at Carrhae he delighted in hearing the severed head of Crassus greeted with an apt quote from Bacchae (Plut. *Crass.* 33).

Greeks enjoyed special status in Parthia at least into the first century A.D.<sup>25</sup> Arsacid recognition of the strong Hellenic traditions in many cities went so far as favouring Greek commercial and aristocratic classes over native populations. The sources hint that Arsacid rule could even be welcome to Greeks (e.g. Dio xlix, 30, 4), partly because the Parthians followed basic patterns of rule long familiar in the East. Just as Seleucid rule had preserved major features of the Achaemenid systems it replaced, so did Arsacid *diadochoi* continue the main lines of both, thus satisfying both Hellenic and Iranian subjects. Similarly, their ingenious 'King of Kings' formula preserved the intense local diversity so dear to Anatolian populations by allowing them their own 'national' dynasties. So the Parthian elements on these Nisibis coins by no means point away from Tigranes II (my I, the Great).

Fourth, one would think that legends including ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟC suit Tigranes the Great at least as well as his father (better, on B.'s own 'anti-Parthian' arguments). The Nisibis legends are *not* 'radically different from those found on the coins of Tigranes II' if in fact these *are* coins of Tigranes II (I). If we use B.'s figure of sixty-three known coins of Tigranes, these eleven would hardly bear so low a ratio as to be stylistically unacceptable, especially when found so far afield as Nisibis. Seyrig's explanation of this (115 f.) is adequate and sound, adducing Parthian parallels and even Nabataean issues at Damascus.

Fifth, we must resist a statistical attempt to deny these coins to Tigranes the Great because 'the odds are' that 176 'regular' pieces of his would occur 'if the Nisibis hoard coins belonged to Tigranes': one wonders why *any* 'regular' coins of his should be expected at Nisibis. These odds are based on a 'ratio of 16:1' (of 'regular' issues to Nisibis types), which in turn derives from *four* Nisibis coins previously known in museums. This intimidating ratio would alter dramatically if the Nisibis coins were ascribed to Tigranes, destroying the circular argument by which they are here disallowed. The explanation for the small number of 'Nisibis hoard types' previously known for Tigranes is not this ratio but the comparatively few excavations in the Nisibis area. Finally, that 'the lack of a single Nisibis hoard type of Tigranes is again significant' in a recent 'hoard' of *seven* coins acquired by B. requires no comment.

Thus the reattribution of these Nisibis coins to the father of Tigranes the Great appears unwarranted. If they are in fact coins of Tigranes, then the

<sup>25</sup> See for instance the letter of Artabanus III to Susa in A.D. 21/22: C. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* (1934), 299–306 = *SEG* 7 (1934) 1 = *CRAI* 1932, 238–60. Studies of the Greeks in Parthia: J. Wolski in *Meander* 14 (1959), 527–38. Other evidence for cities retaining Greek institutions: Strabo xi, 9, 1 and 13, 6; Dio xl, 14–15 and 16, 3; Plut. *Crass.* xxxii, 3; Tac. *Ann.* vi, 42, 1. Parthian royalty could live calmly amid this: Strabo, xi, 13, 1. Cf. Josephus, *AJ* xviii, 49, 372–4, 377 f. Archaeological confirmation: G. Le Rider, *Suse* (Paris, 1965), 35 f.

variability of his coin portraiture—and not of his name—according to its place of issue is even better established and further weakens the attempted reassignment to him of coins bearing the name of Antiochus I of Commagene.

## DISCUSSION OF NO. 2

Even if the image on the obverse of the Antiochus coins were proved to be that of Tigranes, 'the invariable practice of several centuries of Hellenistic coinage' would indicate by an inscription in the genitive on the reverse that 'this is a coin of King Antiochus'.<sup>26</sup> He might have chosen to honour or commemorate *Tigranes* by depicting him, but users of the coin would everywhere assume it to be an issue of the king it names. To let real or assumed implications of style outweigh clear inscribed testimony reverses sound procedure.

## DISCUSSION OF NO. 3

Tigranes was defeated in 69—by Lucullus, not Pompey (Plut. *Luc.* 27 ff.). But this hardly means that he can be regarded after that date as 'a defeated enemy of Rome' whose image would be unwelcome even on an ally's coinage: Tigranes ruled Armenia for some fourteen years after this defeat, with full Roman recognition (by Pompey) after 66.<sup>27</sup> Some of the territory taken over by Antiochus came from the former Mesopotamian holdings of Tigranes (App. *Mithr.* 114), just as some of that for Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia did: these were in every sense legitimate local successors of Tigranes. Abgar of Osrhoëne also held 'Armenian' territory recognized by Pompey as his, and he too was one day to play the dual game with Parthia and Rome (Dio xl, 20–3), as the neighbouring dynast in Gordyene once had done with Armenia and Rome (Plut. *Luc.* xxi, 2–xxix, 6).

