I. Introduction

Study of the Eastern dynastic aristocracy in the first and second centuries reveals remarkable circumstances: continued popular loyalty toward the traditional leaders; outstanding military and political achievements; social benefactions; architectural innovations; increased diffusion of the elements of Roman and Hellenic city-civilization. Not least among the facets of the aristocracy's work stands religious activity. Virtually all of the members of one interrelated group of dynasts and aristocrats demonstrably held priestly office either in local or in Roman cults. A full study of this phenomenon would probably reveal that religious service constituted a normal extension of the widespread practice of holding multiple military and political offices. In the case of at least one dynastic family, that of the kings of Commagene, religious activity strongly affected its entire history, ranging, over a span of 275 years, from apotheosis to priesthoods to international religious benefactions.

The religious work carried on by the members of this small but representative group probably ranked in their own minds equally with their comprehensive programs of national development and consoli-

* It has been an honor and a pleasure to compose this article in tribute to Professor Dr. Friedrich Karl Dörner, who, sustained by the company of his lovely wife, has done so much to advance the study of ancient Anatolia.

1 The present discussion concentrates on a limited group: Eastern kings, dynasts, and aristocrats interrelated either by descent or by marriage.

Their architectural monuments include the library dedicated to Celsus Polemaeanus at Ephesus and the dynastic commemoration of Antiochus Philopappus in Athens, as well as anomalies like the pyramid of Izates and Helen in Jerusalem. On these, see below. For all, the spreading of cities constituted a strong priority, but probably most so for Antiochus IV of Commagene.

dation. As one of many beneficial devices 3, the cultivation of religious loyalty among the populace accorded both with Eastern tradition and with sound national policy.

Among the relatively limited, interrelated group selected for discussion here, numerous examples remain of such multifaceted careers. The Galatian noble C. Julius Severus, an ἀπόγονος of kings and an ἀνεψιός of several others to be examined, can list an impressive sequence of secular and religious offices as well as an extraordinary service: ἀποδεξάμενον... στρατεύματα τὰ παραχειμάσαντα ἐν τῇ πόλει during Trajan's Parthian campaign in 114 4. This blending of duties to one's countrymen, to Greek society (Severus is πρῶτος Ἐλλήνων), to the Roman state and army, and to the gods or cults of Greeks and Romans alike flows from a unified ideal of service. Not for this society a class of idle rich.

The tradition of higher direction and example, which arose centuries earlier, remained undiminished in the first two centuries after Christ. From the monumental structures at one end of Asia Minor in Commagene 5 to those at the other in Pergamum 6, an example set long before was followed early in the second century by such nobles as the son of Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, in dedicating the library to his father at Ephesus, and by the last major figure from the Commagenian royal house, C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, whose monument still stands on the Hill of the Muses in Athens 7. In Commagene itself modifications to the

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4 IGRR III 173 = OGIS 544 = E. Bosch, Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum [= TTK 7, 46], Ankara 1967, 122ff. no. 105.
6 The spirit which had created the great structures under the Attalids remained alive in the time of the Quadrati there: see below, Section IV.