Nor is it true that 'Rome finally took permanent control of Commagene' in 69 B.C.: this did not occur until some 140 years later, when Vespasian deposed its last king, Antiochus IV.<sup>28</sup> More serious is the view that Rome's standing with her allied kings in East Anatolia could be that of 'master' and 'puppets': this distorts both Roman policy and Eastern political realities, and

<sup>26</sup> Quotes are from a note to me at Oxford by Dr. C. M. Kraay.

<sup>27</sup> Dio xxxvi, 53, 2; Vell. Pat. ii, 37, 2 ff.; Eutropius vi, 14; App. *Mithr.* 114, cf. 105; cf. Dio xxxviii, 7a and xxvii, 20. Dio xl, 16, 2 shows that Tigranes had been succeeded by his son at least by 54 B.C. He was still alive in 56: Cicero, *Pro Sestio* xxvii, 58–9: *regnat hodie*. Cf. Lucian, *Macrob.* xv: he died at 85. Pompey's distributions are discussed in part by F. Adcock in *JRS* 1937, 12–17; the complicated evidence for territorial boundaries after Pompey's distributions in the region bordering Commagene and Armenia—i.e. the kingdoms of Adiabene, Osrhoëne, Gordyene, and Sophene—has been treated by U. Kahrstedt, *Artabanos III und seine Erben* (Berne, 1950), 58–70. Suffice it to say that boundaries remained in flux, with Armenia continuing to compete vigorously for these lands despite Parthian and Roman opposition. As 'friend' of Rome for years after the settlement, Tigranes received further Roman recognition in portions of his former realm (e.g. Gordyene: Dio xxxvi, 5, 3; previously held: Strabo xi, 14, 15, 532).

<sup>28</sup> Even then, it required enough force that the action appears as the *bellum Commagenicum* in inscriptions, and involved some difficulty with Parthia. Nor did the fate of Antiochus prevent his sons and grandson from assuming the royal title on into the second century! *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 149–51 and 228.

dilutes the complex and delicate relationships of these dynasties with the powerful empires on either side of them—Rome and Parthia—as well as with one another.

Pompey distinguished carefully between dynastic and conquered lands (Dio xxxvi, 53, 2). He understood the fluidity of ‘international’ politics in Anatolia, and at times utilized it even better than the master—Mithradates Eupator—had,<sup>29</sup> as when he and Lucullus anticipated Mithradates in establishing *φιλία* and *συμμαχία* with the new Arsacid monarch Phraates III and sent him off to fight Tigranes.

Even after Mithradates, too, became a ‘defeated enemy of Rome’ Armenians calmly raised royal progeny of Tigranes by the daughter of Mithradates. A similar tie between Mithradates and Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia interfered in no way with restitution and increase of Cappadocian territory by Pompey.<sup>30</sup> Antiochus of Commagene, whose daughter was a queen of Orodes II, could boast to the end of his life about grandsons highly placed in the dynasty of Parthia—a permanent enemy of Rome (Dio xlix, 21, 3).<sup>31</sup> By descent he was connected to the Parthian dynasty on his mother’s side too: her aunt Laodice wed Phraates III, whose sister bore royal progeny to Demetrius II Nicator. Nor was Antiochus ultimately afraid to assist the Parthian Pacorus against Rome in 39 B.C. and to rely on Parthian strength (Dio xlvi, 41, 5; xlix, 20, 3 ff.; 23, 3–5; cf. Plut. *Ant.* xxxiv, 2–4), though he had with typical Anatolian opportunism served Rome against Parthia at least once previously (Cic. *Ad Fam.* xv, 3, 1–2 and 4, 4). Finally, the son of Tigranes the Great, though married to a daughter of the Parthian king, received the kingdom of Sophene from Pompey (Dio xxxvi, 53, 2 and xxxvii, 6, 4).<sup>32</sup>

This process yielded no ‘puppets’ to anyone in the first century B.C., and the serious political issues involved remained of major significance in Roman–Parthian affairs for centuries.<sup>33</sup> Any student of the East Anatolian dynasties and the aristocracy springing from them would insist that they could not then and should not now be so lightly handled.

<sup>29</sup> Dio xxxvi, 1–3 and 45, 3; Plut. *Luc.* xxx, 1; Livy, *Epit.* 100; cf. App. *Mithr.* 87.

<sup>30</sup> Discussion by W. Hoben, *Untersuchungen zur Stellung kleinasiatischer Dynasten in den Machtkämpfen der ausgehenden römischen Republik* (Mainz, 1969), 149 ff.

<sup>31</sup> As with all empires, both Rome and Parthia aspired to more than they could achieve. The Armenian compromise of A.D. 63 stabilized relations which might—had Parthian westward expansion not halted in the first century (see *Iranica Antiqua* 1965, 103–15 and Debevoise, *Political History of Parthia* [Chicago, 1938], chs. 7–8)—otherwise have seriously damaged the dynastic structure of Armenia and much of the East, as had already occurred in ‘Roman’ parts of Anatolia. But even in Sassanian times Armenia remained under Parthian dynastic rule: *Iranica Antiqua* 1968, 81–93.

<sup>32</sup> Sophene too shows copying of Iranian and other royal tiaras early in its obscure history: *RN* 1920, 114 no. [25], with pl. vi. 7. Cf. Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 754.

<sup>33</sup> Jos. *BJ* vii, 219–43 gives the details behind Rome’s stated reason for annexation in A.D. 72: intriguing with Parthia; a charge once levied as well against Antiochus I (Dio xlix, 20, 3 and 22, 1–2). The subject of Roman–Parthian relations is subtle, complex, and surprising. Methods were *ad hoc*, but communications regular: *Berytus* 1966, 61–9 and pl. xiv; *Eos* 1959/60, 61–8.

## DISCUSSION OF NO. 4

Is the tiara Antiochus uses on sculptures and reliefs intended to represent the 'Armenian' one? First of all, it would not be necessary for him to 'adopt' this tiara in order to use it: at least four different tiaras appear on Nemrud Dagħ alone.<sup>34</sup> If Antiochus intended to claim local succession to Tigranes (no. 5 below), the exact form of the Armenian tiara may have been thought necessary in his coinage, whereas some distinguishing character was desirable for sanctuary sculpture viewed *in situ*.

Nearly all scholars to study Commagenian coinage and sculpture have recognized one form or another of 'Armenian' tiara in use there, including the form Antiochus and Tigranes favour. Indeed, the Armenian tiara of the type on the coinage is the *only* tiara certainly used by Antiochus in five reliefs *which identify him by inscriptions*.<sup>35</sup> His practice echoes his position as heir of lands once under Armenian sway, including his own rightful kingdom.

Nor does Antiochus claim to be the first in Commagene to assume the headdress of reigning Armenians.<sup>36</sup> This usage appears as far back in the dynasty as our records go and continues to the very end of its coinage in Vespasian's day (Pl. 14. 10): in so long a span, the model for this should be *Commagenian* monarchs.<sup>37</sup> Even should *all* the Armenian tiaras attributed to Commagenian monarchs prove to differ in detail from the contemporary 'typical' ones, B.'s argument would be weakened unless he could show that these are not 'Armenian' at all. Borrowing of a general form, sometimes with addition of local variants, fits Anatolian practice, and the Armenians probably did this themselves: 'the general type [of the tiara called Armenian] is surely of ancient Iranian origin', available to dynasts who wished to use it.<sup>38</sup> Imitations may be exact or approximate, according to the borrower's intention, but the primary question in studying coins labelled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ remains the purpose of Antiochus in modelling his tiara on the Armenian.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *AJA* 1964, 29–34.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 31.

<sup>36</sup> It appears on a relief—possibly his father's—at Arsameia: Dörner, *Arsameia* Tafel 48–50; Dörner, *Königreich* 58, Abb. 34. But see J. Young in *AJA* 1964, 34.

<sup>37</sup> An excellent survey—for its time—of both dynasties down to Antiochus and Tigranes is in Reinach 235–43; cf. Babelon, *rois* cxci–cc and ccvii–ccxii, 211–12, 216, and pls. xxix–xxx. For the attitude of Antiochus to his Armenian ancestors, see p. 33 below. On shared forms of tiara from the third century B.C. to the second A.D., see Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 754 f. and 774–7, with the references given there, and *BMC Galatia, etc.* 100–29 with pls. xiv–xvi (Armenia and Commagene).

<sup>38</sup> J. Young in *AJA* 1964, 31. Cf. *AA* 1965, 216 ff. H. Toros, in *SAN* 1 (1969), 13–14 (with illustrations on cover), argues that the crown worn by Kubaba on a neo-Hittite relief from Carchemish is by no accident similar to that of Tigranes, who favours the Armenian goddess Anahit (the contemporary and local 'equivalent' of Kubaba) as his 'patron deity' in the manner of Eastern kings since Alexander. [She was worshipped in Armenia—Strabo xi, 14, 16, 532—and continued to be in Iran into Sassanian times: *Iranica Antiqua* 1967, 121–32.]

<sup>39</sup> See no. 5 below. Description or photographs of the various types—including the one under discussion—of 'Armenian' tiaras used in Commagene can be found as follows. The

## DISCUSSION OF NO. 5

Having decided that this must be some type of shared coinage—issued by Tigranes but with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ‘allowed to appear on the coins struck in Commagene’—B. must put the reign of Antiochus back farther than we have evidence for, so that Commagene will still form part of the empire of Tigranes when this coinage appears. In fact, on the argument given for Tigranes’ conquest of Commagene—it ‘must have passed under the control of Tigranes before he took over Antioch in 83 B.C.’—B. apparently takes Antiochus back as much as fourteen years (from 69 to 83). Otherwise Tigranes would have been dealing with Mithradates I, for whom we have no such joint honorary coinage—the ‘characteristic features’ of Tigranes but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΙΑΔΑΤΟΥ on the reverse.<sup>40</sup> Of course one could argue that Tigranes adopted this strange practice after the death of Mithradates, but why then no trace of such joint ‘international’ coinage in the many other parts of his empire? In any case, retrojecting the reign of Antiochus to 83 seems totally unwarranted in the absence of solid grounds for it. In 83 B.C. Antiochus would have been quite young, since the marriage of the Seleucid Laodice (then about nineteen) to Mithradates Kallinikos near the beginning of his reign apparently did not long precede the death in 96 of her father Antiochus VIII Grypus, whom Antiochus honours both in statuary and numerous inscriptions.<sup>41</sup>

‘typical Armenian’ tiara, in the slightly variant form which Dr. Bedoukian calls the ‘Commagenian type’: F. K. Dörner, *Forschungen in Kommagene* (Berlin, 1939), Tafel 5, no. 3 (Kilafik Hüyük, facing left since greeting an inferior); *Archaeology* 1952, 137, fig. 2; *BASOR* 147 (1957), 21, fig. 7; Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin, 1890), 368, fig. 52 (Selik), pls. xxxviii. 2 and xxxix. 1–2 (all from the west terrace on Nemrud Dagh); F. K. Dörner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios* (Berlin, 1963), Tafel 48–50; *AJA* 1964, 29–34 and pls. 11–12; *BMC Galatia, etc.* 105 with pl. xiv. 8. Others (or uncertain): Mionnet, *Descr.* v, 130–3, nos. 14–15 and 26–8; *BMC Galatia, etc.* 110–12 with pl. xv. 6 and 9; Babelon, *rois* 222 f., nos. 43 and 45, and ccxvii; *Inventaire . . . Waddington* 7243 (for Mithradates II and Antiochus I or II) and 7253 (for Commagene itself), with pl. xxi. 4. This tiara with star motif: *AA* 1965. 218 and Dörner, *Königreich* 82, Abb. 51. The stars occur on Mithra’s tiara at Arsameia: Dörner, *Arsameia* 201. A new find: *IstMitt* 1969/70, Tafel 54. 2 (Boybeyinpinari).

<sup>40</sup> There may have been a joint coinage between Antiochus I and his son Mithradates, but *both* names occur, with Antiochus—wearing the Armenian tiara(!)—apparently named as king and his son commemorated on the reverse: see Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 775 with the remarks of Reinach 245, note 2 on Babelon, *Inventaire . . . Waddington* (Paris, 1898), 447, no. 7243 with pl. xxi. 3. Other versions of this exist (see Reinach), proving deliberate use of the Armenian tiara by Antiochus after Tigranes’ defeat, since his son Mithradates (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> M 451) was probably too young for joint commemoration before 66 B.C.

<sup>41</sup> e.g. *IGLSyr* 27 = *OGIS* 401. Cf. *IGLSyr* 1, 6 = *OGIS* 383, 6. For a relief of Grypus on the west terrace of Nemrud Dagh, see *BASOR* 1957, 14. There might have been a second Mithradates before Antiochus ruled: Reinach 243 f., but *OGIS* 395, note 7 (= *IGLSyr* 22). For a survey of this and related questions: M. Pidello, ‘Intorno a la grande epigrafe del Nemrud Dagh’ in *Studi offerti al Prof. B. R. Motzo* (Cagliari, 1953), 151–96, esp. 160–4. The marriage was arranged by Grypus along familiar dynastic lines: Commagene was to be secured for Seleucid rule by his daughter and her native husband. See Bouché-Leclercq 405 f. and 605 for a possible example of her serving militarily in this capacity (Jos. *AJ* xiii,

The assumption of a joint coinage forces the explanation that Antiochus was so unusually compliant when he 'peacefully accepted the suzerainty of Tigranes' that as his reward he received this honour—unique in the practice of Tigranes, who uses ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ everywhere else. But it would have been unthinkable anyway for Commagene or any of the many small neighbouring states to offer armed resistance to so overwhelming a power as Armenia under Tigranes.<sup>42</sup> The local pattern was to yield readily to heavy odds and await an opportunity of regaining lost options by alliance or intrigue. This process did operate in the empire of Tigranes, and Lucullus turned it to advantage several times.<sup>43</sup> Commagene could hardly have deserved special honours for crumbling readily before the great Tigranes' advance.

Another explanation must be sought for the disputed issues of Antiochus and for the similar ones of Artavasdes in Atropatene. The history and prosopography of both dynasties furnish indications, though best studied within the scope of a book. In general, we need only to look at the delicate geographical and political position of these kingdoms: their attempt to chart a safe and yet effective course between Rome and Parthia without antagonizing the still-powerful Armenians explains most features of their dynastic coinage, sculpture, and policy. In light of the prompt action of both Antiochus and later Artavasdes of Atropatene in joining the Romans against Armenia, we see their coinage as an element in programmes designed to proclaim them fully 'legitimate' local successors of Tigranes, just as Tigranes had apparently tried to claim legitimate succession to the Seleucid Philip I Philadelphus (an uncle of Antiochus of Commagene) in Syria by continuing his dynastic era (Head *HN*<sup>2</sup> 771 f.).<sup>44</sup> 'Philadelphus' was what Philip was *not*, and the cognomen represents the same optimism as scrupulous retention of diadochic coinage did in these fratricidal years during the Seleucid death-throes.

13, 4, 371 with *RN* 1955, 123, note 3). The date of the marriage can be fixed roughly through circumstances within the chronology of his marriages and children. See *IGLSyr* I, no. 1, notes.

<sup>42</sup> In fact, Cleopatra Selene, sister of the Seleucid Tryphaena who was grandmother of Antiochus I of Commagene, had already felt the heavy hand of Tigranes, with fatal results: Strabo xvi, 2, 3; Jos. *AJ* xiii, 420 and *BJ* i, 116. Antiochus would hardly need repetition of the lesson, nor of that administered inside Commagene itself by the Parthians to his Seleucid relative Antiochus X in 92 B.C. Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. des Séleucides*, Paris, 1913), 420 ff. discusses the evidence. There is even a possibility of his mother's having fought the Parthians, if she is the Laodice of Jos. *AJ* xiii, 13, 4, 371, as Seyrig conjectures in *RN* 1955, 123, note 3.

<sup>43</sup> Most notably at Antioch, where his envoy won over a number of dynasts and captive cities, telling their representatives to lie deep in the prospect of future Roman aid against Tigranes: Plut. *Luc.* xxi, 2 and xxix, 5–6.

<sup>44</sup> Evidence for this motive is adequate, and will be developed elsewhere. Babelon saw it clearly in the case of Antiochus: *rois* cxiii. Bibliography on Antiochus-and-Rome: Magie, *Roman Rule* 1216, note 46; cf. 1228 and 1253. Dio xxxvi, 2, 5 shows that co-operation with Rome began at least by 69 B.C., probably in reaction to the initial defeat of Tigranes. On the later Roman relations with Artavasdes of Atropatene: Magie 1291, note 42. See especially Dio xlix, 25, 1 for typical manoeuvring by the monarchs of Armenia, Atropatene, and Parthia regarding Antony.

All East Anatolian royal coinages exhibit this conservative tendency: they use Parthian, Seleucid, and Roman models as part of a considerable range of devices aimed at assuring continuity of local sentiment by proclaiming continuity of rule. To the inherently fiduciary nature of coinage was added the complication of a startling variety of issues circulating freely in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. For one of many examples, the Nisibis area hoards contain remarkably diverse coins: Parthian, Seleucid, Armenian, Phrygian, Cilician, Syrian, Thessalian, Pontic, Jewish, Nabataean, Commagenian, Cappadocian, and many from individual cities.<sup>45</sup> A dynastic coinage had to insure acceptance in every way it could, and continuity remains by definition one of the greatest problems any dynasty encounters.

The motive in both present cases was succession to former Armenian territory—openly symbolized for Artavasdes by the kneeling female figure on his coins.<sup>46</sup> This intention is even more apparent when Artavasdes joins the awesome title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ to his use of the tiara.<sup>47</sup> In this and other features of his coinage Artavasdes emphasizes the strong Parthian element in his dynasty, which was related as well to the house of Commagene<sup>48</sup> and was soon to furnish kings for Armenia itself.<sup>49</sup> Tigranes had intended these close ties: his own daughter married a member of the dynasty (Dio xxxvi, 14, 2), which furnished intermittent but active military support to Armenia in its struggle with Rome (Plut. *Luc.* xxxvi, 7 and xxvii, 6)—probably because it had to (Strabo xi, 14, 15, 532).

Dr. Bedoukian sees no purpose in a coinage like the present one if issued by Antiochus: 'the territories given to Antiochus by the Romans were not Armenian lands, and placing the Armenian tiara on the coin would have no significance'. But Commagene had formed part of the Armenian empire under Tigranes: what more natural than to follow Anatolian usage and 'succeed' him locally? A coinage modelled on that recently familiar to his subjects would serve this purpose nicely.

Secondly, the lands for which Pompey recognized the sovereignty of Antiochus (it distorts Roman methods to say simply that he 'gave' lands) were his ancestral holdings and a small amount of territory across the

<sup>45</sup> *RN* 1955, 85–128; *NC* 1966, 28 ff.

<sup>46</sup> As Robinson suggests: *NC* 1937, 254.

<sup>47</sup> Robinson 250–1; cf. Babelon, *rois*, pl. xxx. 18–19. If this Artavasdes is on the other hand the Armenian one, who did use the title 'King of Kings', then the irregularities of his tiara work against the assumption of uniformity.

<sup>48</sup> Through his daughter Iotape, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 44, first of seven queens or princesses by that name descended from Artavasdes; all entered the network of dynastic intermarriage in the East. On the Parthian features of this coinage: Robinson 250–4.

<sup>49</sup> See *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1044, 1162, 1164 f. Cf. J 175 f.; A 1045; *IGRR* iv, 149; *AE* 1955, p. 186. In Strabo xi, 14, 14. 531 Medes (of Atropatene) and Armenians are συγγενεῖς πῶς to Thessalians. Whatever the truth of that, the close ethnic ties between Atropatene and its neighbour Armenia were apparent to Strabo (cf. their Iranian cult practices: xi, 14, 16, 532). The country had probably not fallen under the rule of Alexander (Polybius v, 55), and had its own dynasty by the second century B.C.: Frye, *Persia* 276, note 13.

Euphrates.<sup>50</sup> In light of recent Armenian control here, these were 'Armenian lands' if anyone's; for purposes of succession the coinage of Antiochus should reflect this. Tigranes had run his empire on the Parthian model: when he called himself 'King of Kings' he meant it, thus allowing the sub-kings their own traditions and coinage. Many forms of control were possible in Anatolia without seriously diminishing local autonomy, and neither Armenia nor Rome would prevent Commagene from using what it chose on its coinage, before and after 69 B.C.

Finally, Commagenian borrowing of Armenian tiaras and other elements (Strabo xi, 14, 15) should occasion no surprise, since the dynasty claimed descent from Armenian kings. Antiochus I was especially conscious of this and accorded all his *πρόγονοι*—Seleucids, Armenians, Persians (ostensibly even back to Darius I)—careful commemoration.<sup>51</sup> His great-great-grandfather, Aroandes III, descended from the Orontid line, was the last ruler of Armenia before its annexation to the Seleucid empire.<sup>52</sup> Since the national era in Commagene began under Ptolemaios, son of this Aroandes III,<sup>53</sup> so encyclopaedic a genealogist as Antiochus I would hardly forget the Armenian credentials of his ancestors. He honours not only Samos II and Ptolemaios but also the Armenians Aroandes III and Arsames II, and he even reaches back ten generations to include his Achaemenid ancestress Rhodogune, mother of King Aroandes II of Armenia.<sup>54</sup>

#### DISCUSSION OF NO. 6

It would indeed be strange if a monarch so committed to promotion of *ἐμῆς τε πατρίδος παντρώφου Κομμαγενῆς* by means of dedicating *ἐμῶν προγόνων οὗτος ὃν ὄρας ἡρώος λόχος* and of honouring *πατρώους ἀπαντας θεοὺς ἐκ Περσίδος τε καὶ Μακετίδος γῆς Κομμαγενῆς τε* were to have issued no extensive coinage during his reign, in a dynasty well represented by coins.<sup>55</sup> His hyperactivity in the areas of sculpture, monuments, 'perpetual' cult foundations, and dedicatory inscriptions furnishes all the more reason to be wary of removing the one series he has.

In sum, the purposes of Antiochus in his sculpture differ from those of his coinage. Nemrud Dagh is deliberately erected *οὐρανίων ἀγχιστα θρόνων* as a

<sup>50</sup> Seleucia (opposite Samosata) and the adjacent territory: App. *Mithr.* cxiv, 559 and Strabo xvi, 2, 3.

<sup>51</sup> *IGLSyr* 14–15.

<sup>52</sup> See *IGLSyr* vol. i, 10–11 and note 2, with corrections in vol. ii, 381. Cf. *IGLSyr* 18; Diodorus 19, 23, 3 (= Polyæn. 4, 8, 3?). Another joint king might be the Arsames of Polyæn. 4, 17; cf. *IGLSyr* 5; *REG* 3 (1890), 368 ff.; Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 754; *Antike Kunst* 1969, 120.

<sup>53</sup> H. Seyrig in *RN* 1964, 51–5. The era remained in use down to the last monarch of the dynasty, Antiochus IV.

<sup>54</sup> *IGLSyr* 3, 5–8, 16–17, 46, and stemma on p. 10 of vol. i, with the reconstruction of the ancestral gallery on Nemrud Dagh by F. K. Dörner in *IstMitt* 1967, 195–210. Ancestors who ruled in Armenia receive specific commemoration in *IGLSyr* 3, 5, 16–18.

<sup>55</sup> *IGLSyr* 1, lines 56–7, 47–8, 224–6.

religious and patriotic monument (Figs. 5–6).<sup>56</sup> In other areas of his architectural and cult<sup>57</sup> programmes, Antiochus continues surprisingly old Hellenic and Iranian practices, including those of his father.<sup>58</sup> Adherence to Western

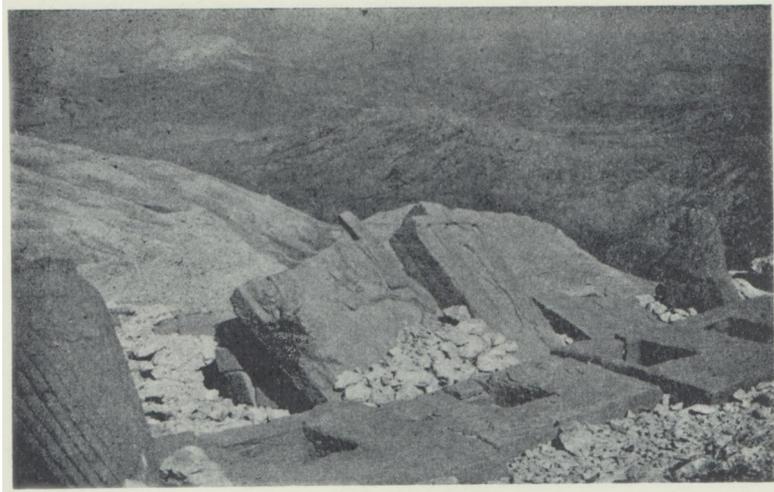


FIG. 5. Nemrud Dagh, West Terrace. Fallen reliefs, with Commagenian eagle and lion looking out over Taurus.

Hellenic architectural modes characterizes much of the building in this remote but sophisticated land; Pergamon, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the Propylaeum at Athens are detectable sources of inspiration.<sup>59</sup>

In his coinage, the goals of Antiochus are fiscal soundness and the proclamation of political succession. Common to both aspects of his activity is a firm sense of historical continuity joined to real concern for the well-being of his small but significant fatherland, which remained a noteworthy entity for at least a century after him. Explanation of his policies requires an appreciation of the Anatolian dynastic network, in which Commagene was a full participant: besides the Iranian ties, Antiochus I could look to no fewer than five Seleucid kings as his uncles—brothers of his mother Laodice—and he endlessly honours his grandfather Grypus. Commagenian kings and princes

<sup>56</sup> Nor was this an ephemeral undertaking. The statues 'stood for centuries' (*BASOR* 1957, 18) and there is evidence that cult practices continued. L. Robert suggests that *Anth. Pal.* viii, 176–254 by Gregory Nazianzus (fourth century A.D.) are actually directed at a violator of Nemrud Dagh: *Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès Association G. Budé* (Paris, 1968), 79; cf. *Villes d'Asie mineure*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1962), 314, note 4.

<sup>57</sup> See M. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (The Hague, 1956), 53–7, nos. 28–33.

<sup>58</sup> See the new evidence in *Ist Mitt* 1969/70, 255–88, esp. 262–3.

<sup>59</sup> Dörner, *Königreich* 80 and *Antike Kunst* 1969, 120; *AJA* 59, 1955, 239.

during the century before and after Christ married into the royal lines in Armenia, Parthia, Atropatene, Emesa, Judaea, and Galatia (see Stemmata). Eventual scions and relatives included an Athenian citizen (C. Julius Antio-



FIG. 6. Nemrud Dagh, East Terrace. Seated Divinities.

chus Epiphanes Philopappus, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 151), Roman senators and consuls (see Stemmata), and Hadrian's friend Julia Balbilla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 650).

In so large a subject a study in progress has already become *μέγα βιβλίον*, perhaps *μέγα κακόν*. But even preliminary conclusions here, without space for adequate documentation, can assist in explaining the intentions and position of Antiochus when he issued these coins.

Rome acquired no 'puppets' in East Anatolia. She had fundamental need of close co-operation from the native aristocrats there, around whom society was politically structured. They furnished what political 'key' there was to Anatolia and their collective support was the only practical avenue to control by any outside power in a land far too vast for military occupation (endless panics over supply in our sources). Their knowledge of the East proved indispensable as its manpower and wealth grew toward crucial importance to Rome, since inconsistencies between ethnic and political boundaries plagued Roman administration there.<sup>60</sup> The eventual tide of legionaries, commanders, senators, consuls, royalty (Eastern relatives of Marcus Aurelius), and even

<sup>60</sup> Strabo xiii, 4, 12: *εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρὰ λαμβάνει τὸ τοῦς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτοῖς. Even to a native, Anatolian populations are δυσδιάκριτα . . . παραπίπτοντα εἰς ἄλληλα.*



FIG. 7. Dexiosis relief of Antiochus in starred robe with Heracles. Nemrud Dagh, West Terrace.

emperors (Elagabalus, for instance, derived from Emesa—long since linked to the dynastic network) rose from the continued political strength and social cohesion of the Greek East. Ancient patterns—syncretistic<sup>61</sup> and eclectic both—guaranteed the existence of innumerable small dynasties ‘between two empires’ (Parthian and Roman). Antiochus, Tigranes, and Pompey alike knew and respected these usages.

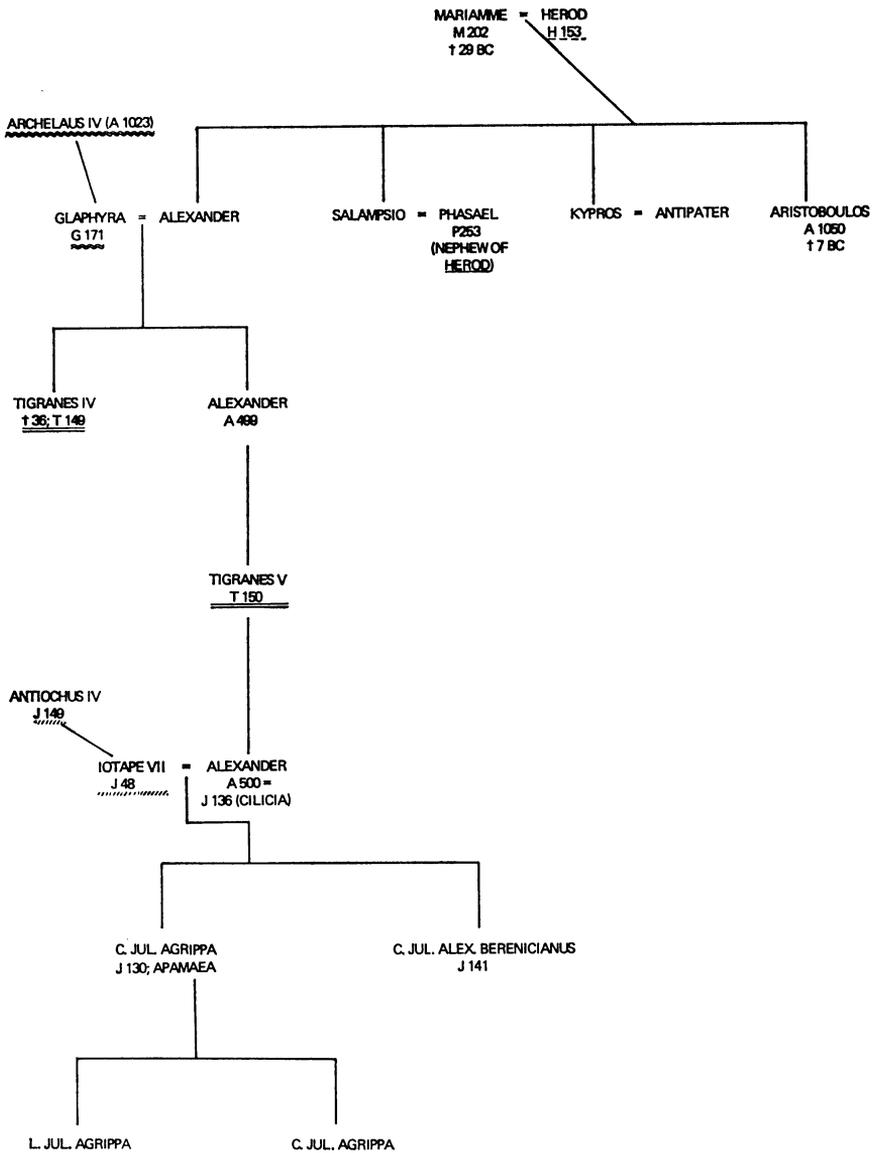
*Note.* I hope to develop these conclusions further in *JRS* and in a book on the Euphrates aristocracy.

<sup>61</sup> These are especially noticeable in religion, where heavy figures like Apollo–Mithras–Helios–Hermes grace the monuments: *OGIS* 383, 55. Heracles, too, is everywhere in Commagene (often as Artagnes–Heracles–Ares) and in the East (as at Hatra: *AJA* 1968, 211–17 and 1972, 77–8).





III. JUDAEAN - CAPPADOCIAN KINGS OF ARMENIA





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SULLIVAN : DIADOCHIC COINAGE